

**PRESERVING FAMILY AND IDENTITY: THE CHALLENGES OF
'UNDOCUMENTED' ZIMBABWEAN IMMIGRANTS IN SOUTH AFRICA**

by

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ABSTRACT

The dilapidation of political, economic and social systems in Zimbabwe led many citizens to migrate to other countries. ‘Undocumented’ Zimbabwean immigrants are reportedly scrambling for shared spaces and creating homes for themselves in South Africa. The aim of this research was to explore and describe the challenges of ‘undocumented’ Zimbabwean immigrants with regards to preserving their family and identity while in South Africa. Three main objectives identified which were:

- (i) To explore and describe what family and identity means to the ‘undocumented’ Zimbabwean immigrants.
- (ii) To explore and describe ‘undocumented’ Zimbabwean immigrants’ challenges with regards to their family life and identity upon arrival in South Africa.
- (iii) To explore and describe ‘undocumented’ Zimbabwean immigrants’ challenges at preserving and maintaining their family relations and identity while in South Africa.

A qualitative study utilising explorative and descriptive research designs was employed in a bid to answer the research question, namely: How do ‘undocumented’ Zimbabwean immigrants preserve their family and identity while in South Africa? Data were collected by means of unstructured individual interviews and transcribed verbatim. Initially, six participants were purposively selected and they in turn directed the researcher through snowball sampling to the other nine participants who fit the research criteria until data saturation had been attained. The interviews were analysed according to Creswell’s (2008) steps as well as guidelines for phenomenological data. Data were also analyzed to ensure its dependability, conformability, transferability and credibility. The researcher adhered to ethical considerations of confidentiality, self-determination, no harm, as well as beneficence. From the data emerged four main themes i.e.

- ‘undocumented’ Zimbabwean immigrants in SA’s challenges in preserving their families
- ‘undocumented’ Zimbabwean immigrants in SA’s challenges in preserving their identity

- ‘undocumented’ Zimbabwean immigrants’ challenges relating to their journey to SA
- challenges experienced by ‘undocumented’ Zimbabwean immigrants during their stay in SA.

Based on these findings, recommendations were made to social workers, social service professionals, governmental and Non-Governmental Organizations on how to mitigate the challenges that come with ‘undocumentation.’

- **Key words: Preserving family, identity, ‘undocumented’ immigrants, Zimbabwean**



KEY CONCEPTS

‘Undocumented’ immigrants refer to individuals who do not fall into any legal category that is, those who enter a country without the stipulated legal documentation. It includes those who used clandestine means to enter a country, those that entered with legal documents but overstayed, those with expired visas or those that violated the original terms of their admission (Passel, and Cohn, 2005). Zinyama (2002) postulates that ‘undocumented’ immigrants largely comprise of ‘border jumpers’ and those that rely on trafficking syndicates to cross borders. This definition steers away from attaching an ‘illegal’ status that criminalizes the undocumented without giving them an opportunity to be heard and assisted before being pronounced guilty.

Identity is used to describe the way individuals and groups define themselves and are defined by others on the basis of race, ethnicity, religion, language, and culture" (Deng 1995: 1). Furthermore, identity asserts to the concepts of who individuals view they are and how they relate to others. For the purpose of this research, identity therefore speaks to the self-concept undocumented Zimbabwean immigrants have of themselves.

For the purpose of this research, **preserving family** entails measures Zimbabwean immigrants make towards ensuring that they retain the family standards and norms they practiced before migrating. These norms and standards are seen as ensuring that undocumented Zimbabwean families can still experience their ‘Zimbabweanness’ despite relocation to South Africa amidst the challenges that come with an ‘undocumented’ status.

Zimbabwean in this study will refer to any individual that identifies themselves with Zimbabwean origin whether by birth or by descent.

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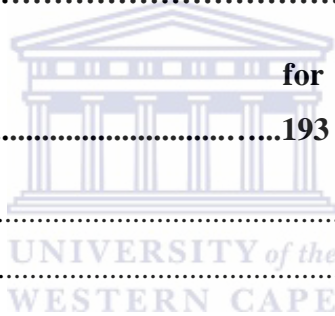
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CHAPTER ONE

ORIENTATION AND BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

1.1 INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this research was to describe and explore the challenges of ‘undocumented’ Zimbabwean immigrants in South Africa with regards to preserving their family and identity. ‘Undocumented’ immigrants are sometimes known as “illegal immigrants” or “illegal aliens” (Khan 2007:23). The researcher desists from using the term “illegal immigrant” which she considers to be derogatory and labelling in favour of a more humane term which is ‘undocumented’ immigrant. Vigneswaran (2007) deliberated that the term ‘illegal immigrant’ is a prominent figure in contemporary political debate and the general assumption is that “illegal immigrants” hail from less developed countries, work in low paying jobs, involve themselves in criminal activity, are racially or ethnically different from and inferior to the host population and experience hardships of some kind. The researcher’s deviation from the notion of “illegal immigrant” is in tune with migrant advocates, critical scholars and the migrants themselves who framed a counter-attack on the derogatory concept of ‘illegality’ to a more humane term which is ‘undocumented’ immigrant (Vigneswaran, 2007:3) Hence for the purpose of this study, the researcher will use the humane term ‘undocumented’ immigrant as opposed to the derogatory term “illegal immigrant”.

For many Zimbabweans who migrated to South Africa at the height of political, social and economic decline, their new place of residence has now become home (Muzondidya, 2008). Owing to the ruinous state of Zimbabwe, its citizens, have had to constantly negotiate these new habitats for themselves and their children. ‘Undocumented’ Zimbabwean immigrants have had to reshape and redefine their notions of citizenship, belonging, nationhood and “Zimbabweanness” (Muzondidya, 2008:9). Some ‘undocumented’ Zimbabwean immigrants relocated as family units, some left their families behind, while some began their own families of procreation upon arrival. The assumption is that being ‘undocumented’ comes with distinctive

challenges of its own that threaten to destroy family relations while individuals are struggling to retain their identity while in SA. This research therefore sought to explore and describe the challenges that are increased by an 'illegal' status as well as their impact on how one retains their family relations and identity while in South Africa (SA).

There was a definite gap identified in the literature that speaks to how 'undocumented' immigrants preserve their family and identity in a new country. Literature did not seem to expound on how 'undocumented' Zimbabwean families adapt and retain what they have known to be their identity, family norms and standards while in SA. It is this gap that gave rise to the research question.

Unlike documented travellers, 'undocumented' immigrants rarely make plans and provisions on how their stay in South Africa will proceed (Crush and Tevera, 2010). Due to their 'illegality' making provisions such as schooling for their children and work for themselves amongst other important daily activities they engaged in while in Zimbabwe, is daunting. Amidst this, they live in constant fear of deportation and victimization for their foreignhood due to a lack of proper documentation. All these make it difficult for them to engage in what they have known to be family life back home, hence making it much more overwhelming to preserve family and identity as opposed to someone with the privilege to access basic amenities without fear of deportation or victimization. This study therefore aimed to look at how Zimbabweans without accredited legal documentation thrive in South Africa while preserving their family life and identity as Zimbabwean people.

The next section is aimed at orienting the reader to the context of 'undocumented' immigration to South Africa.

1.2 ILLEGAL IMMIGRATION TO SA

Bhugra and Becker (2005) define migration as the process of going from one country, region or place of residence to settle in another. The authors identify three broad stages of migration which are pre-migration, which pertains to the decision and preparation to move to the host country, migration stage, which pertains to the physical relocation from one place to another and lastly,

post-migration which pertains to the “absorption of the immigrant within the social and cultural framework of the new society” as well as the adaptation to cultural rules and norms in the host location (Bhugra, 2001: 21). It must be noted however that these stages are not set in stone or easily deducible and may merge into one another.

Migration has become a major problem affecting individuals, families and communities all over the world. Crisis-driven migration as a result of political and economic struggles has resulted in an influx of undocumented migrants and refugees all over the world. This line of thinking is supported by Van Hear (2007:1) who states that “when modern states go into terminal decline or fail altogether, the predictable response of ordinary people is to get out, as soon as they can, to wherever they can go.” Zimbabwe has been labelled as a failed state in terms of the economic standards of living (Crush and Tevera, 2010). The world’s largest refugee and migrant population come from Asian and African countries. According to United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), (2013) at the beginning of 2010 Palestine, Afghanistan, Iraq, Somalia and the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) made up the world’s top five immigrant and refugee population. Zimbabwe fell at number thirty three. Most of South Africa's refugees come from countries like the Democratic Republic of Congo, Burundi, Rwanda, Angola, Zimbabwe and Somalia (Crossley, 2000).

Crossley (2000:17) views post-apartheid South Africa as both an “imagined Mecca” of economic opportunity, and a haven from war-torn and troubled homelands from Africa. Rutherford (2011: 207) faults the unending economic crisis, the political violence which was heightened by a breakdown in social services and rampant cholera in Zimbabwe to driving many Zimbabweans to “jump the border” hence accounting for the escalated figures of ‘undocumented’ Zimbabwean immigrants in South Africa.

An enormous amount of money has been spent in the last couple of decades in an effort to improve the standards of living and life chances of people in developing countries. Governments, non-governmental organizations (NGO’s) and various stakeholders have attempted to loan from international lending institutions development aid and seek bilateral assistance to mitigate the effects of migration with little success (Baker, 2000). According to Sachs (2005) around one billion people still live below the poverty datum line and of these one billion, over 800 million

go hungry every day. In the same vein, Davies (2007) asserts that nearly 63% of this one billion is rural based poverty. Given such statistics, one can comprehend why, amongst other reasons, poverty is a huge cause of migration. South Africa has been dubbed the “Europe of Africa” because of its highly developed economic and social systems; hence an influx of migrants in search of an improved standard of life (Davies, 2007: 1). According to Renzaho (2010) there has been a dramatic increase in the number of ‘undocumented’ travellers in South Africa over the last decade.

South Africa and the United Kingdom rank as the two places that Zimbabwean immigrants have sought refuge over the last decade (Crush and Tevera, 2010). The actual numbers of ‘undocumented’ immigrants cannot be estimated as there are no official means of tracking and recording all those that do not have proper documentation (Jordan and Düvell, 2008). The fact that migration status is fluid makes it very difficult to document and analyse ‘undocumented’ migration trends. Zinyama and Tevera (2002) attribute this to the fact that people move in and out of categories when necessary, when expedient or when their positions change (such as asylum-seekers becoming refugees or refugees becoming citizens of their country of refuge) or when a person who was once documented becomes ‘undocumented’ due to an expired visa that could not be renewed.

Since the collapse of basic services in Zimbabwe, a new type of economy arose which Jones (2010:285) dubbed the “kiya-kiya” economy. This is a colloquial term used in Zimbabwe which means “to make do.” Jones (2010) was intrigued by how some people lived and still continue to survive in Zimbabwe given the chaotic political and economic pressures of the country. Jones’ argument was that Zimbabweans have proved to possess a resilience and ability to think on their toes by engaging in “kiya-kiya” and doing whatever it takes to survive. It is mostly those that found “kiya-kiya” challenging that left Zimbabwe for neighbouring countries in search of a better life and more conducive conditions (Jones, 2010).

The journey from Zimbabwe itself is not an easy one for ‘undocumented’ travellers. Studies have revealed that most Zimbabweans came into South Africa through clandestine means including border jumping, bribing police and immigration officials with the assistance of bus drivers and malaisha’s (unofficial transportation border agents) (Crush and Tevera, 2010). There have been escalated deaths reported as some died while crossing the Zambezi River. Zinyama (2000)

emphasizes that most 'undocumented' immigrants die before they reach their destination during the months of December and January. The author postulates that due to transnational migration, most 'undocumented' Zimbabwean immigrants go home during Christmas holidays and this coincides with the running and spilling of the Limpopo River when water flow is erratic and crocodiles are rampant. Supporting this view, Crush and Tevera (2010) accede that some are eaten by crocodiles, some are murdered by those expected to safely take them to South Africa and for some, the journey is just too tedious and they die of fear, exhaustion and hunger (Crush and Tevera, 2010:23). For many, making it to South Africa is a miracle.

'Undocumented' immigrants struggle to exist outside the law. As "illegal foreigners" (the terminology of the new Immigration Act, (Act 13 of 2002:5), they are unprotected against crime and must often hide from the South African Police Service (SAPS) officials. They strive to remain invisible from government officials in order to uphold their livelihood practices. Given their "illegal" status, they have no formal claims on the SAPS officials or any other state authority (Human Rights Watch (HRW) 1998; Klotz 2000; Klaaren and Ramji 2001). As "illegal foreigners", 'undocumented' immigrants' main concern is to either avoid the SAPS officials or to remain invisible to them (Sommers 2001). Constantly at risk of deportation and targeted by criminals, 'undocumented' immigrants attempt to avoid confrontation with South Africans altogether, as they never know who might assault or get them into trouble with the authorities (Reizes and Bam, 2000). This illustrates the experience of illegality and the reasoning behind maintaining isolation. Since even a minor incident might jeopardize their entire existence, the same authors suggest that it is also best to keep contact with South Africans to a minimum

It is recorded that until 2010, the general administrative response of South African authorities to the vastly growing number of Zimbabweans entering the country as 'undocumented' immigrants was to arrest and deport those without documentation (Rutherford, 2011). Further compounding this challenge, Polzer (2008) alleges that very few Zimbabweans who seek refugee status were successful in their application, resulting in most of them living the life of 'undocumented' immigrants, earning a livelihood that left them highly vulnerable to labour abuses, arrest and ultimately deportation.

Exploring the effects of migration on family, Renzaho (2010) denotes that parenting in a new culture brings with it many challenges. The author attributes this to the concept that family

values differ across cultures and traditional parenting practices used in the home country to achieve culturally-sanctioned goals may not be the norm in the host country. Supporting this line of thought, Batrouney and Stone (1998) contend that the situation becomes exacerbated when these culturally-sanctioned goals and values are endorsed to different degrees by parents and their offspring. A parenting point of interest in most African countries, such as Zimbabwe is the fact that parenting is couched within the context of what culturally constitutes a family which in most cases encompasses grandparents, parents, children, aunts, uncles and close neighbours according to clan membership (Batrouney and Stone 1998; Chimuka, 2001). Each of these extended families is identified as having a pivotal role to play in the nurturing of the child and is a source of support. It is in these culturally-sanctioned goals that individuals find the identity of who they are. One therefore wonders what happens to the sense of identity when one is not just in a restricted environment, but also one where the original forms of what family and identity are is disrupted by relocation as not all families are able to move as a family unit.

It is therefore this point of departure that this research study sought to expound on. As revealed by literature, until recently, about 90% of Zimbabwean immigrants were young men between the ages of 20 and 40. The Consortium for Refugees & Migrants in South Africa (CORMSA) (2008) reports that prior to 2008, women and unaccompanied children increasingly crossed the Limpopo border with only a few crossing as whole family units. However, in July, 2008 the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) (2008) reported an increase in the number of whole family units crossing the border (UNHCR, 2008; Forced Migration Studies Programme (FMSP), 2007) from Zimbabwe to SA. This change alone poses a challenge for 'undocumented' immigrants as the journey itself becomes more tedious and dangerous with children crossing the border between Zimbabwe and South Africa using clandestine means. Added to this is the difficulty in maintaining invisibility in the lived spaces of 'undocumented' immigrants when there are school going children that need to access basic services such as schools and hospitals (FMSP, 2007).

Muzondidya (2008) contends that 'undocumentation' brings with it ambiguities and contradictions absent in the documented travellers. The author furthermore asserts that for the undocumented, a sense of fear and insecurity encourages them to remain underground and not make a public display of their national origin. As a result, 'undocumented' Zimbabwean

immigrants make all efforts to “act” South African. Some are reported to go to extreme measures of cutting all ties with their Zimbabwean family and friends who may give away their ‘Zimbabweanness.’ Consequently, they desist from speaking their mother tongue and reject their Zimbabwean identity and culture (Muzondidya, 2008). The same author therefore concludes that this brings about feelings of loss of culture and identity dilution. As a result, the children of ‘undocumented’ Zimbabwean immigrants in SA grow up devoid of national pride and identity. It is amidst these profound predicaments that this research sought to illuminate these challenges so that where possible, solutions may be wrought.

In addition to the challenges related to loss of family and identity, Bloch (2008) asserts that ‘undocumented’ travellers in confinement camps experience a profound sense of loss of control over their lives and often have a feeling of hopelessness that there will never be an end to their suffering. The same author alleges that these feelings place especially adolescence at an escalated risk of vulnerability to contraction of HIV amongst other diseases and challenges than those in stable conditions. ‘Undocumented’ immigrant children have skills and talents left untapped because more often than not, they usually go unrecognised and unsupported by the international and host countries (Bloch 2008). The aforementioned author’s argument is supported by Habib and Bentley (2008) who envisage that such skills could make them constructive to their host countries as vocational and educational activities are nearly non-existent in most refugee camps. Furthermore, increased risk is apparent to adolescents as idleness deepens the risk of sexual and economic exploitation as most adolescents would rather get married and take on domestic chores so as to care and provide for their almost always impoverished household hence resulting in a cycle of dependency, depression and hopelessness amongst the ‘undocumented’ immigrants (Bloch, 2008). Ultimately, devoid of opportunities to showcase who they are, ‘undocumented’ immigrant children may grow up with an ill-conceived sense of self that is detrimental to their wellbeing or development.

One of the major challenges of ‘undocumented’ Zimbabwean immigrants in SA is the exclusion from basic amenities which impacts on their social, political and economic rights in the destination country. This robs them of their potential to contribute to poverty reduction in the sending country, through remittances. The vulnerability of ‘undocumented’ immigrants extends not only to access the labour force in South Africa, but they are also forced to work in the

unregulated labour market (Sommers, 2001). This is apparent, for instance, in the differential wages earned. Research shows that ‘undocumented’immigrants are in receipt of lower wages than South African citizens and documented immigrants. Some ‘undocumented’immigrants are even forced to work extremely long hours for very little pay (Sommers, 2001; Jordan and Düvell, 2008).

It goes without saying that xenophobia is a constant challenge immigrant’s face in South Africa. The risk is even heightened when one is ‘undocumented.’ Xenophobia in SA reached its all time high in 2008 and left 60 reported deaths, 12 of which were Zimbabweans and about 80 000 immigrants weredisplaced (Muzondidya, 2008).Habiband Bentley (2008) postulate that Zimbabweans in SA have to deal with being black foreigners in a country where categories of ethnicity and race are still used to make boundaries of social location and status hence making it doubly difficult for them to cope. Oucho (2007) adds that ‘undocumented’Zimbabwean immigrants have been accused of gunrunning, drug trafficking, placing burden on SA’s health and education system, socialservices and engaging in violent crime amongst other vices. Muzondidya (2008) claims that the image of a Zimbabwean as construed in contemporary SA media and public discourse is that of a murderous criminal responsible for all conceivable social ills. It is in such a milieu that ‘undocumented’ Zimbabwean immigrants have to bring up their already disruptedchildren, maintain family relations and still have a positive self-identity while trying to negotiate access into lived spaces, jobs, education sectors and all other aspects related to their wellbeing.

Based on the aforementioned literature review and the gaps identified, it was therefore imperative for this research study to explore and describe how ‘undocumented’ Zimbabwean immigrants in SA preserve their family and identity amidst the aforementioned challenges.

1.3 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Social identity theory provides a conceptual framework for this research. The theory focuses on group and intergroup processes and relations (Turner and Onorato,1999). The self is conceptualized as a collection of social identities that are associated with membership in a social

category. This perspective follows the notion that the social category (e.g. nationality, political affiliation, and origin into which one falls and to which one feels they belong to provides a definition of who one is in terms of the defining characteristics of that particular category (Hogg et al., 1995). Social identity confers self-enhancement, contributes to self-conceptualization and generates self-esteem and status (Hogg, Terry and White, 1995). Social identity shapes behavioural phenomena such as intergroup behaviour (Ellemers, Spears and Doosje, 2002).

Justifying the use of the social identity theory, the emphasis is on the qualitative characteristics which generate the subgroups categories with which social identities are associated e.g. gender, race, religion, language and nationality (Hogg et al., 1995). The same authors extend that once individuals are grouped, depersonalization takes place resulting in individuals being seen as members of a subgroup rather than as individuals (Hogg et al., 1995). In essence, 'undocumented' Zimbabwean immigrants' conduct and relations have become characterized into a subgroup rather than through individual characteristics as revealed in paragraph 2 of this chapter. It is this phenomenon that the research sought to review both on how the 'undocumented' immigrants perceive such groupings and how it ultimately affects their identity and efforts in preserving their families while residing in South Africa.



1.4 PROBLEM FORMULATION

Having conducted a literature review and identified the gap that exists in literature, the researcher became conscious of the fact that more important than literature that speaks to 'undocumented' immigrants in South Africa is the need to identify what challenges they face so as to inform how they can be addressed. It appeared to the researcher that current policy in its labelling of the undocumented as "illegal" closed the door on the labelled to access basic resources suitable for self-actualisation. The researcher also identified that given the on-going xenophobic attacks, inability by the government to protect 'undocumented' immigrants as well as the harsh manner in which the 'undocumented' are treated when caught by immigration officials and SAPS officials, the 'undocumented' have become silenced. This silence threatens the very fabric that makes them able to preserve their family and identity. Literature also indicated

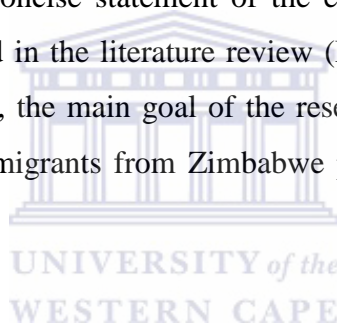
that most ‘undocumented’ Zimbabwean immigrants aimed to remain invisible and to make every effort to hide their ‘Zimbabweanness’ as it could result in them being arrested or deported. Given this milieu, the researcher therefore sought to give the ‘undocumented’ Zimbabwean immigrants a voice by documenting their challenges.

1.4.1 Research question

The research question is defined by de Vos, Strydom, Fouche and Delport, (2005) as the broadest question to be asked in a research study. The central research question for this study was: How do ‘undocumented’ immigrants from Zimbabwe preserve their families and identity while in South Africa?

1.4.2 Goals and objectives

A research goal is defined as a concise statement of the end product that will overcome the deficiency in knowledge identified in the literature review (McCuen, 1996). To achieve the end product in filling the research gap, the main goal of the research identified was to explore and describe how ‘undocumented’ immigrants from Zimbabwe preserve their families and identity while in South Africa.



Objectives

In order to achieve the main goal, the following objectives were identified:

- To explore and describe what family and identity means to the ‘undocumented’ Zimbabwean immigrants.
- To explore and describe ‘undocumented’ Zimbabwean immigrants challenges with regards to their family life and identity upon arrival to South Africa.
- To explore and describe ‘undocumented’ Zimbabwean immigrants challenges at preserving and maintaining their family relations and identity while in South Africa.

1.4.3 Research approach

The researcher employed a qualitative research approach as it focuses on understanding people through how they define their own world rather than quantifying the things that are happening to them (De Vos et al., 2005). Qualitative research focuses more on producing explanations and not

on offering mere descriptions (Mason, 2002). Due to the voicelessness of the ‘undocumented’ Zimbabwean immigrants, previous research has given statistics devoid of the voice of the ‘undocumented.’ Therefore, a qualitative approach pursued in this study ensured that there is a balance to this anomaly by giving the ‘undocumented’ Zimbabwean immigrants a voice. By allowing the participants a chance to voice their opinions and challenges, a richer and thicker data was gathered which will be useful in understanding the challenges ‘undocumented’ Zimbabwean immigrants face in order to inform interventions and policies. This research study therefore departed from research approaches whose aim is only to highlight the magnitude of ‘illegality’ statistically to a more solution-focused way of exploring and describing the challenges faced by ‘undocumented’ Zimbabwean immigrants in SA in a bid to seek solutions from the frame of reference of the affected individuals.

1.4.4 Research design

Research design is defined as a specification of the most satisfactory actions to be performed in order to successfully answer the research question (Swartz, de la Rey, Duncan & Townsend, 2008). According to De Vos et al. (2005) explorative research is conducted to gain insight and understanding into a situation, problem or phenomena. It usually arises out of a basic lack of knowledge or insufficient literature regarding a topic. In addition, Bless & Higson-Smith, (1995) emphasise that this research design is more applicable where there might be a lack of information or in order to get acquainted with a situation. The researcher justifies the use of explorative research design because the literature review conducted concluded that although there is vast research done so far on issues affecting ‘undocumented’ Zimbabwean immigrants in transit to South Africa, little attention has been paid to the challenges faced in retaining and preserving their families and identity while they are in South Africa. Therefore, this indicated that there was a need for further elucidation of the topic (Cherry, 2000 & Silverman, 2005).

Apart from explorative design, descriptive design on the other hand aims to ask questions pertaining to “how” and “why” a situation or phenomenon occurs (De Vos et al., 2005). These questions when answered give rise to an intensive exploration of a phenomenon and their deeper meanings leading to thicker description of data (Silverman, 2005). Having explored and answered what challenges ‘undocumented’ Zimbabwean immigrants face in preserving their families and identities while in SA, using a descriptive design, the researcher hoped to describe

the challenges ‘undocumented’ Zimbabwean immigrants in SA face in preserving their family and identity while in SA.

To complement explorative and descriptive research designs, a phenomenological strategy of design was used to capture the lived experiences of the challenges faced by the ‘undocumented’ Zimbabwean immigrants in SA. Moustakas (1994) identifies phenomenological studies as both a philosophy and a method in which the researcher engages in extensive and prolonged engagement with participants in order to establish the patterns of their relationships and meaning they attach to them. In-depth individual interviews will be used and these will allow the participants to give a narrative of the challenges they have faced in preserving their family and identity amidst their lack of recognised documentation to be in South Africa. Interviewing, according to Soskolne (2003) arguably gives voice to those who have been otherwise marginalized in order for them to significantly share their self-experience. Due to their ‘illegal status’ ‘undocumented’ Zimbabwean immigrants have been rendered voiceless thereby marginalizing their dreams, wishes and hopes (Muzondidya, 2008). The rationale for this type of methodology was to get a broader insight into the lives of ‘undocumented’ Zimbabwean immigrants and also to get closer to the reality of their lived experiences as well as to give them a voice so that relevant stakeholders can take their plight into consideration.

1.5 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This is a qualitative study that will employ the explorative and descriptive research designs. It was essential to conduct a qualitative research study because it allows the participants being studied to give much ‘richer’ answers to questions put to them by the researcher. A qualitative study also gives valuable insights which might have been missed by any other method (Gambling and Long, 2013). Importantly, as this study focuses on understanding the challenges faced by ‘undocumented’ Zimbabwean immigrants in SA, it is crucial to understand the participants’ “life as it is lived, things as they happen, situations as they are constructed in the day-to-day moment” (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2001:1). Based on this understanding, the researcher deduced that qualitative research would assist in understanding the challenges faced by ‘undocumented’ Zimbabwean immigrants in South Africa with regards to family and identity preservation.

Moreover, the issue of documentation is a sensitive issue for the participants and hence demanded probing and clarification which could not be realised using quantitative methodology.

This chapter therefore provides an introductory orientation to the application of methodology. This will be further discussed in Chapter 3.

1.5.1 Population

Arkava & Lane, (2003:5) assert that populations are often defined in terms of demography, geography, occupation, time and care requirements among other factors. Specific information that relates to a population is called a population parameter (Swatz et al, 2008). It follows therefore that a population refers to all subjects that could shed more light on the matter under study. For this particular research, the population was all 'undocumented' Zimbabwean immigrants in South Africa.

1.5.2 Sampling

According to De Vos et al. (2005:191) a sample can be described as the element of the population that is considered for actual inclusion in the study. The researcher will make use of purposive and snowball sampling for this study. According to Neuman (2006) purposive sampling takes place when a researcher chooses a particular case with a specific purpose in mind. Swartz et al. (2008) go on to state that aspects such as sample size in purposive sampling are largely dependent on time, resources and objectives of the study.

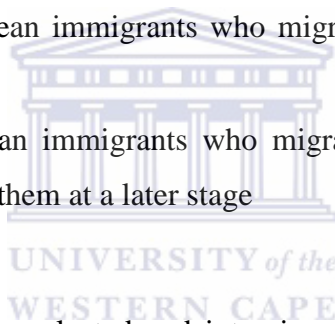
On the other hand, snowball sampling is when one participant is chosen because they have specific information that meets the research question and they in turn point the researcher towards someone else that has specific information relevant to the research and meets the selection criteria (Denzin and Lincoln, 2000). It must be stated that Mays (2008) determined snowball sampling not as a separate entity but rather as a type of purposive sampling.

The researcher negotiated entry into Non Governmental Organisations (NGO's), religious organisations and human rights groups that advocate for the interests of 'undocumented' immigrants to assist with purposively identifying participants for this study.

Identified organisations included Cape Town Refugee centre, Trauma Centre and People Against Suffering and Oppression (PASSOP). Officials from the aforementioned centres played the role of gatekeepers and were also the key informants who provided statistics and professional overview. Neuman (2000) differentiates the gatekeeper as the person who controls access to the participants while the key informant knows the inside scoop and can point the researcher to other participants who have valuable information. Bryman (2001) however justifies that sometimes, as was in this case, the gatekeeper can also function as the key informant.

Participants who met the following criteria were purposively selected:

- ‘Undocumented’ Zimbabwean immigrants who migrated with their families to South Africa
- ‘Undocumented’ Zimbabwean immigrants who migrated to South Africa, but left their families in Zimbabwe
- ‘Undocumented’ Zimbabwean immigrants who migrated to South Africa without their families but whose families joined them at a later stage



Once participants were purposively selected and interviewed, they were requested to link the researcher to other participants who met the same criteria in order to access more participants by means of snowball sampling. Interviews were conducted until the data became repetitive and data saturation took place. Data saturation is the point at which no new information is coming to the fore through the research process or enough information has been gathered for the purposes of data analysis (Neuman, 2006). Hence a researcher must either end the data collection or change the methodology (Bryman, 2001).

1.5.3 DATA COLLECTION METHODS

Silverman, (2005) enlightens that data collection refers to the ways in which a researcher gathers pertinent information to answer a research question. In explaining this process further, Creswell

(2003) groups data collection into four main categories i.e. observations, interviews, documents and audio-visual materials. In this section, the researcher will detail the data collection process employed throughout this study.

1.5.3.1 Data collection process

As explained in paragraph 4.2, access to participants in this study was provided through different organisations in Cape Town that render services to ‘undocumented’ Zimbabwean immigrants in SA. The reason for interviewing ‘undocumented’ Zimbabwean immigrants from all over Cape Town was to get different voices across the interviewees as their experiences are largely influenced by who received them, hence a variety of settings offered varied experiences. However, bearing in mind that ‘undocumented’ Zimbabwean immigrants live in the communities, some interviews were conducted in the natural environments of the participants where possible in order to capture the true lived experience of the participants. In view of the fact that a phenomenology strategy of design was used, participants were given an opportunity to share their lived experiences through the use of a main interview question which was:

“Tell me about your challenges as an ‘undocumented’ immigrant in SA in trying to preserve your family and identity?”

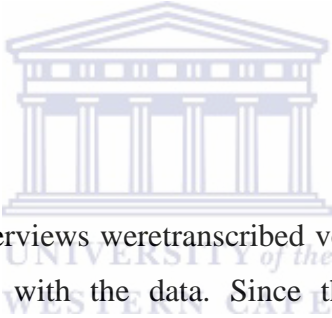
Creswell (2009) underlines a procedure for collecting data in a phenomenological study. This process involves the use of open-ended questions to ascertain aspects that relate to what participants have experienced in relation to the phenomenon under study as well as the contexts that influence the phenomenon under study. The researcher explains the procedure that was carried out in order to collect the necessary data in more detail in Chapter 3, paragraph 6.2.

The interview sessions were not allocated a time as the participants were given free range to share their stories until they exhausted all their challenges. Participants were viewed as experts of their own stories, hence interviews were unstructured to allow them to expound on their experiences. In this way a deeper exploration of the lived experiences of the challenges of ‘undocumented’ Zimbabwean immigrants was realised. In addition, the researcher made use of interviewing techniques and communication skills to generate rich data (De Vos et al. 2005). To

facilitate participation, interviews were conducted in the three main Zimbabwean languages i.e. Shona, Ndebele and English, depending on the language of preference of the participants. A Ndebele interpreter, where necessary, facilitated some interviews. All the interviews were transcribed verbatim and translated to English. The sessions were audio recorded with the permission of the participants. Field notes were also taken during the interviews by the researcher to capture non-verbal communication as well as for reflexive purposes.

A pilot study to test the effectiveness of the data collection instrument was done to make necessary modifications before conducting the actual research study. This enabled the researcher to make the necessary changes to the data collection process in order to generate rich data during the actual data collection process (De Vos et al, 2005).

7. DATA ANALYSIS



After the interviewing process, interviews were transcribed verbatim and translated to English as the researcher familiarized herself with the data. Since the research focused on how the ‘undocumented’ Zimbabwean immigrants preserve their family in South Africa, it was divided into two specifically, how they preserved their family and identity before relocating to SA and how they now preserve their families and identity in South. The researcher then produced connections of the content across these life challenges in order to uncover the meaning thereof (Creswell, 2009). In effect, the guidance of Creswell’s (2009) six steps for analysing personal narratives for phenomenological studies was employed i.e. reading and familiarizing, identifying important concepts to look for, identifying ‘narrative tone’, identifying ‘imagery’ and ‘themes’, weaving all of this together into a coherent story and finally, writing up the research report. Special emphasis was placed on “the detail of the material for making careful grounding of claims in the context of what is actually said” (Emerson & Peterson, 2004: 9). This enhanced interpretation and coding to organize data into categories and emerging themes focusing on both positive and negative life experiences of the ‘undocumented’ immigrants.

As the phenomenological strategy of design was used, it was also crucial to ensure that data were phenomenologically analysed. Husserl (1960) cautioned that an important fundamental in the analysis of phenomenological data is that the researcher remains true to facts and how they reveal themselves. As a result, care was taken throughout the data analysis to ensure that phenomena were allowed to come directly into view rather than to distort it through the researcher's own perceptions (Whiting, 2001). This was especially critical as the researcher is a Zimbabwean herself and may have had preconceived notions of what the 'undocumented' Zimbabwean immigrants experience in preserving their family and identity in South Africa. Moreover, the researcher personally conducted all fifteen interviews with the assistance of an interpreter with two Ndebele participants as stated by Miller (2003) in order to get a sense of the whole story. Care was taken to adopt an attitude of maximum openness in approaching the data by reading the transcripts and thematising the data without prejudice (Whiting, 2001).

In analysing phenomenological data, Creswell (2009) highlights the importance of paying attention to significant statements and themes in a bid to draw up textural and structural descriptions from the data. Moustakas (1994) also highlights the importance of the researchers' awareness and analysis of their own experiences throughout the study. The researcher detailed how reflexivity was achieved in Chapter 3, paragraph 5.3.

7.1 Trustworthiness

An important aspect in ensuring that this study adhered to standards of academic research of trustworthiness was observed. Trustworthiness refers to a process where data is checked for accuracy and inconsistencies (Neuman (2006). It is verified on the basis of credibility i.e. the data of inquiry validly represents the phenomena that it is expected to represent. To achieve this, participants were given an opportunity to establish whether their realities had been appropriately represented and were believable from their frame of reference during the interview sessions (D'Cruz & Jones, 2004). Table 1 in Chapter 3 details more on how credibility was attained during the research study.

Data should be checked for transferability, which is the extent to which knowledge generated can be generalised to similar contexts. From a general naturalistic perspective, generated knowledge cannot be transferred beyond its context (D'Cruz and Jones, 2004). The researcher ensured that

participants were accessed from diverse contexts yet responding to the research question as explained in paragraph 4.2 of this chapter. Zimbabweans from different backgrounds, tribes and languages were interviewed while the same sampling criterion was used across all participants. Table 2 in Chapter 3 details more on how transferability was attained during the research study.

Data is also verified for its dependability which is the stability of data after taking into account contextual differences (D’Cruz and Jones, 2004). To ensure dependability, the researcher used the same methodology across all participants. As long as the problem formulation remained similar, the researcher employed the same methods to ensure correlation. In order to attain dependability, the same interview question was also used across all participants. Table 4 in Chapter 3 details how dependability was attained during the study.

Conformability relates to the researcher’s ability to identify own personal and social positioning and power issues in research (D’Cruz and Jones, 2004). The researcher ensured that the data collected is conformable by engaging in self reflexivity and constant peer reviews. The researcher also employed an independent coder to independently code the data gathered. This enhanced objectivity in the research study. Table 5 in Chapter 3 details how conformability was attained.



8. ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

Participants were fully informed about the nature of the research study, its area of inquiry, the aims and objectives of the study, as well as the intended procedures (Terre Blance & Durrheim, 1999). Voluntary participation and informed consent were ensured through the signing of the informed consent form that has been attached, see Appendix A. The participants’ right to anonymity was respected at all times and participants were reassured of confidentiality, by providing pseudonyms to protect their identities. The researcher ensured the principles of non-maleficence and beneficence were upheld. Confidentiality and anonymity were crucial to the participants in the study as undocumented immigration is considered illegal in SA; hence this study observed the strictness access to data to avoid jeopardising the participants.

Permission to audio-record the interviews was negotiated with the participants themselves at the same time adhering to the referring organizational rules and procedures for the study. Participants were made aware of their right to terminate the research process at any given time without fear of negative repercussions. Given the sensitivity of the topic and possibility of participants experiencing distress, provision was made to make debriefing available to them by means of a social worker in private practice (De Vos et al., 2005). A research journal was kept throughout the research process to address issues of researcher reflexivity (Swartz et al., 2008). The researcher adhered to the professional code of ethics for social workers and employed the principles of non-judgmental and non-discriminatory attitudes towards the participants as well as their right to self-determination. Permission to conduct the study was sought from Senate Higher Degrees University of the Western Cape (UWC) and the organisations providing access to the participants. Ethical issues were negotiated with the participants before data collection took place.

9. CONCLUSION



This chapter introduced the reader to ‘undocumented’ Zimbabwean immigrants with regards to identity and family preservation while in SA. The researcher began by theoretically justifying her choice of the term “undocumented immigrant” over “illegal immigrant.” Thereafter, she provided a basis on which the challenges of ‘undocumentation’ can be reviewed in terms of how they relate to family and identity preservation. The researcher was also able to introduce the reader to the methodology that was employed throughout this research.

The next chapter will now provide an in-depth literature review on the challenges faced by ‘undocumented’ Zimbabwean immigrants in preserving their family and identity while in SA. Chapter Two will critically present available literature on the subject as well as point out the gaps in literature which gave rise to the research question.

CHAPTER 2

BEING ‘UNDOCUMENTED’ AND SOCIAL IDENTITY IN SOUTH AFRICA

1. INTRODUCTION

Chapter One dealt with an orientation to the research study. A contextual framework on the topic of the challenges faced by ‘undocumented’ Zimbabwean immigrants in preserving family and identity while in South Africa was provided. The researcher also introduced the reader to the qualitative research process, the research question, goal and objectives, research methodology and ethical considerations pertaining to the study. The aim of the chapter was to provide a background to the study and to identify gaps among existing literature on the issue of ‘undocumented’ Zimbabwean immigrants in SA in an attempt to formulate the research problem.

In defining a literature review, Umezurike (2012) describes it as “a conceptual analysis of the body of knowledge as written by others on a particular subject.” The researcher conducted a literature review with the aim of positioning the research topic in context of the larger body of knowledge. The following chapter will elaborate on the orientation to the challenges of ‘undocumented’ Zimbabwean immigrants in SA and present a literature review to elucidate their predicaments. The researcher began by giving a historical overview on the prevalence of migration worldwide. Thereafter, the statistics on migration as well as the current legal provisions on the issue of ‘undocumented’ migration were reviewed. The Zimbabwean people as well as what family and identity mean to them was also explained. This chapter also addresses the hardships faced by ‘undocumented’ Zimbabwean immigrants as recorded by various sources and a conclusion on the literature thereof.

2. OVERVIEW OF THE MIGRATION PROCESS FROM ZIMBABWE TO SA

Discourse around the issue of Zimbabwean immigrants’ states that Zimbabweans are mainly motivated by economic reasons as opposed to any other reason for migration (Khan, 2007). In support of this view, Bhugra and Becker (2005) concede and extend that there is a trend of migration motivated by economic and educational reasons in which migrants usually move singly and at a later stage are joined by their family members, dependants and loved ones. The same authors further state that political migrants on the other hand, usually move *en masse* with

or without family. Cementing this line of thought, Falicov (2007) agrees with the previous authors and points to the fact that sometimes the negative effects of migration are more apparent in the post-migration stage or at reunion times and triggers such as death in the family as it can bring about pent-up emotions that were never dealt with during the pre-migration stage. On the other hand, the challenges of migration are often more devastating when there is a status of illegality attached to the immigrant (Crush and Tevera, 2010). The status of illegality forces the 'undocumented' individual(s) to maintain a low profile, denies basic political rights, deadlocks grassroots mobilisation and limits the capacity of the so-called 'illegal immigrants' to renounce the stereotypical and often extremely derogatory and sometimes unproven manner in which they have been discursively constructed (Kosnick, 2004; Silverstone and Georgiou, 2005). Vigneswaran (2007) on the other hand, counsels that research that seeks to challenge official approaches to 'undocumented' migration has few discursive resources at its disposal. The widespread usage of the term "undocumented migrant" must therefore be regarded a success as migrants are considered *personae non gratae* (Vigneswaran, 2007: 3).

