

The Socio-economic Challenges Facing the Integration of Foreign Nationals in South Africa

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ABSTRACT Afrophobic outbreaks in South Africa has given the international community serious concerns about the safety of other Africa nationals in the former apartheid enclave. Lately, the state has been a migrant receiving country with many migrants from the Southern African Development Community (SADC) region. In this region, Zimbabwe accounts for the highest number of such migrants. Gauteng province which contributes 35 percent to the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) of South Africa plays host to many Zimbabweans and in most cases they reside in informal settlements notably Alexandra Township and others. The socio-economic and political problem plaguing Zimbabwe is the main reason for migration. This study was intended to understand the causes of Zimbabwean migration into South Africa and attacks carried out on them. Utilising qualitative research methodology via snowball and accidental sampling through semi-structured interviews, it was observed that competition for jobs between locals and Zimbabweans especially in the informal sector, was an important factor that triggered xenophobic incidences notably in 2008 and 2015. Another bone of contention was that of access to housing. The above scenarios have implications on the image of South Africa in the committee of nations. It is therefore recommended that the state should partner with civil society in the integration process of Zimbabweans into the fulcrum of the South African society.

INTRODUCTION

The discourse of black-on-black violence in South Africa has been contested by scholars as ‘Afrophobia’, while others called it xenophobia. Irrespective of the nature of categorisation, the outcome has been catastrophic; resulting into deaths, destruction of property, widespread looting and forced eviction of African foreign nationals especially Zimbabweans. Migration is responsible for the outbreak of black-on-black violence in South Africa. Migration on the African continent is due to many reasons other than conflict. The 1990 report of the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) predicted that climate change will affect human migration as people will relocate because of environmental degradation and climate change in the later decades (UN 2012). Migration in Africa is localised as most African migrants hardly cross any international border. Infact, migration in Africa is typically on an interregional basis (Flahaux and De Haas 2016). Bakewell and Bonfiglio (2013)

in a Great Lakes Region study, contended that the search for a spouse, better living standards in the city or qualitative education promotes mobility even though conflict in this region principally motivates forced migration. Post-apartheid South Africa has been occasioned by anti-foreigner violence in 1998, 2008 and 2015 (Tella 2016). This study is important because it explores the reasons behind Zimbabwean migration into South Africa. Literature reveals that many Zimbabweans see themselves as temporary circular migrants but they end up staying for longer periods and in some instances permanently. The challenges and prospects of the integration process are also discussed in this paper. Carrying out a study on the socio-economic challenges facing the integration of foreign nationals in South Africa is justified because Zimbabweans are the largest migrant group in the country. Alexandra Township was carefully selected as a case study because the 2008 xenophobic orchestrated violence started there.

Background

Some studies have been conducted in the field of migration and integration of Zimbabweans in South Africa (Morreia 2015; de Jager and Musuva 2016; Thebe 2016). Gauteng Province

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is a major recipient of Zimbabweans and this study sets out to explore the challenges of transnational migration in South Africa. The context of this study was limited to Alexandra Township where the majority of black immigrants in Gauteng Province of South Africa come from SADC and other African states especially Zimbabwe. Consequently, probing the case of integration of Zimbabweans and coping methods since relocating to South Africa is of urgent importance. The end of apartheid rule brought huge relief to South Africans, especially the black people who were politically silenced and economically disadvantaged over the years. The borders of South Africa became open to a host of migrants from other countries of the world. Consequently, there has been an influx of diverse groups of people into South Africa, especially from the SADC states (Klotz 2000). South Africa has now become a land of opportunity for many black immigrants. Migration during the apartheid rule was mainly that of labour, migrant labourers from the SADC states trooped into South Africa to provide cheap labour. Most black labour migrants movements were restricted, they were hired on contractual basis, meaning that their contracts were temporary (Christie 2000). Foreigners, particularly from Mozambique entered into the South African labour market and were hired through contract labour. The inclusion of non-South Africans into the labour market was not done in a formal manner, the implication of this was that Zimbabweans were not hired on contractual terms. This was despite the fact that Zimbabwean migration into South Africa increased tremendously especially after 2000.