2.1 Migration history in South Africa

It is believed that many post-independent migrants from Zimbabwe slipped into South Africa unnoticed and blended into the society over a period of time. For some Zimbabweans, their cultural and linguistic affinity with the white, Nguni or Venda communities enabled them to settle and integrate with the South Africans at the time without much difficulty (Solidarity PeaceTrust, 2004). On the other hand Sisulu, Moyo and Tshuma (2007) allege that through this process, some Zimbabweans eventually acquired SA citizenship both lawfully and unlawfully. Khan (2007) stipulates that migration patterns in South Africa have gradually become more complex and diverse as SA no longer only attracts refugees and asylum seekers but also skilled professionals from the African continent as well as socio-economic migrants.

The media denotes a "revolving door syndrome" where Zimbabwean immigrants are deported by South African immigration officials and then return almost immediately due to proximity of the border between Zimbabwe and South Africa (Crush and Tevera, 2010). Muzondidya's (2008) earlier assertions support this argument as he postulates that some Zimbabweans have developed

their own counter-hegemonic discourses in a bid to claim belonging to SA. The author demonstrates his assertion by arguing that some Zimbabweans have tried to argue for their rights in South Africa by emphasising the role played by their forefathers in ending apartheid in South Africa. Landau and Haupt (2007) add weight to this argument by contending that some Zimbabweans provided a sanctuary for SA liberation war heroes and also worked with South Africans to challenge the apartheid government; hence the justification. The same authors further argue that SA would not be where it is economically if not for the cheap labour supplied by Zimbabweans as well as other immigrants from countries such as Malawi and Mozambique. Based on these arguments, some 'undocumented' Zimbabwean immigrants are said to demand equal treatment with South Africans as they consider themselves to be regional citizens with a right to benefit from the SA economy.

Further cementing the above argument, Bond (2000) affirms that efforts by some Zimbabwean citizens to claim belonging to SA include tracing their family trees to SA through the 1815–1840's Mfecane war dispersals. During this period, large scores of present day South African Zulu people conquered many tribes and eventually settled in Matabeleland, Zimbabwe. These events resulted in the mixing of South African Zulu people with the Zimbabwean Shona people already on the land. The Zulu people that moved became Zimbabwean citizens as well as their families of procreation (Lekgoathi, 2009). However, Bond (2000) view these attempts as desperate endeavours to reimage, reinvent and reconstruct their family histories thereby revealing the desperation of the 'undocumented' Zimbabwean immigrants to peacefully reside in South Africa. It is important to state that most white Zimbabweans have reportedly not faced similar challenges as their black counterparts as those with family connections easily integrated and absorbed while some even acquired South African citizenship (Bond, 2000; Muzondidya, 2008; Crush and Tevera, 2010).

Capturing the history of migration in SA, Crush and MacDonald (2000:14) attribute the 'negotiated transition' from apartheid, the collapse of 'actually existing socialism, the end of the war in Mozambique, wars, disasters and famine in Africa as having been crucial factors resulting in the rise of migrants to SA. The same authors identify SA's traditional migrant labour suppliers as being Mozambique, Zimbabwe, Lesotho Malawi, the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), Nigeria and Kenya. Arguing around the history of migration to SA, Bond (2000) contends that

the debate surrounding issues of illegal migration often presents this phenomenon as a new and overwhelming problem for the post-apartheid state and its citizenry. The aforementioned author argues however that this is not an accurate reflection of history as ‘undocumented’ migration to SA has been ongoing since time immemorial.

Oucho (2007: 12) points out that the initiative to legalize a free movement protocol to enhance a developmentally harmonized approach to migration management in Southern African Development Community (SADC) was shattered by the new South Africa’s “fear of being flooded by immigrants.” This resulted in free movement in South Africa being replaced by tough migration control measures which are ineffective in deterring ‘undocumented’ immigrants from entering SA. Post-apartheid SA regardless of its best efforts to deter migration is perceived as failing as it continues to receive thousands of ‘undocumented’ immigrants (Polzer, 2009).

2.2 History of documenting foreigners in South Africa

An extension to the history of migration to SA is the history of the actual documentation of immigrants in SA. During apartheid in SA the Aliens Control Act, (Act 96 of 1991) was the main framework in dealing with migration. Khan (2007) reveals that as the name suggests, the Aliens Control Act, (Act 96 of 1991) was primarily to control as opposed to regulate entry of ‘aliens.’ He therefore castigates the said act as being blatantly and shamefully race-based with the intention of preserving the ideology of white supremacy since it intimated that only a person who could be assimilated into the white population and suited to their way of life could officially migrate to South Africa (Khan, 2007). By definition, Africans were not considered for migration and entrance was highly restricted unless they entered solely as undocumented migrant labourers (Christie, 1997).

In addition to the restrictions to foreign documentation, foreign workers were not allowed to move their families’ members into the country while working in South Africa. Furthermore they were restricted to their areas of work specifically farms and mines. Steinberg (2005) reveals that of the foreign migrant workers allowed to enter South Africa in the 1980’s, an extremely low number if any, ever received formal recognition as refugees or documented migrants and

remained 'undocumented' throughout their tenure in South Africa and possibly continue to remain as such.

Be that as it may, post-1994 South Africa must be applauded for the efforts it has introduced in its legal provision pertaining to immigration. Most of the aforementioned restrictions on migrants have since been lifted at the same time where Europe's policies on 'undocumented' immigrants are becoming more restrictive, South Africa despite its own challenges is viewed as the better accommodating harbour for those needing refuge (Khan, 2007).

2.3 Current legal provisions for migration to South Africa

The Immigration Act, (Act 13 of 2002) provides legislation for dealing with the admissibility of foreigners into SA and welcomes immigrants who are in a position to exceptionally contribute to the broadening of SA's economic prosperity (Van Hear, 2007). Despite its strides towards inclusiveness, Khan (2007) considers it a highly restrictive immigration policy since it is clearly disinterested in unskilled workers and does not make legal provision for 'undocumented' migration. McGregor, McGregor and Primorac (2010) propose that migration policy is not static and undergoes constant modification as a country's experience and stance on migrants change continuously. In comparing it with the United States, Khan (2007) castigates SA for its absence of an explicit immigration integration policy or programs for migrants resulting in exacerbated challenges to the 'undocumented' immigrants in South Africa.

Furthermore, the delineation between voluntary and involuntary migration is unclear in SA. According to Khan (2007), the definition of a refugee is stringent by not accounting for exceptions such as the current Zimbabwean situation where politics and serious economic failures posed a threat that undermined basic human survival. In agreement with this perspective, Rwamatwara (2005) alleges that if citizens are driven away from their country of origin, they are in all likelihood to become forced migrants as the flight and threat is associated with a search for residence, safety and security. Van Hear (2007) on the other hand, postulates that voluntary migration often concerns displacements in the search of economic opportunity. Based on these definitions, the researcher therefore argues that most 'undocumented' Zimbabwean immigrants are considered voluntary migrants. This argument is supported by Khan (2007) who purports that

due to not qualifying for refugee status, most Zimbabwean immigrants therefore remain 'undocumented' in SA. Landau (2005) even takes this argument further by stating that despite the fact that the Zimbabwean crisis has been affirmed as a serious humanitarian issue and the economic push factors are very strong as it led many Zimbabweans to opt to become 'undocumented' rather than die of hunger amongst other pestilences, the legal provisions have still denied them recognition as refugees. Bloch (2008) categorically states that 'undocumented' immigrants though protected in theory by human rights frameworks, in practice are unprotected and become vulnerable and disempowered in their host countries. In cementing the argument, Takabvirwa (2010) emphasizes that the bulk of Zimbabweans that fled and continue to flee the country to become 'undocumented' immigrants in South Africa do not do so in search of asylum but for humanitarian reasons and only apply for asylum simply because it is the only legal option available for them.

In line with the 1996 South African Constitution, the Refugees Act, (Act 130 of 1998) strives to treat foreigners needing protection and refugees as human beings with rights that go beyond mere housing and protection (Rwamatwara, 2005). This line of thinking is however not supported by Khan (2007) who argues that practice has shown that despite the explicit intent of the legal framework to uphold these rights, actual implementation of turning these rights to entitlements has failed. Despite his argument, Khan (2007) however admits that in comparison with other African countries, SA provides a few benefits exclusive to SA by legally allowing refugees and asylum seekers freedom of movement in the country and to seek employment as soon as they apply for asylum. Be that as it may, Muzondidya (2007) however strongly argues that refugees from Zimbabwe face huge obstacles when they attempt to convert their rights as stated in the Refugees Act, (Act 130 of 1998) into effective protection as police and immigration officials constantly harass them regardless of whether or not they possess documentation. Furthermore it must be re-emphasized that due to limited options, most Zimbabweans apply for refugee and asylum status and therefore become refugees for survival purposes as postulated by Takabvirwa (2010). Based on the above arguments, it can be concluded therefore that in practice, and in line with the Refugees Act (130 of 1998), most Zimbabweans have been denied refugee or asylum status as they are considered to not qualify regardless of the overwhelming political and economic threat to their lives in their country of origin.

Providing perspective and adding weight in his argument that the law has failed to guarantee Zimbabweans rights in SA, Khan (2007) alleges that the SA government has failed to properly implement the Refugees Act (Act 130 of 1998) because of the following reasons:

- Most government officials are unaware of refugees' rights or are dismissive of them despite knowledge of them.
- The xenophobic attitude in the country makes it difficult to integrate the foreign population hence inability of the rights to be enjoyed.
- The fact that the South African government has also done very little in educating citizens about the refugee documents and rights; as a result, the system is severely prejudiced against refugees.

In addition, Khan (2007) recounted that South Africa is yet to develop an all-encompassing policy to adequately address the mixed flow of its migration patterns. The same author also postulates that the SA's immigration policy falls short in covering the complex spectrum of migrants as it only relies on two law instruments which are the Immigration Act (Act 13 of 2002) and the Refugees Act (Act 130 of 1998) in dealing with immigration. The aforementioned author concludes that these two documents have clearly been superseded by the changes in the global context which impact on influx of migrants to South Africa.

When interpreting the current Immigration Act (Act 13 of 2002), most Zimbabwean immigrants cannot be awarded refugee status as most of them are migrating for economic reasons as stated by Takabvirwa (2010). In addition, the SA deportation system has been widely criticised by human rights groups including the South African Human Rights Commission (SAHRC) (2008) as resembling the apartheid era's Aliens Control Act, (Act 96 of 1991). This is because it has been accused of limiting foreigners by means of setting dogs on defenceless 'undocumented' foreigners by South African Police Service officials, typical of apartheid era occurrences (Human Rights Watch, 2008). While the current legislation accounts for refugees, it does not account for 'undocumented' immigrants and lacks legislature for addressing this issue and needs international assistance in this regard (Khan (2007)).

Crucial to note is that regardless of illegal status, 'undocumented' immigrants have rights enshrined in the principle of non-discrimination in the core of many human rights treaties such as

the International Convention on the Protection of All Migrant Workers and Members of their Families treaty of 2003 signed by South Africa (Bloch, 2008). This treaty affords legal protection to ‘undocumented’ migrants as they are included in the treaty and affords them access to civil and labour rights as well as social benefits (Bosniak, 2004). Furthermore, UNHCR, (2007) stipulates that regardless of legal status, all human beings must benefit from all human rights entitlements under international law. However as Bloch (2008) concludes, the latter is not happening in South Africa.

3. STATISTICS OF ‘UNDOCUMENTED’ MIGRATION

Elaborating from the discussion in Chapter One, Paragraph 1.2, statistics on immigrants in South Africa have proved to be controversial with different sources quoting differing figures. Most figures published so far are thought to be gross exaggerations for reasons of political expediency. Nyamnjoh, (2006) asserts that in reality, the numbers of illegal immigrants are near impossible to calculate. In 2000 reports indicated that there were 2 million ‘undocumented’ Zimbabweans in South Africa (Crush and MacDonald (2000). The Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC) claimed that South Africa’s illegal immigrant population was somewhere between 2.5 and 4.5 million (Gordon, 2002). In the same vein, the former Minister of Home Affairs, Dr Buthelezi, quoted a variety of estimates as high as 7 million ‘undocumented’ immigrants in SA (Crush and Tevera, 2010). However, the validity of these statistics was called into question resulting in the HSRC officially withdrawing their statistics in 2002 (Crush, Williams, Gouws and Laurie 2005; & Gordon, 2005). Machingambi (2004) reported that SA papers such as Mail & Guardian estimated between 3.5–6million ‘undocumented’ foreign populations in South Africa. South African Police Service (SAPS) and South African National Defence Force are reportedly relatively more conservative in reporting the figures of ‘undocumented’ immigrants.

Scholars have strongly criticized reported figures as being inflated, claiming they are largely imaginary and suggesting that the ‘undocumented’ migrant population in South Africa could be as low as 500 000 (Crush and Tevera, 2010). The same authors (2010:101) continue to dismiss most estimates as a little more than guesses often labelled as “guesstimates” by the popular media.

Given such conflicting statistics, it is challenging and near impossible to project the actual estimate of 'undocumented' Zimbabwean immigrants in South Africa. Trimikliniotis (1999:138) views statistics inflation as a "numbers game" constantly played by the media and officials to portray immigrants as the problem. The author continues to assert that the pernicious "number's game" is reproduced over and over to ensure "good race relations" however it actually accentuates racism and xenophobia as it stimulates feelings of being taken over and displaced in the citizens (Trimikliniotis, 1999:138). Regardless of the dearth in reliable figures, scholars however agree that Johannesburg attracts the largest proportion of 'undocumented' Zimbabwean migrants (Murray, 2002).

Hammer, McGregor and Landau (2010) propositions that the majority of people crossing regional boundaries between Zimbabwe and South Africa circulate back and forth due to the on-going instability in Zimbabwe. In addition Oucho (2007) is of the opinion that the magnitude of 'undocumented' migration stream can only be inferred indirectly from statistics of over-stayers, in essence, those that entered SA legally but overstayed their entry permit or because they had entered illegally in the first place and those deported either because they overstayed or violated their conditions of entry. This literature therefore calls for scholars to conclude that there are no reliable statistics of the actual figures of 'undocumented' Zimbabwean immigrants in SA.

4. PRESENT DAY SOUTH AFRICA

In order to appreciate the challenges of the 'undocumented' Zimbabwean immigrants in SA, it is important to allude to the current challenges within SA itself. Vigneswaran (2007) reports that SA is currently beset by high volumes of violent criminal activity that is acutely disturbing the moral and social fabric of the country. Police Minister Nathi Mthetwa released the 2012/13 crime statistics which the Institute for Security Studies (ISS) deemed to be the worst figures seen in 10 years (Mataboge, 2013). Serious crimes ranging from murder, burglary, aggravated assault to hijackings increased drastically. The ISS views the increase in crime a reflection of the fact that the government's approach to crime is failing (Mataboge, 2013).

To further fuel the crime challenge, corruption, poverty and inequality have continued to cause discontent and suffering amongst the citizens. Machingambi (2004) quoting SA paper Mail and Guardian (2013) reports that almost half of South Africans live below the poverty line and survive on just over R500 per month. While the picture looks bleak, it must be noted however that this is a major improvement from 1993. Only 41% of South African adults are employed both formally and informally (Hess, 2013) and this has resulted in low morale amongst groups that feel their economic interest have not been catered for by government.

The residue of apartheid still raises feelings of anger and bitterness in the hearts of some South African citizens while pandemics such as HIV/AIDS amidst the social and cultural milieu of poverty and inequality continue to pose a threat to the livelihoods of residents. The UN ranked SA highest in terms of housing the highest HIV positive population in the world while the British Broadcasting Corporation reported that over 25% of school-going female students in SA are HIV positive (Hess, 2013). This has created a deficit of Anti-Retroviral (ARV) drugs basic for survival for most of those infected by the virus.

The aforementioned points of interest are crucial in understanding the response and attitude of some South African citizens to foreigners, especially if they are undocumented as there is a definite scramble for already scarce resources. Be that as it may, SA's economy has continued to grow in comparison with most of its African counterparts and it enjoys the status of being a developed state in the continent. This assertion is supported by Massey (2008) who applauds and enlightens that present day South Africa is a well-established poverty alleviation strategy for many migrants. Praising SA for her economic achievements, Marwa (2010) hails SA as the largest economy in Africa largely due to its changed policies in socio-political systems after apartheid and developed infrastructure and technologies. Despite the fact that Nigeria recently took over as the greatest economy in SA, immigrants still view SA as having a better standard of living (Ngwebvu, 2014).

5. BACKGROUND OF ZIMBABWEAN PEOPLE

In the same manner, to comprehend the challenges faced by Zimbabweans in South Africa, one needs to have a basic understanding of the Zimbabwean culture and what its value system entails. For Zimbabweans, the grand goal of self-realisation is to become “munhu” (a human

being) who possesses “hunhu” (well cultured attributes) which is endowed with a disposition to act virtuously (Chimuka, 2001:8). In essence, a person who does not act virtuously and is devoid of well cultured attributes as dictated by culture is not considered to be a “munhu” (human being) and is on the same level as animals (Chimuka, 2001: 9). In support of this description, Kilgore (2013:2) alludes to this phenomenon by stating that a person that lacks “hunhu” has no humanness and is not ashamed of his/her bad behaviours and ultimately lacks morals and values.

Community life is of crucial importance to the Zimbabwean culture while values of mutual understanding, peaceful co-existence, fellowship, friendship, mutual hospitality and cooperation are of paramount importance (Bourdillion, 1987). The just mentioned author furthermore postulates that to the Zimbabwean people, possible outsider attack is a driving force towards cohesion in communities of interest. Speaking of community, Chimuka (2001:19) considers life as a heavy load that one cannot easily carry alone hence values that promote community members to assist each other in “lifting this heavy load is of great importance.” Deductively, survival is considered an interdependent activity with all players putting enough effort to allow the other to live. Meta-concepts of justice, fairness, retributive and distributive justice, goodness, self-discipline and love among others are designed to address societal needs that help promote cohesion in the Zimbabwean communities (Chimuka, 2001).

The Zimbabwean culture is generally patriarchal (Katsamudanga, 2003). The author views the nurturing and socialisation of children to be the responsibility of the mothers and in their absence, a female relative. As such, the extended family is of crucial importance to the Zimbabwean people and the extended family lays a foundation for behaviour in adult life as they instruct on the values and ethos of how the “proper Zimbabwean” person should behave (Chimuka, 2001: 23). In continuing with his argument, Chimuka (2001) states that those that act outside the dictates of what is considered to be proper, are deemed dysfunctional and in need of help.

In defining a traditional Zimbabwean man, Pasura (2010) describes him as a proud African who is used to being the provider while the woman does the nurturing. Pasura (2010:1446) in fact adds that “the husband is the husband, there are no equal partners”. A strong marriage is the traditional marriage of male domination and female subordination. In addition, despite some women being employed, they are expected to carry the bulk if not all household tasks.

Katsamudanga (2003) evaluates that present day middle-class families are reliant on maids and extended family labour to do household chores- a luxury they tend to forfeit the moment they migrate, especially if undocumented immigrants and into lowly-paying jobs in SA. Migration therefore comes with renegotiation of gender relations and roles which threaten the very fabric that holds the Zimbabwean family together such as the premise that in the traditional society, a woman's position in the family is inferior to that of men (Pasura, 2010). The same author claims that the migration of Zimbabweans to the diaspora is therefore threatening their "traditional customs" resulting in families going under transformations which cause major challenges for them (Pasura, 2010:1447). One therefore wonders how Zimbabwean families cope with an 'undocumented' status amidst the challenges that affect their family life as a result of migrating to SA.

As pointed out by Pasura (2010) the male partner is expected to be the main or only breadwinner in Zimbabwe. In cases where the female partner makes a financial contribution, it happens without challenging the prevailing gender norms. The same author goes on to blame the harsh economic situation/conditions in Zimbabwe that cause people to migrate for eroding the position of males as breadwinner and therefore custodians of family practices (Pasura 2010). In support of this view, Crush et al. (2005: 300) denote that the South African labour market is "highly stratified by gender" and this has resulted in an increase in female labour in areas commonly dominated by men. As a result, more women are gaining financial dominance in the household; hence challenging existing norms. Pasura (2010) takes these notions further by concluding that owing to deskilling when migration occurs, most men have found themselves occupying a supporting rather than providing role as women jobs are more readily available. It must be acknowledged that all these challenges potentially threaten the family life and relations of 'undocumented' Zimbabwean immigrants in foreign countries and increases the challenges they experience.

With reference to the aforementioned discussion on the Zimbabwean family life in a foreign country, the issue of who the primary immigrant is plays a crucial role. Mbiba (2005) argued that in cases where the wife manages to become documented in SA and accesses a job while the husband is unable to do so often causes a shift in the balance of power that usually exists in these families. Pasura (2010) supports this notion by emphasizing that restructuring relations and roles

in the diaspora household has often become a source of conflict. The same author furthermore contends that this change has often resulted in marriage breakdown when some men lose their role as financial and ultimately decision-making head of the family. Pasura's (2010:1446) argument further continues to state that the men try and compensate by taking on double shifts in the case of low earning incomes in a bid to keep up with their wives income and often return ultimately to Zimbabwe to avoid the "unbalanced scale."

Crush and Tevera (2010) further report that the high divorce rates amongst immigrant Zimbabweans in foreign countries often emanate from this unbalanced scale especially when women attempt to assert their rights in the marriage. Pasura (2010) supports this argument by stating that these rights are not easily accessible in Zimbabwe when a family follows the traditional marriage. Moreover, the author argues that the presence of elderly extended family members normally viewed as the custodians of culture to enforce the "rules of engagement" especially in the face of conflict increases women's inability to attain these rights (Pasura 2010:1446). In a similar tone, Kandiyoti (1988:280) believes patriarchal societies present women with distinct "rules of the game" to follow for successful marriage and when these "rules" are not met, marriages are challenged. Kandiyoti however provides another side of the story as he argues that the diasporic context helps women to question gendered roles and relations within the family and the changes it brings. His argument is based on an assertion that although not widely accepted by most men the balance shift is widely accepted by women as it eases a lot of the female burdens and hardships that the patriarchal system subjects them to.

Strongly in support of Kandiyoti, Pasura (2010) is of opinion that the absence of the extended family and proximate kinship ties which are a crucial part of family life amongst immigrant Zimbabweans contribute to the breakdown of their families. This he states is because the extended family and kinship ties are central to the production and reproduction of gendered ideologies amongst Zimbabweans. These arguments therefore bring about the conclusion that in their absence from home, immigrant Zimbabwean families are often struck with a new life without the information and support of their extended family and can create deep feelings of loneliness, displacement and isolation.

5.1 Option versus compulsion

Critics of the “Zimbabwean exodus” as identified by Crush and Tevera (2010:5) argue that there is no crisis in Zimbabwe, hence no need to recognise ‘undocumented’ Zimbabwean immigrants as needing refuge or protection in SA as they have no justifiable reason to “opt” to become ‘undocumented.’ On the other hand, proponents of Zimbabwean migration contend that the levels of poverty and chronic shortages of basic necessities in Zimbabwe forced people to move out for survival and not for developmental purposes (Crush and Tevera, 2010). The same authors justify that without remittances of food and cash from those that migrated, the Zimbabwean situation would have been direr than it became.

Crush and Tevera (2010:23) assert that the large numbers of people that left the country is paramount to people “voting with their feet” as they were fleeing from gross misgovernment, appalling work conditions and pay levels way below the poverty datum line. The authors furthermore argue that owing to the SA government’s “business as usual” approach of ignoring the plight of immigrants, Zimbabweans are treated and mistreated as if they are just another unwanted movement rather than a crisis-driven influx requiring coordinated policy responses (Crush and Tevera, 2010:24).

Hammer, McGregor and Landau (2010:271) postulate that political violence following the Zimbabwean 2008 parliamentary elections and presidential run-off, dramatic economic contraction, intense disintegration of public services and rampant hyperinflation in Zimbabwe transcended the challenges of the country from “a domestic affair” to a political problem for the rest of Southern African Development Community(SADC). Evidence points to that most skilled Zimbabweans left the country at this point. However, not all were able to do so as some stayed hoping for a change in the status quo (Crush and Tevera, 2010). Muzondidya attributes the ruinous state of Zimbabwe to being the brainchild of the government’s political actions which led to economic destitution, desperation and an ultimate forced migration on the citizens. He therefore argues that those that migrated considered their move desperation for survival.

Zinyama and Tevera (2002:9) blame a 2005 Zimbabwean government urban clean-up campaign dubbed “Operation murambatsvina”, that saw many homes and livelihoods destroyed resulting in increased relocation due to shortages of basic goods, services and housing. In support of this

argument, Muzondidya (2007) furthermore states that “Operation murambatsvina” was disastrous as it completely destroyed the livelihoods of many urban-based households. The United Nations also reported that Operation murambatsvina saw a marked increase in the movement of women and children (United Nations, 2005). The United Nations further alleges that “operation murambatsvina” despite the government’s surface reasons of “cleaning up” cities; was largely a persecutory stance on the urban magnitudes that had voted for the opposition in Zimbabwe (United Nations, 2005:3). As a result, some people migrated to rural Zimbabwean areas while some ultimately migrated to neighbouring countries, especially SA. In summing up the discussion around “operation murambatsvina” it could be concluded that these migrations were motivated by destitution and dire need for income generating activities. However, given South Africa’s Immigrations Act (Act 13 of 2002) which does not favour unskilled labour, most Zimbabweans had to option but to relocate to SA via clandestine means. Hence what can be viewed by some as an option to relocate must also be seriously considered as a compulsion both on humanitarian and political grounds by Zimbabweans who failed to legitimise their stay in SA.

Giving his view on whether Zimbabweans were ‘undocumented’ in SA by choice, Kriger (2003) points out that there was an increase of ‘undocumented’ Zimbabwean immigrants in South Africa between 2007 and 2008. The author believes this increase emanated from the fact that the Zimbabwean government issued little or no passports due to a lack of passport paper. Kriger (2003) further alleges that when the paper became available, the passport office engaged in a process of clearing the backlog of old applications which took too long for the stranded citizens who needed jobs for survival. As a result, some people opted to become ‘undocumented’ immigrants in SA and surrounding countries rather than wait for the process whose service delivery was inefficient especially in the face of dire economic and political crisis.

Intriguing facts raised by Garcia and Duplat (2007) highlighted that even those with legal reasons to be granted asylum sometimes opted to not apply due to the travel restrictions placed on asylum holders as asylum holders are not allowed to return to Zimbabwe. The same authors allege that more often than not, the breadwinner is the one that migrates, knowing his family depends on remittances sent by him/her compels him/her to not seek asylum to enable crossing and re-crossing the border to deliver money and basics to families in Zimbabwe. It could therefore be deduced that a deep desire to preserve family through remittances is considered a

sacrificial priority in the face of the serious challenges one has to live with due to not having documentation.

To add on to the challenges of becoming documented, Landau (2005) and Consortium for Refugees and Migrants in South Africa (CORMSA) (2008) make reference to issues such as the prohibitive costs of seeking asylum as being reasons why some are compelled to remain undocumented. CORMSA argues that although these services are meant to be free, in practice they are not, resulting in some dropping out of the process and becoming ‘undocumented’ despite desire to legalise their stay. Hathaway (2007) however contrasts these arguments by stating that there is no logical reason why ‘undocumented’ immigrants who qualify for legalised stay in SA should opt to become ‘undocumented.’ In essence, Hathaway argues that even the inability to visit family members in Zimbabwe should one be granted asylum is not a good enough reason to not apply for legalisation in SA. Bloch (2008) however crushes Hathaway’s (2007) argument by contending that it is always in the best interests of individuals to seek asylum if they stand a chance to be granted by highlighting that such an argument fails to acknowledge that some migrants may in actual fact meet the 1951 Geneva Convention criteria but may be impeded by structural barriers. Structural barriers identified include bureaucracy, prohibitive costs and transnational obligations to provide for those that did not migrate (Garcia and Duplat, 2007). Given these revelations, it can therefore be argued that the option to become ‘undocumented’ is not an option at all, rather a decision forced on people by prohibitive circumstances.

5.2 The life of ‘undocumented’ migrants in South Africa

Most ‘undocumented’ Zimbabwean immigrants live alongside the poorer South African communities in shacks and makeshift houses owing to the low rentals in these areas where the crime rates are extremely high. Many ‘undocumented’ Zimbabwean immigrants have found their niche in unskilled labour markets while better skilled Zimbabweans engage in documented work (Muzondidya, 2007).

De Haas (2005) construes that the rural background of most Zimbabweans aids to their discrimination and misfortune as their cultural conservatism is viewed as a sign of backwardness.

Supporting this notion, Muzondidya (2007) is of the opinion that Zimbabweans are often stereotyped by South Africans as sorcerers who uses witchcraft to get ahead in business, school, at work as well as to snatch other people's partners.

Reizes and Bam (2000) argue that while isolation is crucial amongst the 'undocumented,' they cannot afford to hide completely as they must still interact with the South African community on whom their livelihood rests upon. The authors therefore conclude that the equilibrium is in hiding their foreignness as much as possible and adapting to the culture of the South African society when in public places. In Johannesburg, more than any other city, police engage in "language tests" and other arbitrary identification procedures. Hence the 'undocumented' immigrants have to invest heavily into speaking, dressing and behaving like South Africans to avoid deportation or harassment (Human Rights Watch, 1998; Klaaren & Ramji, 2001:47). It becomes clear therefore that the onus rests on the 'undocumented' immigrants to be clued up on what the police's new ways of catching immigrants are and avoid them at all costs. The Human Rights Watch (2008) has extensively documented police irregularities when dealing with 'undocumented' immigrants. They report that police tendencies range from daily extortion, payment of "protection money", traumatic detentions especially at Lindela deportation and repatriation centre and deportations. Vigneswaran (2006:7) laments that the majority of police enforcement of immigration laws takes place "on the beat" with officers randomly departing from their policing duties to arrest the 'undocumented.'

In addition, Landau (2005) asserts that such policing is characterised by the police extorting the 'undocumented' for bribes or other forms of victimisation and humiliation. According to Gupta (1995:40) corruption is considered a normal and institutionalised aspect of migration policing hence the demand for a bribe is expected and dealt with in a "straightforward" manner. It has even been contended that police statistics are more concerned with efforts to catch 'undocumented' immigrants than they are to catch criminals engaging in acts such as theft, murder and fraud (Landau, 2005).

To further assert the above mentioned challenges, Klaaren (2001) postulates that road blocks and street sweeps to arrest the 'undocumented' immigrants are often conducted in collaboration by the SAPS, Department of Home Affairs (DHA) and the South African Defence Force to enter specific buildings and high crime areas to address crime. The media has often been accused of

releasing statements and articles with little to no reflection of the views of migrant advocates, Human Rights Based Organisations or the migrants themselves during these sweeps (Mboyane, 2004). Some papers have even congratulated these bodies of “restoring the community’s faith in law and order,” (Sawyer, 2000:1), “showing no mercy” (Matsena, 2002:1) and the “huge success” (Matavire, 2003:1) of their “clean sweep” (Crush and Tevera, 2010). It can be deduced from media reports that the impression they give is that there is happiness amongst South Africans when foreigners are dealt with by being deported or arrested. Vigneswaran (2007:10) however argues that the media turns a blind eye to the fact that these operations constitute a significant diversion of resources from dealing with pressing serious and violent criminal activity in the country that police seem to ignore when they focus on harmless immigrants who are struggling to survive (Vigneswaran, 2007:10). It can therefore be deduced that there is a supposition that ‘undocumented’ immigrants are responsible for most criminal activities; hence ‘emptying’ them off the streets will result in restoration of peace and order in SA.

Migration is often viewed as a risk factor for immigrant families as it may result in separation of parents from their children (Landale, Thomas and van Hook, 2011). The aforementioned authors further point out that this is especially so when one family member migrated first in the hope of bringing the other members once they have settled in the new country. As a result, an undocumented status makes it even more difficult as some members of the family may be deported while the rest remain in SA which could be extremely detrimental if a parent is deported and the child is left alone. In addition, the mixed legal status of ‘undocumented’ family members in the case where either the parents are ‘undocumented’ while the children are documented vice-versa can mire children into poverty and unstable living conditions. ‘Undocumented’ parents are sometimes crippled by fear of deportation culminating in not claiming public benefits their children are eligible to access (Landale et al., 2011).

Characteristic in the plight of ‘undocumented’ Zimbabwean immigrants is the exclusion from the ‘normal’ day to day affairs of the South African life. While this exclusion is sometimes intentional as explained earlier in a bid to remain invisible to immigration authorities, sometimes it is imposed on them by fellow South Africans. Hammer et al. (2010) contend that xenophobia and resentment over the competition of jobs between South Africans and Zimbabweans amongst

other immigrants perpetually stimulates debates over the nature of community, nationhood and the limits to inclusion and fraternity.

The exclusion of 'undocumented' immigrants and asylum-seekers impacts on their social, political and economic rights in the destination country and in turn on their potential to contribute to poverty reduction in the sending country, through remittances. Sommers (2001) alleges that the vulnerability of 'undocumented' immigrants extends not only to access to the labour force but they are also forced to work in the unregulated labour market. This is apparent, for instance, in the differential wages earned. Research shows that 'undocumented' immigrants are in receipt of lower wages than South African citizens and documented migrants (Jordan and Duvell, 2008). Some 'undocumented' immigrants are forced to work extremely long hours for very little pay (Somers, 2001; Jordan and Duvell, 2008). All this has a bearing on the time they can spend with their family or send remittances home if they do not have to work extra hard for meager salaries.

While displacement is undeniably destructive and traumatic for the displaced, Hammer et al. (2010) caution that such processes have beneficiaries and create new configurations and practices of power and accumulation. In the case of the displacement of some Zimbabweans into other countries, Hammer et al. (2010) allude to the resilient nature of the displaced by suggesting that it has stimulated in them unexpected inventive strategies for survival, adaptation and prosperity in the countries they find themselves in. This point of departure is an important consideration as it brings to light that in the midst of the challenges faced by 'undocumented' and documented Zimbabwean immigrants, some have found their niche in other countries and are better off there than they ever were in the pre-Zimbabwean crisis. Such an analysis may be viewed as alluding to the premise that the new economies that have emerged amongst Zimbabweans are not country-bound, but they carry them even into their host countries.

Bitter realisations by Worby (2010) on social relations between immigrants pertain to the strategies of disconnection employed by the immigrants themselves. The aforementioned author hypothesizes that the temporality of displacement affects relationships especially in conditions of extreme poverty and debasements as those of destitute 'undocumented' Zimbabwean immigrants who sought refuge in churches and organisations that were willing to temporarily house them. Based on Worby's (2010) argument, it can therefore be concluded that while immigrants want to

attempt to retain their social relationships with their families back home as well as newly arrived immigrants in SA, the desire to protect hard won assets, shame or a sense of failure sometimes forces them to desist from making contact with their social circles. This conclusion is supported by Muzondidya (2007) who alleges that some immigrants even go to the extent of switching off their phones even when they know that a relative who has just arrived in the country requires their assistance. This argument clearly contradicts the ideals of “hunhu” and “munhu” as documented by Chimuka (2001:38) which are crucial in most Zimbabwean cultural practices which hold the ethos of how a true Zimbabwean should behave in line with reciprocity and concern for others stimulated by a preservation of community.

It can be deduced from Worby’s (2010) argument that the battle of survival sometimes results in ‘undocumented’ Zimbabwean immigrants to throw away their home-grown values when faced with the challenges of ‘undocumentation’ in a new country. In addition, Worby (2010: 15) explains this notion by describing that a battle exists between their desire to honour an “economy of kindness” and the impossibility of doing so while existing in material poverty and perpetual uncertainty in SA. Morreira (2010:442) elaborates by debating that ‘undocumented’ Zimbabwean immigrants are relegated to a form of self-silencing that affects their capacity to articulate the nature and extent of their violation and suffering and this ultimately cultivates “a moral economy of fear” owing to the daily derogatory terms of “outsiderness” hurled at them amidst poverty hunger and isolation in a foreign country.

Muzondidya and Chiroro (2008) however dispute the argument that due to competition of resources immigrants end up neglecting their families. The mentioned authors argue that some ‘undocumented’ Zimbabweans immigrants actually continue to feel that they belong to Zimbabwe and diligently send remittances to maintain their families back home despite the challenges encountered. The aforementioned authors even allege that during their tenure in South Africa, some immigrants have even formed self-help groups and stokvels to retain some sort of Zimbabweanness through communities of interest with other Zimbabweans as well as to build up some form of financial backup so that they keep up with their responsibilities to family.

Further addressing the life of ‘undocumented’ immigrants in SA, Khan (2007) points out that South Africa is an extremely identity-driven society. There is no service in the country whether government or private that one can access without an identity document. Hence ‘undocumented’

Zimbabwean immigrants have to contend with being without an identity in a country in which identity is everything (Khan, 2007). The crux of the challenge of ‘undocumented’ Zimbabwean immigrants is revealed as being ‘undocumented’ comes with an inability to produce recognized identity documents and that in itself can have extremely negative consequences on the one without such.

5.3 Challenges in becoming documented

In highlighting the challenges related to becoming documented, the Refugee reception offices under the Department of Home Affairs (DHA) located in Cape Town, Port Elizabeth, Durban, Johannesburg and Pretoria have been pointed out as major stumbling blocks in why some Zimbabweans have remained ‘undocumented’ (Crush and Tevera, 2010). In support of this motion, Khan (2007:2) accuses the said offices of “*non-refoulement*” in that ‘undocumented’ immigrants are considered to be illegal and punished with deportation without proper investigations being done to ascertain the applicant’s degree of danger in Zimbabwe if deported by the very same offices who are supposed to assist or protect them. According to the Human Rights Watch (2007) the DHA does not show urgency in processing new applications regardless of the severe danger some ‘undocumented’ Zimbabwean immigrants find themselves resulting in them fleeing their country in the first place. Furthermore, extremely long queues, corruption, physical and human rights abuses by officials of the DHA and SAPS characterise the challenges of ‘undocumented’ Zimbabwean immigrants seeking to apply for documentation (Khan, 2007). Khan (2007) alleges that the resultant of the difficulties in becoming documented have resulted in many Zimbabweans remaining ‘undocumented’ and prone to even further violations. Be that as it may, despite widespread corruption in the immigration sector, HRW (2008) reports that not all immigration officials are corrupt and this poses a problem for the ‘undocumented’ immigrants who wish to bribe the officials when caught and reported to the police resulting in them facing serious legal consequences. Studies post 2010 have shown a marked improvement in the treatment of ‘undocumented’ immigrants by officials, while corruption, abuse and assault are still prevalent, the statistics have decreased (HRW, 2010; Crush and Tevera, 2010).

5.4 Efforts by SA government to document the undocumented

While there are evident challenges in the SA systems in terms of assisting ‘undocumented’ Zimbabwean immigrants to become documented, the government has endeavoured to make efforts to assist the ‘undocumented.’ Between April 2009 and April 2010, the DHA introduced the Zimbabwe Dispensation Project (ZDP) to regularise the stay of ‘undocumented’ Zimbabweans in SA which lasted for a year (African Centre for Migration and society (ACM), 2011). The ACM further documents that during this period, Zimbabweans were offered free temporary work and study permits, issued for up to four years. The conditions the Zimbabweans had to adhere to would be to apply with a valid Zimbabwean passport and a letter from their employer in South Africa. In turn, South Africa would issue permits to qualifying Zimbabwean nationals in terms of the 2002 Immigration Act Section 31(2)(b) on relaxed requirements (ACM, 2011). PASSOP (2010) however indicate that the ZDP was a daunting process that involved the DHA doing more than was their mandate (PASSOP, 2010).

Takabvirwa (2010) attributes the implementation of the ZDP to the SA government wanting to decrease the number of asylum seeking applications as well as the number of ‘undocumented’ Zimbabwean immigrants in SA. This notion is also supported by Hungwe (2012) who ventures that the ZDP was also attempted after DHA’s realisation that their attempts to deport Zimbabweans were fruitless. Vigneswaran (2007) attributes the large deportations to the fact that despite knowledge that they could face deportation, some Zimbabweans have continued to use clandestine means to gain entry into SA due to the fact that although they would want to qualify for asylum, as economic migrants they do not qualify (Vigneswaran, 2007). It can therefore be deduced that the SA government is aware of its legal framework which does not accommodate the Zimbabwean situation in obtaining documentation.

As a complementary measure to the ZDP, the DHA also issued a moratorium on deportations and relaxed visa requirements (Hungwe, 2012). A distinct example is the current visa requirements which allow Zimbabweans a free 90 day visitors permit per year to South Africa (ACM, 2011). As a result those previously ‘undocumented’ can now travel within the 90 day period from Zimbabwe to South Africa. This move by DHA represents efforts made by the SA government to ease the burden of Zimbabwean citizens. However, critics of the move by DHA argue that for those in search for work, 90 days is insufficient as once the 90 days are depleted, workers go back to being ‘undocumented’ (PASSOP, 2010). Moreover, immigrants who enter SA

on a visitor's permit are not allowed to take up employment or conduct business during the 90 days when in actual fact, most people that enter the country on the premise of visiting are in actual fact planning on either taking up employment or conducting business should the opportunity avail itself (PASSOP, 2010). This then could account for the 'undocumented' immigrants who are 'undocumented' currently because their initial legal documents expired and could not be renewed resulting in them becoming 'undocumented' once more.