To date, it is estimated that between 1 and 5 million Zimbabweans are residing in South Africa, either legally or illegally, although these figures have been highly contested (Polzer 2008). The soaring number of Zimbabwean migration into South Africa especially Limpopo and Gauteng provinces led to a growing number of cases of abuse and discriminations on Zimbabweans by South Africans and this necessitated the negotiations between the governments of South Africa and Zimbabwe. The outcome of the negotiations led to the establishment of the Zimbabwe Documentation Project (ZDP) and the South African Department of Home Affairs was saddled with this responsibility in 2010. This action by the Department of Home Affairs was to document, regularise and legalise the stay of

many Zimbabweans because of the pressure exerted on the South African economy.

Problem Statement

Integrating foreigners in host countries poses problems not only to South Africa, but to all countries worldwide. With the growing numbers of refugees and asylum seekers in South Africa, the problem of settling displaced persons in the country have risen to alarming levels where the host country is overstretched and often failing to cope with the increasing number of foreign nationals, some of whom are illegal immigrants. This is the major problem, the study focuses on especially on the integration of Zimbabwean nationals in Alexandra. The other problem explored in the study is whether or not Zimbabwean nationals should be reintegrated into the South African society. Finally, there is a problem whereby scholars on xenophobia largely focus on the nature of violent attacks on Zimbabweans while being silent on reintegration processes of the former.

Focus and Objectives

This paper explores challenges faced by Zimbabweans in the reintegration process into Alexandra Township a place where the 2008 xenophobic crisis started. Through interviews, this paper also unveils reasons for Zimbabwean migration into South Africa, causes of xenophobic attacks on Zimbabweans and the success or otherwise of the reintegration process. The paper visualises that failure to control migration and a culture of intolerance coupled with the state's inability to provide proper service delivery has led to vicious attacks against Zimbabweans in South Africa.

Theoretical Framework

This study was based on the theory of integration. This theory is appropriate for this study because it explains reasons for contestations between locals and foreigners. Violence hardly spreads to conurbations, they all occur in informal settlements where service delivery is poor. Integration simply means the sharing of economic and social resources, the equalizing of political and territorial rights, the development of cultural exchanges and new cultural forms,

between forced migrants and all other members of a society. At the local level, the entire community is actively involved, with a view of reducing social distance and encouraging cooperation and communication through creative negotiations which create new social meanings (Stubbs 1995). Integration is the accessibility to social services and institutions. It is said to be the ability of new immigrants to gain grounds in a community and participate actively as members of that community (Fix et al. 2005). It is also understood as the process through which immigrants are included in the institutions and relationships of the host society (Bosswick and Heckmann 2006).

Literature Review

Preliminary Studies on Migration in Africa

Migration in most cases has to do with human migration. It is the movement of people from one place in the world to another for the purpose of taking up permanent or semi-permanent residence, usually across a political boundary. An example of “semi-permanent residence” would be the seasonal movements of migrant farm labourers. People can either choose to move (“voluntary migration”) or be forced to move (“involuntary migration”) (National Geographic Society 2005). Migration is the crossing of the boundary of a predefined spatial unit by persons involved in a change of residence (Kok and Collinson 2006). In every society, migration is not a strange phenomenon. In Africa, migration is a response to changes in social, economic, political and ecological conditions and processes.

Africa has often been described as a highly mobile continent, with people migrating across the borders within and outside the continent. Migration in Africa dates back to ancient times which are embedded in history, for instance the fourth century in Mali (Findley 2004). For example, Ricca (1989) depicted Africa as a “continent perpetually on the move”. Africans move to other parts of Africa or the world for various reasons. The reasons for these migrations are due to political, economic, social, religious, environmental and security situations (Hance 1970).

Mbite (2012) noted that according to projections of the United Nations (UN), International Organization for Migration (IOM) and Interna-

tional Labour Organization (ILO) 175 million persons lived outside their countries of origin, doubling the number a generation ago. Porous borders, political instability, conflict, natural disasters, environmental changes, climate change, and the like have contributed to the upward increase in migration. Estimates by ILO state that Africa accounts for one fifth of labour migrants on a global scale and come 2025, one out of every 10 Africans will reside and work outside their countries of origin. With the rising number of migrants, migration management would be hard for states to handle.

Level of educational attainment is also a vital factor that aids migration. Wouterse and van den Berg (2004) discovered that in Burkina Faso, people with secondary school education had higher tendencies to migrate to other African countries. Hope of a better life influences people's decision to migrate. However, intra-African migration must be backed up by the ability to migrate (money and networking). Here, two forces come to play; a decision to relocate or to stay back at home if the financial implications of the intended journey cannot be met (Shaw 2007).

Literature on the Causes of Migration into South Africa

Economic challenges such as poverty, unemployment, and homelessness contribute to international relocation. Other factors like institutional, structural, civil unrest, wars, and political instability may also force people to move to other countries, and these movements have led to an increase in the number of refugees and internally displaced persons. Following these trends, figures are estimated as 15 million refugees and 22 million of internally displaced people worldwide (Erhabor et al. 2013). South Africa is a complex country due to the several roles it plays in terms of migration flows. South Africa experienced a dramatic change in migration at the end of apartheid in 1994. International isolation abated, leading to the opening up of its borders making South Africa a choice destination for Southern African immigrants (Adepoju 2006).

Khan (2007) contributed to the discourse on migration patterns in South Africa which has become progressively complicated and multifaceted lately due to a robust economy and an avalanche of opportunities for people of different

origins. The country did not only attract refugees and asylum seekers, skilled professionals from across Africa as well as environmental and socio-economic migrants were attracted to South Africa because of the vibrant nature of her economy and the stable political climate.

Zimbabwean nationals migrated into South Africa for economic, political and humanitarian reasons unlike most African migrants who migrated strictly for economic reasons (Gallo 2008). Over the years, Zimbabwean migration into South Africa was triggered by political violence, mass forced evictions, and poverty because of financial hardship and the political deadlock situation in Zimbabwe. Some Zimbabwean nationals fled from persecution, while others searched for economic opportunities (International Refugee Rights Initiatives 2009). Former South African minister of Home Affairs, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, advanced three reasons for the increase of the Zimbabwean population in South Africa. He reiterated that South Africa was economically advanced when compared to other countries; South African employers are willing to employ foreigners both legal and illegal immigrants, and that migration patterns have been shaped by historical and economic connections with South Africa (Erhabor et al. 2013).

Push and pull factors can either propel people to move to a new location or oblige them to leave old residences; they can be economic, political, cultural, and environmentally based. Push factors are conditions that can drive people to leave their homes, they are forceful, and relate to the country from which a person migrates. A few examples of push factors are: scarce jobs in your home country; few opportunities; "primitive" conditions; desertification; famine/drought; political fear/persecution; poor medical care; loss of wealth; and natural disasters. Pull factors are exactly the opposite of push factors; they are factors that attract people to a certain location. Examples of these push factors are job opportunities; better living conditions; political and/or religious freedom; enjoyment; better education; better medical care; and security (IOM 2003; Pelser 2003; Crush and Williams 2005; Mawadza 2008).

Most refugees are self-employed in the informal sector which includes hair dressing, shoe-making, entertainment and construction industries where they function as sole proprietors, entrepreneurs and employ the locals. Marriages

have also unionised South Africans and Zimbabweans hence the countries are intertwined in one form or the other. However, readjusting in to the society or receiving warm embrace from South Africans is still worrisome for most Zimbabweans after the 2008 xenophobic attacks. Alexandra is a prominent settlement where trust has been a major issue in the transnational integration process.