6. CHALLENGES OF IMMIGRATION ON FAMILIES

The main noted consequence of migration is separation from family (Bloch, 2008). Pope John Paul II alluded to this fact by stating that migration detaches one from their loved ones, homes and traditions in search for a better future (Kihato, 2003). Consenting with the Pope, Abu-Laban and Gabriel (2002) evaluated that migration breaks the harmony of family and segregates and detaches members by creating a dysfunction in the normal course of family life. The same author viewed migration as also generating new problems and challenges to family life and society. According to research done by the American Immigration Council (2012), one of the most devastating consequences of an aggressive immigration enforcement system is the separation of parents and children. From this assertion, it would therefore follow that when a child is legitimised as a South African citizen by birth while the parents are undocumented; parents may be arbitrarily deported, leaving children without a guardian or caregiver. However, current SA policies such as those endowed in the South African Citizenship Act (Act 88 of 1995) state that a child born to immigrants in SA does not automatically become a citizen by birth. Subsection 2(1)(b) of the said act states that one cannot become a South African citizen "if, at the time of his or her birth, one of his or her parents had not been admitted to the Republic for permanent residence therein and his or her other parent was not a South African citizen (Citizenship Act, 1995:5)." This clause automatically disqualifies children born in SA to undocumented Zimbabwean immigrants (SA Citizenship Act, Act 88 of 1995). However, a gap identified by the researcher in the provisions of the said act is that it does not cater for situations where for example the biological mother is a South African citizen and the reputed father is an undocumented Zimbabwean immigrant. As a result, the respective child is "forced" to retain the reputed father's citizenship. In essence therefore, the reputed father can face deportation, arrests

or other forms of violence that may result in separation from his child thereby confirming the research by the American Immigration Council (2012) that immigration laws result in undue separation of parents from their children.

'Undocumented' Zimbabwean parents' ability to make decisions is sometimes compromised when their child enters the South African social services system. Vigneswaran (2008) postulates that once an undocumented child enters the welfare system, a series of events are prompted which usually results in the parents losing their authority to exercise parental rights over their child/ren. This is especially so when children are removed from parents arrested to be deported due to their 'undocumented' status. Adding to the challenges, the same author highlights the inconsistent protocols across different public systems such as child welfare systems and the different interpretations of the law by different courts as traumatic on 'undocumented' immigrant families. Vigneswaran (2008) argues that this has been very evident in South Africa as policies dealing with immigrants are fragmented and basically depended on the individual officials' such as social workers, DHA officials and legal representatives' interpretation of what must happen .

In addition to the aforementioned challenge Mweru (2008) asserts that migrant women are at a greater risk of contracting HIV than their male counterparts. Their inability to negotiate sexual practices especially when one has an "illegal" status attached to them often contributes to their failure to negotiate. Lack of financial independence decreases immigrant women's ability to negotiate safe sex because women generally earn lower wages than their male counterparts. The author concludes that in the end, women are often forced to develop survival strategies such as sharing a house with a boyfriend termed the "Come-we-stay" (Mweru, 2008: 339) whereby an unmarried couple stays together to cut the cost of living and rent. Basing on Mweru's argument, it can be deduced that 'undocumented' Zimbabwean women's dire economic situation might worsen because they have to send remittances back to their families. Being away from home limits their options and chances of getting married in the traditionally accepted ways resulting in, increased pressure from their families to get married, forcing them to 'come-we-stay' in the hope that sexual relationships will fast-track the marriage process (Mweru, 2008). However in such relationships, women cannot negotiate condom use as women who demand condom use are considered to be "bad girls" hence to facilitate marriage, most women end up not condomising (CARAM, 2001:23).

Global Commission on International Migration (GCIM) (2004) published findings that attested that migration increases vulnerability to HIV/AIDS as migrants are removed from their families and partners. They face vulnerabilities that include poverty, exploitation, limited or no access to health services and appropriate medical information. To add on to these vulnerabilities, it was also stated that immigrants' lifestyles are modified as they meet new people, so do their sexual practices thereby increasing their risk factors (GCIM, 2004).

It is important to explore the issue of modification of sexual practices as sexual relations occur in the context of family as each individual hails from one form of family or another thereby sexual behaviour affects family life in one way or the other. Research conducted on migrant women in Kenya exposed that some migrant women revealed that feelings of loneliness associated with immigration and separation from family as well as the life one has become accustomed to leads some to seek solace in sexual relationships whether married or not (Mweru, 2008). The same author argues that this is worsened when such immigration is illegal and they do not have the freedom to travel back to their families at will. Some of the Kenyan women interviewed felt a sense of freedom when away from community of origin's "watchful eyes" and their families; as a result, they end up engaging in casual sexual relationships (Mweru, 2008:341). Expanding on this view, Quesada Hart and Bourgoise (2011:341) term this the "parallel life" system whereby women take advantage of the freedom they experience when away from home and engage in experimental sexual relationships that they are restricted to exercise by tradition, culture and societal expectations from their homelands on how a woman should behave.

The aforementioned sexual behaviour obviously contradicts with the strict upbringing of most traditional Zimbabwean families especially with regards to sexual conduct. McGregor (2008:471) postulates that the loss of status is another major challenge for all undocumented Zimbabweans across careers as most came from middle-class backgrounds and held responsible and professional jobs before migrating. The same author adds that they are often hurt by having to be looked down by people who had no idea that they were currently doing jobs 'beneath them.' Based on the challenges discussed in this section, the researcher therefore wonders how it is that 'undocumented' Zimbabwean immigrants preserve their families and identity amidst such calamities. The next section will therefore explore the context of family preservation of 'undocumented' immigrants.

7. FAMILY PRESERVATION

Waite (2000: 465) defines family as a “social network, not necessarily localised, that is based on culturally recognised biological and marital relationships.” Family preservation on the other hand pertains to attempts to maintain and strengthen the family. As a social theory, family preservation draws on ecological theories of the responsibility of the system and environment to build healthy families by providing protective factors to help families flourish (Templeman, 2003). The underlying assumption of family preservation is that children are best reared by their own families and that this intervention should be community-based.

Llerena-Quinn and Mirkin (2005) denote a new migration pattern that separates nuclear families from extended families. The authors resonate that this is so because in the past, fathers usually migrated first then reunited with the rest of the family in the host country once settled. Currently however, there is an unprecedented departure of mothers alone, or in company of their husbands, leaving their children in the care of their relatives in Zimbabwe which Soto and Torche (2004) views as a new type of kinship foster care. Falicov (2007) attributes global capitalism which opens up labour opportunities for women as a contributory factor to the feminization of migration.

In the researcher’s opinion, the process of migration challenges westernized psychological discourses of biological mother-child early attachment. In the Zimbabwean scenario, most mothers belong to collectivistic cultures where children are co-operatively raised by a responsible relative, grandmother, other adults, older siblings or nannies (Takabvirwa, 2003). It may therefore be challenging to apply these theories in the Zimbabwean situation especially when parents migrate to SA, give birth and send their newly born children back home in a few weeks time as depicted by Crush and Tevera (2010). Supporting this opinion, Chamberlain (1997) pleads that members of society cease to hold on to rigid discourse in the face of immigration as they begin to appreciate and understand motherhood as a trigenerational endeavour that existed way before migration and even made migration possible. The same author proposes that when mothers migrate and leave their children behind, they must be seen as the “liquid capital” of their families by remaining a part of their families through remittances and other forms of long distance care while other people physically take care of their children

(Chamberlain, 1997:82). Slightly contrasting this argument, Heymanm (2006) cautions that while most African families rely on extended family systems to assist in raising their children, they do not always function smoother than other family types and are also immune to challenges especially given the rapid nature of economic globalization.

Impacting on family preservation, Rutherford and Addison (2007) revealed that most 'undocumented' Zimbabweans felt that employers took advantage of their desperation and offered little recourse to make complaints even when there was a genuine need to do so. The aforementioned authors believed that this was because complaints involved a legal process that involved police intervention and could result in deportation. As a result, most 'undocumented' immigrants ditch the right to access any protection under both South African and international human rights frameworks to avoid jeopardising their chances to send remittances to their families whom they know depended on them (Rutherford and Addison, 2007). In support of this argument, Bloch (2008) concludes that the desire to maintain strong transnational linkages with family members in Zimbabwe and work towards ensuring the livelihood of family supersedes the desire to be treated as a human being; hence they will put up with any and all forms of abuse.

An important factor to family preservation raised by Bhugra and Becker (2005) is that even when immigrants come from the same country, it must never be taken for granted that they come from similar backgrounds. This is especially true of Zimbabwean immigrants as they have varied reasons for becoming 'undocumented' in SA which is largely influenced by their backgrounds (Muzondidya, 2007). As a result, immigrants not only come into contact with the host population (which is diverse in its own regard especially with South Africa being a rainbow nation with eleven official languages across different races and cultures) but also with other immigrants from other countries with both similar and disparate cultures. Bhugra (2004) postulates that while an increase in meeting people from one's own country and culture can increase social support and enhance family and identity preservation in some; it could be coupled with distress especially when there are issues of the past in the home country that one wishes to completely dissociate with. It may therefore be interesting to consider the relationship between the 'undocumented' who migrated due to politically-motivated fears and those that migrated solely for economic reasons and ascertain whether they can work together towards family preservation. While the researcher is not postulating that one reason for migrating is more superior to the other, it could

be hypothesised that political immigrants may find it challenging to trust non-political immigrants despite similar backgrounds as they may fear some to be state agents who may jeopardise their safety or even that of their families.

Following up from the line of thinking above, Falicov (2007) postulates that present day globalization has increased immigrants' ability to maintain intense connections and communications with their countries of origin and families. The author believes that technology aids immigrants in staying in touch with families through remittances, mail packages, phone cards, emails and occasional visits where possible. It is however important to note that forced immigration comes with unprepared uprooting and marital polarizations (Khan, 2007). Given the traditional patriarchal Zimbabwean society that esteems marriage, it is easy to see how forced immigration especially due to political reasons can result in a life-changing event for families in a matter of days. This is because political immigrants are sometimes forced to leave the country immediately and no preparation for their family members occurs (Muzondidya, 2008). Consequently, husbands may leave wives, children leave parents or parents are forced to leave children and vice versa. All these scenarios paint a picture not only of marital, but also family relational polarizations which can be detrimental to already existing bonds.

Crucial points raised in literature reviewed pertain to relational stresses brought about by separation and reunions between parents and children due to the fluid nature of migration. Hondagneu-Sotelo and Avila (1997:563) speak of the dramatic instance of living with two hearts "I'm here but I'm there" that is evoked by economic globalization. They allude to the stress brought upon immigrant mothers who are forced to leave their children for economic reasons, based in their host country, but their heart is back with their children in the home country. Sequentially, Cornelius (2005) blames current immigration policies that restrict undocumented immigration as being at the centre of not only separating families, but also impeding reunification later on given the extreme dangers associated with travelling back and forth to maintain family relations. The fact that 'undocumented' Zimbabwean migrants sometimes use the Limpopo River which is laden with crocodiles to cross to and from home in a bid to avoid immigration officials serve as one of the examples. In addition, strict immigration regimes which result in price hikes for immigrant smugglers often results in the 'undocumented' immigrants incurring enormous debts that curtail remittances when one opts to cross into SA using the illegal

smugglers despite the high costs involved. To pay off the debt, individuals may then cross the border but be forced to limit connection and future family reunification plans (Falicov, 2007).

7.1 Cultural and psychological challenges of migration

Bhugra and Becker (2005) deem individuals who migrate to be prone to multiple stressors as a result of losing their cultural, religious and social norms as well as loss of social support system. These stressors are believed to impact negatively on their mental wellbeing thereby altering their identity and self concept. The authors denoted high levels of mental illness amongst immigrant groups and attributed the aforementioned stresses as contributory factors (Bhugra and Becker 2005).

Owing to the multiple stressors, ‘undocumented’ immigrants’ fundamental human right to dignity is furthermore violated when they are given derogatory names such as “makwere-kwere” by South Africans resulting in poor self-image and feelings of inferiority among ‘undocumented’ Zimbabweans (Segale, 2004). This adversely affects their identity as it contradicts the traditional identity as outlined under Paragraph 5.1 of this chapter of who Zimbabweans believe they are and how they view themselves especially before migrating to another country. In addition, physical attacks by South Africans on foreigners also violate their right to life, freedom and security (Segale, 2004).

According to Eisenbruch (1990:715) migrants’ often experience “cultural bereavement”, a grief reaction resulting from loss of one’s social structure (attitudes, values & language) and culture as a result of migration. While this is considered to be a natural consequence of migration the author argues, prolonged grief may require psychiatric intervention. Eisenbruch (1990:715) deciphers cultural bereavement as having the following characteristics, namely: experience and feelings of up-rootedness, continual living in the past, visits by supernatural forces from the past while asleep or awake, feelings of guilt over abandoning culture and homeland, feelings of pain when memories of the past begin to fade yet riddled with constant images of the past including traumatic images intruding into daily life, yearning to complete obligations of the dead and feelings of being stricken by anxiety, morbid thoughts and feelings of anger that may scar ability to get on with the current daily life. In support of the idea of “cultural bereavement” from an

ecological family perspective, Falicov (2007) concludes that the challenges of migration such as depression, anxiety, psychosomatic illnesses, addictions and behaviour problems can appear in any family member at any given time and any location, thus the loss through migration not only affects the family member that left, but also those that were left behind.

In addition, migrants are believed to sometimes suffer from post-migration stress which includes culture shock and conflict as a result of a sense of cultural confusion, feelings of alienation and isolation coupled with depression (Bhugra and Becker, 2005). The same authors furthermore ascribe to the premise that racism and xenophobic attitudes towards ‘undocumented’ immigrants compounded by unemployment stresses, discrepancies between expectations of a better life before migration and the reality which is not always as expected, financial hardships, legal concerns (especially when ‘undocumented’), poor housing and general lack of growth opportunities can be potentially devastating to the health of the immigrant populations in a host country.

Furthermore, Schreiber (1995) attributes these feelings of grief to be complicated by immigrants’ inability to perform culturally sanctioned rituals due to location and sometimes laws that may prohibit certain practices usually allowed in countries of origin. Bhugra and Becker (2005) however postulate that symptoms of cultural bereavement may often be misdiagnosed due to language barriers and practitioners’ lack of understanding of immigrants home traditions and culture. It must be noted that cultural bereavement is considerably lessened when immigrants maintain ties and contact with their families back home (Bhugra and Becker 2005). This is however particularly challenging for the ‘undocumented’ because should they risk going back, returning especially through clandestine means may not only be difficult but also dangerous and risky.

8. THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVE ON SOCIAL IDENTITY AND SOCIAL IDENTITY THEORY

Psychology defines identity as a cognitive construct of the self. This cognitive construct is fundamentally relational and self-referential and answers the question “who am I?” (Abrams and Hogg,1990:233). The concept of the social self explains observed differences in behaviour between the individual as a person i.e. personal identity and the individual as a member of a group i.e. social identity (Abrams and Hogg, 1990; Turner and Onorato, 1999). In essence, Pratt

(2003) views society as actively defining an individual and also creating his psychological reality. In support of this view, Jenkins (2004:33) asserts that social identity is culturally-defined and determined characteristics of personality ascribed to socially-sanctioned roles such as father, mother, employee and friend. The author continues to deliberate that an individual recognizes his/her identity through socially-defined terms and these definitions become reality as he/she lives in society.

Social identity theory was originally developed by Tajfel and Turner in 1979 to understand the psychological basis of intergroup discrimination. Tajfel and Turner (1979) endeavoured to identify the minimal conditions that lead members of one group to discriminate in favour of another group. Haslam (2001:33) on the other hand defines social identity as “that part of an individual’s self-concept which he derives from his knowledge of his membership of a social group (or groups) together with the emotional significance attached to that membership.”

Contributing to the existing body of knowledge, Miner (2002:56) defined social identity as a concept whose core and peripheral components evolve in a reciprocating process between the individual and the group. In agreement with this definition, Jenkins (2004: 35) described social identity as “an ongoing process of interaction between the individual and the focal group (in-group), and between the individual and other groups (out groups).” The same author considers social identity as an evolving realization of who the self is in relation to social interactions and ultimately defines a person’s identity. As a result, our identity is therefore dependant on the situation and relative strengths of internal and external categorizations at the time.

Tajfel and Turner (1979) identified three stages that result in preference of one group over others namely, categorization, social identification and. social comparison:

- In the social categorizationstage, individuals decide which group they or other people belong to. At its most basic and non-involved level any group will do and no necessity is seen for conflict between groups. Individuals categorize objects in order to understand themselves and identify themselves and others. In essence, individuals also categorize people so as to grasp the social environment (Tajfel and Turner, 1979; Pratt, 2003). Therefore, social categories such as black, white, Zimbabwean, Christian, Muslim, student and bus driver are used for their usefulness in differentiating and categorizing.

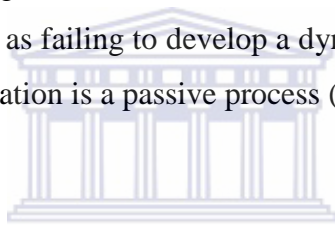
The second stage is social identification. This refers to the processes through which one identifies themselves or others with an in-group more overtly (Tajfel and Turner, 1979; Pratt, 2003). Such identifications usually come about after the norms and attitudes of members within that group are perceived as compatible with ones' worth or emulation of oneself, or as compatible with those of other people (Miller, 2003). If for example one has categorized themselves as a Zimbabwean, chances are that they will adopt the identity of a Zimbabwean and begin to act in the ways they believe Zimbabweans act inclusive of conforming to the norms of Zimbabweans; thereby achieving the stage of social identification. There is an emotional significance to one's identification with a group, and their self-esteem is bound up with group membership (Miner, 2002).

- In the third and final stage of social comparison one's self-concept or that of other people becomes closely meshed in with the perceptions of group membership (Pratt, 2003). Self-esteem is enhanced or detracted from by perceptions of how in-groups and out-groups are perceived to behave and able to perform in society. Miller (2003) extends that once human beings have categorized themselves as part of a group and identified with that group they tend to compare their own group with those of others. In order to retain self-esteem, individuals need to compare favourably with other groups (Tajfel and Turner, 1979). For example, in the case of the group of 'undocumented' Zimbabwean immigrants in SA, their self esteem is enhanced when they compare themselves to other groups in SA and view themselves as better and favourably in comparison to them. Human beings are likely to display favouritism when an in-group is central to their self-definition (Miller, 2003). Salas and Cannon-Bowers (2001) believe social comparison to be critical in understanding prejudice. The authors contend that once two groups identify themselves as rivals they are forced to compete in order for the members to maintain their self-esteem. Competition and hostility between groups therefore must not only be perceived as a matter of competing for resources like jobs but also the result of competing identities (Pratt, 2003).

In concluding the discussion on social identity theory, it must be noted that social identity theory has four main principles:

- Individuals strive to maintain or enhance their self-esteem
- Social groups (and membership) are associated with positive or negative value connotations. Thus, social identity may be positive or negative
- The evaluation of one's own group is determined with reference to specific other groups through social comparisons. Positive comparisons produce high prestige and negative comparisons produce low prestige
- If social identity is negative, individuals will strive to either leave the group and/or to make their existing group positively distinct.

Crucial limitations of social identity theory include that it has been criticised as further fuelling that prejudice and discrimination amongst people and is an ever-present and never-ending phenomenon. It has also been castigated for excessive reliance on artificially constructed groups and laboratory experiments as well as failing to develop a dynamic account of social identity and in essence insinuating that identification is a passive process (Pratt, 2003).



9. CULTURAL AND NATIONAL IDENTITY *of the*

To further cement the challenges of 'undocumentation' the following paragraphs will delve into a discussion of challenges in preserving cultural and national identity. The impact of the process of assimilation and acculturation will also be discussed in relation to family and identity.

9.1 Cultural identity

Picking up from the discussion on social identity is cultural and national identity. Cultural identities are also developed through the identifications individuals ascribe to themselves or to others. Shah (2004) describes culture as features that are shaped and bind people together in a community. The same author believes that culture is learned and passed on through generations and includes the beliefs and value system of a society. On the other hand, Bhugra (2004:251)

defines identity as the totality of one's perception of self which includes how one views themselves as unique from others. Racial, cultural and ethnic identity form part of the wholesome human identity and therefore changes with human development at both personal and social levels (Shah, 2004). The same author goes on to articulate that migration and acculturation therefore play a huge role in shaping and reshaping an individual's identity due to the shift that occurs in their personal, social and cultural patterns as a result of relocation. According to Said (1978) migrant identities are defined less by what one is and more by what one is not through a process of othering. In essence, it could therefore be asserted that based on these definitions, racism and xenophobia have forced Zimbabweans to reshape their national identity.

Speaking on cultural identity, Bhugra (2004) postulates that an individual's cultural identity determines their religion, rites of passage, language, dietary habits and leisure activities. Bhugra is however not absolute in his postulation as he accedes that sometimes individuals do not religiously observe their cultural beliefs, he however still contends that even if not religiously observed as an adult, these characteristics make up a key component of one's identity. Bhugra, Bhui and Mallet (2001:288) describe acculturation as the freedom to partake in activities that define one's cultural identity that allows an individual to feel part of their culture while living in a foreign environment. This freedom and sense of belonging is said to change or remain steadfast during the acculturation process. The same authors conclude that social and cultural qualities as well as attitudes are more resistant and usually the last to adjust during acculturation (Bhugra et al. 2001). The question that begs to be asked about the 'undocumented' Zimbabwean immigrants in SA therefore is whether or not their cultural identity remains the same or changes while in SA thereby causing challenges for them.

9.2 National identity

Muzondidya's (2008) rendition of Zimbabweans' national identity provides a critical outlook on how xenophobic discourses that borrow from colonial and racist discourses have resulted in Zimbabweans developing their own counter-hegemonic discourses. The same authors assert that Zimbabweans have engaged in the politics of identity in a bid to insert and reposition themselves in the new space they find themselves in. In a process of re-imagining, re-inventing and

reconstructing their family histories to emphasise their connectedness to Africa, Zimbabweans have had to learn local cultures and sub-cultures foreign to them. Efforts such as adopting foreign sounding names and cutting ties with all Zimbabwean friends and relatives have been identified as acts stimulated by the politics of identity (Krzyzanowski and Wondak, 2007). Despite all these efforts, Molamu (2002) deems most Zimbabweans to have failed to altogether blend in and become South African for all intents and purposes.

In giving reasons for why Zimbabweans have failed to discard their national identity in favour of SA identities, Molamu (2002) attributes factors such as the easily distinguishable accent of Zimbabweans, their body language, gait, gestures and style of dress which constrain their ability to assume South African identity and make them easily identifiable. Muzondidya (2008:29) refers to the 2008 xenophobic attacks in SA to conclude that most Zimbabweans have failed to altogether abandon their “Zimbabweanness” and integrate completely into “South Africanhood.’ Muzondidya (2008) furthermore pointed to the fact that it is rare to find white Zimbabweans being singled out for racism or xenophobic inspired violence in South Africa. Hence, Muzondidya seems to imply that she said Zimbabwean attributes are synonymous with the black Zimbabwean, therefore defining their cultural identity as well as national identity.

In a bid to develop diasporic nationalism, Zimbabweans adopt counter-hegemonic discourses that simultaneously aim at correcting negative perceptions about them and their country as well as develop a positive image for everything Zimbabwean (Muzondidya, 2008). In addition Muzondidya (2008) noted that most Zimbabweans spoke of Zimbabwe in very endearing and exaggerated terms in antithesis to South Africans. The same author attributes this to be in response to the negative light in which they have been cast by xenophobic discourses, Zimbabweans exaggerated their superiority to South Africans in everything from food to moral deportment. Muzondidya points out that Zimbabweans project Zimbabwe as a diligent, hard-working and intelligent nation as opposed to lazy, dishonest, alcoholic and criminal South Africans (Muzondidya, 2008:29). All this must be viewed as attempts to deal with the assault on their national pride brought about by displacement and xenophobia they experience in SA. Maphosa (2008) and Dzingirai (2007) corroborated this assertion by reiterating that such patriotic sentiments are prevalent in both the documented and ‘undocumented’ Zimbabweans, as well as those Zimbabweans that are either naturalised or now permanently resident in SA.

Furthermore, Zimbabweans in SA were identified by the emphasis they place on national days, national symbols and national music which seems to highlight feelings of nostalgia as well as a reaffirmation of Zimbabweans love for their home country despite its current economic and political status (Crush and Tevera, 2010). In SA communities where large numbers of Zimbabweans are resident, pubs even go to the extent of serving Zimbabwean drinks and food. All this is perceived as efforts by Zimbabweans in SA to be among familiar settings that remind them of their Zimbabwean identity. In addition, burial societies and clubs are also a form of ratifying national pride as sometimes such fraternities are used to contribute towards development back home through stokvels (Muzondidya, 2008).

In reference to the 'undocumented,' Muzondidya (2008) has however stated that Zimbabweans' "illegal" status results in a lack of nationalism as portrayed by the attempts they make towards concealment of their national origin. The 'undocumented' Zimbabwean immigrants are reported to opt to pass as South Africans in a bid to gain the entitlements South African citizenship brings as well as to keep themselves protected from the SA law makers as well as those against their presence in South Africa (Khan, 2007;HRW, 2008). While some Zimbabweans take pride in national identity, some 'undocumented' immigrants are reported to have had their national pride severely damaged; hence have developed antipathy towards both their Zimbabwean government and the country itself (Crush and Tevera, 2010). It must be noted that these feelings of antipathy are not exclusive to the 'undocumented' immigrants. It has been reported that some documented Zimbabweans who are frustrated by the economic and political crisis have severed their connections with Zimbabwe and are happy in their settled lands and want nothing to do with the motherland (Muzondidya, 2008). It is also said of white Zimbabweans that left the country following the land redistribution process that most of them conceal their Zimbabwean identity and the closest they ever get to identifying with it is to say they once lived or went to a Zimbabwean school (Crush and Tevera, 2010).

In addition, ethnic, racial and regional divisions amongst Zimbabweans who migrated to South Africa are also reported to have been imported and widened (Muzondidya, 2008). Most socialisation amongst Zimbabweans occurs within limited circles, in particular, with people who know each other from home and have the same linguistic and regional groupings. A study in Johannesburg highlighted that those different along the aforementioned lines rarely mix when

drinking at shebeens (Muzondidya, 2008). A notable example was the mutual antagonism amongst the Shona and the Ndebele who fled Zimbabwe during the Gukurahundi killings and violence of 1980. The resultant therefore is that, while Zimbabweans are fighting to reinvent and reimage their national identity, there are also fights amongst themselves that limit cohesion while in SA.

9.3 Assimilation and acculturation

Immigrants go through the process of assimilation when they settle in host environments. This process involves the disappearance of cultural differences as immigrant communities are adapted into the host culture and value system (Bhugra and Ayonrinde, 2004). In some cases, an individual's identity is lost during assimilation. Bhugra (2004) believes that during acculturation, both the immigrant and the host culture change as the two interact with one another, however, the dominant culture typically dominates the lesser.

Research has also pointed out that cultural changes affect one's identity and could result in self-esteem problems and in worse case scenarios, mental illness (Bhugra, 2001). The uncertainty in acculturation is also deemed problematic due to its uncertainty as it could lead to assimilation, rejection, integration or even deculturation. Deculturation leads to loss of cultural identity, alienation and acculturative stress which ultimately leads to ethnocide (Bhugra and Becker, 2005).

Discussing the relationship between acculturation and children, Hansel (2009) deliberated that family provides stability for children whose parents migrated with them. The same author adds that this stability is critical to children's identity and acculturation, especially for those whose family was fleeing some form of danger or another. Closely related to this deliberation, Correa-Velez, Gifford and Barnett (2010) reflected that the manner in which parents of immigrant children deal with their reasons for migration plays a crucial role in influencing whether their children will be willing to assimilate and develop a new sense of belonging with the new society or choose to keep their identity attached to their home country. In their analysis, the authors found that children whose parents flee their home country to another country have lesser bonds

with their home countries unless they want to return to their home country (Correa-Velez et al., 2010).

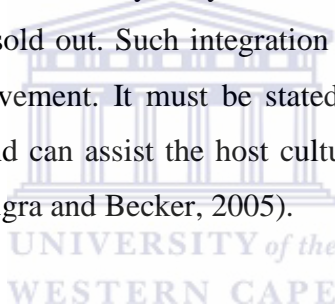
Trager (2005) concludes that immigration age plays a significant role in determining attitude towards acculturation and assimilation. An analysis of the author's studies brought forth information that when children migrate at an early age they rarely have memories about the whole migration process as experienced by their older family members and thereby do not miss their home country; thereby adapt easily to a new society. On the other hand, if the child remembers aspects of their home country and has some form of bond, they may find it harder to relate in the new environment and fail to assimilate. Trager (2005) thereby concluded that age of immigration affects the process of acculturation, sense of belonging and cultivation of a cultural style.

In speaking of migrating adults, Ferguson (1999) established the concept of cultural styles related to immigration. Ferguson conditions that a person can either adopt a localist style where an individual sticks to the ways of their home country or a cosmopolitan style where an individual incorporates fully aspects of the new country and abandons their original culture. Datta (2009) agrees with Ferguson's view of cultural styles however deviates by stating that one can display either of the styles when expedient without necessarily being bound to one style. Datta (200:110) defined cultural styles as "a way of coping with modernization, whereby a person could both incorporate the localist style and in another context display the cosmopolitan style." In the localist style, these people have the intention to return to their home country thereby they choose to not adopt cultures associated with their host country. On the other hand, those that adopt the cosmopolitan style have no desire to return to their home country thereby reject their rural (home country) alliances and distance themselves by adopting the ways of their host countries.

The researcher favours Datta's definitions over those of Ferguson because of the notion that culture is dynamic; hence individuals reinvent themselves based on the situations they find themselves in. In essence, when adults migrate, they either assimilate completely thereby leaning more towards the cosmopolitan culture or they try and retain their home grown cultures thereby leaning more towards the local culture. It must be noted however as argued by Datta (2009) that these cultural styles are never set in stone and can be adopted as and when necessary. To support

the researcher's stance that human beings reinvent themselves in the face of immigration and new cultures, Suarez-Orozco and Suarez -Oroczo (2001) argue that the notion of acculturation does not promote fixed strategies mainly because immigrants find their own ways of adapting to new societies. Cultural styles must therefore only be seen as guidelines to the way immigrants adapt to new societies rather than the rule.

One should be cautious of painting an overall bleak image when discussing the issue of acculturation as there is evidence that in some immigrants, it is a welcomed change. Evidence in some immigrant groups bring out the fact that as one grieves over loss of their culture in a host country, a sense of belonging in a new homeland can also occur (Rutherford, 2008). As one gains linguistic and social fluency in the ways of the host country, they may become more accepted by the citizens and even form friendships. It is common knowledge that when one is competent in the language of the host country, they have better access to most services as their 'foreignhood' is not immediately sold out. Such integration and assimilation can help diminish feelings of loss and culture bereavement. It must be stated henceforth that acculturation is a dynamic and reciprocal process and can assist the host culture in appreciating the needs of the migrants if it occurs amicably (Bhugra and Becker, 2005).



10. CONCLUSION

This chapter endeavoured to give an insight into literature pertaining to the issue of immigration and documentation of Zimbabweans by highlighting the challenges they face. The researcher began by giving an overview of migration in general. Thereafter immigration to South Africa as a phenomenon was discussed in order to indicate its background, history, prevalence and trends.

The researcher also depicted the legal frameworks surrounding the issue of immigration as well as statistics related to migration. In a bid to put this study into context, the researcher went into detail to define who the Zimbabwean people are; their beliefs and cultural standpoints were also explored. A framework on the challenges that led to the Zimbabweans becoming 'undocumented' in SA was explained in order to reflect on whether being undocumented is a choice or the lack of alternative choices. The challenges associated with being undocumented and still having to maintain family as well as personal, national and cultural identity were

deliberated upon. The theoretical underpinnings of the social identity framework and how it relates to immigration were deliberated upon with an emphasis on family preservation. It is the researchers hope that the literature review put the research into perspective and exposed the need for exploring and describing the challenges faced by ‘undocumented’ Zimbabwean immigrants in terms of preserving their families and identity in SA in more depth.

The next chapter will detail the research methodology for this study. The researcher will explain how the research was carried out. The research designs, data collection tools and how the data was analysed and concluded will be elucidated in detail.



CHAPTER THREE

APPLICATION OF RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3. INTRODUCTION

The previous chapter provided a literature review in which the challenges faced by 'undocumented' Zimbabwean immigrants in SA in terms of preserving their family and identity were elucidated. Throughout Chapter Two, the researcher gave an overview of the migration process by highlighting key concepts in the history of migration to SA as well as the legal frameworks that govern the circumstances and conditions under which one can become a legal immigrant in SA. Chapter Two also illuminated the Zimbabwean situation inclusive of who the Zimbabwean people are, their beliefs and value systems as well as the challenges that have hobbled their country which resulted in many seeking homes outside of the republic. The reader was also introduced to the concept of social identity and how migration status is linked to the challenges faced by the 'undocumented' Zimbabwean immigrants in SA. An overview of the challenges faced by the 'undocumented' immigrants in preserving their family and identity was provided, highlighting the gaps in existing literature regarding this subject.

Despite there being vast literature pertaining to immigration, literature did not seem to illuminate the actual challenges that affect 'undocumented' Zimbabweans in SA relating to family and identity. Bearing the gaps in literature in mind, this chapter seeks to explain how the research study was implemented in order to contribute to the existing body of knowledge. The layout will proceed in the following manner: the researcher will begin by stating the research question, after which the goals and objectives of the study will be outlined. Having done so, the research methodology and data analysis that was implemented will be explained.

2. RESEARCH QUESTION

As highlighted in Chapter 1, Paragraph 3.1, the central research question for this study was: How do 'undocumented' immigrants from Zimbabwe preserve their families and identity while in South Africa?

3. GOAL AND OBJECTIVES

In this section, the research goals and objectives will be explained in a bid to illustrate how the research addressed the research question.

3.1 Goal

The main goal of the research study was to explore and describe how ‘undocumented’ immigrants from Zimbabwe preserve their families and identity while in South Africa, see Chapter 1 Paragraph 3.2.

3.2 Objectives

- To explore and describe what family and identity means to the ‘undocumented’ Zimbabwean immigrants.
- To explore and describe ‘undocumented’ Zimbabwean immigrants’ challenges with regards to their family life and identity upon arrival in South Africa.
- To explore and describe ‘undocumented’ Zimbabwean immigrants’ challenges at preserving and maintaining their family relations and identity while in South Africa.

4. RESEARCH APPROACH

A qualitative research approach was used for this research study. Creswell (2009:249) defines qualitative research as “an inquiry process of understanding based on distinct methodological tradition of inquiry that explores a social or human problem. The researcher builds a complex, holistic picture, analyses words, reports, detailed views of the informants and conducts the study in a natural setting.” In addition, Jwan and Ong’ondo (2012:420) define qualitative research as “an approach to inquiry that emphasizes a naturalistic search for relativity in meaning, multiplicity of interpretations, particularity, detail and flexibility in studying a phenomenon or the aspect(s) of it that a researcher chooses to focus on at a given time.” The researcher’s

understanding was also guided by Boeije (2002) who asserts that qualitative research are flexible methods and techniques used to describe and understand social phenomena in terms of meaning brought by people.

Qualitative research aims for depth rather than quantity of understanding. Variables are usually not controlled because this is exactly the kind of freedom and natural development of action that the researcher wishes to capture (Henning, van Rensburg and Smit, 2004). Qualitative researchers seek a deeper truth as they aim to "study things in their natural setting, attempting to make sense of, or interpret phenomena in terms of the meanings people bring to them," and they use "a holistic perspective which preserves the complexities of human behaviour" (Abell, 1990: 22). A guiding principle of qualitative research which makes it fundamentally different from quantitative research is the belief that research can be subjective, particular, context-based and need not necessarily be based on probability samples (Jwan and Ong'ondo, 2013: 420).

A qualitative study as opposed to a quantitative study was therefore employed because the nature of the research question demanded more than just statistics about challenges of the 'undocumented' Zimbabweans in terms of family and identity preservation. The research methodology was structured in such a way that was clear on who said what about the challenges faced as well as what kind of thinking or values governed these challenges. Mays (2008) stated that good research taps into the actual experiences and first-hand information from the participants themselves. For this reason, employing a qualitative research study allowed the researcher to pay attention to the cultural interpretations, values and beliefs associated with the issue of documentation and the challenges faced in this context.

Given the nature of the questions posed to the participants, a quantitative study would not have done justice to the question because it is limited and would have provided vague answers that would not give a clearer insight into the challenges experienced by the participants. Moreover, the researcher was not concerned with the "how many" question but rather the "what and how" regarding the challenges to family and identity preservation. Davis (2007) alluded to the fact that qualitative research methods are fairly more flexible than quantitative methodology. As a result, they allow for greater spontaneity and adaptation of interaction between the researcher and the

study of participants. Furthermore, Buckingham, Fisher & Saunders, (2008) maintain that in qualitative research there is a holistic perspective which takes into account people's complexities and varying perspectives; thus it is the same holistic element that was captured in this research study.

It must be acknowledged however that qualitative study is not without criticisms. Denzin and Lincoln (2000) have criticised it as lacking in rigour, exactness and objectivity and consider it a soft and weak research approach. In addition, Hammersley and Atkinson (2007) criticises it for being impressionistic, subjective and idiosyncratic. Stake (2006) on the other hand tries to bring balance to the criticism by arguing that the intention to promote a subjective research paradigm in qualitative research should be not be viewed as a weakness and failure to be eliminated but as an essential element of understanding that lacks in quantitative studies.

5. RESEARCH DESIGN

Burns and Grove (2003:195) define a research design as “a blueprint for conducting a study with maximum control over factors that may interfere with the validity of the findings”. In addition, Parahoo (1997:142) describes research design as “a plan that describes how, when and where data are to be collected and analyzed”. Polit, Beck and Hungler (2001:167) on the other hand are of the opinion that a research design is the “researcher's overall plan for answering the research question or testing the research hypothesis”. Two main research designs were employed in the current research study, namely exploratory and descriptive research designs.

5.1 Explorative design

As mentioned in Chapter 1, Paragraph 3.4, explorative design was used. The goal of explorative research design is to discover ideas and insights into a phenomenon. It is designed to produce a hypothesis of what is going on in a situation and is not concerned with coming up with designs. Explorative research focuses on answering the “what” question. Denzin and Lincoln (2000:35) propose that a good way of conducting an explorative research is by beginning with a literature search. This was effectively done through Chapters One and Two. A literature search involves

seeking all material related to a topic to elucidate more information on what is known about the phenomenon. The authors propose however that a literature search may be insufficient in providing information on the research question; hence they propose in-depth interviews after the literature search. In-depth interviews are therefore conducted to explore more about the subject under study from people knowledgeable in the area of interest.

In agreement with the aforementioned authors, Neuman (2000) adds that explorative research is often conducted because a problem has not been clearly defined as yet, or its real scope is as yet unclear as was the case with family and identity preservation of the participants. It allows the researcher to familiarize him/her with the problem or concept under investigation. The aforementioned author also believes that explorative research be conducted as an initial research, before more conclusive research is undertaken. In agreement with this perspective, Neuman (2000:53) also alludes to the fact that explorative research may be the first in a series of other studies because it answers the “what” question and opens the room to ask the “why, how and when” questions at a later stage. Explorative research helps in determining the best research design, data collection method, selection of participants, and sometimes it even concludes that the problem does not exist. Another common reason for conducting explorative research is to test concepts before they are put on the marketplace as it is always a very costly endeavour to penetrate the marketplace before proper investigations are done (Marshall, 2003).

For the abovementioned reasons explorative research was employed as the literature review conducted showed that although vast research has been done so far on ‘undocumented’ immigration, little attention has been paid to the specific challenges faced regarding family and identity preservation of ‘undocumented’ Zimbabwean immigrants in SA.

Based on the literature review conducted, many gaps pertaining to the topic were realised. Hence an explorative research design helped to fill in some of those gaps and to get acquainted with a situation. Denzin (2002) alluded to the fact that explorative research makes use of open-ended questions and probing more frequently. It was this element that came out throughout the research as using exploratory questions invoked unexpected rich culturally-sensitive responses on the challenges and experiences faced by the ‘undocumented’ Zimbabwean immigrants while living

in SA. It must be noted that a contextual design was also considered; however it failed to materialise as only two participants were interviewed in their natural environments.

5.2 Descriptive design

Besides the explorative design, descriptive design was also used. The goal of a descriptive research is to describe the characteristics of certain groups, determine the proportion of people who behave in certain ways, make specific predictions and to determine the relationship between variables (Marshall, 2003). Descriptive research requires specification on what, how, who, where and when the phenomenon occurs. According to Burns and Grove (2003:201), descriptive research “is designed to provide a picture of a situation as it naturally happens”. It may be used to justify current practice and make judgment and also to develop theories.

Supporting the researcher’s use of both exploratory and descriptive research, Denzin and Lincoln (2000) determined that a descriptive study usually follows after an exploration of the problem has been done. In this regard, the researcher first explored what the participant’s challenges were and then engaged in questions to elaborate more on why and how those challenges come about. Krathwohl, (1993) provides justification for usage of both designs by stating that description emerges following creative exploration, and serves to organize the findings in order to fit them with explanations, and then test or validate those explanations. As was the case in this study, the description often illuminated knowledge that the researcher might otherwise not have noticed or even encountered. Descriptive studies therefore yield rich data that led to important recommendations.

5.3 Phenomenological strategy of design

Creswell (2012) denotes phenomenological studies as designs that describe the meaning of the lived experiences of several individuals in relation to a concept or phenomenon. He adds that phenomenological studies focus on describing what all participants have in common with the purpose of reducing individual experiences to a universal essence (Creswell, 2012). Closely

related to the aforementioned description, Van Manen (1990:177) articulates that phenomenological research is about “identifying a human experience then collecting data from persons who have experienced it and then developing a composite description of the essence of the experience for all individuals.” In the same manner, Moustakas (1994) furthermore articulates that a phenomenological strategy of design is about describing what and how participants have experienced a phenomenon. Van Manen (1990) extends the definition further by elaborating that phenomenology is not only a description but also an interpretive process in which the researcher mediates between different meanings of the lived experiences of the participants. Researchers who use this approach adopt a person-centered, holistic and humanistic perspective to understand human lived experiences (Field & Morse 1996). In agreement with this perspective, Moran-Taylor (2008) details that researchers who opt for phenomenological studies ought to view each individual as unique and self-determining individuals with a right to tell their story in their own way. It therefore becomes clear that the researcher, as a social worker chose this particular strategy of design as it relates to social work principles of respect for persons and the value of self-determination. However, despite individuals being considered to have unique experiences, phenomenology also looks for interconnections between people going through similar experiences and how meaning is derived. Creswell (2012) proposes that a phenomenological study is important for therapists and policy makers in understanding the lived experiences of several individuals regarding a particular phenomenon. The researcher went on to implement the following five steps of conducting a phenomenological study as discussed by Creswell (2012):

- Determining if the research problem is best suited for a phenomenological study. Studies suited to phenomenology are those that seek to understand several individuals’ shared experiences in order to develop practices, policy or a deeper understanding on the phenomenon under study. After conducting a literature review, based on the gaps in literature, the researcher determined that a phenomenological study will allow her the best opportunity to gain understanding and elaborate on the lived experiences of the ‘undocumented’ Zimbabwean immigrants in SA.
- The second step involves recognising and specifying the broad philosophical assumptions of phenomenology. The researcher achieved this step by conducting a literature review

that elucidated more on the recorded experiences of ‘undocumented’ Zimbabwean migrants in SA.

- Step Three involves collecting data from individuals that have experienced the phenomenon. Creswell stipulates that this is achieved primarily through in-depth interviews, observations, journals, art in all its forms or formally written responses of accounts of the vicarious experiences. The researcher used unstructured in-depth interviews to collect the data for this research study. By use of interviewing techniques, the researcher sought to establish the challenges participants have experienced in terms of the challenges in preserving their family and identity as well as the specific contexts or situations that have typically influenced the challenges.
- The fourth step by Creswell is the phenomenological analysis of data. Using data gathered from the participants’ responses, the researcher then highlighted significant themes analysed from profound statements and quotes by the participants on how they experienced being an ‘undocumented’ Zimbabwean immigrant in SA. Moustakas (1994) calls this process horizontalisation. The researcher then developed clusters of meaning using the quotations highlighting the lived experiences of the participants in terms of preserving their family and identity while in SA.
- The final step by Creswell, involves writing up of textual and structural descriptions of the participants’ experiences and detailing the essence of the phenomenon under study. Through this step, the researcher then described the challenges the ‘undocumented’ Zimbabwean immigrants in SA reported to have experienced in a bid to preserve their family and identity while in SA. The researcher also described the context and settings that impacted on the challenges experienced as stipulated in Step 4. Using a field journal, the researcher also documented and analysed her own experiences throughout the research study so as to eliminate bias and personal interpretation of data. The researcher then explained in detail the challenges experienced and provided recommendations and conclusions to the identified challenges and this forms the basis of Chapter 4.

6. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This section will now report on the methodology that was employed in order to meet the research goals and objectives.

6.1 Population and sampling

Denzin (2002: 16) defines the population of interest as the total members of a defined class of people, objects, places or events selected because they are relevant to the research question while Burns and Grove (2003) similarly describe it as all the elements that meet the criteria for inclusion in a study. The total population of this study was all Zimbabwean immigrants that are currently 'undocumented' in SA.

A sample is a smaller section of the population. De Vos et al. (2005:191) best describe a sample as "the elements of the population that are considered for actual inclusion in the study." The importance of identifying a sample is outlined by Dornyei (2007) who postulates that the major aim of sampling is to identify participants who are likely to give rich and in-depth information on the issue being studied. Miles and Huberman (1994) argue that sampling is about feasibility and that it is impossible to identify and include all the individuals of a population of interest. The aforementioned authors continue to say that qualitative researchers usually work with small samples of people nested in their context and studied in-depth. Holloway and Wheeler (2002) assert that sample size does not influence the importance or quality of a study and note that there are no guidelines in determining sample size in qualitative research. Emphasizing the issue of sample size, De Vos et al. (2005) state that qualitative researchers do not normally know the number of people in the research beforehand; the sample may change in size and type during research. Sampling goes on until saturation has been achieved, which means that data were collected until it became repetitive and provided no new information.

The representative sample that was used to represent and enhance the trustworthiness of the study was fifteen (15) 'undocumented' Zimbabwean immigrants in Cape Town. The participants were purposively selected on the basis of being Zimbabwean and undocumented. The sampling criteria were as follows:

- ‘Undocumented’ Zimbabwean immigrants who migrated with their families to South Africa
- ‘Undocumented’ Zimbabwean immigrants who migrated to South Africa, but who left their families in Zimbabwe
- ‘Undocumented’ Zimbabwean immigrants who migrated to South Africa without their families, whose families joined them at a later stage.

The sample size for this study was fifteen participants. Initially, eight participants were interviewed and the data was transcribed. After consultation with the supervisor, it emerged that data saturation had not yet been attained; hence the researcher interviewed seven more participants to bring a fresh perspectives and more depth to the already gathered data. It was then that saturation was obtained and no more participants were interviewed.

However, it must be noted that although the data gained was valid, the sample does not automatically represent the challenges of all ‘undocumented’ Zimbabwean immigrants in SA. It however provides a framework for studies of this nature to further investigate and increase depth on findings (Rubin, 2000). This is especially so as it was mentioned that this was an exploratory study. Marshall (2003) validates this assertion by stating that while findings from qualitative data can often be extended to people with characteristics similar to those in the study population, gaining a rich and complex understanding of a specific social context or phenomenon typically takes precedence over eliciting data that can be generalized to other geographical areas or populations.

In justification of the sample size used, Silverman (2005) states that qualitative research tends to work with a relatively small number of participants with whom sufficient time is invested through interviews. Mason (2002: 134) agrees with this assertion by elaborating that “whether or not the sample is big enough to be statistically representative of the total population is not your major concern... the key question to ask is whether your sample provides access to enough data and with the right focus, to enable you to address your research questions.”

Due to the nature of the research area, finding and recruiting willing participants proved to be problematic because few Zimbabweans were willing to openly admit to being undocumented as

it is considered a criminal act in SA. For this reason, a non probability sampling technique called purposive sampling was used. This sampling technique does not follow the principle of statistical randomness, and selects potential participants in terms of accessibility (Terre Blanche & Durrheim, 1999) rather, participants are purposively chosen because they possess specific qualities/experiences needed for the investigation. Denzin (2002) articulates that sample size in purposive sampling is not fixed prior to data collection and depends of availability of resources, time and study objectives. Sample sizes are often determined on the basis of theoretical saturation, that is, the point where participants are no longer adding new value, data and insights to the research question. Purposive sampling is therefore most successful when data review and analysis are done in conjunction with data collection

The purposively selected participants were accessed through identification by gatekeepers from different organisations that assist 'undocumented' Zimbabweans. The organisation that provided access to most participants was PASSOP. The researcher approached the organisation to access participants in writing and explained the scope of the research to the relevant personnel. After permission was granted and participants were identified and asked to be part of the study, the procedural ethical requirements explained in Chapter One, Paragraph 8 were followed. After each interview, the participants were asked to identify other participants that fit the selection criteria by means of snowball sampling. Snowball sampling is considered a type of purposive sampling and is also termed the chain referral sampling (Marshall, 2003). Snowball sampling is often used to find and recruit hidden populations not easily accessible to researchers through other sampling strategies (Denzin, 2002). When the suggested participants were contacted, those that agreed to participate were interviewed using the above mentioned procedure. Other organisations approached included Scalabrini, Cape Town Refugee Centre and Trauma Centre; however, these organisations indicated that they were unable to link the researcher with suitable participants. Of the fifteen participants, six were purposively selected through the assistance of a gatekeeper; while the other seven participants were accessed by means of snowball sampling.

6.2 Data collection

The researcher conducted a brief pilot study in order to assess the effectiveness of the proposed methodology. A pilot study is defined as a specific pre-testing of research instruments, including

questionnaires or interview schedules (Baker, 2002:33. VanTeijlingen & Hundley (2001:1) purport that a pilot study follows after the researcher has a clear vision of the research topic, questions, techniques and methods, which will be applied, and what the research schedule will look like. In addition, Groenewald (2004:146) propose that a pilot study achieves three main goals which are: the detection of possible flaws in measurement procedures, the identification of unclear or ambiguous items in a questionnaire and the ability to observe non-verbal behaviours of participants to bring awareness to the researcher the possibility of uncomfortable questions or situations during the research. Informed by this literature, a pilot study was conducted.

Based on the pilot study, it emerged to the researcher that the participants were struggling to respond immediately to the interview question of what their challenges in preserving family and identity were during their stay in SA. As a result, the researcher modified the interview process by asking them biographical details first to put them at ease. Once that was established, participants found it better to respond to the challenges. The researcher also evaluated the rest of the methodology as suitable to answering the research question.

Individual in-depth interviews were conducted as a method of data collection. Marshall (2003) appraises in-depth interviews for being optimal in collecting data on individuals' personal histories, perspectives, and experiences, particularly when sensitive topics are being explored. Fontana and Frey (2005) applaud interviews as a widely used tool to access people's experiences and their inner perceptions, attitudes, and feelings of reality. For this study, unstructured interviews were used to illicit the participants' social realities. Minichiello, Aroni, Timewell and Alexander (1990: 26) define an unstructured interview as interviews in which neither the questions nor the answers are predetermined. Instead, they rely on social interaction between the researcher and the informant. On the other hand, Punch (1998) justifies use of unstructured interviews as a way to understand the complex behavior of people without imposing any prior categorization, which might limit the field of inquiry. In the same motion, Patton (2002) described unstructured interviews as a natural extension of participant observation, because they so often occur as part of ongoing participant observation fieldwork. The decision to use unstructured interviewing technique was guided by the objectives of the study which entailed making sense of the participants' world, through their own perspectives and on their own terms (McCann and Clarke, 2005). The authors further elaborate that while unstructured interviews

basically have no structure, they can be guided by an *aide memoire* which is abroad guide to topic issues that might be covered in the interview, rather than the actual questions to be asked. It is open-ended and flexible; it does not determine the order of the conversation and is subject to revision based on the responses of the interviewees.

As the researcher made use of a phenomenological strategy of design, the participants were given free rein to share their story through the use of one main question/ *aide memoire* which was: “What are the challenges you have faced as an ‘undocumented’ Zimbabwean immigrant in South Africa with regards to preserving your family and identity?” Through the main question, open-ended follow up questions and interviewing techniques were used to elicit more data. Open-ended questions are unstructured questions in which multiple responses can be given where statistical information is not the primary factor (Denzin, 2002). The author goes on to state that open-ended questions have the ability to elicit spontaneous response from participants hence rich data may be gathered. As a result, use of open-ended questions eliminated researcher bias where possible answers might have been suggested thereby leading the participants in a desired direction. However, it must be noted that minimal close-ended questions were also used especially in questions related to the biographical details of the participants. The researchers’ decision to employ open-ended questions is validated by Denzin and Lincoln (2000) who argue that open-ended questions have the ability to provoke responses that are meaningful, culturally salient to the participant, unanticipated by the researcher as well as rich and detailed.

The interviews were recorded using a cell phone compatible with audio recording. After recording, they were transcribed verbatim soon after the interviews to avoid losing important information and then translated to English. This data formed the main part of data collection. Field notes recorded during the interviews were also used (Creswell, 2003). The use of unstructured interviewing was the main means of data collection and was complimented by an analysis of the personal journal of the field notes.

Despite providing thick descriptions, use of interviews is not without its limitations. Yin (2003) argues that interviews’ are usually plagued with potential for response biases. The same author is also of the opinion that the interviewees may manipulate their responses to please the interviewer

in the search for information. In other words, participants may find themselves in the position where they tell the researcher what they believe the researcher would want to hear. Furthermore, information gathered via interviews is often subjected to the inaccuracies of poor recall. In this sense the information provided by participants is limited by poor- and/or selective memory as well as unintentional or intentional deception (Yin, 2003). The researcher guarded against this weakness through the use of trustworthiness as will be explained in Paragraph 7.2 of this chapter.

In order to prepare participants for the study the researcher explained the goals and objectives of the study to the identified prospective participants who had indicated interest in the study. After goals and objectives were explained, the researcher then explained the ethical issues around the study as detailed in the consent form attached as Appendix B. The aforementioned considerations were explained to the prospective participants who were then asked to go and read the informed consent form in their own time so as to give them sufficient time to make an informed decision on whether or not to participate. The researcher then contacted each participant individually to address any questions they may still have pertaining to the study as well as to determine whether or not they had made a decision regarding participation in the study. A suitable time and venue for the interviews was then negotiated between the researcher and the participants that agreed to take part in the study and the informed consent forms were also signed.

In order to fully explore and describe the challenges faced by the ‘undocumented’ Zimbabwean immigrants in SA with regards to preserving their family and identity, two interviews were conducted in the communities where the participants lived. The rest were conducted in environments inclusive of the local library, church and a park as participants requested different venues. Precautions such as ensuring that noise levels were reduced considerably and that privacy was ensured were taken. However with the park, it was not easy. However, the researcher did not object to the venue choices by the participants as it was apparent that some of them chose these venues to avoid showing the researcher where they resided in case immigration officials ever read the research findings and linked them to the study. Although matters such as privacy and confidentiality were explained in detail, the researcher respected the participants’ wishes.

7. DATA ANALYSIS

Qualitative data analysis refers to the categorization, ordering and summarizing of data to obtain answers to research questions, (De Vos et al., 2005). Creswell (2003) also stipulates that data analysis moves deeper and deeper into understanding the data and making an interpretation of the larger meaning of data. Expanding the definition, Hatch (2002:148) defines data analysis as

“A systematic search for meaning. It is a way to process qualitative data so that what has been learned can be communicated to others. Data analysis means organizing and interrogating data in ways that allow researchers to see patterns, identify themes, discover relationships, develop explanations, make interpretations, mount critiques, or generate theories.”

7.1 Steps in analysing data

In order to systematically conduct a comprehensive data analysis, Creswell's (2003) six generic steps for analysing qualitative data were adopted.

Firstly in preparation for the data analysis, Creswell (2003) argued that the researcher should organize and prepare data through transcribing interviews, keeping account of field notes and arranging the data into different types depending on the sources of information. In carrying out the first step, the researcher conducted the first eight interviews on different days. Immediately after each interview, the data was transcribed. The researcher then sat down with the supervisor to go through the interviews and determine whether saturation had been reached. It was agreed that saturation had not yet been obtained hence seven more interviews were conducted and transcribed in the same manner. The researcher, independent coder and supervisor then reached an agreement that saturation had been reached. While one could view this process as being part of data collection, the researcher argues that as there is no delineation in the stages, as the researcher was collecting data, analysis was also taking place hence the analysis to determine whether saturation had been achieved. This notion is supported by Tesch (2013) who states that data analysis is an eclectic process. Further cementing this stance, Creswell, (2003); Miles and Huberman (1994) support the notion by that data analysis occurs simultaneously and iterative with data collection, data interpretation and report writing.

Having completed the organisation and preparation of data analysis process, the second step involved the researcher reading through all data to obtain a general sense of the information and to reflect on its overall meaning (Creswell, 2003). Starting with the shortest and most interesting documentation of an interview, the researcher read through, reflected on the underlying meanings and made notes on any rising thoughts, views or opinions (Creswell, 2003). The researcher made lists of all the noted topics and themes and clustered together similar topics and themes and checked for similarities in what the different participant's highlighted as well as the differences thereof (Creswell, 2003).

In the third step, Creswell (2003) argues that this is the beginning of a detailed analysis with a coding process. According to Rallis and Rossman (2010:450) coding is a process of organizing the materials into "chunks" before bringing meaning to those "chunks." In this step, the researcher used the list drawn up in step two and abbreviated the topics and developed codes on the appropriate segments within the participants' information (Creswell, 2003).

In achieving the fourth step, Creswell (2003) alludes that the researcher should develop descriptive wording for the already noted topics in the third stage. To attain Step Four, the researcher sought to find descriptive wording for these topics and turned them into categories and then reduced them considerably by grouping related topics together based on the similarities and differences. As suggested by the author, the researcher displayed the multiple perspectives regarding the challenges faced by the undocumented in terms of preserving their family and identity and supported it with diverse quotations and evidence.

Implementing the fifth step, the researcher should make a final decision on the abbreviation for each category and then categorize these codes. This leads to the seventh stage of assembling of data belonging to each category in one place and performing a preliminary analysis (Creswell, 2003). The researcher adhered to this step by stipulating and recoding the existing data to obtain consistence on the meaning attached to the participants collected data. The information was analysed and presented in a chronological order with the aid of tables and figures to express the analysis in a research report.

In the sixth and final step data analysis culminates in the interpretation of the data (Creswell 2003). Throughout this step, Lincoln and Guba (1985) encourage the capturing of lessons learnt

from the data. Effectively, the researcher drafted the final research on the basis of the understanding of the Zimbabwean cultures and traditions. Where consistency was identified, themes and sub-themes were developed and where there were differences, they were analysed as an individual theme. The data was then compiled into an analysis which forms the basis of Chapter 4 on the findings of this research study.

7.2 Trustworthiness

As discussed in Chapter One, Paragraph 7.1, the researcher sought to retain trustworthiness throughout the research. Lincoln and Guba (1985) define trustworthiness as the process of ensuring that the research process is truthful, careful and rigorous enough to qualify to make the claims that it does. Qualitative data uses different terms to quantitative research to define trustworthiness, see table on the next page:



Table 1: Terminology used to define trustworthiness in qualitative and quantitative research (Jwan and Ong’ondo, 2012: 431).

Terminology in qualitative	Terminology in quantitative	Meaning

research	research	
Credibility	Internal validity	Extent to which the study actually investigates <i>what it claims</i> to investigate and reports what actually occurred in the field (Yin2003; Mason, 2002; Creswell and Miller, 2000; Bassey, 1999; Nunan, 1992).
Transferability	External validity	Extent to which the research findings may be generalised to other cases or contexts (Yin, 2003; Mason, 2002).
Dependability	Reliability	Extent to which the research procedure is clear to enable other researchers to <i>replicate</i> the study and get similar results (Yin, 2003; Mason 2002; Nunan, 1990).
Confirmability	Objectivity	How neutral the researcher is and to what extent s/he influences the findings (Gillham, 2000; Hammersley and Atkinson, 1995).

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Creswell and Miller (2000) rationalise the use of different terms to define trustworthiness in qualitative and quantitative research because the procedure of evaluating trustworthiness is different in both methods.

Qualitative researchers use bracketing to improve rigor and to reduce bias in research. Parahoo (1997:45) defines bracketing as “suspension of the researcher’s preconceptions, prejudices, and beliefs so that they do not interfere with or influence the participants’ experience”. A challenge highlighted in phenomenological studies is bracketing personal experiences as the researcher has to be critical in deciding how and in what way his or her personal understandings will be introduced into the study. Burns and Grove (2003:380) add that bracketing means that the researcher lays aside what he or she knows about the experience being studied. Streubert and Carpenter (1999:12) affirm that bracketing means not making judgment about what was observed or heard and remaining open to data as it is revealed. The researcher admits that this challenge was very apparent throughout the study as being Zimbabwean, the researcher had to

suspend her own understandings of the phenomenon in a reflexive mode that cultivates curiosity (LeVasseur, 2003).

The tables in the subsequent pages adapted and modified from (Van Der Westhuizen and De Wet (2002:190-195) pertain to how the researcher endeavoured to ensure credibility, transferability, confirmability and dependability throughout the study:



Table 2: Description of how credibility was achieved

STRATEGY	CRITERIA	EVIDENCE
Interviewing	Use of good and appropriate	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Appropriate interviewing skills were

techniques	interviewing skills such as: Probing, listening, clarification, questioning, reflection, focusing, and encouraging.	employed to provide a thick description and exploration of the challenges faced by ‘undocumented’ Zimbabwean immigrants with regards to preserving their family and identity in SA.
Triangulation	Triangulation is the application of multiple perspectives in collecting data by using multiple perceptions to clarify meaning, verify repeatability of an observation or interpretation (Stake, 2004: 453).	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Data was collected from different sources. • Zimbabweans from all walks of life including skilled and semi-skilled professionals were interviewed. • Shona and Ndebele ‘undocumented’ immigrants were interviewed. • An independent coder was employed to assist with data analysis to avoid bias.
Peer examination	Peer examination involves the researcher sharing the research process and findings with impartial colleagues. It keeps the researcher honest and contributes to a deeper analysis and credibility (Krefting, 1990).	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The researcher shared the research process and findings with fellow Master’s students who are involved in qualitative studies. • The supervisor and independent coder were also well versed in qualitative studies with years of experience and provided necessary feedback.

The next table will illustrate how transferability was achieved throughout this study.

Table 3: Description of how transferability was achieved as adapted and modified from Van Der Westhuizen and De Wet (2002:190).

Strategy	Criteria	Evidence
Transferability	Sampling	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The sample was inclusive of ‘undocumented’

		<p>Zimbabweans from all walks of life, all tribes, skilled and unskilled. It was a good representation of the general Zimbabwean population. See the demographics as explained in detail in Chapter 4.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Snowball and purposive sampling methods were both used.
	<p>Dense description: Transferability is enhanced through a great deal of information about the participants and the findings (Guba in Krefting, 1991:216)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Demographic details as explained above enabled for varied experiences, hence a thick description. • In-depth interviews were conducted and the themes identified were compared and contrasted with existing literature on the subject of the challenges faced by ‘undocumented’ Zimbabwean immigrants with regards to preserving their family and identity in SA. Chapter Four provides in-depth evidence of how this was achieved. • Thick descriptions provided through the selected research methodology enabled the findings to be transferable to similar settings as all ‘undocumented’ Zimbabwean immigrants are subjected to the same legislative processes as described by Khan (2007). • By means of literature control the findings of the study were rooted in a theoretical framework and interpreted against existing literature on the research topic.

Following the discussion on transferability, the next table will depict how dependability was achieved in this study as adapted and modified from Van Der Westhuizen and De Wet (2002:190-195).

Table 4: Description of how dependability was achieved

Strategy	Criteria	Evidence
Dependability	Triangulation	Refer to Table 2 under triangulation
	Dense description	Refer to Table 2 under dense description
	Peer examination	Refer to Table 2 under peer examination
	Independent coder	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • An independent coder was employed to code the data. The researcher and the coder worked independently after which consensus regarding the themes, sub-themes and data saturation was reached. • The techniques used in this study were described so as to increase the dependability of the research • Describing the research goal and objectives as well as following a path to achieve it by means of the research sample, data collection method and analysis • Individual consultation with research supervisor as well as telephonic and electronic discussions throughout the research process • The researcher also provided evidence of the processes implemented and the data generated.

The next and final table in this section will illustrate how the researcher attained conformability as adapted and modified from Van Der Westhuizen and De Wet (2002:190-195).

Table 5: Description of how conformability was achieved

Strategy	Criteria	Evidence
	Verbatim transcripts	The data which was analysed was retrieved from

Conformability		the transcripts that were recorded verbatim. This prevented subjective perspectives from guiding the whole process.
	Field notes	All field notes recorded throughout the research process. This ensured that data was not lost and all aspects including observations by the researcher were not lost during data analysis.
	Triangulation	Refer to Table 2 under triangulation.

7.3 Reflexivity

Thorpe and Holt (2007: 1) define reflexivity as a process that involves self-awareness and critical self-awareness of the researcher’s potential for bias and predispositions as they may affect the research process and conclusions. Adding to this definition, Steedman (1991) opined that reflexivity is based on the premise that knowledge cannot be separated from the knower. The same author further argues that in the social sciences, there is only interpretation as nothing speaks for itself. In order to achieve reflexivity, the researcher constantly underwent the processes of reflexivity in order to increase the trustworthiness and integrity of the study. These processes included the researcher approaching the research process being aware of her own subjective biases having clarified her position and stated her interest in the study. To achieve this, throughout the research process, notes were taken and used during reflection exercises so as to reflect and understand the researcher’s own feelings, views and observations both before and after the interviews. Moreover, the researcher engaged in reflective discussions and peer reviews with the academic supervisor to help question and clarify the researcher’s role as the research instrument. These reflections allowed the opportunity to vent anxieties especially at the start of the data collection process as the researcher lacked confidence as a novice researcher. The resultant was that the researcher was therefore able to build confidence. The need to increase self-awareness was further enhanced by the fact that the researcher’s cultural and value system was closely linked to the participants especially as she is also a Zimbabwean. The researcher was also constantly aware of the ethical dilemmas that existed within the study as some participants were desperate for material assistance despite the initial explanations that none would be offered.

As some of the participants had heart-breaking accounts of the challenges they have experienced during their journey to SA as well as during their stay in SA, the researcher discussed her experiences with the supervisor and a social work colleague to avoid counter-transference issues that may have tampered with the data. Phenomenological studies recommend that the researcher constantly reflects on potential bias and counter-transference because participants share their personal lived experiences. Hence the researcher used all processes mentioned in this paragraph to ensure a credible study.

8. ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

As stipulated in the literature review, the researcher adhered to ethical considerations to ensure participants were not unduly harmed in any way throughout the research. In this section, the researcher will discuss how ethical considerations were taken into account throughout this study.

8.1 Informed consent

Informed consent was ensured by ensuring that participants were given freedom to choose to take part in the study without fear of prejudice should they decide to not participate or to withdraw participation at any stage of the study. This was very important given the contentious nature of the research topic. Hence emphasis was made on ensuring that participants did not feel coerced into being part of this study or to complete the interviews under duress (Polit et al., 2001).

8.2 Beneficence

This principle means researchers must above all, do no harm (De Vos et al., 2005). This principle contains broad dimensions such as freedom from harm and exploitation as well as the researcher's duty to evaluate the risk/benefit ratio. Although physical harm was not anticipated, the researcher bore in mind the possibilities of psychological challenges given the gravity of the

topic hence the need for sensitivity. The researcher was sensitive to the participants' emotions when probing questions that could psychologically harm the participants. The researcher informed the participants at the beginning of each interview and when they provided informed consent that if they felt that some parts of the interview were too emotional for them, they were free to withdraw from the study or choose not to answer the question (See copy of informed consent, Appendix A).

Polit et al. (2001) caution that the researcher-participant relationship should not be exploited. Robson (1997) also cautions that the audiotapes and written narratives be safely stored and destroyed soon after the study. In line with this caution, the researcher will discard of the said data after graduation. This was done to ensure that the information given by participants would never be linked to them or cause arrest or deportation since 'undocumentation' is considered a criminal offense in SA.

8.3 Right to self-determination

Another important ethical consideration that was observed was the right to self determination. Participants have the right to decide whether to participate without incurring any penalty (Polit et al., 2001). Participants were approached and the purpose of the study was explained. No remuneration was offered and they were informed of the opportunity to withdraw at any stage of the research. Verbal and written consent was also obtained from the participants. Individuals who refused to participate's choices were respected and not forced to take part in the study. It was also explained to the gatekeepers that in identifying and assisting with access to participants, they ensure that participants are not coerced in any way.

8.4 Right to fair treatment

The right to fair treatment was also observed in this study. Fair treatment stipulates that the selected participants' inclusion is based on the requirements of research. The researcher insured fair treatment through the following:

- Non-prejudicial treatment of participants who refused to take part or those who withdrew.
- The participants had access to the researcher at any point of the study to clarify information.
- Sensitivity and respect for the participants' beliefs, habits, lifestyles, culture and emotions.
- Courteous treatment at all times (Polit et al., 2001).
- The purposive sampling method with the purpose of selecting participants with experience in being an 'undocumented' Zimbabwean in SA ensured that all participants that met the research criteria were selected without discrimination.

8.5 Right to full disclosure

Having observed the above-mentioned ethical considerations, the researcher also observed participants right to full disclosure. The right to full disclosure entails that the researcher fully explains the nature of the study beforehand in order to fully enlighten participants on the study parameters (Polit et al., 2001). The same authors also assert that self-determination is dependent on full disclosure as participants can only make informed decisions to participate once full disclosure of the aims and objectives are shared. The researcher shared the aim and purpose of study, the type of interviews and other data collection procedures with the participants as well as the perceived use of the data once the research is completed.

8.6 Right to privacy and confidentiality

Closely associated with the right to full disclosure was the right to privacy and confidentiality. Right to privacy entails that the information provided by participants will not be shared against their will and knowledge (Burns & Grove 2003). Where interviews were conducted in the participants' natural setting, there was no intrusion of privacy with regard to information provided or their living environments. Anonymity was also upheld through the use of pseudonyms. The participants were also assured of confidentiality verbally and in the written consent forms. The following precautions were used to ensure confidentiality:

- The list of names, transcriptions and notes were kept in a locked place.
- The list of names was kept separate from recordings, transcriptions and notes.
- No names were attached to the tapes or transcription or notes (Polit et al., 2001).

In essence, the researcher took all means necessary to avoid exposing the participants' information in a jeopardizing manner given the sensitivity of their undocumented status.

9. LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

The study was not without limitations. The following section will present the limitations experienced throughout this study:

- The greatest challenge in the study was the fact that the researcher relied on accessing hard-to-reach participants. Because lack of documentation is considered illegal in SA, it was very challenging to get participants to willingly take part in the research study. The researcher initially planned to make use of centres that work directly with 'undocumented' Zimbabwean immigrants. Although they initially consented, in the end they were unwilling to link the researcher to participants who met the selection criteria due to confidentiality issues. The centres also stated that they do not have the kind of relationship with the individuals they have assisted to approach them to be part of the study. It was therefore a very tedious and time-consuming process.
- Being a Zimbabwean citizen herself was also a major challenge for the researcher. Although it worked well for the purpose of language as most interviews were conducted in Shona and Ndebele (Zimbabweans main languages), the researcher experienced that most would-be participants were generally distrustful of the scope of the research and what it could represent along political lines, especially those that left Zimbabwe for politically-motivated reasons. Some people chose not to participate for fear that the researcher may be an agent of a political party seeking to do investigative work under the guise of conducting research. Some would-be participants ended up asking very personal questions related to history and political affiliation of the researcher which sometimes bordered on the lines of being intrusive and inappropriate.

- Another challenge experienced was that that some participants interviewed were desperate people requiring financial and material assistance. Even though it was specified in the consent form and pre-interview discussions that none would be given, some participants still hoped financial and material assistance would be given. Due to the desperate nature of some participants, they ended up calling the researcher after the interview process requesting financial assistance or assistance in gaining legal documentation. In reflection, it was also challenging for the researcher to turn her back on participants that were obviously desperate with no food to eat for that particular day. Hence there was a conflict of interest between being a professional researcher who is only there for research purposes and also being a human being with values of ubuntu and hunhu as stipulated in the Zimbabwean culture.
- It was also apparent from most interviews that most participants had never had a chance to share their story before on a professional platform. Hence some interviews took very long because participants felt the need to verbalise their stories in a safe environment without necessarily addressing the research question. It was also evident that some participants just needed someone to listen to their story for emotional purposes more than for the research purpose and felt the interview was an opportunity to do so.

Be that as it may, the methodology chosen for this study was effective in answering the research question as well as meeting the research goals and objectives.

10. CONCLUSION

The preceding methodology has been an explanation of the research process followed in order to gather and analyse the data gathered from the participants. Qualitative research as the main method used allowed for the exploration, the thoughts, feelings, values and beliefs of the participants. It also clearly described the extent to which these have framed what the participants consider to be challenges of 'undocumented' Zimbabwean immigrants in SA. The individual unstructured interviews allowed for flexibility while using a framework that asked similar questions to the participants to ensure generalisability. Gathering the data was not always easy

because the participants were not always forthcoming in sharing intimate details of the challenges they faced. The steps of data analysis used provided with clear cut steps on how to approach the data gathered as well as to critically verify the data gathered.

In a nut shell, the methods of data gathering and analysis used were suitable to the nature of study and the particular topic under study. Suffice to say, there were challenges as explained in this chapter and these will frame the recommendations that will be given in Chapter 5. The following chapter is the report back of the research findings after data was analysed.



CHAPTER FOUR

RESEARCH FINDINGS AND LITERATURE CONTROL

1. INTRODUCTION

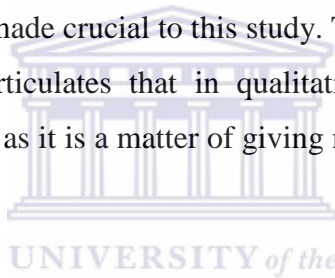
The previous chapter dealt with the research methodology implemented in order to elicit data regarding the challenges ‘undocumented’ Zimbabwean immigrants experience in a bid to preserve their identity and families while living in SA. The study was qualitative in nature and employed a phenomenological strategy of design to capture the lived experiences of the participants who were selected by means of purposive and snowball sampling techniques. Unstructured, individual interviews were used as a method of data collection. This chapter will now present and discuss the data that emerged through the use of the above mentioned methodology. In order to recap the reader’s attention, the goal of this study was to explore and describe the challenges experienced by ‘undocumented’ Zimbabwean immigrants in SA in preserving their families and identity.

Bendat & Piersol (2000) define data analysis as a process of evaluating data using analytical and logical reasoning to examine each component of the data provided. In a similar tone, Creswell (2003) defines it as the creation and application of codes to data to make meaning of it while Williams (2010) maintains that data analysis is an analytical scientific process of examining raw data with the purpose of drawing conclusions about that information. Rabinowitz & Fawcett (2010) on the other hand envisage that no matter the form and structure one applies in conducting data analysis, data analysis essentially helps in structuring the findings and bringing meaning to the data from different sources of data collection.

This chapter will proceed in the following manner: The researcher will highlight some observations made during the data collection process and unpack the demographic details of the 15 ‘undocumented’ immigrants from Zimbabwe who took part in the study. The following section of this chapter will present the themes, sub-themes and categories (where applicable) which emerged from the data analysis and the consequent consensus discussion between the researcher, independent coder and the supervisor and finally, relevant analytical conclusions of this chapter will be made. In order to clarify the respective participant’s challenges, mentioning was made of male participants, female participants and parent participants to emphasise the meaning they attach to their experiences.

2. THE RESEARCHER’S OBSERVATIONS DURING DATA COLLECTION

Observations formed an important part of the overall data analysis. Despite the fact that observations were not the main data collection tool, they were critical throughout the research. Thomson and Walker (2010) support the use of observation in research as a critical way of gathering information especially of those things participants may not feel the need to speak about. The researcher was able to observe valuable information in the participants' way of life that relates to their family life and challenges experienced with regards to family and identity preservation. An analysis of observations is encouraged as some elements of participant's experiences are so entrenched in their natural setting and have become normal for them, but may be crucial to a researcher's analysis as was the case in this study. Thomson and Walker (2010) encourage that even when used as a secondary data collection method, observations ought to be acknowledged as fundamentals in increasing the researcher's awareness of participant's settings as well as non-verbal cues while conducting the study. In line with this view, the researcher journaled observations made crucial to this study. These observations aided in the data analysis process. Stake (2006) articulates that in qualitative studies, there is no particular moment when data analysis begins as it is a matter of giving meaning to first impressions as well as to final compilations.



It was observed that eight of the fifteen participants live in very low-income housing inclusive of shacks, Wendy houses or whole families cramped in one or two roomed houses. The researcher also observed that more often than not, it was not only the Zimbabweans that lived in such squalid conditions but also the South Africans who live in those areas. The findings of this study compared with the assertion of Crush and Tevera (2010) that poorer and unskilled migrant Zimbabwean workers are known to cluster in informal settlements around SA. During the researcher's visits to the participants for data collection purposes, she also observed that there were many more Zimbabweans in these communities as she heard many Shona and Ndebele speakers of Zimbabwean origin.

The demographic data of the 'undocumented' Zimbabwean immigrants will be presented in the following section.

3. DEMOGRAPHIC DATA OF PARTICIPANTS

The following table will present the demographic details on the 15 participants that were interviewed.

Table 5: Demographic data of the participants

AGE	GENDER	LANGUAGE	RELATIONSHIP STATUS	YEARS IN SA	REASON FOR MIGRATION
53	M	Ndebele	Married	6	Economic
24	F	Shona	Single	7	Political
46	F	Shona	Widow	13	Economic
26	F	Shona	Cohabiting	3	Family reunification
32	M	English	Married	4	Family reunification/ Academic
40	M	Shona	Married	4	Economic
30	M	Shona	Single/ Cohabiting	3	Economic
25	F	English	Single/ Cohabiting	6	Academic
31	M	Shona	Married	5	Economic
28	M	Shona	Single/ Cohabiting	5	Political/ Academic
AGE	GENDER	LANGUAGE	RELATIONSHIP STATUS	YEARS IN SA	REASON FOR MIGRATING
24	F	Shona	Divorced	2	Economic
36	F	Shona	Married	3	Family reunification

52	M	Ndebele	Married	22	Political
30	F	Ndebele	Single	3	Economic
28	M	Shona	Single/ Cohabiting	1	Economic

3.1 Age

The ages of the participants who took part in this study ranged from 24 to 53 years. Six participants were in their 20's, five in their 30's while two were in their 40's. Only two participants were in their 50's. The age of the 'undocumented' Zimbabwean immigrants affirms recent literature on migration trends that states that there is a current shift in migration trends in that younger people are increasingly becoming immigrants in SA (Crush and Tevera, 2010).

3.2 Gender

Eight of the participants who took part in this study were male and seven were female. The gender profiling of the participants attested to Crush et al (2005) assertion that female Zimbabwean migrants in SA tend to be younger than their male counterparts. Crush and Tevera (2010) agree with the aforementioned authors and justify the increased presence of females to males by stating that previously, migration of Zimbabweans to SA attracted males; hence females are now catching up; hence the difference. In fact, seven of the 15 participants who took part in this study were female. These findings compare with Crush and Tevera, (2010) assertion that there is growing feminization of migration from Zimbabwe and more and more women have left Zimbabwe in search for work in neighbouring countries.

3.3 Language

The 'undocumented' Zimbabwean immigrants were interviewed in their language of preference, namely English, Shona and Ndebele. Out of the 15 interviewed participants, three were Ndebele, ten were Shona while two preferred to converse in English. It was interesting to note that the participants who identified themselves as Ndebele were quite touchy when addressed in Shona.

They argued that their cultural roots and diversity were not respected when they were subjected to speaking Shona. This phenomenon will be described in more detail when the issue of national identity is being explored under Paragraph 2.2 of this Chapter. It must also be noted that the two participants that chose to converse in English were a student who is a university graduate and a married man who also holds a degree, but could not get a job in his field of study. It was therefore deduced that the level of education had a bearing on comfortability with conversing in English.

3.4 Relationship status

With regards to relationship status of the 15 ‘undocumented’ Zimbabwean immigrants who took part in the study, six participants were married while two identified themselves as being single and not in any form of sexual or physical relationship. Five of the participants were in a cohabitating relationship while one reported to be widowed and another to be divorced. Although most of the participants indicated that they are married, only one indicated that his wife is still in Zimbabwe while the rest relocated in order to be with their partners. This attests to Makina (in Crush and Tevera 2010) who states that migration trends from Zimbabwe to SA has changed from being predominantly for the single, unmarried and young adults to having more married people migrating. The same author even continues to state that since the Zimbabwean crisis, “anyone who can work is now a candidate for migration whatever their age or marital status” (Crush and Tevera, 2010: 233). Another interesting point was that five out of the six married participants were male which could be indicative of the fact that the majority of married Zimbabwean men migrated to SA for economic reasons as they have to provide for their family as breadwinners.

3.5 Number of years in SA

The participant who reported having stayed longest in SA has been residing in SA for 22 years. One participant reported having been in SA for 13 years, another for seven years. Two participants reported a six year stay in SA, one reported five years and the other two having been

in SA for four years. The shortest duration of stay in SA were four participants who have been in SA for three years and one who has only been a year in SA. A critical observation was made regarding the number of years that the 'undocumented' Zimbabwean immigrants who took part in the study spent in SA to date. Those participants that claimed to have left Zimbabwe for political reasons indicated they had stayed longer in SA in comparison to those that migrated for economic or family reunification reasons. (Crush and Tevera, 2010) alluded to the fact that immigrants who arrived in SA before 2001 usually give economic motivations as their reasons for leaving Zimbabwe, while those that migrated between 2005-2008 give political reasons as the main push factor. The participants in this study mostly migrated after 2008, the period considered the worst economically and politically in the history of Zimbabwe (Crush and Tevera (2010); Bloch (2008); Van Hear (2007)). It became evident from the participants in the study that their migration and duration of stay in SA coincides with the reports of an influx of Zimbabweans into SA during the 2008 presidential elections in Zimbabwe (Bloch, 2008). The duration of the participants' stay in SA are in agreement with the assertions by Muzondidya (2007) that what Zimbabweans previously considered a temporary sanctuary has now become home as most of them indicated that when they arrived, they never expected to stay beyond one year.



3.6 Reasons for migration

Out of the 15 participants, eight reportedly migrated mainly for economic reasons, three for political reasons, two for academic reasons and three for reasons of family reunification. Their reasons for migration were divided into political, economic, academic and family reunification and often some reasons merged into one another with participants reporting to have migrated for more than one reason. One of the participants who used to be a student at the University of Zimbabwe and active in student politics, received threats for his outspoken campaigns targeted at the ruling party. He decided to relocate to South Africa as he feared arrest and thus unable to complete his education. He also readily admitted that he considered that with a South African degree, he stood a better chance of being employed in a better paying job in most countries. Hence while the political reason emerges as the main reason, academic and economic factors were also important motivations in his decision to migrate. It must be noted that only one female

participant became ‘undocumented’ purely for academic reasons. Given the intricate deception required to not only evade immigration officials but also the university officials and studying with a fake study permit, it could be deduced that the females in this study were more wary of being discovered by taking such a high risk. More than half of the participants gave economic reasons as their reason for migration. The latter strongly confirms with studies which suggests that most Zimbabweans are economic migrants rather than political ones (Landau 2006; Pasura 2008; Crush and Tevera 2010). Of the said participants, it must also be noted that most of them attempted to apply for asylum on false pretences such as fearing political torture as that was the only option availed them in order to legalize their stay. Crush and Tevera (2010) postulate that in order to understand migrant behaviour, it is important to note that people rarely migrate for a single reason. A factor stated by the previous author that was negated by the participants in this study however involves the matter of planning before relocation. The same authors continue to contend that people migrate with a plan regarding where they intend to go and what they intend to do. Four participants in this study stated that while there was a comparison between where they were (Zimbabwe) and where they intended to go (South Africa), they made no concrete plans regarding what they intended to do or how they would do it once they migrated to SA. The following participant explained his experience in this regard:

“When I decided to travel I did not know what I was going to do. I just knew I had to leave. I did not even carry a bag because I did not want to look obvious at the border.”