Preliminary Studies on Xenophobia in South Africa

Reynolds and Vine (1987) saw xenophobia as a "psychological state of hostility or fear towards outsiders". Crowther (1995) highlighted that xenophobia is carried out on individuals who come from "other countries" and towards whom locals have "an intense dislike or fear". Xenophobia appears to vividly show the presence of attitudinal and behavioural hostility toward non-locals. Furthermore, the term xenophobia is used in the human and social sciences, arts, humanities and by human rights organizations, governments and the United Nations to describe anti-immigrant sentiments. Harris (2002) directly or indirectly associated xenophobia with black African immigrants. Notwithstanding, restricting xenophobia or xenophobic attacks to other black African nationals alone is a parochial approach, because xenophobia experienced by immigrants of other races should also be underscored. By extension, the practice will most likely include the use of violence.

Kollapan (1999) warned that xenophobia cannot be separated from violence and physical abuse. Morris (1998) and Tshitereke (1999) saw xenophobia as hostility towards foreigners due to a country's limited resources, like housing, education, health care and employment. Authors who wrote on xenophobia differ in their definitions as shown above, but their contributions are crucial in this study. Xenophobia is not a new phenomenon in Africa and South Africa is not the only country on the globe battling with issues centred on xenophobia. It is one of the symptoms of globalisation in which people migrate from country to country to better their lot and seek a brighter future. Dodson and Oelofse (2000) in their research on xenophobia at Mizamoyethu, Cape Town asserted that xenophobic violence occurred between locals and foreigners from Namibia and Angola. The locals

accused the foreigners of stealing their jobs on the fishing boats and being prepared to work for half of the prevailing wage rate and refusing to unionise. They were also accused of crime and stealing their women by dressing smartly and flashing money around, this has promoted prostitution among the local females in that community (Dodson and Oelofse 2000).

Landau et al. (2005), regarded xenophobia as the natural outcome of historical pattern of labour migration, conflict and economic hardship in neighbouring SADC states. The relative peace and harmony in South Africa has made the country a choice destination and transit point for migrants throughout the region. Although the treatment meted out to non-nationals, especially black foreigners, vary across South Africa's socio-economic and ethnic spectrum; however, it is widely held that non-nationals living and/or working in South Africa often face discrimination at the hands of citizens, government officials, police, and private organizations contracted to manage their detention and deportation facilities. Foreigners have also been blamed and they are often used as scapegoat in order to justify the shortcomings of elected leaders (Landau et al. 2005).

Croucher (1998) affirmed that before the 2008 xenophobic attacks on foreigners, South Africa had recorded some incidences of such brutal attacks on foreigners before. To mention but a few of properly documented incidents: In December 1994 and January 1995, armed-youth gangs in Alexandra Township vandalised homes and properties of undocumented migrants and took them to the police station where they said foreigners were granted a *persona non-grata* status and as a result demanded that the foreigners be evicted immediately (Croucher 1998). In September 1998, one Mozambican and two Senegalese citizens were hurled off a moving train by a group of individuals returning from a rally organised by a local group blaming foreigners for the levels of unemployment, crime and even the spread of AIDS (Human Rights Watch 1998).

Reitzes (2009) discovered that xenophobia in South Africa has its foundations in apartheid and the political economy of the country. She traced the trend of racial discrimination in South Africa from South Africa's immigration policy from 1913 to the eventual passage of the country's immigration Act in 2002. She argued that

South Africa's immigration policy has promoted the 'we' image (South African national identity) and the 'they' image, allowing racial discrimination and carrying out further attacks on foreign nationals (Reitzes 2009).

Bonner and Nieftagodien (2008) in their assessment of the May 11, 2008 xenophobic attacks reiterated that Alexandra was in the news because of the wave of violence and spate of attacks against foreign African nationals residing mainly in and around Beirut. Over the next three to four days two people were killed (including one South African), scores of people injured and hundreds forcefully evicted from their homes by a "bunch of hooligans". Many foreigners had their shacks looted and some women were also raped in the ensuing melee.