The above discussion presented the demographic details of the ‘undocumented’ Zimbabwean immigrants who took part in the study. Analysing the demographic details of the participants was crucial in order to compare with other studies and also placing it in context.

4. DISCUSSION OF THE THEMES AND SUB-THEMES

Five major themes, eighteen sub-themes and thirteen categories emerged from the ‘undocumented’ Zimbabwean immigrant’s accounts of the challenges they have experienced in a

bid to preserve their family and identity while in SA. The following table depicts the themes, sub-themes and categories that emerged during data analysis.

Table 6: Summary of themes, sub themes and categories

THEME	SUB-THEME	CATEGORY
1: ‘Undocumented’ Zimbabwean immigrants in SA’s challenges in preserving their families	1.1 ‘Undocumented’ Zimbabwean immigrants in SA’s challenges with regards to parenting	1.1.1 ‘Undocumented’ Zimbabwean immigrants in SA’s challenges in adhering to SA laws pertaining to children
	1.2 ‘Undocumented’ Zimbabwean immigrants challenges related to family life	1.2.1 ‘Undocumented’ Zimbabwean immigrants challenges in upholding family responsibilities 1.2.2 ‘Undocumented’ Zimbabwean immigrants in SA’s challenges due to lack of contact with family members 1.2.3 ‘Undocumented’ Zimbabwean immigrants in SA’s challenges in preserving relationships with their families back in Zimbabwe 1.2.4 ‘Undocumented’ Zimbabwean immigrants in SA’s
THEME	SUB-THEME	CATEGORY ...challenges with preserving their family values that

		determine their identity as Zimbabweans
	1.3 'Undocumented' Zimbabwean immigrants in SA's challenges in adapting to strange environment and lifestyle	
2: 'Undocumented' Zimbabwean immigrants in SA's challenges in preserving their identity	2.1 'Undocumented' Zimbabwean immigrants in SA's challenges in preserving their personal identity	
	2.2 'Undocumented' Zimbabwean immigrants in SA's challenges in preserving their national identity	
	2.3 'Undocumented' Zimbabwean immigrants' in SA's challenges in preserving their cultural identity	
3: 'Undocumented' Zimbabwean immigrants' challenges relating to their journey to SA	3.1 'Undocumented' Zimbabwean immigrants in SA's challenges influencing their immigration to SA	3.1.1 Economic reasons 3.1.2 Political reasons 3.1.3 Family reunification reason 3.1.4 The decision to become 'undocumented' in SA
THEME	SUB-THEME	CATEGORY

	<p>3.2 ‘Undocumented’ Zimbabwean immigrants in SA’s challenges related to how they came into SA</p>	
	<p>3.3 ‘Undocumented’ Zimbabwean immigrants in SA’s becoming victims of exploitation and crime during their journey</p>	
	<p>3.4 ‘Undocumented’ Zimbabwean immigrants in SA’s challenges related to their efforts to obtain “documentation”</p>	
<p>4: Challenges experienced by ‘undocumented’ Zimbabwean immigrants during their stay in SA</p>	<p>4.1 ‘Undocumented’ Zimbabwean immigrants in SA’s challenges with regards to marriage</p>	<p>4.1.1 Challenges caused by infidelity</p> <p>4.1.2 Challenges caused by changes in women gaining more independence</p> <p>4.1.3 Challenges related to cultural values in marriage</p>
	<p>4.2 ‘Undocumented’ Zimbabwean immigrants in SA’s challenges of loneliness</p>	
	<p>4.3 ‘Undocumented’ Zimbabwean immigrants in SA’s challenges of humiliation</p>	
	<p>4.4 ‘Undocumented’ Zimbabwean immigrants</p>	
<p>THEME</p>	<p>SUB-THEME</p>	<p>CATEGORY</p>

	in SA's fear of being deported	
	4.5 'Undocumented' Zimbabwean immigrants in SA's inability to practice culture due to fear of becoming a victim of xenophobia	
	4.6 'Undocumented' Zimbabwean immigrants in SA's lack of opportunities and fair treatment	
	4.7 'Undocumented' Zimbabwean immigrants in SA's challenges related to exploitation by fellow Zimbabweans	
5: The 'undocumented' Zimbabwean immigrants in SA's challenges with regards to support during their stay in SA	5.1 Challenges due to diminished support structures after relocation to SA 5.2 Challenges due to lack of support from SA professional service providers.	

In the next section of this chapter, the main themes, their accompanying sub-themes and categories will be presented and illustrated, underscored and/or confirmed by providing direct quotations from the transcripts of the individual interviews. The identified themes, sub-themes and categories will be discussed and contextualised within the body of knowledge available (a literature control will be provided).

5. THEME 1: 'UNDOCUMENTED' ZIMBABWEAN IMMIGRANTS IN SA's CHALLENGES IN PRESERVING THEIR FAMILIES

The following theme will give an account of the challenges encountered by ‘undocumented’ Zimbabwean immigrants in SA in preserving their families. The sub-themes focus on the challenges related to parenting, family life and adaptation to the SA environment and lifestyle. Challenges of parent participants such as adhering to SA legislation pertaining to their children, the lack of contact with family members, their inability to meet family responsibilities back in Zimbabwe and the impact of being undocumented on their relationship with family members will further be elaborated on in the respective categories.

5.1 Sub-theme 1: ‘Undocumented’ Zimbabwean immigrants in SA’s challenges with regards to parenting

One of the greatest challenges of ‘undocumented’ Zimbabwean immigrants in preserving family and identity while in SA pertained to parenting and were identified by parent participants. As ‘undocumented’ immigrants, the participants who are parents felt disempowered by virtue of lacking documentation to ensure that they can make independent decisions pertaining to their children. Parents’ lack of documentation seemed to translate for them into lack of parental control and power over their children which they would have enjoyed in Zimbabwe. In addition, their lack of financial privileges made parenting a daunting responsibility for them as they struggled to be physically present for their children while trying to evade immigration officials and still put decent food on the table. Furthermore, the change in lifestyle and societal expectations was identified as divisive as parents struggled to rein in their children while allowing them to experience and adapt to their new environment.

The ‘undocumented’ Zimbabwean immigrants who are parents also struggled to preserve their families by instilling discipline in their children through corporal punishment. They expressed their disempowerment as parents as follows:

Problem is twofold! White people and government. Madam and government not allow me to beat this child up when child is problem. They say child abuse, child abuse. We [Zimbabweans] grow up beating up our children to put them straight in the path.”

“My child was taken by the social workers ...Now I can’t fight with the social workers because if they start digging too much and realize I don’t have papers, I can get into deep, deep trouble and might never see my wife and child again.”

“This child of mine even raises her voice to say if you beat me up, I will have you locked up! Who ever heard of such nonsense that a child can refuse to be disciplined! But knowing I don’t have papers and if this child reports me it’s the end of the road, I am forced to tuck my tail between my legs.”

From the above quotations, it is clear that the participants considered lack of documentation a prohibition in determining how parental discipline ought to be handled. Their fear of either being arrested or having their children taken away from them by social workers caused friction between some parents and their children. As a result, they perceived that some of their children are disobedient, defiant to parental authority and abuse children’s rights in SA which is in contrast to their rights in Zimbabwe. Parents also felt that the involvement of SA social services in their family lives could illuminate their ‘undocumentation’. From the participants’ accounts of their experiences with the SA legislation, a contradiction was highlighted pertaining to discipline of children. Corporal punishment was highlighted as an important method of discipline in Zimbabwe while in SA it is criminalised. To illustrate this predicament, the Zimbabwean Criminal Law Act, (Codification and Reform) Act (2004) Article 241 provides a parent or guardian authority to administer moderate corporal punishment for disciplinary purposes upon his or her minor child in the home or at school. However, Article 7 of the Children’s Act (1972) of Zimbabwe highlights that parents or caregivers who ill-treat or neglect children or young persons can be criminally prosecuted. Article 6 of the same Act also states that: “Nothing in this section shall be construed as derogating from the right of any parent or guardian of any child or young person to administer reasonable punishment to such child or young person” (Children’s Act, 1972:56). The challenges experienced by the ‘undocumented’ parents in preserving their family and identity in SA must therefore be viewed in the light that in Zimbabwe, disciplinary measures that include beating up a child are legally acceptable thereby creating conflict in SA as the same measures are considered to constitute child physical abuse.

In SA on the other hand, the Abolition of Corporal Punishment Act, Act 33 of 1997 banished the use of corporal punishment as a judicial sentence and the SA School’s Act of 1996 banished use

of corporal punishment as a disciplinary measure in schools while the Child Care Act, Act 74 of 1998 banished the use of corporal punishment in alternative care settings. It must be noted however that at the time of writing up this thesis, the Zimbabwean government is also in the process of outlawing the use of corporal punishment in schools, but the results of that process have not yet been documented and are therefore excluded from this study.

The challenges of parent participants with regards to disciplining their children did not only affect the children whose parents are in SA but also those in Zimbabwe. ‘Undocumented’ Zimbabwean immigrant parents who left their children in Zimbabwe also highlighted their challenges in ensuring their children are well-disciplined by their caregivers in their absence. Their inability to access legal documentation to be in SA also restricted some parents from visiting their children regularly in Zimbabwe. As a result, there was a huge reliance on extended and community family networks back home to provide the necessary discipline and socialization of children which weakened family relationships between the children and their biological parents who immigrated to SA. Highlighting this challenge, the following four participants expressed their experiences in this regard:

“Whenever you go home you realize something has changed. When you are home you just want to relax among familiar environment, but you also want to restore order and you find that the children start seeing you as a teacher with a red pen. It hurts as a mother because sometimes you feel like a stranger in your own house.”

“When you hear stories from neighbours that your children did this or that, then you wonder how do to deal with because it happened four months ago, or you don’t know if it’s true and you also feel guilty for leaving your children alone.”

“At one point I had to use force and be harsh especially to the kids when one fell pregnant because it was hard being an absent father and still gain the respect of a father who is there.”

“The difference is there [shakes head] I am a mother. It is not easy to work very hard and you just send money home but you don’t see how the children are enjoying your sweat.”

Efforts to instil parental discipline by absent parents was compared by one participant with “*cell phone farming*” which is a common term in Zimbabwe that refers to farmers that are absentee landlords who operate their farms via cell phone instructions to workers resulting in massive losses which could have been avoided by the landlord being physically present to direct operations (Rutherford, 2011).

Literature pertaining to the Zimbabwean Ndebele and Shona cultures captures the concept of extended family adequately (Chinyangara, Chokuwenga, Dete, Dube, Kembo and Nkomo, and 1997). The aforementioned authors allude to the notion that extended family is not considered a second rate part of the family, but the actual family. The authors argue that in traditional Zimbabwean societies, children do not belong exclusively to their parents. Rather, they have obligations to the wider society, which likewise has responsibility for their proper socialization. The concept of 'parent' is therefore wider than the man and woman who are biological parents and the idea of 'family' assumes an extended group of kin (Chinyangara et al., 1997).

It therefore becomes evident that parenting in a new culture also reduces the support that parents initially enjoyed in Zimbabwe before relocation as not only do the financial challenges of survival take precedence, but also systems in community that used to assist in child care become fragmented. In addition, ‘undocumented’ Zimbabwean immigrants in SA also experienced challenges in order to adhere to the SA legislation for children and these will be discussed in the following category.

5.1.1 Category 1: ‘Undocumented’ Zimbabwean immigrants in SA’s challenges in adhering to SA legislation pertaining to children

In direct relation to the challenges pertaining to parenting explained above, the participants who took part in the study struggled with adhering to the different laws and regulations in SA especially those that pertain to child care, children’s rights and the best interest of the child standards as engraved in the Children’s Act, Act 38 of 2005. All the ‘undocumented’ Zimbabwean immigrants who are parents blamed the SA government for “playing God” with family preservation by enforcing rules and laws considered too liberal regarding children yet detrimental to family and identity preservation. As a result, the parent participants were of the

opinion that children were given too many rights without any responsibilities in SA. To illustrate their frustration with the SA laws pertaining to children, they lamented as follows:

“The government of South Africa is busy playing God with families. They dictate how you must live and treat your children, yet when our children fall pregnant because of their stupid liberal laws you cannot take them to government and say “Zuma, there is your child, keep her!” As Christians we know that spare the rod and spoil the child, here it’s called abuse.”

“I always tell them that if Zuma is your father, behave like that, but if I am your father then you will follow my rules as we were in Zimbabwe!”

“As a parent, you can only do so much because if your child cries at school, teachers reckon that you are abusive and immediately you have social services knocking on your doors. And when you are illegal, you can’t allow that kind of attention from officials because they will request your papers, so your children just stretch the boundaries over and over again.”

The adherence to SA laws pertaining to the children of ‘undocumented’ Zimbabwean immigrants was considered by some participants as promoting identity crisis in the children. Some parent participants experienced that their children were confused and carried away by the SA legislation and thereby forgot who they are supposed to be and the cultural values they ought to identify with as Zimbabwean children. As a result, the parent participants reported having to end up compromising what they consider to be the cultural identity of their children either to maintain peace and/or to avoid clashing with the law thereby exposing their illegality. The following statements articulate their challenges in this regard:

“So it’s a mixture, as parent I just see and decide that on this one I must be strict and on this one I can be a little liberal.’ You actually learn new things on parenting in a different environment.”

“Our children really lose their identity when they come here because they are confused at what they see every day in the streets and they compare it with what we have taught them back home all their life.”

“But I must admit that even though we are old and do not want the change, with some rules I have found myself giving in because I realize that I will lose my kids.”

“So it takes a strong parent to remind them that you are a Zimbabwean and Zimbabweans do not do this.”

Consequently, ‘undocumented’ Zimbabwean immigrant parents who took part in the study related to how they had to have a reality check in order to come up with alternative forms of parenting that aid family preservation without infringing on laws pertaining to children in SA. To escape the challenges brought forth by SA laws pertaining to children, some parents reported having sent their children back to Zimbabwe for good. These participants therefore indicated how despite the challenges of either contacting their children, especially those who left children in Zimbabwe, they still made risky efforts to do that. It was mainly the women, especially those with children in Zimbabwe that attested to making frequent visits to Zimbabwe amidst the challenges of crossing ‘undocumented.’ Mahler and Pesser (2000) supports this finding by stating that despite living apart, immigrant family members keep their relationships alive by sending money to each other, talking frequently on the phone, communicating by text and email, visiting each other and remaining in committed relationships even when they live apart. Some participants also indicated how they end up facilitating the relocation of other extended family members from Zimbabwe to SA who can assist with the socialisation of children in the Zimbabwean way, so that they can be together and preserve their families. The following statement by one of the participants supports this notion:

“My child is now here with me. First I was alone, but I asked madam to bring the child here. First she did not want me to, because she thinks I won’t do the job properly but when she see it makes me sad, she said I can go and fetch my baby, so I say to my cousin, ‘please come and help me look after my baby’.

From the above quotation, it became clear that relocating their family members to SA legally or illegally is the only way some ‘undocumented’ Zimbabwean immigrants succeed at preserving their families. However, Parreñas (2005) cautions that although mothers’ roles in the family change when women migrate, the gendered expectations of parents often do not change resulting in gendered woes of children in transnational families. The same author believed that these expectations more often than not cause problems during family reunification as children fail to

grasp the changes in households thereby leading to resentment among children, which creates problems for them both in school settings and at times well into adulthood (Dreby, 2007).

To further illustrate the challenges associated with reunification in a bid to preserve family, one of the participants who was forced by economic circumstances to migrate 'undocumented' to SA while her parents relocated to the UK expressed her ambivalence in this regard:

“In the last 7 years that my family left, we have only met once. Although we love each other, we have grown apart and I guess a part of me also feels bitter like they did not fight hard enough for me as a child. But the one time when we all met, it felt like we were all trying too hard. I can't start taking orders from my mother now, I have fended for myself for too long”

Closely associated with the abovementioned quotation, some parent participants in the study related how they try to stick to the family values and rules that they had in Zimbabwe before relocating to SA as a means to avoid what they viewed as corruption of the South African society. They expressed their challenge with regards to preserving their traditions while living in SA as follows:

“They [daughters] cannot just dress like prostitutes like you see young girls doing here. So I make sure I monitor what they wear”

“They cannot sleep over or come in after 6pm or have boyfriends while at school. I think those are the main rules that I had and still have even here in SA.”

“I think I just tried to do what our tradition and religion as Christians teach us to do.”

It can be deduced from the abovementioned discussion that parenting in a new culture brings about compounded challenges for 'undocumented' Zimbabwean immigrants in SA as they battle to appreciate SA legislation regarding the upbringing and disciplining of their children. Moreover, adaptation to the values of the South African society poses a threat for some parents especially when they are not willing to allow their children to assimilate as much of South African sub-cultures and values as possible.

The next sub-theme will delve into challenges related to family life, upholding of responsibilities to both the family members whether they relocated or are still living in Zimbabwe.

5.2 Sub-theme 2: ‘Undocumented’ Zimbabwean immigrants’ challenges related to family life

Family was identified as a universal theme amongst all the ‘undocumented’ Zimbabwean immigrants who participated in the study. None of the participants who took part in this study considered themselves ‘family-less’. While some factors differed in terms of who they identified as being part of their family, all of them agreed that they are belonging to some form of family. Families of origin and families of procreation were all identified as crucial in the lives of the ‘undocumented’ Zimbabwean immigrants. The participants identified their families of origin and procreation first as constituting their nuclear family. The extended family was identified secondly and lastly the ‘community family’ as constituting what family means and is to them. Chigwedere (2011) supports the participants’ definitions of family by stating that Zimbabwean family life is largely governed by traditional cultural institutions, which govern the lives of the people. These traditions sometimes assume the quasi-religious element to them.

Correspondingly, Pribilsky (2012) postulated that immigration does not diminish family ties. The same author argues that transnational households function across space thereby allowing family members in the original country to sustain meaningful relationships with those in the host country despite the physical boundaries that separate them. Pribilsky’s (2012) argument was confirmed by the findings of this study whereby participants revealed that their efforts to ignite their family ties both with those who live in SA as well as in Zimbabwe, remains challenging. In this sub-theme, the following challenges will be discussed by means of the following categories: lack of contact with family, upholding home grown values, inability to uphold responsibility as well as relationships with family in Zimbabwe.

5.2.1 Category 1: ‘Undocumented’ Zimbabwean immigrants challenges in upholding family responsibilities

In order to understand why neglecting family responsibilities posed a threat to family and identity preservation, the meaning of family to Zimbabweans has to be acknowledged. The nuclear, extended and community family are all important in Zimbabwean cultures. Bacallao and Smokowski (2007) determined that there are large numbers of ‘undocumented’ immigrants in foreign countries of whom little is known regarding their family life, culture and how they function. In essence, the aforementioned authors envisaged that to better understand the challenges of undocumented immigrants in preserving their families, it is mandatory to take note of their unique descriptions of who and what family means to them so that the gravity of inability to meet the expected responsibilities can be understood.

Some participants who took part in the study indicated that they felt forced to neglect previously upheld family responsibilities due to the nature of their ‘undocumentation.’ While some of the responsibilities mentioned by the participants related to material provision, some were of a cultural nature. Some participants were hesitant to access occupational privileges such as taking leave from work to attend to crucial family matters such as death or illness in fear that they could forfeit their jobs. Some however feared that if they left to attend to family matters in Zimbabwe, they may never be able to return to SA thereby compromising on their ability to adequately provide for their families. Those that migrated due to political reasons on the other hand, feared they would be tortured, arrested or killed when they visit Zimbabwe. As a result, some participants highlighted that they ended up neglecting their family responsibilities back in Zimbabwe as illustrated by the following quotations:

“Many things happened to my family. My father died and I could not even go home for the funeral or send money. The older people did not understand and viewed it as a lack of respect when the first born son did not even attend his own father’s funeral.”

“As the first son, I must be making sure we do all the cleansing ceremonies and consultations with our ancestors but I can’t go home whenever I want to. It’s a huge problem because a lot of things keep going wrong and you know how to fix them but your situation is keeping you prisoner.”

[Referring to another male ‘undocumented’ Zimbabwean immigrant whose wife was deported and he had to take care of the their child] “The man tried to cope but couldn’t and eventually he dropped the child off at a children’s home and lied that he had found the child on his door step and did not know whose child it was. So all these things destroy a family.”

“I can’t even afford to send a cent home because everything here is survival of the fittest”

In contrast with the aforementioned statements, another participant however brought a diverging view by insinuating that neglecting of family responsibilities due to the above quoted reasons was a scapegoat used by some ‘undocumented’ Zimbabwean immigrants that had no intention of fulfilling them in the first place. The said participant stated the following:

“Why not bring your whole family here if they are that important? For me, shunning your family and blaming it on illegal status is just an excuse to not send money home and to want to become westernized because as Africans we put our family first and you take care of your family no matter the costs involved materially or emotionally.”

In the abovementioned participant’s opinion, the diasporian context is causing Zimbabweans to lose their national and cultural identity. The fact that the participant in question revealed this divergent view also signifies the ongoing debates amongst Zimbabweans who live in SA over who is “Zimbabwean enough” and who has been colonized by the new environment. Important to note however is that the previous participant holds an SA degree and is formally employed. Hence the financial challenges that affected other participants in this study may not have directly affected her in the same measure.

Further compounding the challenge of meeting family responsibilities due to financial constraints that come with inability to seek work due to ‘undocumentation,’ a male participant described what family means to him by stating the following:

“As black people our culture is about community, so if you ask me about my family I am obliged to also tell you about my extended family and neighbours’ because they are also part of my family. So it’s not only my wife and my own kids, yes we take primary

responsibility for them but the rest also play a very important role. Not just in the family but also in our day to day activities and we must assist them.”

Consolidating the above description of extended family members as equally important, two more participants said:

“We have aunts, uncles, grandparents, cousins etc. They are definitely involved in family life, we just kind of do things together. As a family we also do some things together, but definitely the extended family is involved.”

“We lived together as a big family. Grandmother, uncles, aunts, everyone. There is no cousin, but everyone is brother or sister, mother’s sister is mother and father’s brother is father. You respect everyone and sharing everything together, no saying ahh this is sister from my mother’s womb. We are all one.”

The abovementioned sentiments tie in with Gelfand (1973) who in describing ethics among the Zimbabwean people articulates the importance of community as a significant aspect of family life. The same author extends that mutual understanding, peaceful co-existence, fellowship, friendship as well as mutual hospitality sum up the relationship a person ought to have with their “community family.” An internationally acclaimed Zimbabwean Shona musician Oliver Mutukudzi produced a hit song that captures the essence of this phenomenon by stating that “Zvamunoona husahwira, hunokunda kukama” [translation: Conceive that deep mutual friendship supersedes blood relations]. Although this statement seems to contradict the well-known adage of “blood is thicker than water” it clearly expresses the importance of community relations outside of Zimbabweans own nuclear family and illuminates the importance of friends and non-blood relations as part of family life especially amongst the Shona and Ndebele population.

There appears to be concentrated efforts even at Zimbabwe’s governmental level for the acknowledgement of the extended and community family in assuming responsibility for one another. Article 5.1 in the Cultural Policy of Zimbabwe penned down by the former Minister of Education Sports and Culture, Aeneas Chigwedere during his tenure of office depicts the essence of the extended family by postulating that “In the Zimbabwean Culture the Zimbabweans value family life and the family unity is held in great regard. While many urban people might belong to

the nucleus families they also value the extended family seeing that the family unit centres upon family values which see it worship, celebrate and mourn together in times of sorrow. The strong family ties bring people together and help bring purpose to their lives. It is thus important for the nation through its culture policy to continue to build on these family values. There are other forces trying to come in to change the family unit” (Chigwedere, 2008:31). The aforementioned statement concludes that the extended family is highly valued in Zimbabwean societies even at national level.

The following married male participant highlighted the challenge of meeting family responsibilities in the case where only one of the parties is documented:

“There are cases where husband and wife are operating on two different files and there are cases where the husband has been rejected as being manifestly unfounded which means he has to be sent back while the wife is still holding the valid documents. It impacts negatively on family relations. We have had cases where the wife and two kids were deported and the husband was left behind because his papers were in order. He failed to keep the kids. In this case the family is broken because of documents”

The ‘undocumented’ Zimbabwean immigrants who took part in the study concluded that being ‘undocumented’ deprived them of crucial opportunities such as taking up gainful employment thereby reducing their chances of meeting their family responsibilities. A general fear of coming into contact with immigration officials or losing their jobs also resulted in some participants’ decision not to attend crucial family matters in fear that doing so might prejudice them of the opportunity to remain in SA. As a result, some sacrificed family responsibilities and abstained from family matters in a bid to either retain their jobs and/or their ‘illegal’ stay in SA.

The next category will provide further evidence of ‘undocumented immigrants’ challenges in preserving family due to their lack of contact with family members.

5.2.2 Category 2: ‘Undocumented’ Zimbabwean immigrants in SA’s challenges due to lack of contact with family members

According to Levitt and Jaworsky (2007) to fully grasp the reality of the family life of immigrants’ transnational imaginary must be employed. Transnational imaginary is defined as “focusing on how people conceive of themselves and their surroundings and is characterized by claims of belonging, community, and rights [that] are formulated and expressed as a discourse of citizenship” (Saldívar, 2006:62). Employing the doctrine of transnational imaginary, it emerged that for some participants in the study, due to failure to claim belonging to a community, citizenship or rights in SA, they attempted to claim those of their country of origin, namely Zimbabwe. However, this was also compounded in challenges as their contact with family members was limited by extenuating circumstances that come with ‘undocumentation’ in SA.

For some of the participants who took part in this study, the inability to contact their families either via social networks, phone calls, letters or other mediums was reported to be usually due to a lack of funds and resources. Participants concluded that despite their definite need to contact loved ones, the battle between basic necessities of food, water and shelter which all require finances resulted in the participants opting to meet their basic needs and neglect the emotional need of family contact. They were not only restricted to making regular non physical contact but also to visit their families in Zimbabwe. The following participants voiced their challenges:

“I have to cling on to the once in a while telephone and Skype conversations with my family just to convince myself that I have some form of family life. But the truth deep down is that we are lying to ourselves, it’s over, I am so alone and sad.”

“I went for a very long time without talking to my family and you know women are quick to believe that you are cheating. Money is the problem you see, calling home is expensive. Maybe a call box makes it better but here one only call for emergency.”

“I fought with my wife so much in those days. Sometimes I could call once in two weeks and I would speak less than three minutes. So my marriage almost broke down.”

“In the last 7 years that my family left, we have only met once. Although we love each other, we have grown apart and I guess a part of me also feels bitter.”

Falicov (2007) raised thought-provoking notions that there is no doubt that lives and relationships are linked across borders. The author therefore questions whether these family bonds are subjectively sustained by reliance on memory and imagination, especially when immigrants are 'undocumented' and unable to freely return home. The author furthermore questions the strength in these "superficial" ways of maintaining family relations albeit through occasional contact and whether service providers that work with immigrant families can begin to talk about "virtual families" in the global world (Falicov, 2007: 170). A point of departure in Falicov's (2007) questioning is that maybe more important than memory of culture, language and country, migration stress is more about memory of relationships with those left behind and the lack of contact with the people that matter. Henceforth, the challenge of lack or contact with family ought to be viewed in that not only does it alienate the 'undocumented' Zimbabwean immigrants in SA, but it also produces deep feelings of alienation, loneliness and lack of support.

5.2.3 Category 3: 'Undocumented' Zimbabwean immigrants in SA's challenges in preserving relationships with their families back in Zimbabwe

As noted in sub-theme 4.1.1, the challenges of the 'undocumented' Zimbabwean immigrants in SA with regard to family and identity preservation were not only limited to SA, but extended to their families in Zimbabwe. Despite the reality that what was considered a temporary solution of migrating to SA had now become a semi-permanent solution, for some their ties with their family and roots in Zimbabwe were not cut off. These challenges were of a varied nature but were largely influenced by the inability to provide for them financially and also to be physically present where need be. Based on the accounts of the participants, it appears that these challenges mainly affected their extended family members. Although participants did their level best to keep contact with their nuclear family members in Zimbabwe, their lack of funds to maintain it caused tension between nuclear and extended family members. Extended families felt they were no longer valued once participants relocated to SA without understanding the sense of hopelessness of being 'undocumented.' A comparison was often made over what the participants used to be able to do for extended families before relocation and what they could no longer do after relocation.

In an attempt to illustrate the difficulties of participants in preserving their relationship with their extended families back home, the following challenges were raised:

“And not just my immediate family but I inherited my late brother’s family and have the obligation to care for them. But I just couldn’t and again for them it felt like ‘so you are deserting us because our father died!’ So I lost a lot of credibility in the process because in the past I was able to do it.”

“So for some it was as though I am living lavishly in SA while neglecting my immediate and extended family alike.”

“Family issues and rituals when my boyfriend divorced me were never done. You can imagine the pain I experienced when I went home in 2010 and the wounds were re-opened when the elders insisted that the rituals had been done and I was thinking to myself, I am forced to do rituals for a man that remarried and gave up on me! But culture is culture, even if delayed; some things need to be done.”

Another challenge raised by the participants pertaining to preserving relationships with their family in back in Zimbabwe pertained to the absence of family elders to immediately deal with disputes as if they were still living at home. One of the participants explained that when family members in Zimbabwe heard of his conflict with a relative in Johannesburg, a lot of hearsay and untruths were told. Family members were also taking sides especially considering that the relative with whom the participant had a dispute was able to travel to Zimbabwe to clear his name while he could not. In addition, a female participant’s dispute with her husband and the fact that she could not go home to defend herself resulted in serious family disputes and irretrievable breakdown of the marriage. As a result, family members back in Zimbabwe blamed her without hearing her version of the story. Participant’s challenges were illustrated by means of the following quotations:

“Our relationship as family was severely damaged because he [family member] tried to trick me into giving him the little money I had... But that affects many things because you see, I told you we are very communal, so my issue with him here became an issue of the extended family and it caused divisions with family taking sides.”

“When I divorced because of my husband’s unfaithfulness and his constant use of my money to feed his girlfriends, he rushed home and lied that I was rejecting him because he was not working. By the time I tried to clear my name, they all believed him because he lied to them but I couldn’t go because I did not have a passport.”

Becoming an ‘undocumented’ immigrant appeared to have differing impacts on family relations with some participants valuing and missing their extended families while for some, extended family appeared as a thorn in the flesh. Extended family played an important role especially for those parents that left minor children in Zimbabwe and could not visit at all or not as frequently as they would have loved to. Those parents heavily relied on aunts, uncle and grandparents to take care of their children. A mother who had to leave her children in the care of family members stated the following:

“We must now rely on other people to take care of our children. My sister is taking care of my children, but she only goes and see if there is food and no one is sick once a week”.

On the other hand, the same participant parent expressed dissatisfaction with the manner in which her children were taken care of in her absence by family, either extended or ‘community family.’ She reasoned her dissatisfaction as follows:

“... But that also causes problems because sometimes she does not go or when she goes she wants to give my children her own rules. So it is not easy.”

In support of the abovementioned finding, Dreby (2010) postulates that separations during migration are less predictable as parents and children often do not know how long they will actually live apart. Changes in family structure, such as divorce or remarriage that accompany migration often threaten the very fabric on which family is wrought. Khan (2007) supports this finding by postulating that consequently, many parents have new children post-migration resulting sometimes in some children being raised in the homeland while some are raised in the foreign land thereby resulting in children of the same parents being raised by different people and with different standards. Admittedly, family separations can further occur when children left in the home countries develop strong bonds with their caregivers; hence estranging them from their parents. Dreby (2010) supports this view and postulates that the longer parents and children

remain apart, the more likely it is for children to bond with caregivers and to affect the composition of the family. Further cementing this line of thought, Moran-Taylor, (2008) and Schmalzbauer (2005) state that children in transnational families describe deep emotional bonds with their caregivers while parents are away. The authors however do not see this predicament as entirely negative and contend that extended family members increase children's flexibility in what family means to them.

Inheritance is an important aspect of the Shona culture. Essentially, if a spouse passes away, in some families, a ritual known as 'kugara nhaka' (translated to 'taking over inheritance') is performed in which a brother or sister of the deceased takes over the family responsibilities of their deceased sibling and at times this constitutes becoming a husband or wife to the widow or widower. One male participant who took part in the study felt being an 'undocumented' and unemployed immigrant in SA ripped him of his duty and responsibility to his inherited children and extended family in Zimbabwe. Although they were important to him, being 'undocumented' made it impossible to exercise his duties towards them and ultimately rendered his role as father to his inherited children useless as they were family only in principle, devoid of the roles and responsibilities associated with that. He vented his frustration by highlighting that:

"...And not just my immediate family but I have the obligation to care for my late brother's children too, I want to, but just can't!

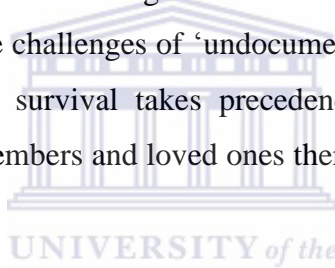
From the above quotation, it becomes clear that being 'undocumented' left this participant powerless and unable to care for his extended family members in Zimbabwe thereby causing family problems.

The ability to preserve extended family relationships did not only affect the extended family members left in Zimbabwe but also those that relocated to SA. The participants who took part in the study lamented that being 'undocumented' and the predicaments that it came with also left them unable to preserve their relationships with extended family members that are in SA. One of the participants voiced this hardship by means of the following quotation:

"When you are this side, your aunts and uncles, especially the older ones expect you to show them the same respect as you did in Zim. So they are always begging for money

and asking for favours because they are family. But they forget that on this side we are all equal, all of us are struggling to get jobs or money so you end up avoiding them.”

The abovementioned quotation is supported by Crush and Tevera (2010) whose study on Zimbabwean immigrants in Johannesburg revealed that participants often switch their cell phones off when they know a relative will be arriving from Zimbabwe needing accommodation or requiring financial assistance. The aforementioned authors also pointed to the fact that how being in Johannesburg which is the hub of most Zimbabweans upon arrival put others at financial risk as they had to provide financially for them. The assertions by Zimbabweans who took part in the previous study, negates the theory of Chimuka (2001) who speaks in endearing terms of the Shona culture that he lauds as highly socialistic. Chimuka (2001) alleges that the Shona would never turn away a needy person as culture dictates that they share the little they have. It can therefore be concluded that being an ‘undocumented’ Zimbabwean immigrants in SA poses a delicate situation as the challenges of ‘undocumentation’ often result in a survival of the fittest mode. Hence personal survival takes precedence to sharing of scarce resources especially with extended family members and loved ones thereby threatening family and identity preservation.



In addition to the abovementioned discussion, the next section will unpack the challenges of undocumented immigrants in SA in relation to preserving their values and identity while in SA.

5.2.4 Category 4: ‘Undocumented’ Zimbabwean immigrants in SA’s challenges with preserving their family values that determine their identity as Zimbabweans

Another major challenge illuminated by participants in this study was their inability to preserve home-grown family values while living in SA thereby making it difficult to preserve both their family and identity. The inability to preserve family values as dictated by culture was reported to be a result of realizing that while some values were beneficial in Zimbabwe, upholding them while in SA could result in limited opportunities. This was especially true when it came to the Zimbabwean cultural dictates of courtship which limit a woman’s ability to engage in casual sex outside marriage. Values that castigate women for engaging in male dominated scenes and activities such as drinking and smoking were also reportedly abandoned by some undocumented

Zimbabwean immigrants. The following male participant expressed his wife's behaviour after relocating to SA:

“She [wife] did what she liked, she started coming home late and behaving like a South African.”

The following quotations on the other hand, bear evidence of female participants' challenges to maintain their values and identity within their communities:

“It is not always safe to be Zimbabwean, so I am confused that must I now start dressing like a South African? Because if I do that I am pretending to be what I am not, and my husband will have a big problem with it.”

“Some Zimbabwean women learn how to drink here when they never did that back home. Here they lose their identity and become something else.”

“So being in a foreign place makes you lose your identity.”

“Even when you do not want to do some things you realize that you must survive.”

“Sometimes you realize the truth of the statement when you are in Rome do as the Romans do.”

The supposed loss of family values ought to be considered in the context of Zimbabweans being close knit people/citizens whose patriarchal systems play a dominant role in family life. As a result, the challenges experienced in SA are usually reported to the family in Zimbabwe thereby creating tensions between the members that are in Zimbabwe and those that are in SA. In relation to the challenges women faced in preserving values related to how they ought to behave as women, some female participants complained that their extended family members in SA acted as morality monitors of their behaviour while in SA. This reportedly caused conflict as they felt they could not pursue their own personal values and identity without being frowned at. It would appear that some participants felt that the need to preserve cultural identity took precedence over the need to develop personal identity due to the unwanted presence and rules imposed by the extended family. Some female participants felt that extended family members in SA were responsible for pedalling rumours of how they had lost their Zimbabwean grown values and

morals by either engaging in premarital sex, sex work, using alcohol and taking drugs. A fundamental difference noted however was that no male participants complained of problems with extended family members related to morality and this could deduce the assertion that most cultures are more lenient with men. Behaviours tolerated in males are considered more harshly when done by the women. This critique ties in with Mweru's (2008) argument that patriarchal systems are restrictive and almost punitive towards women, making it difficult for them to enjoy their stay in a new country as much as it allows men to explore all opportunities available to them.

The next sub-theme will address challenges related to how participants attempted to adapt to what they considered a strange environment, language and lifestyle in SA.

5.3 Sub-theme 3: Undocumented Zimbabwean immigrants in SA's challenges in adapting to strange environment, language and lifestyle

Issues of adaptation and acculturation were documented as major challenges for the undocumented Zimbabwean immigrants in preserving their family and identity while in SA. Atwell, Gifford and McDonald-Wilmsen (2009) affirm that the process of adapting to a new environment proves harder for immigrant families than initially anticipated before migrating. The opportunities available to parents and their children make it mandatory for them to attempt to gel into their new environments as the opportunities are embedded within a specific social and cultural environment different from the one they grew up in (Atwell et al., 2009). Supporting this argument, the 'undocumented' Zimbabwean immigrants who took part in this study struggled to adapt to the culture, language and societal norms and values of the SA context. Their adaption was further exacerbated by a fear that once they adapted, they would lose their 'Zimbabweanness' and identities that came with it. Some participants also felt that the SA context greatly challenged their notions of family life hence while some were struggling to adapt, others made conscious strides to avoid adaptation for fear of losing themselves.

Language was identified as a huge determinate on whether or not participants adjusted to the SA environment and lifestyle. Participants in this study denoted how they struggled to speak SA languages especially IsiXhosa and IsiZulu since most of them meandered between Johannesburg

and Cape Town where these are the most used languages. It seemed that ‘undocumented’ Zimbabwean immigrants of Ndebele descent fared much better as they were familiar with IsiXhosa and IsiZulu which are very close to IsiNdebele language. Those of Shona descent however were noted to struggle greatly with SA languages. Moreover, their physical features and mannerisms were said to be telling signs of their foreignhood as expressed by the following participant:

“The Shona’s also will never blend in and they can’t speak Xhosa so they get 1st hand xenophobia and violence and the police can easily detect them so they must either have strong pockets to pay the bribe or a thick skin and survive deportation after deportation or just a strong body because sometimes it gets physically violent.”

In addition, women were reported to struggle more with language as compared to men as expressed by the following male participant:

“Your only task as a guy is to get a South African girl, sleep with her for a few months and in no time you speak her language!”

In view of their cultural bounds on their morality, women are unable to engage in casual sex in order to learn SA languages. If they did so, they were castigated and accused of prostitution. In addition, the following female participant explained her predicament due to her inability to speak a SA language and thus her inability to adjust:

I can’t even ask questions when I am lost because I’m scared I can be harassed cause the moment I open my mouth, even the little Xhosa I know sounds funny. So when my husband is not here, I stay at home and speak to no one.”

According to Atwell (2007) mastery of the host country’s language is fundamental to adapting to the country. Language is seen as not only instrumental for communication and access to information but also determines the level of power an individual has with broader societal structures as well as facilitates participation into a new culture. Loewen (2004) corroborates this argument by stating that to be excluded from language of the host country is to be excluded from participation in the broader civic life, labour market and the ability to be self sufficient. Notable in this however was that some Zimbabweans in a bid to retain their identity and refrain from

using SA languages fell short as the need to preserve their identity in this manner came at a cost of adaptability challenges. In the same vein, some participants indicated that they spoke in their native language at home and ended up having challenges especially with young children who picked on the SA languages faster than the Zimbabwean languages. These participants found it very difficult to understand their children or for the rest of the family who are still residing in Zimbabwe. As a result, children could not communicate with their grandparents and other relatives which all affected socialization of the children. Depicting this challenge, the following participants related their experience as the mothers of young children:

“I only learnt Xhosa after my child went to day care centre where there are Afrikaans and Xhosa speaking children. My child spoke in a mixture of Xhosa and Afrikaans and we could not understand each other. Worse when her grandmother got sick and came here for treatment. Both of them tried to connect but failed because of the language.