Literature on Integration and Reintegration

Kibreab (1989) defined integration as "an economic, social and cultural process by which refugees become members of the host society on a permanent basis irrespective of how things develop in the countries of origin". In this process, refugees are accepted on a permanent basis. This is followed by legal integration whereby the refugees concerned acquire the citizenship of the country of their asylum through naturalization (Kibreab 1989). Kuhlman (1991) saw integration as the ability of refugees to be actively involved in the receiving community's economy in ways equal to their acquired skills and suitable to their cultural values; make a living (economic, housing, public infrastructure, health care services, and education) that fulfils minimum cultural requirements; be able to experience socio-cultural change without losing their identity and adapt psychologically to their new condition; and their entry does not worsen the existing conditions of living and economic opportunities for the members of the host communities; have clashes between the refugee and host community nor sad feelings within the host population itself. According to UNHCR, integration is said to be a process by which the refugee is assimilated into the social and economic life of a new national community.

Valtonen (1994) posited that integration occurs when a group interacts with the larger society without losing its own identity. Integration presents a positive meaning as it creates room for adapting the group's identity. Hargreaves

(1995) contended that because of the wrong use of integration in general terms, its meaning is now 'frequently poorly defined'. A broad definition of integration is concerned with the way of socialisation, through standards and formation of anticipations, which adds to the creation of social cohesion and societal stability (Brochmann 2003). Consequentially, integration involves the learning of, and adjustment to, society's values-processes that bind individuals to society socially, economically and culturally. Heckmann (2004) defined integration as a method by which immigrants are included into the society's main institutions, relations and statuses of the receiving country.

In the researchers' view, integration is the infusing of foreigners into the fulcrum of the new place of abode where they find themselves. While reintegration involves bringing back the displaced after a conflict, resettling them and in some instances giving them incentives to encourage them to remain in the community in which they were initially displaced from.

Refugee Integration

The integration of refugees in-to a village, society, community, nation or state cannot be overemphasised. Refugees have become the backbone of some communities and have helped to reshape communities through their active involvements at all levels. In some societies, refugees are no longer seen as strangers they have interacted by forming associations and some are even unionised in marriages. Kalumba and Freund (1986) discovered through their research in Zambia that even though refugees accessed basic services like schools, public transport and health services, this was not valuable access as they did not have national registration cards (the equivalent of the South African identity document).

Local Integration

Kibreab (1989) defined local integration as a situation in which foreigners are granted full and permanent asylum, membership and residency status by the receiving state. It occurs through a process of legal, economic, social and cultural incorporation of refugees, ultimately leading to the offer of citizenship. Jacobsen (2001) argued that local integration is not the sole responsibility

of the host government, it will become a reality if the host governments, the local communities and refugees work in concert to ensure its success. In a study carried out by Bakewell (2000) in Kanongesha, a Zambian village having self-settled Angolan refugees was seen as highly beneficial to the community. Bakewell alluded that the refugees in that host community were not seen as refugees, rather they were seen as real members of the host community and they have completely mixed with the host community. Refugees are not discriminated against on the basis of nationality; this has enhanced marriages between the refugee community and the host community. Occasions like weddings, circumcision and funerals were attended by all and sundry irrespective of nationality. A matter that arises from here is why is there is no conflict when it comes to local integration in the rural areas or villages when compared to the urban areas or cities.

Dijkstra et al. (2001) argued that the integration of refugees in a new society is important, though having positive and negative effects. During the course of integration, internal unity among both refugees and the host community strengthens cooperation and social control and to a certain degree of conforming to group norms. Simultaneously, strong internal solidarity leads to animosity towards the external which results in xenophobia or much more deadly scenarios.

METHODOLOGY

A qualitative research methodology was adopted for this study. De Vos et al. (2011) defined 'qualitative research' as a situated activity that locates the observer in the world. It comprises of a set of interpretive, material practices that make the world visible. Qualitative methodology allowed the respondents to describe their relationships before, during and after the 2008 xenophobic attacks. This was based on feelings and reactions which could be quantified. Coping mechanisms and survival methods were made known and this was based primarily on narrative information obtained from respondents through semi-structured interviews which revealed perceptions of the Zimbabweans residing in Alexandra Township.