“The landlord would come and give instructions to my 5 year old instead of me because they understood each other”.

The aforementioned situation typifies a shift in power where the mother now relies on the child for communication purposes, a situation that is rare in the ethics of the Zimbabwean people as parents and elders are expected to be the custodians of knowledge (Chimuka, 2001). Zhou and Bankston (2000) agree with the previous author by lamenting that such reversal of roles leads to a weakened parental role thereby undermining the parent’s ability to guide children. The aforementioned authors further contend that language variation between parent and child has the ability to create powerful differential power dynamics in the family structure because children take on the burden of negotiating systems and structure in the new society as is the case of the abovementioned participants. Zhou and Bankston (2000) conclude their argument by stating that failure by parents to adapt to language faster than their children prematurely thrusts the children into positions of authority within the family.

Apart of adaptation to language, participants also found it challenging to get used to the crime levels in SA, seeing that crime is not as prevalent in Zimbabwe. It was apparent that the participants viewed high crime levels as being inherent to the SA lifestyle. Some participants

even indicated that the crime caused family problems as in the case of the following female participant:

“To start with, it’s very different from home. Here you have to be afraid for your life. The skollies are everywhere...My marriage almost broke down because my husband did not believe I was being robbed, he thought I was sending money to my mother”

Another participant who resides in an informal settlement that is rife in crime feared that her son would be initiated into the culture of crime reiterated her challenges as follows:

“I will never make peace knowing my son hangs around gang members. We fight a lot because he says ‘mama I know who I am, I won’t join the gangs,’ but a mother knows. He is too curious. I’m afraid one day I will wake up and find him in jail or even dead!”

The following two participants describe their struggle with adapting to the SA life style in general:

“Different too much! Zimbabwe is good country. Problems yes, but good people who know what family is and respect them. Here, everyone is doing what they want, children are stubborn and have no respect for adults. The wives are drinking and many girls are not married. Boys are making girls pregnant, drinking too much and smoking drugs. Fathers just leave their children and don’t support them because the government is giving grant. It is bad country here for family.”

“Here too much freedom for everyone. Everyone is smoking and drinking, we know drinking is only for men. Shebeens everywhere, our children have no examples to see and learn from here. Everything is just bad. Sometimes I want to send my child to Zimbabwe to keep him safe and to learn good behaviour.”

As quoted above, the greatest challenge for participants who are mothers was to reconcile the values they wanted to impart on their children and adapting to the values that SA upholds. Some parents seemed to deliberately keep their children from adapting to SA culture and way of life which they viewed as too liberal and deviant. According to Lansbergen (2014), socialization plays a huge role in the identity formation of children. The author furthermore postulates that changes in migration come with exposure to new cultures, environments and lifestyles which can

confuse immigrant children thereby slowing down the identity-formation process. Parental strictness as a means to counter total integration into SA's way of life was observed by the researcher as a stumbling block to family happiness and identity preservation of 'undocumented' Zimbabwean immigrant children. Although this study did not capture the voices of the children, the parents' descriptions of how they monitor, supervise and discipline their children portrayed a gloomy family picture. In a bid to retain identity and preserve their family systems as they were practiced back in Zimbabwe, the parents in the study indicated how they do not allow their children to do things like going out at night, dress like South African children or engage in other entertainment activities they believed to be unruly. As a result, some children rebelled or became confused over who they should be.

In a similar view, Passel and Center (2005) refer to a study of Mexican immigrants in the United States of America (USA) where parents were also concerned about the perceived dangers in their new environment such as the prevalence of drugs, too much freedom and crime and became stricter with their children (Passel and Center, 2005). These authors postulated that the absence of extended family ties and network of support enjoyed before relocation made parents of immigrant children paranoid of the dangers in a new environment. This was however determined as detrimental as it resulted in children being unable to explore their new environment as in some cases parents were said to deny their children an opportunity to participate in after-school activities. 'Undocumented' parents were also reported to restrict their children's activities for fear that they may be caught by immigration officials thereby become liable for deportation (Passel and Center, 2005). This notion was brought out by an elderly parent participant in this current study who supported this argument:

“I am not allowing my child to play with children on the road, because who knows what they talking about to other children. I don't want police knocking my door and saying go back to Zimbabwe! But our children nowadays are very cheeky because they think our mother is cruel but I do it for them and for me too [sic]”

The abovementioned discussion gave an account of the challenges 'undocumented' Zimbabwean immigrants experience in a bid to preserve their families. It became clear from the interviews that 'undocumented' Zimbabwean immigrants who are parents are facing challenges in raising their children in SA as they struggle with adapting to SA laws pertaining to children as well as

allowing their children to modify or replace Zimbabwean value systems for South African systems. Moreover, it emerged that family responsibilities were being neglected due to competition for scarce resources. As a result, some participants ended up feeling that they had lost a part of who they are as Zimbabweans and were failing to fulfil their family duties. The next theme will address the challenges faced by ‘undocumented’ Zimbabwean immigrants in preserving their identity while in SA.

6. THEME 2: ‘UNDOCUMENTED’ ZIMBABWEAN IMMIGRANTS IN SA’S CHALLENGES IN PRESERVING THEIR IDENTITY

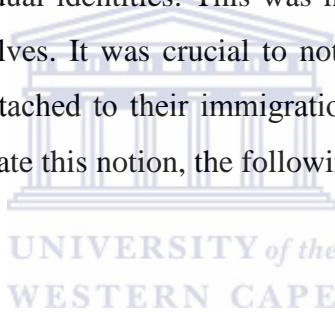
Identity is a complex term used differently by authors. Hogg and Abrams (1988:2) define identity as “people's concepts of who they are, or what sort of people they are, and how they relate to others.” On the other hand, Deng (1995:1) defines identity as “the sameness of a person or thing at all times or in all circumstances; the condition or fact that a person or thing is itself and not something else”. Deng (1995) furthermore attests that identity is not only self-prescribed but also relates to how individuals are defined by others on the basis of race, ethnicity, religion, language and culture. In essence, although the individuals in this study had their own conceptions of who they are, they also alluded to the fact that by virtue of being an ‘undocumented’ Zimbabwean immigrant in SA, there was a shift in their perceptions of who they are. It would seem that the identities ascribed to them were not necessarily on the basis of being Zimbabwean while some participants admitted to having adopted the new identities ascribed to them in SA. Some participants were identified to be conflicting with retaining who they are and who they are being made to be in SA, while others considered themselves resilient in the face of changing environments and expectations. The descriptions of the ‘undocumented’ Zimbabwean immigrants of their identity bordered along the lines of personal, national and cultural identity and are discussed under the following sub-themes.

6.1 Sub-theme 1: ‘Undocumented’ Zimbabwean immigrants in SA’s challenges in preserving their personal identity

“Personal identity is a set of attributes, beliefs, desires, or principles of action that a person thinks distinguish him/her in socially relevant ways and that:

- the person takes a special pride in;
- the person takes no special pride in, but which orient his/her behaviour that he/she would be at a loss about how to act and what to do without them; or
- the person feels he/she could not change even if she wanted to (Fearon, 1999:25).

It would seem that the personal identity of the ‘undocumented’ Zimbabwean immigrants who took part in this study is compromised when they are clustered into categories that attempt to alter and suppress their individual identities. This was noted in the manner in which some participants introduced themselves. It was crucial to note that some participants have now accepted the “illegal status” attached to their immigration status and it has become part of their identity. In order to illustrate this notion, the following participant introduced himself as follows:



“I am Patros, An illegal Zimbabwean in SA.”

Being an “illegal foreigner” has become synonymous with the aforementioned participant’s identity as can be depicted from how he introduced himself. It would seem that what people call him is what he believes himself to have become, thereby depicting the self-fulfilling prophecy coming to full force in his identification of the self by virtue of being an ‘undocumented’ Zimbabwean immigrant in SA.

The researcher would not have done justice to the issue of identity if one of the participant’s views on his personal identity is not discussed. The participant who is a political activist declined to use a pseudonym in order to protect his identity although he is an ‘undocumented’ political activist in SA allegedly tortured for being a member of the opposition in Zimbabwe. The ethical consideration to use a pseudonym was in line with the protection of the participants’

anonymity as discussed in Chapters 1, Paragraph 8, and Chapter 3, Paragraph 8.3. He however, explained his view as follows:

“After everything that they did to me, there is no point for a fake name... I want them to know it is really me, I want them to know who I am.”

The importance of highlighting the aforementioned political activists views on his personal identity come from a place of understanding the complex and sometimes dangerous nature of Zimbabwean politics. His fearless attitude of not wanting anything to taint who he knows himself to be even if it could endanger him, also denotes a sense of pride as he wants to be remembered as the soldier that fought till the very end, should this study ever become publicly available to his alleged assailants. This notion affirms the definition by Fearon (1999) that personal identity has to do with aspects that one takes pride in as this participant obviously takes pride in the price he had to pay for being a member of the opposition in Zimbabwe. It was also interesting to note that those that chose pseudonyms chose names synonymous with Zimbabwe, with most opting for vernacular names. This depicted how closely connected participants remained to Zimbabwe even in the face a new culture.

Due to their ‘undocumented’ status, the participants in this study found themselves conflicting between retaining and preserving their personal identity and assuming alternate identities to enable their stay in SA to be conflict-free. The ‘undocumented’ Zimbabwean participants alluded to having a specific perception of who they are, although the challenges in SA resulted in them sometimes questioning whether they were really behaving in line with who they perceive themselves to be. The following quotations depict their ambivalence in this regard:

“(Laughs) when you are a foreigner you do not have an identity here in SA. Whatever identity they give you whether kwerekwere, kalanga, mugabed or tsvangison, you just accept it for the sake of peace, especially in Jobur’g, those people don’t hesitate to burn you alive”

“There are things I had to do for survival. You are too young for me to get into the details but I lost all my self respect and had to do things that are not part of who I am because I was broke and illegal.”

“...But you see, that is not who I am. I have become something else! I am not me anymore. I have been forced into a corner and it feel as if I don't even know myself anymore.”

“Only the heart knows. I know who I am. There are things I would never do like rob someone or murder, but now, I just have to preserve me, I can bribe, I can lie just to maintain peace around me.”

Closely related to the abovementioned quotations was the element of having to compromise one's identity in order to avoid some of the financial challenges that come with being an 'undocumented' immigrant in SA as the following participant sadly remarked:

“As a Christian you tell yourself that you are not going to bribe, steal, lie or even engage in premarital sexual relationships. But not having papers means I am a liar, cheat and a thief. I have to bribe and lie my way through life just so that I am not caught and deported. I lost many of my Christian values when I came here but all I know is that God knows my heart.”

While for the 'undocumented' Zimbabwean participants in the study the shift in who they perceived themselves to be was problematic for them, literature expounds the phenomenon by engaging that identities are not fixed and change depending on time, social circumstances and environment amongst other causes (Ravenburg, 2000). The cardinal point in the definitions on personal identities is that such identities are not fixed because they are always being constructed and negotiated through repeated interactions of individuals who share and construct them (Zegeye and Harris 2002:245). Hence it can be deduced from the findings of this study that being 'undocumented' Zimbabwean immigrants in South Africa have resulted in reconstruction of the

perceptions of the self. The participants are also struggling to make peace with who they have become which causes internal conflict as indicated in the abovementioned quotations.

The next sub-theme further expands on the challenges to preserving identity by illuminating the highlighted hardships experienced in preserving the national identity of the participants.

6.2 Sub-theme 2: ‘Undocumented’ Zimbabwean immigrants in SA’s challenges with preserving their national identity

National identity describes that condition in which “a mass of people have made the same identification with national symbols have internalised the symbols of the nation...” (Bloom, 1990:52). Ravenburg (2000:36) argues that national identity is a modern phenomenon of a fluid and dynamic nature by which a community sharing a particular set of characteristics is led to the subjective belief that its members are ancestrally related. Individuals who ascribe to a national identity share a belief in shared culture, history, traditions, symbols, kinship, language, religion, territory, founding moment, and destiny have been invoked, with varying intensity at different times and places, by peoples claiming to share a particular national identity.

In this study, national identity spoke to how participants related to being a Zimbabwean while being ‘undocumented’ immigrants in SA. Different views with divergent attitudes towards national identity emerged namely those that identified positively, those that identified negatively and those that did not care whether the situation was positive or negative. Some of the positive attitudes were further enhanced by being in a foreign land, while some of the negative attitudes were closely related to the economic and political challenges that have affected Zimbabwe. An observation by the researcher was that national identity was inherently affected by how the ‘undocumented’ Zimbabwean immigrants in SA have been perceived especially through media outlets.

The researcher will now discuss the data that emerged in the categories of positive and negative national identity. Closely associated with positive national identity was the concept that even when one has a positive national identity it is more expedient to hide one’s Zimbabweanness for

the sake of peace and safety while in SA. In essence, the participants in this study expressed the notion that one can be a Zimbabwean at heart but not in deed as stated by the following participants:

“I am still Zimbabwean at heart, but what is in the heart is in the grave. No one can know my heart because it is not safe here. I still believe in tradition and culture, my wife [South African] has even agreed to relocate with me someday when the country is right. Then I can once again openly express who I am. But for now, it is not convenient to be Zimbabwean so I act as a South African, but that’s all it is, an act!”

“It’s all about knowing your situation. I mean, you can’t be foolish. If you know that across the road is an anti-Zimbo gang then you don’t walk around the area with a proudly Zimbo t-shirt. You are just looking to get killed and you will get just that, death!”

“The problem is that yes people know I am Zimbabwean, but I must not show off too much because I must understand that they are only tolerating me, the moment I show my head is growing big, they will deal with me.”

“Remember I came here during xenophobia days. It was better to pretend to be anything else but not Zimbabwean.”

A flipside to positive national identity was the romanticizing of national pride riddled with exaggerated descriptions of who and what the Zimbabwean citizen is or is not. Supporting this romanticization of culture by Zimbabweans in the diaspora is also acknowledged by Pasura (2008) who contends that Zimbabweans in the diaspora are oblivious to the state of moral decline in their own country and consider it better morally than most countries in exaggerated and unrealistic terms. To highlight how the ‘undocumented’ Zimbabwean immigrants in this study spoke of their national identity and virtue in exaggerated terms and in antithesis to that of South Africans, the following statements were highlighted:

“We are very cultured and decent people and very hardworking. You will never see a lazy Zimbabwean; we know how to work with our hands unlike these South Africans.”

“Back home everyone is nice to one another and the working conditions are not so bad. You know the women here are loose...”

From the above quotations, the challenge in preserving their national identity came in that participants felt that to define their Zimbabweanness it had to be in antithesis to South Africanhood. These often included unrealistic descriptions such as all Zimbabweans are virtuous and hardworking. These views were mainly held by those who have resided in SA longest without an opportunity to go back to Zimbabwe. It could be said of them that their perceptions of what Zimbabwe is still like morally were out of touch with reality; therefore not a true reflection of life in Zimbabwe. As a result, in a bid to preserve their national identity, the participants held on to dogmatic and unrealistic views. This view is also supported by Crush and Tevera (2010) who insinuate that most people that left Zimbabwe at the heightened political and economic crisis would be shocked to see the moral decline of Shona and Ndebele cultures. It appeared that some ‘undocumented’ Zimbabwean parents in SA only keep good memories about Zimbabwe so as to create a picture of the kind of people they want their children to become in line with what they consider to be Zimbabwean identity.

While Chimuka (2000) commended the Shona people of Zimbabwe for some of the attributes highlighted in the abovementioned quotations such as their virtue, industry and hard work, the participants in the study made sweeping statements of ALL Zimbabweans possessing the attributes. Such a view can be considered arrogant and unrealistic as it groups all Zimbabweans into social categories that are perfect, which is impossible in reality. These assertions however confirm Chimuka’s (2000) argument which depicted the Zimbabwean Shona people as having clear concepts of virtues and vices. The same author even added that the Zimbabwean people have clearly outlined ways of addressing aberrations of personality in themselves and others (Chimuka 2000). What is unfortunate in this study was that some of the participants seemed to hold expectations that South Africans they have encountered ought to have the same value systems as they do and where they did not, they were considered to hold loose morals.

On the other hand, it was also apparent that some participants did not highly regard their identity as Zimbabweans and would much rather not be known as Zimbabwean. They portrayed negative attitudes towards their national identity and chose not to associate with anything Zimbabwean. While some of the reasons were purely political, some were as a result of the challenges they had

endured because of the economic crisis that had caused them to migrate, while others had never viewed being Zimbabwean positively even before they migrated. One male Ndebele participant subscribed to the latter and detailed how he did not consider being Zimbabwean as a crucial part of his identity as he felt the Ndebele are relegated as second- class citizens especially due to the Gukurahundi massacres of the 1980's. His negative national identity stems from the conflict between the Shona and Ndebele tribes and thus affected his national identity as he felt only Shonas are considered true Zimbabweans.

In contrast with the positive attitudes of the aforementioned participants, the following quotations reflect those with negative attitudes towards national identity:

“I believe I am so many things before I can be called a Zimbabwean, and besides I have largely remained undefined as a Zimbabwean.”

“My identity documents identify me as Zimbabwean. Beyond my birth certificate and all my Zimbabwean-ness is a figment of someone's imagination. In a country that conflates Zimbabweanness with “Shonanness”, I refuse to be abused and prefer to be called Ndebele”

“So how can I call myself Zimbabwean when yet Zimbabwe only recognizes the Shona as the rightful heirs of the land?”

“In Zimbabwe identity has been largely politicized. But that's the way it is nowadays in Zimbabwe. By law, your Zimbabwean identity should only be assessed by virtue of you being born in Zimbabwe, or maybe acquiring citizenship by descent. But these days, you are Zimbabwean only if you ascribe to certain political views of the elite.”

“The irony is that it is hard being a Zimbabwean in Zimbabwe and hard being a Zimbabwean in South Africa. We have nothing”

In line with the aforementioned findings it can be concluded that whether some participants identified or chose not to identify with being Zimbabwean, they automatically fell into social categories either of patriotism or non-patriotism. Herrigel (1993:371) attests that “being a member of a social category does not entail having the desire to act in accord with the norms associated with the identity. One can be a professor without desiring to publish journal articles or

to get tenure; a state can be a great power without desiring to act as a great power should.” In other words, from the attitudes towards national identity, it can be concluded that for all intents and purposes, people can be Zimbabwean without desiring to act Zimbabwean. While there was obvious tension between the Shona and Ndebele-speaking Zimbabwean participants on tribal grounds as well as the alleged actions of the sitting president during the Gukurahundi massacres, it emerged that some individuals completely refuse to acknowledge their national identity.

Apart from their positive and negative attitudes, for the participants who took part in this study their lack of documentation was also a contentious matter as is pertained to identity. The lack of documentation affects every theme in this study, however, some participants held very strong feelings with regard to individuals that sought alternative identities in order to escape some challenges that come with ‘undocumentation.’ An example of this is a participant who expressed disgust at fellow Zimbabweans who obtain fake SA identity documentation and passports. He castigated such actions as the highest level of rejecting their identity by means of the following quotation:

“I know couples and families that have completely lost their identity now because they have opted to buy South African passports or citizenship. Whether they will be found out or they won’t be is something else.”

The abovementioned participant furthermore pointed to the fact that if ‘undocumented’ Zimbabwean immigrants who obtained fake SA documentation die or are involved in an accident, it became a contentious issue as to which country ought to take responsibility by articulating the following:

“I know families that have obtained fake documents to become SA citizens. It’s quite a challenge because they can’t go back home now. When a Zimbabwean who had an SA passport died and they went to Home Affairs to get the death certificate it was discovered that he was actually Zimbabwean. It was difficult to get the body back home because he held a South African passport and the Zimbabwean government would not accept to bury a citizen of South Africa.”

The following participants elaborated more on the challenges of false documentation for Zimbabwean ‘undocumented’ immigrants:

“Just last week we were dealing with an identity claim where a young man was claiming that he was adopted by a Zimbabwean family and went to live in Zimbabwe for 35 years and now he is back in SA. He claims he is still a South African only adopted. We don’t know how true this thing is but I suspect he is a Zimbabwean who is trying to get SA citizenship. That would signal the end of his Zimbabwean citizenship”.

“Those that opt to become South Africans don’t want to speak any Zimbabwean language anymore. And if they know that you know they are Zimbabweans, they will try to avoid you because they don’t want to be discovered. So they have lost their language and their identity. They have lost everything, they don’t belong to Zimbabwe anymore, they belong to SA. I find it quite weird that someone would want to pretend to become something that they are not.”

From the above quotations, it can be deduced that a person’s national identity is linked to their identification documents. Hence the moment an individual chooses to reject their Zimbabwean documentation in favour of SA documents which are expedient in that they facilitate work and other opportunities, they unfortunately lose their rights to citizenship or receiving support from the Zimbabwean government. Moreover, to avoid being caught out, they are forced to reject attributes of their national identity such as language usage, way of dressing and sometimes their freedom of association. Crush and Tevera (2010) attest that nearly 48% of ‘undocumented’ Zimbabwean immigrants in SA actually possess South African passports scrupulously acquired. The same authors emphasize that in the case where ‘undocumented’ Zimbabwean immigrants possessing SA documents, they have to stay away from polling stations and other prominent offices to avoid being caught out. However, the said Zimbabweans also do not discard their Zimbabwean passports so as to facilitate repatriation of their bodies in the event of death as highlighted by the abovementioned participants.

Muzondidya (2008) concludes that by obtaining fake documentation Zimbabwean immigrants have to sever all links to Zimbabweanhood which often means that the individual can no longer share in the public places where Zimbabweans hang out as it could trigger being found out.

In order to view the issue of identity holistically, the next sub-theme will discuss how ‘undocumented’ Zimbabwean immigrants attempt to preserve their cultural identity while in SA.

6.3 Sub-theme 3: ‘Undocumented’ Zimbabwean immigrants in SA’s challenges in preserving their cultural identity

Interwoven with national identity, is cultural identity. Cultural identity has its roots in socialisation as individuals are taught who they are or are not in relation to those with values and traditions. In the researcher’s opinion, cultural identity stems out of national and personal identity as culture is most often prescribed by the national values and national culture. In essence all the participants in this study identified themselves in terms of culture. Although there were differences in orientations and the level of immersion in cultural underpinnings, all participants identified themselves culturally.

Cultural identity preservation was presented as one of the greatest source of challenges for the ‘undocumented’ Zimbabwean immigrants who took part in the study. As denoted above, the identity of the participants was largely defined from cultural underpinnings of who they are. The challenge for most participants came in when they found themselves trying to retain their cultural identity in a South Africa loaded with its own varied cultures. A major challenge exposed by the parents in this study related to preservation of cultural identity in their children. Child care was portrayed as not only confined to the provision of basic needs of food, shelter and clothes, but relating to a larger system of cultural practice that ensures that children are socialized and acculturated into the caregivers’ desired social practices (Montgomery, 2009). Parents therefore experience conflict in terms of how to preserve their cultural identity and how to pass it on to their children. Hernandez and McGoldrick (1999) argue that acculturation gaps between parents and children precipitate family stress especially as children acculturate faster thereby widening intergenerational differences in a family. Such conflict fuels especially adolescent rebellion and contribute to alienation between parents and children (Hernandez and McGoldrick, 1999).

Two participants who are also parents stated their challenge in this regard as follows:

“As a mother I am struggling. My three children were born in Zimbabwe; the youngest was born here and went to school here. The oldest know our culture so no problem there, but the youngest is basically South African. She sometimes does South African things that I consider disrespectful in my culture, but I can’t beat her up because in South African culture she is doing nothing wrong. But I have to beat my other children

if they copy it because they should know better. So it's hard as a mother, I am now doing favouritism."

"When you are a korokoza [a slang term used to mean 'panning' for money through informal work] you don't have time to teach your kids about culture. There are no aunts and uncles so you have to rely on the school. So your kids become cultureless and you clash a lot because you want them to know their roots."

The abovementioned challenge is supported by Correa-Velez, Gifford and Barnett (2010) who postulated a tug-of-war in migrant children as a result of participating in their ethnic community at the same time being expected to engage with the host community. The same authors are of the opinion that children either end up over-identifying with their home culture or the host culture or even end up being marginalized from both. Suarez-Orozco and Suarez-Orozco (2001:582) support this argument and allege that immigrant parents walk a "tightrope" because they usually fear that the "new culture" could destroy their children. Bacallao and Smokowski (2007:58) termed children and adolescence born and socialized in a foreign country and subsequently migrated to another country "*generation 1.5*". These children are said to experience the worst upheaval of family cultural systems as they are caught in between two cultural systems. This is especially so as South Africa is a rainbow nation with more than just two dominant cultures as is the case with Zimbabwe. One can therefore only imagine the upheaval children of undocumented Zimbabwean immigrants experience through exposure to many cultures.

Apart from children experiencing culture related challenges, adults are also reported to experience challenges in preserving their cultural identity once they move to another country. Although arguably for most adults, cultural identity was already instilled in them by the time they relocated, preserving that culture amidst trying to get ahead in SA is a daunting task. A major challenge for most participants related to preservation of family ties and the fact that family is considered in terms of nuclear, extended family and the community family. While it was fairly easy to preserve the nuclear family, challenges were denoted in preserving the extended and community family. The basic struggle for survival and stampede for scarce resources resulted in some participants choosing to abandon the aforementioned two family systems once they relocated. The following participants provide evidence of their struggle to

continue the values of sharing, having cultural celebrations and being open to strangers once in SA:

“Eh, who is coming this far away and working hard for someone else to say knock knock can we eat in the same plate like our forefathers did? You cannot afford that (raising voice) not when you are working for peanuts. Here there are no relatives, each man for himself and God for us all.”

“I am not a bad person, I know my culture. But there are thieves here, even if a person is from the same area back home, you can’t just open your arms and say welcome! People change once they are here. I know many people that tried to be all cultural, like my cousin this, my cousin that and got deported because of cousin!”

As noted from the above quotations, self-preservation takes precedence of maintaining cultural families due to scarcity of resources and fear of deportation amongst others.

In summary, the ‘undocumented’ Zimbabwean immigrants in SA who took part in the study shared their experiences of preserving their identity as a challenge. It was evident that although most participants cherished their personal, national and cultural identities, the current xenophobic and discriminatory attitudes from South Africans due to being ‘undocumented’ was an impediment to them enjoying let alone attempting to preserve their identity. Although some participants were staunch in maintaining that being ‘undocumented’ in SA was a temporary measure which did not warrant concealing their identity, they conceded that revealing their true identity was paramount to asking for trouble. It can therefore be deduced that most ‘undocumented’ immigrants experienced hardships which resulted in them consciously rejecting their personal, national and cultural identity for the sake of survival.

The next theme will capture the journey from Zimbabwe to SA and the challenges associated in relation to preserving family and identity.

7. THEME 3: ‘UNDOCUMENTED’ ZIMBABWEAN IMMIGRANTS’ CHALLENGES RELATING TO THEIR JOURNEY TO SA

Zinyama (2007) views the journey from Zimbabwe to SA as an extremely hazardous undertaking. The same author questions whether border posts between the two countries actually serve any other purpose than sexual and material gratification of those who prey on ‘undocumented’ immigrants seeking an exit out of Zimbabwe. Undoubtedly, the journey from Zimbabwe to SA is marred with challenges and uncertainties that threaten both family and identity preservation of ‘undocumented’ immigrants.

This theme will therefore illuminate the challenges faced by ‘undocumented’ Zimbabwean immigrants related to their journey into SA. An account of the reasons for leaving Zimbabwe, the decision to become ‘undocumented,’ travelling to SA and becoming victims of exploitation and crime during the journey to SA will be discussed in the various sub-themes and categories.

7.1 Sub-theme 1: ‘Undocumented’ Zimbabwean immigrants in SA’s challenges in Zimbabwe influencing their immigration to SA

The challenges of the ‘undocumented’ Zimbabwean immigrants in preserving their family and identity are heightened as reflected through their journey to SA. The participants in this study highlighted their reasons for migrating as having a bearing on the challenges faced. Moreover, the decision to become an ‘undocumented’ immigrant was also crucial in highlighting the plight of the ‘undocumented’ in preserving their family and identity.

Participants had different reasons for leaving Zimbabwe (Refer to demographic details in this Chapter, Table 5). For those that left for economic and family reunification reasons, it emerged that leaving Zimbabwe was a decision they made over time while for those with politically motivated reasons, they left on the spur of the moment in fear of their lives. An interesting revelation by the participants in the study was that most of them actually planned to become ‘undocumented’ immigrants in SA.

7.1.1 Category 1: Economic reasons

Nyikadzino (2011:1) describes the financial position of Zimbabwe as follows: “A nation once regarded as an economic power house in the sub-Saharan continent considered to be the bread basket of the African continent has had its fair share of tribulations on the political scene which has resulted in it becoming a symbol of ridicule, shame and contempt by the international community in the manner in which it has failed to resolve the political impasse that has been in existence for the past decade or so.”

As alluded to in Chapter 4, Paragraph 3.6, eight out of the fifteen participants reported to have immigrated mainly for economic reasons. These numbers clearly depict the challenge of Zimbabweans as they are considered to be economic migrants rather than refugees in need of protection hence do not qualify for legal documentation to decriminalize their stay in SA (Bloch, 2008). The financial shift from the prosperous Zimbabwe of the 1980's that was considered the bread basket by Southern African Development Community (SADC) to the current Zimbabwe of the 20th century that others have dubbed the “basket case” (Nyikadzino (2011:1) compelled many to leave the country and become ‘undocumented’ immigrants in SA. Apart from their loss of the previously enjoyed financial position that resulted in an inability to provide for their families it also challenged their identity. Participants who cited financial reasons for leaving Zimbabwe shared their realities in this regard:

“I had been a manager at a factory that closed down and all my attempts to feed my family back home had failed. There were no jobs anywhere so I decided to come here.”

“I may not be threatened or tortured but if we had stayed in Zim we would have died of hunger!”

“The deals were not firing anymore. I tried burning money and even selling things for baccosi but the deals just refused to fire.” [“Burning money” was a money laundering scheme that prevailed in Zimbabwe during the economic crisis while “baccosi” is a slang term for selling goods at ridiculously low price to achieve sales in record time]

“While I know what I did [deciding to live in South Africa without documentation] was illegal, I also know if I had not done it I would have no job or way to achieve my dreams so its dog eat dog really!”

“My friend who lived here told me to come and see what it’s like...So I came during Christmas time and I liked it here, it is a beautiful place, so she introduce me to a white lady who wanted a maid and I was hired just like that. [Sic]”

The abovementioned quotations pointed to the fact that the participants in the study did not merely choose to migrate to SA for economical reasons, but that it was rather a matter of survival. To put this argument in perspective it is important to note that Zimbabwe’s official inflation rate in 2008 had surged up to 231,000,000%. The Central Reserve Bank of Zimbabwe had removed 10 zeros from the national currency after its rapid devaluation resulting in Z\$100billion being equivalent to a more than ZAR5 which in effect mean that Z\$100billion could not buy a loaf of bread in Zimbabwe (McGreal, 2008). It is under these conditions that the undocumented Zimbabwean immigrants who migrated for financial reasons left the country. As depicted in subtheme 3.1, some participants migrated without their families hence despite striving to make a living for themselves; they also battled with sending remittances to Zimbabwe to financially assist those that were left behind. Besides being emotionally burdened with the fact that their family members are still experiencing dire poverty, it was reportedly inevitable that the undocumented immigrants in SA had to work twice as hard to support themselves in SA and their families in Zimbabwe. Hence the financial reason for leaving Zimbabwe was not immediately solved by becoming an undocumented immigrant in SA thereby not immediately resulting in family preservation but was notably a definite step to attain family preservation.

Politically motivated reasons will be discussed in the next section so as to provide evidence that participants did not only leave Zimbabwe for economic purposes as purported by some scholars (Crush and Tevera, 2010; Hammer et. al., 2010).

7.1.2 Category 2: Political reasons

Politically-motivated violence and intimidation back in Zimbabwe were also cited as urgent reason for leaving Zimbabwe and becoming undocumented immigrants in SA. All the participants that cited political reasons for migrating to SA indicated that they were fleeing from persecution from the ruling government of Zimbabwe. What was profound for those that indicated political reasons was that they actually made failed attempts to become documented by seeking asylum or refugee documents. Those that managed to be documented in SA for six months failed to renew their status due to lack of funds while some had their cases thrown out of Home Affairs offices without being documented on the pretext that they were manifestly unfounded. United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), 2007:397 view manifestly unfounded applications for asylum as a claim where the decision-maker is of the opinion that the claim is clearly fraudulent or unsubstantiated. While the researcher does not dispute the political reasons of migrating by some of the participants, it was also noted that their fear of politically-motivated persecution were on the basis of being fearful for an attack launched against them at the time they left Zimbabwe. It was also notable that all the participants in the study blamed the political climate of Zimbabwe for being the main root of whatever their immediate reasons for leaving were. The perception seemed to be that the political situation of Zimbabwe infiltrated in all areas of life resulting in their decision to leave. Despite there being a few participants that cited political reasons for their decision to leave Zimbabwe, almost all participants admitted to have attempted or at least considered to seek political asylum. These findings affirm literature that implores that political asylum is the only way for Zimbabweans to become legalized in SA unless they are qualified personnel with scarce skills (Khan, 2007). To highlight the perceived fear of political torture, the following participant stated his challenges in this regard:

“I joined the MDC and was vocal among the youth and became an easy target for the ZANU people. So I used to work in the council while waiting for my results. Although I was never beaten up or anything I constantly received threats from my colleagues and my superiors were watching me closely. So I thought I would rather leave before something happens to me.” [MDC is acronym for the largest opposition party in

Zimbabwe, the Movement for Democratic Change, while ZANU is the party in power and is acronym for Zimbabwe African National Union].

Crucial to note is that the above mentioned participant does not qualify for asylum or refugee status according to the Refugees Act, Act 130 of 1998:7. The said Act states that a person qualifies for refugee status when “owing to a well-founded fear of being persecuted by reason or his or her race, tribe religion, nationality, political opinion or membership of a particular social group...” The prominent word in this definition is “well-founded fear”. The predicament of the participants in this study was that although negative comments and to some extent verbal threats were made regarding their political affiliation, no direct altercation was perpetrated against them. This does not however mean that their fears were not well-founded; the struggle however was in providing evidence to that effect to DHA immigration officials; hence most political applications fell through or were considered to be manifestly unfounded.

A definitive challenge in becoming an ‘undocumented’ immigrant for political reasons was that some participants felt that they needed to hide their identity to prevent further torture as they suspected that there were ruling party agents in SA watching them.

The last reason for leaving Zimbabwe which was reportedly on the grounds of wanting to reunify families will be discussed in the next section.

7.1.3 Category 3: Family reunification reasons

In addition to economic and political reasons, the need for family reunification was a strong motivation for ‘undocumented’ participants to relocate to SA. Participants who migrated for family reasons migrated at different times and for different reasons. Participants reported that a husband could migrate for political reasons to SA and be granted asylum while his wife and children would join him later for family reunification reasons, but fail to qualify for asylum. This compounded the family problems experienced by participants in the study, however, it must be noted that for some, having at least one documented member gave the family some form of stability especially if that member was employed and could bring home a decent salary. However, family reunification also presented with some challenges due to the different times of

arrival after periods of long separation. In highlighting family reunification motivations for undocumented migration, the following was verbalized by some participants:

“My child is now here with me. First I was alone, but I ask madam to bring the child and first she did not want because she thinks I won’t do my job properly with baby but when she noticed it makes me sad, she said you can go and take child, so my baby is here.”

“I have not been here that long but my husband has been here for a long time. My husband asked me to come here. It was very difficult to be married to someone who is very far. We just needed to be together so that we could raise our child together.”

“But when things started to go bad, my husband and I agreed that I will stay here longer and doing my doilies... My husband came here after a few months, but our children are still back home.”

Family reunification mostly applied to married couples especially as husbands reportedly failed to cope alone with domestic chores while wives on the other hand found it hard to trust their husbands’ faithfulness in their absence and therefore relocated to preserve their marriages. The fact that some parents felt their children would get access to better resources such as medical facilities and education in SA contributed to reunification of children. In contrast, other parents indicated that as long as they had someone to take care of their children in Zimbabwe, prolonged reunification was not mandatory as they did not want to raise their children in SA. Shimoni, Este and Clark (2003) motivate that some parents who migrate to SA will not relocate their children to SA seeing that immigrant parents face difficult choices regarding the kinds of adults they want their children to become in resettlement countries. The said authors are furthermore of the opinion that when an immigrant parent’s understanding of what defines a successful adult lacks relevance or varies from that of their new environment more often than not, they chose to let their children stay in their home countries (Shimoni et. al., 2003).

Another aspect of family reunification that emerged from the findings is that SA was seen as a half-way house to the United Kingdom (UK) and United States of America (USA). What was initially considered a short-term solution actually became the only plan available resulting in a protracted stay in SA. The following two participants highlighted how they migrated to SA in the

hope of acquiring documentation to proceed to either the UK or USA but eventually failed to acquire the necessary documentation and therefore remained in SA.

“I discovered that I was pregnant and mind you I was only 16, waiting for my O level results so my boyfriend and I planned that I would come to SA in the hope of getting a visa to the UK since it was almost impossible to get it from Zimbabwe that time.”

“I tried do get a visa to the United Kingdom [where the rest of her family is living] but was unsuccessful. I don’t even remember how many times I applied to go to London but every time my application was rejected... So the logical decision was to move to SA, at least my family was allowed to travel to SA but not to Zimbabwe.”

Moreover, for the ‘undocumented’ Zimbabwean immigrants that got political asylum in SA, the conditions of their permit dictated that they could not travel back to Zimbabwe as they were perceived to be in danger. As a result, the only Zimbabweans that got documentation in the UK or USA could only visit the family members they left behind in SA. Upon realization that SA could be a haven of opportunities, some Zimbabweans then reportedly decided to overstay their initial visitors permit in SA thereby becoming ‘undocumented’ while searching for work or other opportunities as illustrated by the following participant:

“So it was like a halfway house for us to just meet in Jobur’g. I came here as a visitor, and used to pay about R2 000 for a visa back then. But I realized there were more work opportunities here, so I decided to stay... I ended up just staying and playing hide and seek with the SAPS and immigrations.”

Immigration policy has been blamed for its inability to consistently nurture family relationships by restricting documentation for family members even when one member is documented (Landale et al., 2011). By using SA as a halfway house with the hope of obtaining legal UK or USA documentation, Landale et al., (2011) concede that since 1965, US immigration policy is guided by principles that promote family reunification, a factor probably known by the participants that opted to use these means. Unfortunately, ‘undocumented’ Zimbabwean immigrants did not bargain for the long backlogs, inadequate staffing and ill-preparedness of the

Citizenship and Immigration Services (CIS) in ensuring that family reunification takes as little time as possible (Landale et al., 2011).

Having explored the reasons for leaving Zimbabwe, the next section will discuss the reasons for the decision to become 'undocumented' by highlighting the challenges experienced by the participants in the study.

7.1.4 Category 4: 'Undocumented' Zimbabwean immigrants' reasons for decision to become undocumented in SA

Based on the findings from this research study, it appeared that some participants indeed made efforts to become documented and failed while others made no attempts due to insufficient funds or lack of faith in the process. The following participants explained their challenges in obtaining legal documentation in this regard:

“For me the bigger problem was the issue of papers. At that time the visa was expensive. I had the money but realized that if I used it for the visa, I would not have enough since I had to think about the costs of relocation as well as leaving some money home for fees, food etc. so I jumped the border to cut costs”

“When I came I actually came with a visitors permit, I paid a lot of money for it at the time. The queues were very long so I paid someone to do it for me via the back door.”
[Speaking of how she came documented, overstayed and became an undocumented immigrant]

“It was at a time when things were really hard in Zimbabwe... So my visa expired. I knew that it was going to expire. Since I did not have any intentions of going home, I planned to apply for asylum but the process was too difficult.”

“I had to make the difficult decision to stay illegally in South Africa. It was at the time of the violent runoff election in Zimbabwe and as a pregnant activist I did not feel safe to go back at all.”

“I came that time when they were giving Zimbabweans free permits with the ZDP. So I tried to submit my documents, without success. I would go to one official and he would say no you must have this, the other person would say no you are also missing but did not mention what the other person said I was missing. So I decided it was too much money to keep running around.”

From the abovementioned quotations, it became clear that despite their knowledge of the consequences of their ‘undocumented’ status such as arrest, deportation or being charged with a fine it was still better than returning or remaining in Zimbabwe. The latter bears evidence of the dire situation of ‘undocumented’ Zimbabwean immigrants.

7.2 Sub-theme 2: ‘Undocumented’ Zimbabwean immigrants in SA’s challenges related to how they came into SA

Throughout Chapter One, it was highlighted that the transient nature of migration makes it difficult to determine immigration statistics. These difficulties became evident during the interviews as it emerged that some participants have been undocumented at different times in SA and frequently travel back and forth to Zimbabwe. The following quotations bear evidence of the risks associated with their undocumented status:

“The most frequent method I used was the water one because it is the cheapest method. But it is the riskiest of all because many people died there! There are many crocodiles and you swim for a long distance when it is cold so anything can happen in there.”

“I used to jump the border because I could not afford the visa; it was very expensive and would eat up all my profit. So it was the only way.”

“It was not the first time I had jumped the border.” [Explaining that he diligently used clandestine means]

“I managed to slip in and walk to the other side. An official noticed it and was waiting for me and caught me and put me in the security room...”