Snowball sampling was used to get hold of undocumented Zimbabweans. Snowballing involves approaching few persons who are un-

documented Zimbabweans in this study, so that information will be retrieved and people will be selected to make up the sample until a sufficient number of cases has been included in the study (DeVos et al. 2011). Accidental sampling was used to get hold of documented Zimbabweans for inclusion in the study. The method involves any case which happens to cross the path of the researcher and has anything to do with the phenomenon being included in the sample until the desired number is obtained (De Vos et al. 2011).

Data were collected from documented and undocumented Zimbabweans who were respondents in the study, through a semi-structured interview. It comprised of causes and appreciation of Zimbabwean migration into South Africa, causes of xenophobic attacks on Zimbabweans, reintegration challenges and the extent to which Zimbabweans have been reintegrated back into Alexandra Township. A total of fifty-two (34 males and 18 females) Zimbabweans were interviewed. Data was sorted, coded under sub-themes and balanced. This was done so that it is precise, fair sufficient and in a detailed enough manner to allow an informed evaluation by the researchers and to make a contribution towards the general body of scientific knowledge.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

On Causes of Zimbabwean Migration into South Africa

The findings in this study reveals that the major push factor of Zimbabwean migration into South Africa was economic driven. The unemployment rate rose rapidly in Zimbabwe due to disinvestment as a result of violent land reform which led many to seek greener pastures elsewhere, and South Africa was the choice destination because of its proximity to Zimbabwe. Interviews were conducted with most Zimbabweans, especially those in the economically productive category (between 20 and 45 years) and they showed that they are in South Africa to seek employment. A 25-year-old male who declined to give his name for security reasons explained his situation as:

I am married with 2 children and I had no hope of finding a job at home after the white commercial farmer I worked for lost his farm and we were left with no option except to follow others in the job hunt in South Africa. Now

I can look after my family who are also here because I am working as a gardener for a certain whiteman in Midrand.

Poverty was also a strong factor in pushing Zimbabweans out of their country. After the land invasions and consecutive droughts in the country, basic commodities were in short supply and where they were available, they were sold on the black market, and therefore were exorbitantly priced. Between 2002 and 2008, it was reported that more than half of the country were surviving on donor handouts. The situation forced many Zimbabweans into South Africa in a quest for accessing food and for survival reasons. Mrs. Sango (not real name) confirmed that if she did not cross the Limpopo River through illegal means, she does not know what was going to happen to her old parents and young children who were close to starvation. The first thing she did in South Africa was to do 'anything' to raise money and buy small groceries for her starving family.

Another victim of a purported clean-up of slum areas known as "Operation Murambatsvina" (operation drive out rubbish), also officially known as Operation Restore Order tells us about his own experience:

Many Zimbabweans refer to the operation as "Zimbabwe's Tsunami". Sambo (not real name) further said, I lived in Mbare Township and was a die-hard supporter of the Movement for Democratic Change (MDC). Operation Murambatsvina was politically motivated to dislodge supporters of the MDC from urban centres to rural areas. The "urban renewal campaign" by President Robert Mugabe was a ploy to disenfranchise MDC members from voting because Mbare was an MDC stronghold. The police, army and members of the National Youth Service victimised and forced us to return to our rural homes and I finally had to move to South Africa at that material point in time.

On the Causes of Xenophobic Attacks on Zimbabweans in Alexandra Township

The Zimbabwean respondents in this study indicated that competition for scarce resources (for example, housing (RDP), healthcare and employment) was the major reason for the xenophobic attacks carried out on them by the South Africans in Alexandra Township. Tied to this is

the issue of “taking our women”, increase in crime rate, creating a ‘ghetto’ condition, being considered carriers of terminal diseases like Aids, TB and cancer, propaganda by 5th columnists and political parties like the IFP (Inkatha Freedom Party) in Alexandra Township which held a meeting at ‘Beirut’ citing the drain on scarce public resources on foreigners especially Zimbabweans which led to service delivery protests and the violent attacks.

The issue of competition for jobs and violent attacks carried out by South Africans on foreigners especially Zimbabweans was corroborated by a Zimbabwean gardener employed in the informal sector. He spoke on condition of confidentiality with regard to his identity which the researcher complied to. There is stiff competition for jobs in the informal sector, this sector is mainly for unskilled labour and this is a highly volatile sector because the number of workers outweighs the number of jobs available in this sector. He is of the opinion that:

Most South Africans in this sector charge exorbitant fees for services, many a times they do not satisfy their clients and this situation has made most clients to look for alternatives. They now prefer Zimbabweans to mow their lawns at cheaper rates.

The issue of ‘women’ was also a causative factor that breeds xenophobic feelings between South African men and foreign African nationals. A Zimbabwean Patrick (not real name) who had an affair with a South African lady and was later assaulted by her ex-boyfriend opened up on the issue:

I met Gugu who just broke her relationship with her boyfriend owing to issues that had to do with physical abuse and double dating. We started dating and I was beaten up by her ex.

Competition for housing was also a serious issue between local South Africans and foreigners, with the former blaming the latter for woes on housing delivery problems saying, ‘these people must go back to their country, Alexandra is not a squatter camp. We will force them to Lindela for their journey back to their own country’. They claimed that foreigners, mostly Zimbabweans are hindering government efforts to provide public infrastructure like sanitation and access to clean water. A Zimbabwean widow Mrs Gezani (not real name) recounts her ordeal at the hands of aggressive South African protesters;

After the death of my husband, I left Zimbabwe for South Africa at the peak of the economic crisis in 2003 and stayed in Alexandra. I was chased out of my RDP house in 2008 during the xenophobic crisis and only returned last year.

On the Challenges Associated with the Reintegration of Zimbabwean Nationals into the South African Society

The researchers noted that the major challenge facing the issue of reintegration of Zimbabwean foreign nationals in to the South African society had to do with the issue of documentation. The researchers found out that many Zimbabweans did not have passports or the necessary travel documents as they were aided by ‘magumagumas’ to jump the border and as such it would be difficult to integrate “paperless persons”. Most Zimbabweans are just in South Africa to avoid hunger and starvation, they are here to survive. As long as there is food in the stomach and a place to lie down, they are comfortable; they are not interested in savings or making remittances in the interim. A Zimbabwean Ms Siena (not real name) who was a hairdresser in Zimbabwe; shared this with the researchers:

I went to the border to talk to a trans-national truck driver to allow me to sneak into South Africa in his truck. In return, he demanded sexual favours which I declined. I was introduced to a magumaguma who assisted me to cross into South Africa after paying R300.

On the Extent to Which Zimbabweans have been Integrated into the South African Society

Many Zimbabweans have not been fully re-integrated into the South African society because a large number of them do not have passports or documents legalising their stay. How do you integrate someone without legal documents? Only a few of the Zimbabweans have been fully reintegrated, while the bulk of them still lack the necessary skills or academic qualification for them to be fully integrated into the system. Some Zimbabweans still hold the view that xenophobia still exists in South Africa either overtly or covertly, and they are been discriminated against because slangs like *makwerekwere*, *magrigamba* and *ngagawane* are still in use in some parts of South Africa. Apart from

frequent harassment at the hands of police and immigration officers who extort money from them, some are discriminated against on the basis of nationality at the hospitals by healthcare professionals and the Zimbabweans await decisive measures to be taken by the South African government against xenophobia and other forms of hate crimes.

Skiddo (not real name) says that there is nothing like integration. 'Is it a noun, verb or adjective'? Many Zimbabweans here are seen as outcasts and I for one cannot stand the insults received on a daily basis from these South African immigration officials. It is obvious that we are not wanted here, if it were not for the crumbling state of the Zimbabwean economy, I would not have come to South Africa.

An engineer who did not want to disclose his name told the researcher that;

I think I have been properly integrated because I have a quota permit as a skilled professional, which is valid for 5 years and after that period I will probably apply for a permanent residence.