The findings of this study indicated that due to their perceived lack of choice, ‘undocumented’ Zimbabwean immigrants that have not considered themselves criminal or deviant prior to breaking immigration laws of SA found themselves breaking both Zimbabwean and South African immigration laws. Crush and Tevera (2010:21) attribute their decision to use dangerous routes into SA to the “extremely financially punitive” visa regime of SA that inevitably pushes Zimbabweans to clandestine, yet risky routes into SA. All the methods of entrance into SA mentioned by the participants either caused bodily harm, psychological trauma or financial strain. Swimming through the crocodile and troubled waters of the Limpopo River caused emotional and psychological trauma with the extreme possibility of grievous bodily harm and the possibility of being killed by crocodiles. Those participants that chose to jump the border or bribe their way through immigration officials or make use of unofficial travel agents called Malayitsha’s indicated their constant fear of being caught and detained at the infamous Lindela Repatriation Centre in Krugersdorp that is notorious for the inhumane treatment of would-be refugees and ‘undocumented’ immigrants (Rutherford, 2011). It became evident that this process was financially-straining, emotionally-exhausting and sometimes physically-daunting especially if they came into contact with brutal officials who physically assaulted them.

Those ‘undocumented’ Zimbabwean immigrants that entered under false pretexts of visiting yet intended to stay as long as they needed indicated their constant fear of deportation that made it challenging to reunify with their families.

The participants who migrated with their husbands, wives and children faced a more precarious journey as it no longer affected mere individuals but whole families. Some of the participants gave horrendous accounts of their journey such as the death of family members, being sexually and physically assaulted in front of their spouses and children, detention and separation of family members as well as extortion by members of the SAPS and immigration officials. The latter often leave some families without money for food along the journey often contributing to diseases. Even becoming a criminal for the sake of survival has devastating impacts on personal identity (Khan, 2007; HRW, 2007; Harris, 2002).

It must also be noted that the stress and danger of the journey between Zimbabwe and SA not only affects those journeying, but also the family left behind in Zimbabwe. Bacallao and Smokowski (2007:56) refer to “sequential immigration” which relates to the phenomenon of

family members who are immigrating at different times, and the heightened stress around the safety of those who remained behind. In addition, the danger and stress associated with the journey impacts negatively on family preservation of the ‘undocumented’ immigrant especially if they are unable to communicate their well-being and whether they crossed the border safely with their family back in Zimbabwe. While the family back in Zimbabwe worries on whether their family member survived the journey, the migrating member is also compounded by pressure to communicate to allay existing fears. This phenomenon was highlighted by the following participant:

“The problem is I took time to get sorted and settle because I was caught and detained for a week. So my wife was understandably worried because she did not know what was going on. When I eventually called her after three weeks everyone was very relieved because they thought I had died. But you see, she was not the only one worrying, I was also worried about everything back home”

It became evident from the findings of this study that the trauma associated with the migration of ‘undocumented’ Zimbabwean immigrants to SA is devastating and thus impacting negatively on all the concerned family members. The next sub-theme will document the challenges related to participants becoming victims of exploitation and crime during their journey to SA.

7.3 Sub-theme 3: ‘Undocumented’ Zimbabwean immigrants in SA’s becoming victims of exploitation and crime during their journey

A study by the Centre for Violence and Reconciliation revealed that immigrants from Zimbabwe or other African countries to SA in general are prone to victimization, exploitation and crime upon their entrance into SA (Harris, 2001). The same author argues that by virtue of entering SA illegally, the possibility of undetected human rights abuses, crime and exploitation acts such as police dogs, razor wire, deportation (even for legitimate asylum claims), theft, extortion and beatings greatly increased (Harris, 2001). The author attributes these exploitations to the fact that most often than not, ‘undocumented’ immigrants have no access to protective mechanisms and are at risk of secondary victimization at the hands of the authorities. Harris (2001) furthermore castigates border control practices and argues that contrary to popular belief that many

undocumented immigrants go undetected at the SA border, they are actually discovered at least once or twice during their journey by officials who demand bribes in exchange of free passage.

Participants in the study gave the following accounts of how they became victims of exploitation and crime especially during their initial entry into SA thereby confirming Harris's argument:

“When you are a border jumper nobody needs to tell you that you must pay. One can negotiate a fair price with some of the cops. Its good business for them shame.”

“When I was deported the 1st time I was detained at Lindela. It was terrible! I shared a small room with maybe forty-fifty people, shared a blanket. One was afraid to drink tea in case it was poisoned because those people could just beat you up anytime!”

“I wanted to report it to the police but he threatened me that he would make sure that I never see Messina again. Because I knew there was nothing for me in Zimbabwe I just stayed.”

“And the boys on the streets are not always so kind if they know you are from the other side of the border, they study your movements and wait for you after a fortnight of work when they know you just got paid and they pounce on you.”

Apart from the abovementioned examples of exploitation and crime Crush and Tevera (2010) emphasize that ‘undocumented’ immigrants in SA’s small businesses are often vandalized, their possessions stolen and at times looted under the guise of protecting national resources by community members. The authors allege that many foreigners hold the view that police either turn a blind eye to the crimes committed against them, or are often amongst the perpetrators themselves.

Amidst all the challenges of the ‘undocumented’ immigrants on their journey to SA, women seemed to be prone to sexually-related crimes and exploitations by members of the SAPS or immigration officials. Men on the other hand experienced more economically challenges. It would seem for women that sex was an acceptable (by SAPS and border officials not the women) means of paying a bribe while for men, money was. Although the female participants

were not very forthcoming in discussing exploitations of this nature, the male participants divulged the following information:

“The ladies are also abused sexually. Some of our sisters are into this prostitution business and for money they have sex, the kinkier and more dangerous, the more money they earn and are really vulnerable especially by police.”

“They [referring to immigration and SAPS officials] just come and take women from the queue, next thing you know, they are gone for hours and just come to take their bags and cross the border, then you know the deal is done.”

“Women are forced into prostitution and drugs or they deliberately stay in an abusive relationship because they have no papers. Although the situation is bad, it’s all they have at that moment so they will take it.”

“At the restaurant I worked, the owner is a big man. He is famous and involved in this trafficking business... He would make them work to serve food and serve other things after hours of you know what I mean [Referring to sex work]. Some of these girls died because the clients were rough and would even refuse to pay after a whole night.”

One of the participants also referred to a case where a female ‘undocumented’ immigrant was allegedly sexually abused by different SAPS officials to the point of death. These findings are in agreement with those of Crush and Tevera (2010) who reported that most women who use clandestine means to cross the border are being exploited sexually mainly by SAPS officials. The authors furthermore concluded that these sexual contacts are forced, compulsory and coercive and there is no regard for the fact that the women may be someone’s wife, partner or mother. Crush and Tevera (2010) also revealed that more often than not, women keep the fact that they were sexually abused from everyone else, including their partners as they view it as part of the dangers of being ‘undocumented’. These atrocities obviously contribute to emotional and marital challenges that could threaten family preservation.

However, it would be one-sided to only refer to the ‘undocumented’ Zimbabwean immigrants becoming victims of crime during their stay in SA. Some participants admitted to becoming actively involved in criminal activities themselves such as theft, bribery and extortion in order to

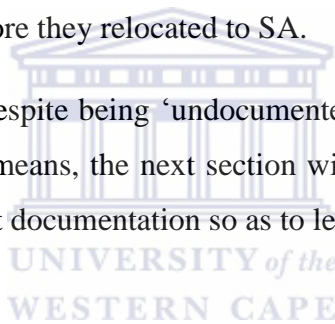
remain in SA. The following two participants recalled how they use to bribe SAPS officials to avoid deportation without being coerced to do so:

“I have to bribe and lie my way through life just so that I don’t get caught and deported. I lost many of my Christian values when I came here. All I know is God knows my heart.”

“As a Christian you tell yourself that you are not going to bribe, steal, lie or even engage in premarital sexual relationships. But not having papers means I am a liar, a cheat and a thief.”

From the above quotations, an element of regret over who the participants believe they have become is also apparent thereby illuminating the challenges participants go through in a bid to maintain their ‘illegal’ status in SA. None of the participants considered themselves as criminals or associated with exploitation before they relocated to SA.

As the participants reported that despite being ‘undocumented,’ they have attempted to become documented even via clandestine means, the next section will further expand on the challenges related to obtaining such fraudulent documentation so as to legalise their stay in SA.



7.4 Sub-theme 4: ‘Undocumented’ Zimbabwean immigrants in SA’s challenges related to their efforts to obtain “documentation”

Although the challenges with regards to a lack of documentation are presented as separate sub-themes in this section, they are in actual fact the focal point on all challenges experienced by ‘undocumented’ Zimbabwean immigrants throughout this study.

Closely connected with the fear of deportation are the efforts of ‘undocumented’ Zimbabwean immigrants’ attempts to obtain documentation to legalize their stay in SA. Obtaining documentation has become a major stumbling block for ‘undocumented’ Zimbabwean immigrants to preserve their families and identity. More often than not, once participants enter SA illegally, the only opportunity for them to become legalized is if they followed unscrupulous channels to obtain documentation as the legal route would involve having to pay an admission of guilt fine and still face possibility of deportation before legal documents can be issued.

The participants in the study that obtained fake documentation detailed the challenges they encountered in a bid to legalize their stay in SA or at least to avoid deportation by raising the following:

“You never know whether the papers are real or not, but at least it’s rare for you to be caught unless you want to get loans at banks what what.”

“Even now that we have papers the situation is not really better because you have to constantly prove that you are worthy. Besides that, the papers only help in getting the job but it don’t help when you want to go home. At the border they can tell it’s a fake”

“I received an sms from home affairs and was told that my papers were fake. I was told I had only ten days to appeal. So I did not otherwise I would be deported, so I have been here since that.”

Two married male participants also chorused the abovementioned challenges associated with getting fake documentation in relation to how it negatively impacts on their marriages. From their narratives, it appears that fake documentation is mainly used for employers who do not always know the difference between the original and counterfeit visa/permit. It also appeared that some SAPS officials are not always knowledgeable on which documents were counterfeit and which ones were real. Khan (2007) however castigated some SAPS officials for tearing up documents belonging to foreign nationals regardless of whether they are legitimate or not only as a way of showing off that they are more powerful as there in no legal recourse.

In concluding this theme, it was clearly stated by the participants that the decision to leave Zimbabwe was not an easy one. The challenges on the journey which relate to lack of finances, lack of documentation and becoming victims of crime and exploitation made it very challenging for them to preserve their family and identity in SA. The reasons for leaving Zimbabwe in the ^{first} place were also highlighted as having direct bearing on the challenges they faced during their journey from Zimbabwe to SA.

Having explored and described the challenges related to family and identity during the journey, the next theme will now expand on the challenges experienced by the participants once they resided in SA.

8. THEME 4: CHALLENGES EXPERIENCED BY ‘UNDOCUMENTED’ ZIMBABWEAN IMMIGRANTS DURING THEIR STAY IN SA

Once the ‘undocumented’ Zimbabwean immigrants have arrived in SA after often dangerous journeys as depicted throughout Theme 3, they have to settle and make a life for themselves and their families against all odds. This theme seeks to give an account of the experiences of the ‘undocumented’ Zimbabwean immigrants in SA by highlighting their challenges in preserving their families and identity during their stay in SA.

The researcher will begin by expanding on the highlighted challenges with regards to marriage, and those related to experiences of humiliation and loneliness. The challenges related to fear of deportation, lack of opportunities as well as exploitation by fellow Zimbabweans and experiences of xenophobia will also be unpacked through the different sub-themes.

8.1 Sub-theme 1: ‘Undocumented’ Zimbabwean immigrants in SA’s challenges with regards to marriage

More often than not, married participants who took part in this study were either separated at one point of time or still separated at the time of the study due to the challenges of entering SA legally and illegally which placed a lot of strain on the marriage. Pedraza (1991) attested that marriage partners are forced to negotiate their relationships when one or both of them move to environments that have different gender expectations of behaviour. Ehrenreich and Hochschild (2002) support this line of thought as they add that the increase in female migration rates worldwide contradicts the expectation that women’s domain is that of the home. Furthermore, Hirsch (2003); Hondagneu-Sotelo (1994); Smith (2004) attest that migration greatly re-defines the conjugal relationships between adult men and women. More often than not, the challenges of becoming ‘undocumented’ Zimbabwean immigrants were initially overlooked or underestimated by married participants as portrayed by the following participants:

“It’s not good because you want her to have freedom also and she tells you that she never signed up for that [living separately].”

“My wife and I knew it would be difficult, just not this hard.”

The following categories will therefore unpack the challenges in preserving marital relationships such as infidelity, women gaining more independence and cultural values.

8.1.1 Category 1: Challenges caused by infidelity

Infidelity was strongly pointed out as a major challenge for married couples. Infidelity should not be viewed as occurring in a vacuum, but rather in relation to all their other challenges as it always boil down to family level. Infidelity was revealed to be the result of many factors inclusive of the fact that sometimes, married partners were separated for long periods resulting in one partner, usually the man seeking conjugal benefits elsewhere. More often than not, these affairs were said to continue long after the married couple re-united thereby further compounding the marital conflict. Some affairs were reportedly for economic and security reasons as often the partner that had the affair justified it by stating that it was either to cut costs of living by sharing rent and food expenses or to avoid deportation by dating a South African in the hope of getting citizenship. Crush and Tevera (2010) are of the opinion that infidelity for social security reasons sometimes resulted in some married men and women living two lives whereby they are married to a spouse in Zimbabwe and another in South Africa without the spouses' knowledge. Women however took the notion of infidelity a notch further by alleging that some undocumented Zimbabwean men cheated because they were attracted to the care free and less reserved South African women who were considered more fun and adventurous than their Zimbabwean counterparts.

The male participants who took part in the study voiced their challenges with infidelity as follows:

“And don't forget all this time I was alone! I am a man, and I have needs....(silence) I did some things that hurt my wife that time and almost destroyed my family.”

“So I left this girlfriend at the place we were staying. The rent and other expenses were cheaper when we were staying together. My wife insisted we would come back together. I

tried to stop her but I realized if I stopped her, the marriage would be over... So it all came out because the neighbours talk. We fought a lot, but she forgave me.”

“I have betrayed my wife’s trust and been with other women for a place to sleep when things get hot with police on our base.”

Female participants on the other hand articulated their agony regarding their husband’s infidelity while in SA as follows:

“For not having papers, my family collapsed and my husband found a way out and divorced me. I became a single mother”

“But also you know these days there is AIDS so you know if you are far from your husband he can play with younger women. So the stress kills you.”

“You know the women here are loose and they started staying together. I did not know anything at that time I just thought that he was struggling to get a job. So they fell in love and started staying together. The whole year that he did not come home he was staying with her. So she helped him get a job and he used the money to buy an ID. When he told me that he had an ID I was very happy because I thought that our life was going to be fine now. I never suspected anything.”

As can be noted from the aforementioned quotations, none of the female participants admitted to cheating on their spouses. It is therefore unclear whether this is an accurate account of the situation or rather the taboo surrounding female infidelity in the Zimbabwean culture, hence unwillingness to discuss it. As a result, marital breakdowns due to infidelity and loneliness were also raised by the participants as challenging for preserving their families and identity. In addition, marriages were also affected by epidemics such as HIV/AIDS due to the risky lifestyles engaged in by participants once they began to assimilate into their new environments and experience new things previously frowned upon while in Zimbabwe. These revelations by participants tie in with Mweru’s (2008) accounts of how sexual patterns especially for women change once migration occurs. To demonstrate the challenges in marriage caused by separation of marital partners, the following was raised:

“But now that I’m no longer there, my wife is back in the rural area with my parents, so that she is not lonely in my absence.”

“My young wife was also almost giving up on us, she is young and has needs [referring to sexual needs].”

Evidence in the accounts given by the male participants in this study was that there is a constant struggle between trying to be a better husband by migrating ‘undocumented’ to SA to feed the family and at the same time being able to fulfil the conjugal rights of marriage. As a result, either the wife left in Zimbabwe failed to wait and engaged in sexual relations with other partners or the husband solicited sexual services from partners in South Africa resulting in breakdowns of some marriages. It was also interesting to note that those who allegedly cheated on their partners to cut costs justified and rationalised their behaviour by claiming that if money is saved up by living with someone to cut costs, more could be sent to Zimbabwe to feed the family. What was not clear from the findings of this study is whether women whose husbands are in Zimbabwe also engaged in extra-marital affairs. It can be concluded that while it is commonly culturally accepted that men will cheat, a woman that cheats is considered loose and on the same level with prostitutes; hence they may not be willing to divulge that.

The next category relates to the challenges related to marriage when married Zimbabwe women gain more independence within the SA context

8.1.2 Category 2: Challenges caused by changes in women gaining more independence

As deduced from the demographics (table 5) of the participants who took part in the study, most of them are married. Hence the challenges in preserving marriage shed light on the challenges experienced by ‘undocumented’ Zimbabwean immigrants in SA. As discussed in Chapter 2 Paragraph 5, the lack of documentation often results in an unwelcome shift in gender roles seeing that women experience more financial freedom than they had before relocation to SA much to the chagrin of their male counterparts.

The greatest marriage related challenge highlighted by almost all the married male participants in this study related to the shift that occurs as women gain more independence. Factors that contributed to the fact that women gained more independence and the possibility that they may get their documentation whether counterfeit or original before the men thereby giving them more leverage and increasing their chances of becoming employed challenged the balance of power. In addition jobs for females were reportedly more readily available thereby increasing their opportunities of earning an income sooner than their male counterparts. The latter was experienced as often resulting in feelings of insecurity and disapproval as the male participants reflected on how their wives gaining of more independence made them feel as though their authority as men had been usurped. The findings of this study also pointed to the fact that marital anarchy seemed to occur in some of the families as roles were re-defined. It must be noted however that some of the married women indicated that they appreciated their sense of independence especially in view of SA legislation pertaining to gender balance which saw them equal marriage partners, a right not easily accessible in Zimbabwe.

The following male participants illustrate their challenges brought about by the increased independence by the women, were voiced as follows:

“My wife left, I do not blame her, I had nothing to offer her. She expected me to be the bread winner and now I was adding more to her problems.”

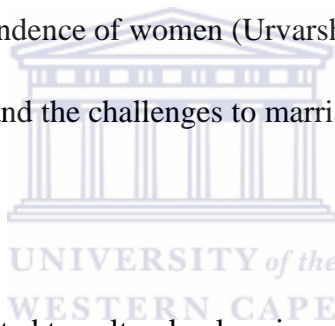
“At home the balance was bad, my wife stopped respecting me because of the money, worse off she had the papers and I did not. “I forgave her [wife] because I understand it was trying times, but such things have long lasting effects on a marriage.”

“With my wife it was also difficult especially when she had papers and I did not, whenever we fought and I beat her up, she would threaten to report me to immigrations, yet back home we could fight and I could beat her with no stories of ‘I will report you!’”

“My wife managed to get a job as a teacher and they assisted her with work permit documents and she was paid by the SGB. She obviously earned more than me. Our problems worsened when I was caught by the police and was deported.”

LaBossiere (2008) contends that some women suffer from a Strong Independent Woman Syndrome that result in them being unable to accept male authority when a man is thought not to be living up to her expectations of him in a marriage. Urvarshi (2011) on the other hand argues that what has been thought to be an independent woman syndrome may actually be a revelation of what abused women went through before they attained financial independence. Urvarshi argues that while there is a correlation between divorce rates and women gaining financial independence, the problem really lies in the fact that one partner continues to expect that the emancipated partner behaves in exactly the same way that they did before attaining independence. In addition, the same author argues that men with strong traditional backgrounds as was the case of most male participants in this study are cultured to be egoistic and achievement oriented while women are the nurturers and the sacrificial types. Hence what may be considered challenges due to independence of women may actually be a challenge of men being unable to adapt to the independence of women (Urvarshi 2011).

The next category will further expand the challenges to marriage by illuminating the challenge of cultural values related to marriage.



8.4.3 Category 3: Challenges related to cultural values in marriage

Over and above the challenge of marital infidelity, another finding that emerged from this study resonated around unmet physical needs and expectations due to lack of finances. The male participants that are married denoted an urgency to do all it takes to retain their position as the breadwinner amidst the challenges of undocumentation that limited their income earning opportunities. Married male participants revealed a hopelessness they felt when unable to provide for their families. As a result, they ended up engaging in literally anything that could help them to retain that role. Their desperation of having to do all it takes to retain the role of breadwinners became evident in the following statements:

“As you know our sense of family in most African community is built around the institution of patriarchy. So where fathers cannot earn to look after their families, the mothers are forced to do something [referring to mothers exchanging sexual services for money]. This complicates and compounds the problems and destroys families.”

“As a man, you do everything in your power to keep your family intact and your identity fresh. I have done everything, from good to bad, legit to ‘skelm’, risky and safe things just to preserve that.”

“My wife left, I do not blame her, I had nothing to offer her. She expected me to be the bread winner and now I was adding more to her problems.”

As reflected in the above quotations, the cultural dictates of what a good man ought to provide for their family seems to put men on a pedestal where they feel emasculated if they are unable to meet these standards. These findings confirm the literature documented in Chapter 1, Section 2 regarding the “kukiya-kiya” complex where an individual engages in virtually any and all sorts of activities to gain an income (Jones, 2010).

Another interesting challenge that presented from the findings related to one of the participants marriage between a Zimbabwean and a South African. As discussed in 4.1.3 of this chapter, marriages between Zimbabweans and South Africans are generally looked upon with scrutiny and contempt. An ‘undocumented’ male participant raised his challenges and inability to enjoy a fulfilled marriage due to ongoing talks from both his Zimbabwean and South African neighbours’. Traces of xenophobia deduced from how he was accused of stealing his wife from SA men, although she was not married before, caused strife in the marriage. There have also been incidents where ‘undocumented’ Zimbabwean men have been reported to authorities by SA men who loathed their unions with SA women and were deported to Zimbabwe (Crush and Tevera, 2010). On the flipside however, the same participant also revealed how the Zimbabweans in his community have preconceived notions that black South African women are unsuitable marriage partners while the male South Africans are violent. This aspect was illustrated clearly by the participant who said:

“South Africans accuse me of stealing their wife, but she was not in a relationship with anyone when we me., Zimbabweans on the other hand think she is with me because I work hard and that she will dump me because most Xhosa women are like that.”

Even our sisters when they marry South African men, everyone says to them, 'very soon we shall bury you after that man has killed you' as if all South African men are violent."

It was therefore apparent from the findings of this study that marriage presents several challenges for 'undocumented' Zimbabwean immigrants in SA. As people migrate to SA, they change; such changes ought to be normal as one experiences a new culture. However, the changes in a marriage were seen to have devastating results on family and identity preservation especially when one partner is unhappy with the change. The next section will highlight challenges participants discussed that pertain to loneliness.

8.2 Subtheme 2: 'Undocumented' Zimbabwean immigrants in SA's challenges regarding loneliness

All the participants in the study reflected on how their relocation to SA resulted in severe loneliness away from family, friends and familiar environments. The levels of loneliness however, differed amongst participants that migrated alone and those that migrated with partners, children or siblings. It was also noteworthy to mention that married male participants, who reported feelings of loneliness referred to their inability to prepare meals, wash and to perform other domestic-related tasks. The married female participants on the other hand referred to their sense of loneliness as the absence of somebody to confide in and also provide the protection and assistance that a husband would have done had they still been in Zimbabwe. These sentiments confirm the discourse around marital life in Zimbabwe where patriarchal standards dictate that the women provide the nurturing roles of domestic-related activities while the men are considered the protector and "fixer" (Pasura, 2010: 149). Loneliness must however in this study not only be considered as a natural consequence of migration, but must be considered in terms of the fact that the participants do not have the option and liberty to visit loved ones or have them come over due to their 'illegal' status. Hence while loneliness is consistent with migration, being undocumented increased magnitude to the feelings of loneliness amidst all other challenges brought about by an undocumented status. The following married participants put their loneliness into perspective by means of the following quotations:

“Ummm haaa that was the hardest part in my life. Like I said before, I came alone and my wife and kids followed later. For me it was very hard because I had been married for over twenty years and then I was alone.”

“As a family man, I struggled alone, cooking, the loneliness, everything.”

“It was very difficult to be in a marriage with someone who is very far. We just needed to be together so that we could raise our child together. As a woman, I cannot do everything on my own”

It was interesting to note how none of the participants mentioned missing one another for conjugal and intimacy purposes although it was implied that these reasons played a huge role in loneliness for the participants. The fact that they did not verbalize the matter may be justified by the findings of Hungwe (2012) who concluded that the Zimbabwean culture teaches men and women to be conservative regarding sexual matters. Discussing sexual matters is viewed as taboo and should not be reduced to indecency by being discussed outside marriage.

In addition, unmarried participants singled out the absence of family, especially in the context of how the Zimbabwean culture places value on community and communalism. It seemed the huge adjustment from having people to share their life with and suddenly being alone gave rise to feelings of alienation and loneliness among the participants. The following statement by one of the participants puts her loneliness in perspective:

“Here it is only you. There is nobody. You are doing your own thing. No one to help you, no one to cry with you... Back home, maybe you can speak to someone... But here nobody to help me. The school do not even want to hear my story when they know I am Zimbabwean.”

The complexity to feelings of loneliness was augmented by the fact that an individual cannot just go to Zimbabwe when they wish due to their ‘undocumented’ status which made family life very challenging to maintain. The following participant manages to capture her feelings of loneliness in the absence of her family life that she experienced in Zimbabwe:

“I have to cling on to the telephone and Skype conversations with my family just to convince myself that I have some form of family life. But the truth is deep down we all know that we are lying to ourselves, it’s over, I am so alone and sad.”

Another participant portrayed a bitter-sweetness regarding being alone. Although she loathed being ‘undocumented’ and alienated from her family, she admitted that it brought also about some independence that she was devoid of while in Zimbabwe. She expressed her sense of freedom as follows:

“No family no nothing. I decided what to eat, when to eat, how to eat. Sometimes I enjoy it to be honest. If I had been in my parent’s home I couldn’t go out at night, have my boyfriend sleep over, all those things because of our culture you know”

It could therefore be deduced that being alone in SA provided her with increased independence to define her own identity outside of the cultural and national identity that has been ascribed to her at the expense of family relationships. The loneliness that comes with independence typifies what Bacallao and Smokowski (2007:56) terms “life without a boss” situation where an individual previously denied freedom due to cultural and familial expectation suddenly finds themselves liberated. Mweru (2008) deliberated that loneliness coupled with freedom from the home country made immigrant women susceptible to HIV/AIDS. The same author conducted studies amongst Kenyan immigrant women who disclosed that being immigrant women, left them isolated and bored as the menial work they accessed was boring and monotonous especially away from their family. As a result, these women ended up engaging in casual sex, going to nightclubs, getting drunk and having unprotected sex, something they were restricted from doing in their home countries (Mweru, 2008).

In a bid to counter feelings of loneliness some unmarried female participants lamented at how they attempted to engage in intimate relationships with non-Zimbabweans and received a backlash for doing so from their families back in Zimbabwe, hence resulting in more alienation and loneliness. Some participants revealed how social exclusion played a role in who was deemed culturally-suited to date a Zimbabwean woman. Some participants noted how their family in Zimbabwe did not understand the deep loneliness that comes with being an undocumented foreigner hence castigated them when they attempted to fill the void. One of the female participants supported this notion by saying:

“People [family who are not in South Africa] do not understand that when you are here all alone. All you want is someone to care and to be there for you even if they happen to

be Nigerian or Chinese then you take it! But our people will rather start judging you for the fact that you have prostituted for food and rent.”

Loneliness was therefore a great challenge for most of the ‘undocumented’ Zimbabwean immigrants in the study as a result of separation from their loved ones. Moreover, their desire to redefine themselves as lovable and loved people complicated the relationship women had with their families back in Zimbabwe. Mweru (2008) postulated that loneliness resulted in a change of sexual behaviours of women who migrated from Kenya resulting in them leading parallel lives where they are known to behave in a particular way in their home and differently in the countries they migrate to. The same author deliberated that more often than not, migrant women end up in relationships with other lonely migrant men in their workplaces. These sexual encounters especially with locals were said to bring about further discrimination as immigrants are most often accused of spreading HIV, an allegation that has been disputed by International Organisation for Migration (IOM) (Mweru, 2008; IOM, 2004). IOM (2004) revealed that immigrants are more likely to contract HIV than local populations. Mweru (2008) compounds this assertion by stating that immigrant women are less likely able to negotiate condom use for financial reasons as well as for fear of being lonely. It is therefore important to consider that loneliness may result in individuals altering their personal and cultural values which make up their identity as they find themselves in a new country. Moreover, the change in sexual practices not only affects women but men also and the risk of contracting HIV has dire impacts on the family.

In addition to challenges related to loneliness, participants also revealed that they are humiliated by South Africans during their stay in SA. The next section will unpack their challenges related to feelings of humiliation and how it played out in their lives as ‘undocumented’ immigrants in SA.

8.3 Sub-theme 3: ‘Undocumented’ Zimbabwean immigrants in SA’s challenges of Humiliation

‘Undocumented’ Zimbabwean immigrants experienced feelings of degradation associated with loss of social and financial status especially for those that migrated for economic reasons. This was because most participants had been educated at a time when Zimbabwe was at its peak financially, came from middle-class background and held responsible jobs while in Zimbabwe.

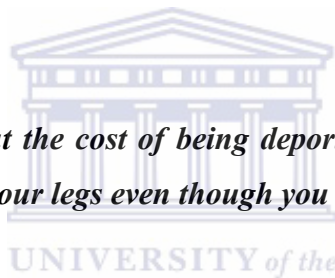
Most of the participants who took part in this study had therefore experienced the conflict-free Zimbabwe; hence struggled to keep up with the economic turmoil associated with having to leave for SA (Crush and Tevera, 2010).

The experiences of humiliation affected both men and women. For male participants, the humiliation was associated with a reduction in what they considered their social standing as a provider. The men lamented on their humiliation in the following terms:

“I was once boss and now I am saying yes boss, yes ma’am!” It destroys a man if you were a provider and now you have to ask your wife to send you money for food. Sometimes I thought maybe I should just go back home, but what would I become.”

“I did work that was degrading. I basically can say not having papers emasculated me.”

“So you would think about the cost of being deported and coming back illegally and just tuck your tail behind your legs even though you are the man.”



In addition, male participants pointed to the fact that being an ‘undocumented’ Zimbabwean immigrant in SA resulted in some of them being subordinate to women. Their sense of loss was mainly about what they were before relocation and what they had become in SA. The male participants had negative connotations that men become “lesser men” when a female occupies a higher position or authority than they are. These connotations are deeply engrained in the patriarchal nature of Zimbabwean culture that values men as ultimate providers hence the feelings of degradation when they cannot provide adequately. Women on the other hand defined their humiliation in terms of how they were forced to inflate their standard of living while in SA. Women’s humiliation was mostly associated with how they had to move from good homes in Zimbabwe to what they considered as sub-standard accommodation in SA. They vented their frustrations in this regard as follows:

“If only these people knew the houses we left back home, they would never call us stupid names and look down on us”

“I allowed people to walk over me for fear that they can report on me to immigrations. It’s embarrassing, we really work for food here, live in ‘hokkies’ that the people back home would not believe”

According to Crush and Tevera (2010:179), feelings of humiliation due to loss of status are synonymous with Zimbabwean immigrants, more especially the ‘undocumented.’ In a study of Zimbabwean immigrants in the UK, the authors revealed that Zimbabwean teachers, nurses and managers who migrated to the UK had now become what they jestfully termed “British Bottom Cleaners” (BBC) meaning, working in care homes and cleaning and washing the old and frail. These feelings of humiliation threaten their identity as they suddenly find themselves professionally inferior to what they were trained for. One also has to consider the patriarchal image borne through socialization and how it affected them especially if it is known by family and friends in Zimbabwe that such demotion of status has occurred. Crush and Tevera (2010) furthermore explain that one of the challenges to the notions of masculinity is provoked by becoming an immigrant especially when de-skilling occurs. Feminization of employment opportunities challenges the male hegemony Zimbabwean men enjoyed before migration. This encounter forces the re-negotiation of domestic gender relations that come as a result of the female partner being employed while the male partner is not. As a result, men feel humiliated by their undermined status and role as provider for their families which fuses tension in relationships thereby contributing to breakups in the Zimbabwean diaspora (Crush and Tevera, 2010).

As a result of the humiliation, some participants in the study revealed how they are not truthful to their families regarding the actual work they are doing or their living arrangements while in SA. The following quotation by one of the participants bears evidence of this notion:

“When I arrived I had asked a relative who was in Johannesburg to assist and give me accommodation for a little while. I called and called but no answer. I had to sleep at the bus rank for three days. The relative finally came to get me but it was better if he did not come because he also did not have a place to stay; he was being kept by someone also. But ahhh people don’t tell the truth.”

Feelings of humiliation were therefore seen to result in ‘undocumented’ participants lying to their family members so as to protect the image the family had of the immigrant prior to immigrating to SA. Such lies however were discovered to have detrimental effects on family relationships as revealed by the participant following participants:

“Our relationship as family was very damaged...but now I forgave him because I realized after living here myself how hard it was and how you can end up doing anything for money. But that affects many things because you see, we are very communal, so my issue with him here became an issue of the extended family and it caused divisions with family taking sides.”

“You don’t want people back home to know what you have become so you lie to them. You tell them about the good opportunities here while you know that without papers, you are nothing, you are illegal and considered a criminal who must either be milked or deported.”

A two-fold crisis therefore exists due to the experiences of humiliation in that the humiliated individual lies to the family or relative to protect his/her image. As a result, the family member that is new to SA and is requiring assistance ends up having to sleep on the streets or become stranded and may even be robbed as a result. Hence the humiliation not only affects the humiliated individual but the others that required the assistance of the humiliated individual. In their study of ‘undocumented’ Zimbabwean immigrants in Johannesburg, Crush and Tevera (2010) revealed how due to humiliation, some people ignore their blood relatives coming to SA for the very first time and requiring their assistance.

In addition to the challenge of humiliation, participants also revealed that they reside in constant fear of imminent deportation and this will be unpacked in the following sub-theme.

8.4 Sub-theme 4: ‘Undocumented’ Zimbabwean immigrants in SA’s fear of being deported

All participants who took part in the study identified with fear of deportation as a major challenge that impacts on their ability to preserve their family and identity in SA. As a result of their fear of deportation, they engaged in corruption, humiliation and sometimes dangerous acts to either avoid detection or to obtain fraudulent documents. The International Organisation for Migration (IOM) is said to have reported that 40 000 Zimbabweans were deported from SA and Botswana borders between January and December 2013 (Hess, 2013). Fear of deportation is however closely attached to the reasons for becoming ‘undocumented’ in the first place. For most participants, the reality that they could be deported at any moment terrified them because deportation meant for them that they would become subject to the harsh conditions they escaped from in Zimbabwe in the first place. Although the participants were frank in explaining that deportation usually occurred if they failed to pay a bribe, they also conceded that even when they paid the money, sometimes they were still deported. Their fear of deportation became evident in the following remarks:

“The police were everywhere! Every two seconds you were being asked for your documents.”

“If you were unlucky you were deported, but most times you just had to drop a fifty which was better.”

“Me, I am afraid, my girl, no papers. If government come to my house what will I do? I can’t let them take my child because we have no papers. So I am hiding my child from playing with children from South Africa.”

As can be deduced from the last quotation, fear for deportation affects the way families interact with South Africans as well as other nationals. Fear of the unknown results in some parents becoming overly strict with their children in a bid to preserve their undocumented residency in SA. The trauma ‘undocumented’ Zimbabwean immigrants face on a daily basis in a bid to avoid deportation has therefore a devastating impacts on their family life and identity. Efforts such as

desisting from associating with everything Zimbabwean are even employed by some Zimbabweans to avoid detection. This has an undeniable impact on identity preservation as the participants are forced to discard of the very things they love for the sake of becoming undetected. This evidence related to the Chapter 2, Paragraph 5.2 when Reizes and Bam (2000) argued that fear of deportation causes ‘undocumented’ Zimbabwean immigrants in SA to become almost invisible to ensure that they are not deported.

The harsh realities of deportation are also noted in the fact that SA does not have a deportation policy of its own that is comprehensible and employed by designated officials as deduced from the manner in which officials employ different measures of dealing with the same issue. It must be noted that following the moratorium on deportations which ran from 2009-2011, Zimbabweans were given the opportunity to apply for special permits and visas to avoid deportation. Recorded reports state that although many Zimbabweans managed to apply for legalization of their stay in SA, some failed due to not even possessing passports, while most feared the process was merely set as a trap to capture all the ‘undocumented’ Zimbabweans in SA (PASSOP, 2008; Integrated Regional Information Networks (IRIN), 2013; Amit, 2011).

The impact of deportation on family and identity preservation can also be illustrated from reports documented by IRIN (2013) who interviewed deportees at Lindela Repatriation Centre in Krugersdorp. A Zimbabwean woman reported that she had been deported and denied the opportunity to see her child, while another reported that although he had legal documentation, he was not given an opportunity to fetch them from home. Others reported being unable to inform their relatives of their predicament (IRIN, 2013). Similar to Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) of the United States of America (USA), SA does not have a consistent policy that allows individuals to make a phone call at their time of arrest (Passel and Cohn, 2011). As a result, the ability of parents to make arrangements for their children who may also be undocumented in SA is limited, thereby threatening family ties. It therefore increases the chances of children entering the child protection system, further alienating parents from their children and increasing the difficulties of parents having access to their children upon return to SA.

All these challenges potentially affect ‘undocumented’ Zimbabwean immigrants’ identity as once they become deported; they are reduced to mere statistics of ‘deported illegal immigrants’ thereby affecting not only how they view themselves but also how the world views

them. Moreover, the entire family unit goes through a traumatic episode when a family member is detained (Passel and Cohn, 2011).

Closely related to the fear of deportation is the fear of xenophobia that results in an inability to practice their culture and will be expanded on in the next section.

8.5 Sub-theme 5: ‘Undocumented’ Zimbabwean immigrants in SA’s inability to practice culture due to fear of becoming a victim of xenophobia

The 2008 xenophobic incidents in SA created a well-founded fear in some participants who took part in this study that left them fearful of practicing their cultural practices for fear of being identified as Zimbabwean. Participants went to great lengths to express their fear of associating with anything Zimbabwean in case it resulted in any South African individual inflicting violence on them. A large part of some participants’ identity was reportedly concealed. Some of the participants described their fear of becoming victims of xenophobia as follows:

“Remember I came here during xenophobia. It was better to pretend to be anything else but not Zimbabwean. I remember at one point we had even church in secret.”

“Here I have to do things very quietly or not do them at all, my family is at risk because the ancestors have no location, when they want appeasement, they want appeasement. But you will have to shoot me dead first before you ask me to go and parade my Zimbabweanness in South Africa.”

“I have changed the way I dress, talk and walk to be safe. People tell me that I lost my identity, but I tell them that I do what I do to survive. If identity causes me to die of hunger then it does not mean anything to me! I have made up my own identity since being here. My Zimbabwean identity was important when I was there, but I am in a new space now, so my identity suits my environment here...”

Sinclair (1998) believes that xenophobia impacts directly on foreign identity and serves as an agent through which foreigners feel even more foreign thereby alienating and excluding them

further from South African society. As captured in the quotations above, ‘undocumented’ Zimbabwean immigrants in SA lose an important part of their cultural identity in order to be free of violence promulgated through xenophobia. Dodson (2002: 1) castigated a few elements in SA for earning the country the status of ‘a highly xenophobic society, which out of fear of foreigners, does not naturally value the human rights of non-nationals.’ It is therefore under these circumstances that the inability to practice culture due to fear is experienced by the participants.

In addition to the inability to practice culture due to fear of xenophobia, the ‘undocumented’ Zimbabwean immigrants also revealed that they are disturbed by a lack of fair opportunities and fair treatment while in SA. This phenomenon is unpacked in the next sub-theme.

8.6 Sub-theme 6: ‘Undocumented’ Zimbabwean immigrants in SA’s lack of opportunities and fair treatment

Another consequence of being ‘undocumented’ as revealed by the participants was the challenge due to lack of opportunities and fair treatment by South African systems. Participants reported how they had diminished opportunities in the work and school environments and how some privileges normally given to South Africans were not readily available to them. For example, a female participant lamented at how she was denied the opportunity to be exempted from paying school fees for her child despite the fact that the school offers free schooling because she was foreign and undocumented. Other participants also lamented to how they were unfairly treated in hospitals and expected to pay upfront, yet South Africans could either pay in instalments or even access the services for free. In order to illustrate the lack of opportunities and fair treatment in SA, the following participants voiced their experiences in this regard:

“Haaaa these people do not like Zimbabweans, even with documents, they just call you kwerekwere. It’s worse for us without papers, at least someone with papers can report it to the police or get a job. But for us, we remain dirty, we have no money, we cannot even buy decent clothes and these people shout at us everywhere we go.”

“The people at the hospital gave me attitude when they saw I was from Zimbabwe and told me to go back to vote Mugabe out!”

“...you know my status hey, so to get ARV’s sometimes is a mission because the nurses there shout at me and accuse me of spreading the virus to South African women.”

“I can’t get help at school because they say where is child’s paper[sic].”

As alluded to by some participants above, some ‘undocumented’ children are denied access to education in SA. Although the Refugee Act, Act 130 of 1998 states that all children are entitled to the same rights, namely primary education, access to this right became a mission especially when they are experiencing challenges with their documentation being processed (Khan, 2007). The author continues to lament that the children of ‘undocumented’ Zimbabwean immigrants who ought to be exempted from paying school fees are forced to pay owing to their ‘illegal’ status. Adams (2000) and Sciarra (1999) are in agreement that schools have barely begun to understand or have basic awareness of the challenges undocumented children who have gone through separation at the start of migration and are then reunited with their family’s experience.

Furthermore, De Guerro (2005) also states that immigrant families that are reunited are usually compounded with depressed or rebellious children who are struggling to mitigate the effects of migration and this has a bearing on their academic life. Coupled with xenophobic and racist ridiculing, these children sometimes fail to perform and this only aids to their stresses as they begin to be seen as failures and may even begin to identify with failure.