From the above, the study is important because it is necessary to determine what is perceived as barriers to the achievement of the integration of foreign nationals in South Africa, if those barriers are to be addressed. The study revealed that most Zimbabweans relocated to South Africa due to socio-economic and political factors, a declining economy and witch-hunting on the part of the Zimbabwe African National Union-Patriotic Front's (ZANU-PF)-led government. De Jager and Musuva (2016), established the above in their research on the influx of Zimbabweans into South Africa. They established that due to soaring levels of hyperinflation, unemployment and a crackdown on the opposition, many Zimbabwean nationals migrated to South Africa to make a living and obtain freedom from harassment. Mafukata (2015), revealed in his study on xenophobia in the Vhembe District, Limpopo South Africa that black-on-black violence is gaining momentum by the day in post-apartheid South Africa. Many Zimbabwean nationals provide cheap labour in the informal sector of the economy and this situation makes locals' jobless, hence their carrying out violence against Zimbabweans who they saw as threats to their survival to show their displeasure to the state.

Neo-Marxists scholars are of the view that xenophobia in post-apartheid South Africa and other African countries was due to the income differentials between the common man, the proletariat and the bourgeoisie (Hickel 2014). Minnaar (1999) contended that criminal gangs spearheaded by foreigners also thrive in the Republic of South Africa. These foreign nationals are involved in drug trafficking, falsification of identification documents, matric certificates, blank certificates etc. They carry out their nefarious activities with the backing of the South African Police Service (SAPS) due to the high level of corruption. Combating these vices cannot be done by the state alone, hence the need for engagement of civil society and others to achieve integration.

CONCLUSION

Globally, integration of foreigners into a host nation is burdensome and in South Africa, foreign nationals especially Zimbabweans are targeted, harassed and discriminated against by locals. The state's response to crises during these periods has not been very encouraging, and criminal elements have hijacked the situation. In some instances, political elites have succeeded in manipulating locals to carry out attacks against Zimbabweans and other African foreign nationals. This situation may discourage prospective travellers to the Republic of South Africa, thereby affecting the flow of Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) in to the country. Our paper managed to justify its assumption that the culture of intolerance, failure to control migration and the inability of the state to provide quality service delivery has led to vicious attacks against Zimbabweans and other African foreign nationals. Therefore, there is a need for the state to work in concert with civil society by employing strategies aimed at combating afrophobia.

RECOMMENDATIONS

This work recommends that since the process of reintegrating foreign nationals is tiresome and demanding, the Department of Home Affairs in South Africa needs to develop immigration policies that would enhance the goals of regional integration, especially when people are running away from human security threats in

their countries. This will go a long way into demonstrating the virtues of South Africa as a democratic state which can even extend its hand to neighbours for a humanitarian cause. There is a need for job creation by the public and private sectors and implementation of the Black Economic Empowerment (BEE) the National Development Programme (NDP) and other government schemes aimed at improving the wellbeing of the masses. Joint border patrols by both states will reduce the activities of trans-border crimes and syndicates. The issue of housing is a major source of conflict between locals and foreigners. Hence the state should seriously look into this area by identifying informal settlements and resettling locals by providing better accommodation for them.

FOR FUTURE STUDIES

The significance of reintegration of foreign nationals into the host state cannot be overemphasised because people need to live in peace and harmony. Some countries like Germany have a decreasing working population which is in dire need of replacement and migrants are filling these vacancies. This study was only carried out in Alexandra Township, whereas, other informal settlements of this nature exists across the length and breadth of South Africa. Therefore, studies on integration focusing on other African foreign nationals in other informal settlements in South Africa should be embarked upon. This will bring out scholarly findings and serve as a basis for comparison with other studies.

LIMITATIONS

This study was carried out within the confines of Alexandra Township. A major obstacle here was that Alexandra covers an area of 6.91 square kilometres with a population of 179, 624 according to the 2011 census. Attaining the best representative sample was hard, time and resources were also major constraints.

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