In addition, the ‘undocumented’ and even documented immigrants have often been denied access to emergency and lifesaving medical treatments regardless of the law as dictated by the Refugee Act and the SA Constitution stating that regardless of nationality, one is entitled to such (Bloch, 2008). This problem is exacerbated by the fact that NGO’s are more at the forefront in addressing these issues as opposed to government or a collaborated effort by both parties (Khan, 2007). The powers and jurisdiction of NGO’s is therefore limited in ensuring a solution is effectively and efficiently reached.

Besides being ill-treated by South Africans, some participants also shared gruelling stories of how they are exploited by fellow Zimbabweans while in SA. The next section will illuminate how the ill-treatment manifested as a challenge that affected their ability to preserve their family and identity.

8.7 Sub-theme 7: ‘Undocumented’ Zimbabwean immigrants in SA’s challenges related to exploitation by fellow Zimbabweans

Contrary to popular opinion that foreigners are only exploited by South African nationals, it emerged from the interviews that there is a growing trend of Zimbabweans exploiting one another while in SA. A Zimbabwean proverb states that “*kakara kununu hudya kamwe*” meaning an animal that looks well, feeds from exploiting other animals. It would seem that the words of this proverb have been echoed in the lives of some Zimbabweans in SA resulting in them exploiting their fellow countrymen. More often than not, it was reported that it is usually those that arrived first that exploit the ‘newbies’ to SA or the documented that exploit the undocumented. Exploitation took the form of working for very little money, working uncharacteristically long hours in exchange of accommodation and food or emotional abuse by giving false information. Some participants painfully revealed the following experiences:

“He was being kept by someone who made me work so much at his shop and only gave me little food and no pay.

“This prophet is coming to my house and after prayers are saying is too late to going home and is sleeping on the sofa. I feel is not ok, but am too afraid to be rude to the man of God...and also not wanting him to think I am changing and being cruel to visitors, because in our culture, even if visitors is coming late, you must cook and give place to sleeping. But I waking up in middle of night and he is in my bed and wanting to sleep with me. It scared me ... It is hurting me very much.” [sic]

Some participants sadly highlighted how they are rejected by fellow Zimbabweans by stating that:

“I have family here, but they do not associate with me because of the politics and also because they think because I am not working; I always want money from them.”

“But some of them treat us as if we are not from the same country. If you greet them in the streets and they know that you are from Zimbabwe they ignore you. It’s like they are better than us because they live like South Africans. But sometimes it is because of fake documents so they are afraid to be caught out.”

The politics of power between some Zimbabweans in SA became evident by means of the abovementioned quotations. It would seem that the battle of scarce resources leaves the undocumented immigrants at the very last end of the receiving chain as they have to wait for South Africans to gain access to resources, followed by the documented foreigners leaving them to scramble for whatever else is left. All this has an impact on family relations because inability to access some resources means families are denied access to needed resources.

Summing up this theme of challenges experienced by ‘undocumented’ Zimbabwean immigrants during their stay in SA, it can be concluded that family and identity are greatly tested as participants try to make sense of their new environments. Marriages are severely challenged as women gain more independence and separation may lead to infidelity between partners. Moreover, loneliness, humiliation and a fear of deportation are at the order of the day as undocumented Zimbabwean immigrants try to negotiate access to resources in a hostile environment. In addition, exploitation by fellow Zimbabweans was depicted as further compounding the challenges of the participants as they felt segregated and alone without support. All these challenges were reflected as deeply affecting the ability to preserve both family and identity.

The next theme will explore and describe the participants accounts of challenges related to lack of support during their stay in SA.

9. THEME 5: THE ‘UNDOCUMENTED’ ZIMBABWEAN IMMIGRANTS IN SA’S CHALLENGES WITH REGARDS TO SUPPORT DURING THEIR STAY IN SA

The ‘undocumented’ Zimbabwean immigrants who took part in the study had mixed feelings regarding the support or lack of support received thereof in preserving their family and identity in SA. In describing their challenges, participants identified different role players that either made life easier or difficult for them by either offering support or denying them required support. A comparison was drawn out between the support previously enjoyed in family and identity preservation while in Zimbabwe and the support now received once they became ‘undocumented’ immigrants in SA.

9.1 Sub-theme 1: Challenges due to diminished support structures after relocation to SA

The participants who took part in this study lamented at the big difference that exists between the support they were accustomed to while in Zimbabwe and the support they received once relocated to SA. ‘Undocumented’ Zimbabwean immigrants were wistful regarding the diminished support they experienced through lack of contact with support structures they enjoyed before relocation. A decline was noted especially when cultural, traditional and religious support structure that assisted in family-related issues severed ties with the undocumented immigrants due to lack of funds and ability to retain constant contact. Parents lamented at the absence of traditionally acclaimed leaders to assist with socialization and discipline of children as well as getting access to basic amenities.

In describing how they still relied on support structures from Zimbabwe especially in the case of marital conflict, the following statements were made:

“And when things got too much out of hand, we consulted the elders back home telephonically of course.”

“Back home we have pastors, aunts, uncles and friends that can help. Marriage is not always easy and you need them. But here, if you fight, you have no one to run to.”

A noted challenge emanated from the need to acquire a new support structure while in SA. Some participants identified that due to their ‘undocumented’ status, they struggled to get financial assistance especially when they did not know fellow Zimbabweans in SA prior to relocating. Despite Chimuka’s (2001) findings that traditionally the Zimbabwean people depend on mutual reciprocity and community and assist each other, these values seemed to diminish due to the challenges of being ‘undocumented’ in SA. It was apparent that some participants preferred to access assistance from people with whom they had a history with rather than strangers, even if they were Zimbabwean. Moreover, some participants also stated that they preferred to get support from people that understood their cultural and personal backgrounds rather than random people. As a result, some ‘undocumented’ Zimbabwean immigrants ended up not accessing professional support that may otherwise have been available from other Zimbabweans as well as South Africans for fear that they may not be trustworthy and end up causing more harm than good. In depicting this phenomenon, participants expressed themselves as follows:

“Sometimes you just need support, maybe it’s a bad month, things are tight and you need money, there is no cousin or friend to borrow from.”

“There are other Zimbabweans here but you do not have a history with them. You do not know whether you can trust them or not.”

The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) (2008) reported that foreigners generally feel unsupported and unprotected in South Africa. The UNHCR attributed the lack of support to foreign nationals to the SA government which in their opinion is not fulfilling its international and legal obligations to them.

To further illustrate the predicament of reduced support, the challenge related to lack of support from service providers will be further discussed in the next sub-theme.

9.2 Sub-theme 2: Challenges due to lack of support from SA professional service providers

Some ‘undocumented’ Zimbabwean immigrants in the study contended that they had received no support at all from professional service providers in South Africa. The lack of support was revealed as directly emanating from the fact that they were ‘undocumented,’ therefore unwanted in SA. One participant complained that he was not medically assisted due to his inability to pay for specialist treatment. He blamed his ‘undocumented’ status that restricted him from the labour market resulting in him being hospitalized for over six months and eventually losing his wife. Another participant lamented at how the schools had refused to assist in enrolling her child once they heard she was Zimbabwean.

The following statements reveal how participants felt minimal or no support was given them by professional systems in SA that were viewed as in a position to assist:

“The nurses treated me, but not with all their heart. You know when someone does not care about you and I could see it was because I was not from here. You see, they think we do not have ears but I could hear them when they did their rounds speaking of the kwerekwere who was doused in petrol. It hurt.”

“I did not receive any specialized treatment maybe because they knew I could not pay the high bills and I am not from here.”

A challenge in the provision of support to ‘undocumented’ Zimbabwean immigrants rests in the fact that there are few if any service providers that specifically cater for ‘undocumented’ Zimbabwean immigrants in SA. Falicov (2007) proposes that family therapists dealing with migrant families must pay attention to the ecological context of family life and develop transnational collaborations with members in the home country when dealing with an immigrant suffering from feelings of loss owing to migration. The same author also suggests the development of distance communication or email- therapy with the family members not present or communications that involve practitioners in the home country and the multi-disciplinary professions.

To illustrate the need for professionally trained people who understand Zimbabwean cultures so as to deal with the challenges in a culturally sensitive manner participants stated that:

“Maybe if Zimbabwean professionals can come on board and form NGO’s that help Zimbabweans and represent us at government level. It would help a lot during a crisis.”

“Maybe if NGO’s in Zim can have at least one branch in SA to assist its people, I’m sure all those that are raped, beaten up, robbed and ill-treated in one way or the other will feel like they have some sort of representation.”

“If research like yours becomes forums where Zimbabweans and South Africans are invited to come share their views on matters like home affairs systems and the corruption there, maybe we can begin to see eye to eye and even understand the other person’s point of view.”

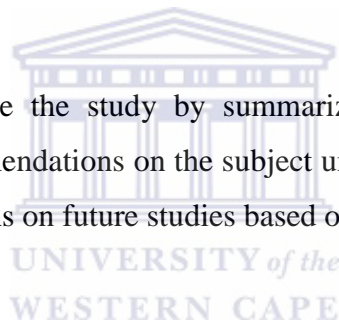
In the same vein, Issacs and Benjamin (1991) articulate that services to at-risk families must be culturally competent. All interventions to at-risk families must be sensitive and responsive to cultural, racial and ethnic differences. Templeman (2003) expounds on this by noting that families need to be served within their own unique and specific contexts that recognize the role played by culture in shaping beliefs about what constitutes anything that pertains to human life.

In summary, this theme explored and discussed the challenges highlighted by the participants that depicted their struggles with diminished support from both traditional and professional service providers. The ‘undocumented’ Zimbabwean immigrants in this study reportedly experienced SA legal and professional systems as being hostile and unhelpful towards them. An element of inability to get assistance mainly due to perceived prejudice especially by medical professionals and the Department of Home Affairs officials was discussed. In addition, participants felt that they can no longer access the assistance they previously enjoyed in Zimbabwe due to the challenges associated with communication expenses. ‘Undocumentation’ was therefore portrayed as a debilitating factor in the ability to get assistance even when assistance was available.

10. CONCLUSION

This chapter presented the findings relating to the challenges faced by ‘undocumented’ Zimbabwean immigrants in SA in preserving their family and identity. It emerged that while being a foreigner was a challenge on its own, being an ‘undocumented’ immigrant was an even bigger obstacle and resulted in grievous challenges to their identity and family. The main themes that emerged from the findings were ‘undocumented’ Zimbabwean immigrants in SA’s challenges in preserving their families, challenges in preserving their identity, challenges relating to their journey to SA and stay in SA as well as challenges with regards to support during their stay in SA. These findings were provided by fifteen participants comprising of male, female, married and unmarried ‘undocumented’ Zimbabwean immigrants. These participants became undocumented in SA after leaving Zimbabwe for political, economic or family reunification reasons.

The next chapter will consolidate the study by summarizing the whole study, as well as providing conclusions and recommendations on the subject under study. The researcher will also endeavour to give recommendations on future studies based on the gaps in current literature.



CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE STUDY

*“First they came for the communists, and I did not speak out-
because I was not a communist;
Then they came for the socialists, and I did not speak out-
because I was not a socialist;
Then they came for the trade unionists, and I did not speak out-
because I was not a trade unionist;
Then they came for the Jews, and I did not speak out-
because I was not a Jew;
Then they came for me-
and there was no one left to speak out for me.”*

(Martin Niemöller, n.d)

1. INTRODUCTION

This study has been an undertaking to explore and describe the challenges of ‘undocumented’ Zimbabwean immigrants in SA in preserving their families and identity by means of a qualitative research study. The study followed a phenomenological strategy of design and was conducted in Cape Town, South Africa. Fifteen participants who shared their experiences and challenges as ‘undocumented’ Zimbabwean immigrants in SA were selected by means of purposive and snowball sampling methods and individually interviewed. Having completed the study, the researcher will present the summary, conclusions and recommendations that became apparent after conducting the study.

The conclusions drawn in this research are related to whether the aim, objectives, methodology and findings of the study succeeded in providing sufficient answers to the research question that were stated in the beginning of the study. Hence this chapter will consist of a general summary and the salient points highlighted in Chapters One, Two and Three as well as the conclusions. This will be followed by unpacking the themes that emerged from the findings as well as the conclusions. Pertaining to the findings of the study, recommendations to different stakeholders will be given.

2. CHAPTER SUMMARIES AND CONCLUSIONS

The following section will now present summaries and conclusions for each chapter, highlighting the salient points.

2.1 Chapter one

This chapter contained the blueprint of the research. The researcher began by defining migration, illegal immigration as well as describing the issue of ‘undocumentation’. A clarification of why the researcher opted for the term ‘undocumented immigrant’ as opposed to ‘illegal immigrant’ was given as the researcher positioned herself alongside migration advocates who find the term ‘illegal immigrant’ both demeaning and discriminatory (Khan, 2007; Vigneswaran, 2007). The dearth in literature on how ‘undocumented’ Zimbabwean families adapt and retain what they have known to be their identity, family norms and standards while in SA was identified. This literature gap led to generation of the research problem which in turn informed the research question which was “How do ‘undocumented’ immigrants from Zimbabwe preserve their families and identity while in South Africa?”

By employing a qualitative research approach, the researcher was able to appropriately address the research problem thereby addressing the main goal and objectives of the study, namely

- to explore and describe what family and identity means to the ‘undocumented’ Zimbabwean immigrants
- to explore and describe ‘undocumented’ Zimbabwean immigrants challenges with regards to their family life and identity upon arrival to SA
- To explore and describe ‘undocumented’ Zimbabwean immigrants challenges at preserving and maintaining their family relations and identity while in SA.

In this chapter, the social identity theory (Turner and Onorato, 1999; Ellemers et al. 2002; Hogg et al. 1995) provided a framework for this research by focusing on group and inter-group processes and relations. The researcher also motivated the use of the phenomenological strategy of design as complimentary to the explorative and descriptive research designs in achieving the

goal and objectives of the study. Purposive and snowball sampling techniques were also justified as suitable means of accessing participants who then produced the data by means of unstructured individual interviews. The researcher also oriented the readership to how trustworthiness was upheld so as to ensure that the data was credible, transferable, reliable and conformable (D’Cruz and Jones, 2004). Finally, ethical considerations that governed the research to ensure that appropriate research principles of non-maleficence, beneficence, self-determination and voluntary participation were discussed.

In essence, the researcher concludes that Chapter One was successfully able to provide the blueprint and framework by which the research was conducted. The problem formulation and research gap gave rise to the research question which was appropriately answered by implementation of the qualitative methodology and research designs discussed throughout this chapter.

The next section will provide a summary and conclusion of Chapter Two in relation to the whole study.

2.2 Chapter Two

In this chapter, immigration was elaborated on by discussing the history, prevalence and immigration trends in South Africa and worldwide. A crucial finding from the literature review was that contrary to media speculations in SA that ‘undocumented’ immigration is a new and overwhelming trend, factually, ‘undocumented’ immigration in SA dates back to the apartheid era (Steinberg, 2005; Khan, 2007; Polzer, 2009). By assessing the legal frameworks surrounding the issue of migration, it became apparent that although immigrants are theoretically protected through the Refugees Act, (Act 130 of 1998), in practice they are not protected. SA lacks legislation which clarifies the issue of ‘undocumented’ immigration for those that are considered economic migrants as the case of the Zimbabweans in this study, thereby creating a vacuum in the manner in which their human rights are to be upheld. The Immigration Act (Act 13 of 2002) and the Refugees Act (Act 130 of 1998) were documented as having been clearly superseded by the changes in the global context which impact on the influx of immigrants to South Africa. Statistics of immigration to SA were also depicted as largely flawed as the Department of Home Affairs was revealed to struggle with getting accurate figures on ‘undocumentation’ due to its

fluid nature. This was reflected as a resultant of most ‘undocumented’ Zimbabwean immigrants either bribing their way into SA, overstaying their initial visa period or using clandestine means to enter SA. The current politics regarding distribution of resources in SA, general public dissatisfaction as well as the culture of violence and crime was also discussed. The latter came out strongly as having a bearing on the challenges faced by ‘undocumented’ Zimbabwean immigrants in SA as they scramble for already scarce resources, thereby giving rise to xenophobic incidences. Some of the challenges that led to the Zimbabweans becoming ‘undocumented’ in SA was explained in order to reflect on whether being ‘undocumented’ is a choice or the lack of alternative choices. Finally the challenges of ‘undocumentation’ and still having to maintain family and identity were expanded on after having defined who the Zimbabwean people are in line of their cultural and national identity.

In conclusion, Chapter Two was the basis on which the gaps in literature were identified. The literature review placed the study in context as various authors discussed salient points pertaining to the challenges of ‘undocumented’ Zimbabwean immigrants in SA. Essentially, Chapter Two was an effective pre-cursor into the challenges experienced by ‘undocumented’ Zimbabwean immigrants in preserving their family and identity while in SA. The literature was crucial in serving as a reference point on the goals and objectives of the study.

2.3 Chapter three

Throughout Chapter Three, the research methodology that was implemented in order to meet the research goals and objectives was discussed. The study followed a qualitative approach and implemented explorative and descriptive designs as well as a phenomenological strategy of design. Participants were selected by means of snowball and purposive sampling techniques with the assistance of two gatekeepers from PASSOP. In-depth unstructured individual interviews were conducted with 15 ‘undocumented’ Zimbabwean immigrants in order to gain understanding of the challenges they experienced in a bid to preserve their family and identity in SA. Interviews were immediately transcribed verbatim and translated from either Shona or Ndebele to English. Using thematic analysis, the data was analyzed according to Creswell (2012) and compared and contrasted with existing literature. In an attempt to answer the research question, the researcher was guided by the following three objectives, namely:

- explore and describe what family and identity means to the ‘undocumented’ Zimbabwean immigrants
- explore and describe ‘undocumented’ Zimbabwean immigrants’ challenges with regards to their family life and identity upon arrival in South Africa
- explore and describe ‘undocumented’ Zimbabwean immigrants’ challenges at preserving and maintaining their family relations and identity while in South Africa.

In essence, the research question addressed these three objectives of the study thereby causing the researcher to conclude that the research goals were adequately achieved. Throughout the research, the researcher constantly reviewed the research process and made sure that it did not deviate from the main goal and objectives. The data analysis culminated in a presentation of the findings in Chapter Four. The researcher took into account the provisions of trustworthiness as proposed by Lincoln and Guba (1985) so as to ensure that the study was reliable and valid. Moreover, the ethical considerations inclusive of the right to informed consent, voluntary participation, beneficence, right to privacy and confidentiality as well as fair treatment ensured that this research adhered to principles of good research practice.

Chapter Three was concluded by an evaluation of the data collection process and a highlight of the limitations of the study. Illuminated limitations included the hardships in accessing participants due to the secretive nature of ‘undocumented’ immigration and unwillingness of the undocumented to expose themselves, the challenges associated with being Zimbabwean and interviewing of desperate participants in expectation of some form of material and emotional assistance despite being informed that none would be given was also discussed at length.

Therefore, Chapter Three detailed the methods used to answer the research question. This chapter highlighted the qualitative methodology employed throughout the study by highlighting the exploratory and descriptive research designs. Phenomenological analysis of data was also discussed at length to capture the lived experiences of the participants. The chapter concluded with highlighting the limitations throughout the research process.

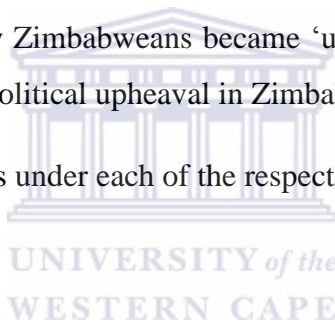
The researcher opines that the chosen research approach, method, designs and techniques used were all effective in addressing the goals and objectives of the study by sufficiently answering the

research question. The challenges experienced in conducting the research study did not in any way deter the final findings.

2.4 Chapter Four

Five major themes, 20 sub-themes and 13 categories emerged from the participants' accounts of the challenges they have experienced in a bid to preserve their family and identity while in SA. The demographic details depicted that most of the participants who took part in the study were of a much younger generation with a high number of females; thereby confirming literature that postulates that more and more women are joining migration trends due to the feminization of poverty (Crush and Tevera, 2010). Moreover, the demographics also showed that the number of economic migrants from Zimbabwe to SA increased after the 2008 Zimbabwean elections based on participants accounts of when they arrived in SA. These demographics thereby confirmed the literature that postulated that many Zimbabweans became 'undocumented' immigrants in SA at the brink of economic, social and political upheaval in Zimbabwe (Bloch, 2008; Khan, 2007).

A summary of the research findings under each of the respective themes follows:



2.4.1 Theme 1: 'Undocumented' Zimbabwean immigrants in SA' challenges in preserving their families

In this theme, it emerged that one of the greatest challenges 'undocumented' Zimbabwean immigrants in SA face relates to parenting. Participants who are parents lamented that being 'undocumented' disempowered them in that they were unable to freely discipline their children in a way that is culturally appropriate to them. Inability to discipline their children for fear that it could be considered abusive according to SA legislation and/or resulting in authorities zooming in on their 'undocumented' status, caused significant challenges for families. Parents felt that their children wilfully disobeyed them since they are living in SA, knowing that they would be protected by legislation. In addition, their inability to uphold family responsibilities due to financial challenges that are associated with their 'undocumented' status as well as their inability to retain regular contact with family members back in Zimbabwe was identified as causing major rifts in families. Another interesting finding to this theme was also that

‘undocumented’ Zimbabwean immigrants in SA struggle to preserve their family values that determine their identity as Zimbabwean as they have to negotiate the new culture and values of SA so that they can blend in. Acculturation was therefore revealed to be a constant struggle as participants desperately tried to maintain their Zimbabwean family values in an environment that was not accommodative to such values.

In summary, the challenges of ‘undocumented’ Zimbabwean immigrants with regards to family were presented as very precarious on the evolvement of good family relationships. The inability of ‘undocumented’ Zimbabwean immigrants to exercise full parental control on their children, both those in SA and those in Zimbabwe weakened the foundation by which family rests. It can therefore be concluded that being ‘undocumented’ causes severe strain on family and severs relationships.

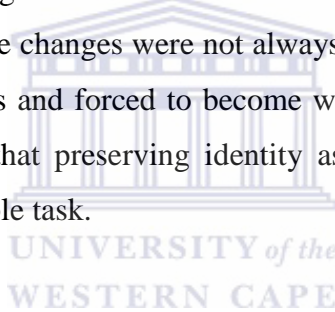
2.4.2 Theme 2: ‘Undocumented’ Zimbabwean immigrants in SA’ challenges in preserving their identity

The findings in this theme illuminated identity as falling in three spectrums which are: personal identity, national identity and cultural identity. These three spectrums were identified as distinct yet connected as one’s personal identity was informed through cultural and national underpinnings of which one is. It is through this theme that the theoretical underpinnings of the social identity theory emerged as participants categorized themselves and South Africans into various groups that determine specific group relations. A startling finding was that there is a shift in personal identity that occurred as the participants relocated to SA. Participants encountered a dilemma when faced with challenges that demanded that they change certain aspects of their personal conduct for the sake of survival as an ‘undocumented’ immigrant in SA.

Participants also identified with subscribing to the negative identities shoved upon them through negative discourse that seeks to present ‘undocumented’ Zimbabwean immigrants as deviant, criminal and sub-standard humans. All these were reflected as severely damaging for who the participants believed they were. Most participants also identified with excessive positive national and cultural identities that indicated an attempt to counter the negative identities attached to them in SA. They seemed to speak of their national and cultural identity in exaggerated and endearing

terms that is an anti-thesis to South Africanhood. Participants also readily admitted that in exchange for fake documentation, they were willing to forsake their cultural and national identity in order to escape from the consequences of their 'undocumented' status. Some participants were portrayed as having gone to great lengths in order to hide their Zimbabweanhood and pretend to be South African. Ultimately they were forsaking even their Zimbabwean families and friends in fear that it could jeopardize their stay in SA. Participants who are parents also illuminated their predicament in that while they value their identity, they could not socialize with their children in ways culturally favourable to them as they knew that their children needed to become 'South Africanized' in order to escape the prejudice and sometimes xenophobic attitude that accompanied a Zimbabwean identity.

In conclusion, the Zimbabwean immigrants in the study were forced by the challenges of undocumented status to change, renegotiate and sometimes completely abandon their personal, national and cultural identity. These changes were not always welcomed by participants who felt they were living two separate lives and forced to become who they are not for the purposes of survival. Hence it became clear that preserving identity as an 'undocumented' Zimbabwean immigrant in SA is a near impossible task.



2.4.3 Theme 3: 'Undocumented' Zimbabwean immigrants' challenges relating to their journey to SA

The challenges related to the journey to SA were identified as the genesis of the challenges faced by 'undocumented' Zimbabwean immigrants in SA. In line with the objectives of the study, this theme illuminated the process that participants experienced financial, political and family reunification challenges in Zimbabwe that influenced their decision to become 'undocumented' immigrants in SA. The journey to SA was reflected as being marred with deep pain, various uncertainties and exploitations by different stakeholders that left indelible scars on the participants. Horrifying and painful accounts of how participants went for days without food, contact or communication with loved ones were given. Becoming victims of crime and exploitation at the instigation of official border authorities, SAPS officials as well as unofficial transportation and border jumping agents were also given. It became evident that the challenges

participants faced during the journey determined the kind of stay they had in SA and further compounded the challenges that they experienced thereof. Participants also sadly shared the unscrupulous means they have tried to employ to acquire fake documentation so as to escape the consequences of undocumented status on their family life and identity.

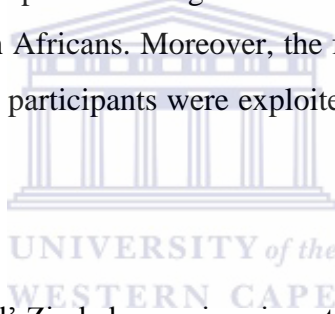
On the whole, the journey to SA was clearly the genesis which opened up the challenges of 'undocumented' status to the participants. It became clear that 'undocumented' Zimbabwean immigrants have to compromise family and identity in order to stomach the challenges and exploitations experienced during the journey into SA.

2.4.4 Theme 4: Challenges experienced by 'undocumented' Zimbabwean immigrants during their stay in SA

This theme provided a continuation of the challenges faced by 'undocumented' immigrants by illuminating the challenges experienced by participants once they settled in SA. The marriage institution was revealed as being greatly affected by 'undocumented' status especially as it caused major shifts in the balance of power along gender lines. Zimbabwean men who are considered the custodians of family life and rules by cultural dictates were not always able to access legal documentation. Hence they lamented at how women, who were able to obtain documentation and jobs before they did, caused marital challenges. Women were increasingly portrayed as taking a dominant role in family decisions as they became breadwinners and equal financial contributors thereby causing some men to feel emasculated. Some participants even highlighted how the "gender imbalances" sometimes even resulted in divorce as men failed to stomach the gender shifts. Infidelity was also highlighted as a deep concern due to loneliness and separation from each other for long periods with the result that some parties ended up seeking conjugal rights elsewhere. Furthermore, female participants also bewailed how their husbands engaged in relationships with South African women in a bid to escape the challenges of 'undocumented' status. This was portrayed as having damning impacts on both family and identity. Experiences of humiliation and fear of deportation also rendered the 'undocumented' from practicing their culture due to fear of xenophobia. This was coupled by their inability to access fair treatment and opportunities both in the working environment and in public spaces from professional service

providers. Incidents were given of occurrences where participants did not get salary for work done, got unfair deductions on salaries as well as losing opportunities they qualified for due to their 'undocumentation.' Furthermore, they also referred to some employers who are deliberately hiring 'undocumented' immigrants, who are rendered powerless for fear of deportation and exposing them to unfavourable working conditions. In addition, a rather unsettling finding was that some 'undocumented' Zimbabwean immigrants were actually exploited by fellow Zimbabweans with vices such as cheating, stealing and sometimes even sexual abuse attempts being reported as being perpetrated on the 'undocumented' by fellow Zimbabweans.

To sum up, the participants' stay presented the zenith of challenges in preserving family and identity as 'undocumented' immigrants. Personal identities were challenged as participants found themselves having to settle for less than they bargained for. National and cultural identities were challenged as participants were grouped into categories that targeted them and left them victims of xenophobic tendencies by South Africans. Moreover, the family unit struggled and marriages and the balance of power changed, participants were exploited and denied fair opportunities and chances to excel while in SA.



2.4.5 Theme 5: The 'undocumented' Zimbabwean immigrants in SA's challenges with regards to support during their stay in SA

This theme highlighted the challenges of 'undocumented' Zimbabwean immigrants in accessing support while in SA. The participants reported diminished support from those support structures they previously received support from, before relocating to SA, such as traditional and religious systems. It became clear that lack of contact either due to their inability to travel due to the restrictions an 'undocumented' status brings, caused participants to not seek support even in times when it was available. It was also startling to note that for fear of being caught by immigration officials, some participants preferred to put up with many challenges that often destroyed their families rather than to seek support from professionals in SA and Zimbabwe as they felt judged and unsupported adequately. A definite lack of trust was illuminated as participants indicated reluctance to seek assistance from professionals familiar with

Zimbabwean family structures, systems and cultures. As a result, most participants echoed the need for service providers familiar with Zimbabwean lifestyle.

Concluding the findings, the position of 'undocumentation' was presented as a traumatic experience that causes serious challenges of family and identity preservation. The findings that emerged from the data of this study were sufficient in paving the way for future studies on the subject matter. The researcher was able to explore and describe the challenges highlighted by the participants, thereby successfully meeting the research goal and objectives.

3. RECOMMENDATIONS

The researcher divided the recommendations that emanated from the findings into three sections, specifically,

- recommendations for social workers and allied helping professionals such as social service professionals and service providers such as hospitals and schools
- recommendations for government policy makers, immigration officials and SAPS
- recommendations for future researchers.

3.1 Recommendations for social workers and allied professionals

As revealed in the findings, some undocumented Zimbabwean immigrants have encounters with social workers and allied professionals from both government and non-governmental organizations. It became evident from the findings of this research study that with specialized knowledge and availability of services tailored for the undocumented even more immigrants would employ the services of social workers and allied professionals. As alluded to in Chapters One and Four, the participants that had encounters with these professionals felt unsupported and rather judged and castigated instead. It is with these realizations in mind that the following suggestions are made:

- It is recommended that social workers and other professionals from government and NGO's be aware of relational and acculturative stresses that come with immigration as

they are manifested in gender and generational relationships. This is especially true for the 'undocumented' Zimbabwean families as it requires that service providers re-define family life as the traditional patterns prevalent in most families before migration no longer apply in the SA context. In-service training, conferences and workshops could be used as mediums to educate social workers, doctors, teachers and other such professionals on the best practice models when dealing with 'undocumented' immigrants in SA. It is further recommended that prominent organizations that advocate for the rights of immigrants such as PASSOP, Cape Town Refugee Center and Lawyers for Human Rights be at the forefront of conscientizing communities and professionals of the plight of 'undocumented' immigrants.

- It is recommended that social workers and allied therapists' services be curtailed to preserve families and identity in a manner that recognizes the changes to family life due to migration. The foundation of family therapy is its commitment to understanding how people connect and how relationships change context. Social service practitioners, medical personnel and officials from the education department are therefore recommended to devise new analytical frameworks for understanding family interventions with migrant populations that take cognizance of migrants' culture and identity before migrating. This would therefore mitigate the challenges posed by globalised migration.
- It is further recommended that all micro, mezzo and macro interventions by social service professionals to 'undocumented' immigrants be sensitive and responsive to the cultural, racial and ethnic differences between South Africans and Zimbabweans. As social work principles encourage that practitioners embrace the uniqueness of every individual, it follows therefore that practitioners need to serve the 'undocumented' Zimbabwean immigrant families within their own unique and specific contexts that recognize the role played by culture in shaping their beliefs about what constitutes their identity and family lives.
- Closely related to the recommendation above, as the social work code of ethics is pro-respect for persons and understanding of diversity regardless of race or creed, the researcher therefore recommends that services to the 'undocumented' Zimbabwean immigrants who are at-risk families must be culturally competent.

- Based on the participants' lamentations there are no services offered specifically by Zimbabwean practitioners who may be better suited to accommodate and appreciate the 'undocumented' immigrants within their own frame of reference. It is therefore recommended that practitioners dealing with migrant families pay attention to the ecological context of family life. Social workers from both NGO's and the government sector could network where possible and develop transnational collaborations with family members in Zimbabwe when dealing with a migrant suffering from feelings of loss owing to migration or other challenges in SA. To achieve an all-encompassing effect, these social service professionals could develop distance communication or email-therapy with the family members not present or communications that involve practitioners in the home country and the multi-disciplinary professions.
- It is further recommended that Zimbabwean nationals with social work and similar professional qualifications under valid permits and visas in SA formulate a help network for fellow 'undocumented' Zimbabwean immigrants in SA. As the social work code of ethics encourages social workers to engage in voluntary service where possible, it is recommended that these professionals use their knowledge and skills to advocate for the rights of the 'undocumented' and bring awareness to some of the challenges highlighted in this study.
- In response to the challenge of being cruelly-treated especially in hospital settings, it is further recommended that practitioners in especially the health field be held accountable through proper disciplinary channels for allegations related to xenophobic tendencies when treating undocumented immigrants. The 'undocumented' immigrants must also be made aware of these channels so that any discriminatory practices are dealt with as and when they arise.
- With regards to the education sector, it is recommended that the Department of Education detail specific steps to be taken when admitting an 'undocumented' child at a school. These steps ought to be in line with the human right standards that pertain to education. Moreover, school policies must desist from discriminatory attitudes especially pertaining to free-schooling schools. It must be embedded in these policies that free schooling is applicable for all that need it and not discriminate against foreign children on the basis of their 'undocumentation.' School teachers also ought to be sensitive and quick to

recognize bullying and xenophobic tendencies at school level as this could reduce its spread at community level. School social workers and psychologists may also assist by providing undocumented learners at their schools counselling services especially with regards to the challenges of acculturation and alienation of foreigners in SA.

3.2 Recommendations for government, policy makers, immigration officials and SAPS

This study could inform government departments such as Department of Home Affairs, policy makers and relevant NGO stakeholders on how ‘undocumented’ foreign nationals can best be assisted in their host countries to preserve their family and identity irrespective of their ‘illegal’ status. The following recommendations are made:

- It is recommended that using this and other research of the same nature, policy makers begin the process of re-assessing the laws and legal frameworks currently practiced in South Africa regarding ‘undocumented’ foreign nationals. This could be achieved by The Department of Home Affairs (DHA) as the principal governmental department that deals with admission of foreigners into the republic beginning to advocate for a review of current legislation pertaining to foreigners in SA. Moreover, the DHA ought to train its officials by educating them on the treaties SA has signed with regards to ‘undocumented’ immigrants, asylum seekers and refugees in SA. The issue of protection and the rights of ‘undocumented’ immigrants in line with the Human Rights standards must be properly documented in the immigration Acts of SA. These rights must be made clear to the Home Affairs department, SAPS and law makers. The government of SA in collaboration with the DHA and SAPS could also invest in sponsoring their employees to attend courses and studies in immigration studies at institutions such as University of Witwatersrand which hold the prestigious African Centre for Migration & Society. This will be phenomenal work towards understanding the issue of migration especially as home affairs and SAPS officials work with ‘undocumented’ Zimbabwean immigrants on a daily basis.
- The researcher also recommends that relevant stakeholders such as religious organizations, the government and NGO’s begin to have critical debates on the issue of undocumented in South Africa. These debates must incorporate officials from the countries that ‘undocumented’ immigrants come from. This will ensure that the ‘undocumented’ are not impeded in accessing a decent standard of life, and a sense of

individual and national identity. Such debates ought to include relevant players in both the government and NGO's. Moreover, it will ensure collaborative efforts between the host country (SA) and the sending country (in this case Zimbabwe). Both governments must look at ways in which to either reduce the amounts of 'undocumented' populations in SA as well as to find ways in which the 'undocumented' can either be assisted to sustain themselves while in SA or return to Zimbabwe.

- It is further recommended that international organizations such as the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) and International Organisation for Migration (IOM) amongst others begin to hold countries accountable for violations to the human rights violations targeted at 'undocumented' immigrants. As SA has signed various treaties to protect immigrants, it is recommended that these bodies begin to advocate that the treaties be honoured and that SA follows the stipulated protocols when deporting or detaining 'undocumented' immigrants.
- It emerged during the study that both the 'undocumented' Zimbabwean immigrants and SA nationals are not fully educated on the human rights related to immigration. It is therefore recommended that immigration policy makers and human rights-based organizations collaboratively invest in educating the masses on these rights. Focal point will be to ensure that positive steps are taken towards both South Africans and the 'undocumented' Zimbabwean immigrants in SA to understanding their role in the life of the other to ensure interdependency that strives for unity yet retaining a sense of individuality to avoid being shrunk into the other. These education and awareness sessions could begin at community level where ward councillors are encouraged to organize activities and events where both the Zimbabwean and South African residents have cultural shows to depict the culture of the other. This will not only foster awareness but also much needed cohesion and respect for the identity of the other. This will also go a long way into mitigating xenophobia as SA citizens may also be afforded the opportunity to get to know the Zimbabweans, thereby dispelling some myths they may have of who the Zimbabwean people are.
- A crucial recommendation to immigration officials and SAPS officials is that there should be a clear policy on how to deal with 'undocumented' immigrants once they are discovered. Moreover, it is also recommended that the basic human rights of the

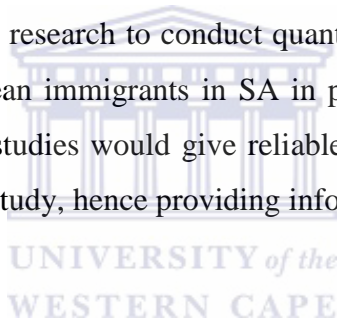
undocumented be protected at all costs. The ‘undocumented’ immigrants must also be made aware of their right to report injustices and to be fairly heard when they do so. This could be achieved by making easily available, information on the resources available to the undocumented so that they easily access assistance when necessary. This information should be readily available at all Department of Home Affairs offices.

- The researcher recommends that SAPS officials dealing with ‘undocumented’ Zimbabwean immigrants be fully educated to the legal frameworks as enshrined in the human rights declarations as well as treaties SA signed in relation with immigration. Moreover, monitoring of police conduct ought to become priority to avoid police brutality, unfair practices as well as corruption.
- In relation to corruption, the Department of Home Affairs ought to put stricter mechanisms in place at border posts that curb corruption and bribery among officials as it emerged during the study that most ‘undocumented’ Zimbabwean immigrants actually bribe their way into SA.
- As the focus of this study was not to castigate SA for not upholding laws that preserve family and identity preservation of the marginalized foreigners, it is imperative therefore to recommend that SA and Zimbabwean governments begin to work closely in order to resolve the issue of ‘undocumentation.’ Closely related to this, is the recommendation that the Zimbabwean government begins to invest in the setting up of satellite offices in SA areas, especially those known to accommodate huge ‘undocumented’ Zimbabwean nationals such as Johannesburg, Limpopo province and Cape Town. Officials in these offices ought to be well versed in pertinent issues that relate to the family and identity preservation of Zimbabweans in order to provide a meaningful service.

3.3 Recommendations for future research

Future research would do well to also study the challenges of other ‘undocumented’ immigrant nationals in SA. It was apparent during this study that not only ‘undocumented’ Zimbabwean immigrants are affected by the challenges highlighted throughout this study. Nationalities from countries such as Nigeria, Somalia, Mozambique and other African countries also face significant challenges in preserving family and identity while in SA.

- It would aid the body of knowledge greatly if future research on the subject under study would be extended to a much larger sample. The sample used by the researcher, although provided valuable information, cannot be generalized to the whole ‘undocumented’ Zimbabwean population in SA. Hence future studies over a prolonged time may shed indispensable data.
- It is furthermore recommended that ethnographic studies on the subject matter be conducted to illuminate the challenges of ‘undocumented’ Zimbabwean immigrants in SA. This may be essential in bringing out intricate details that could not be unearthed by this study. Future researchers on this subject may need to spend more time in the communities known to house many undocumented immigrants in SA. As some issues were too sensitive to discuss during this study, ethnographic researchers may gain valuable data through their work without having to interview participants directly.
- It may be crucial for future research to conduct quantitative studies on the challenges of ‘undocumented’ Zimbabwean immigrants in SA in preserving their family and identity while in SA. Quantitative studies would give reliable statistics on the prevalence of the challenges outlined in this study, hence providing information that could be projected to a larger scale.



4. CONCLUSION

It would appear that the main goal and objectives of this study were adequately achieved using the selected methodology. The challenges of ‘undocumented’ Zimbabwean immigrants in SA in preserving their family and identity were explored and described in-depth. It was eminent that ‘undocumented’ Zimbabwean immigrants go to great lengths to preserve their family and identity while in SA. An analysis of the participants’ interviews guided the researcher in formulating appropriate recommendations for social workers and allied professionals, policy makers, immigration officials and the police as well as for future researchers.

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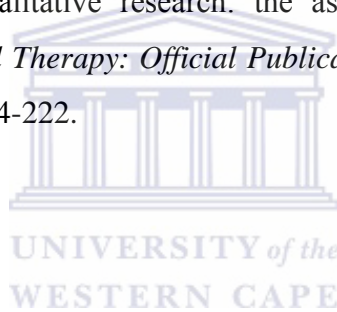
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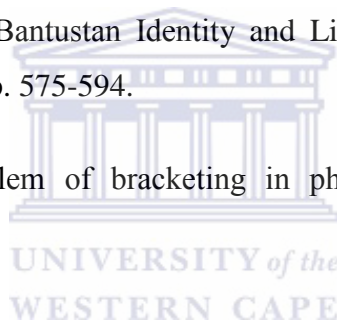
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