

From South Africa to Australia: South African emigration (1976-2008).

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Thesis presented in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in the Faculty of History at Stellenbosch University



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December 2019

Declaration

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December 2019

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Abstract

From South Africa to Australia: South African emigration (1976-2008).

Through the use of South African newspapers, this thesis seeks to understand the waves of South African emigration to Australia between 1976 and 2008. The analysis focusses on political, social and economic factors that created different waves of emigration during this period. The number and groups of South Africans that emigrated will be studied while also painting a broader picture of what lay ahead for them in Australia. The brain drain is a continuous theme in this thesis, as it remains a current global trend. This study also uncovers the various push and pull factors that South Africans encountered and how these factors had a major effect on emigration to Australia. The year 2008 was critical in this regard.

Research for this thesis was explicitly based on South African media as a scope to grasp both facts as well as opinions on emigration to Australia.

Opsomming

Van Suid-Afrika na Australië: Suid-Afrikaanse emigrasie (1976-2008).

Hierdie verhandeling probeer om die siklusse van Suid-Afrikaanse emigrasie na Australië tussen 1976 en 2008 te verstaan. Die ontleding fokus op politieke, sosiale en ekonomiese faktore wat gedurende hierdie tydperk aanleiding gegee het tot verskillende vlakke van emigrasie. Die aantal en watter groepe Suid-Afrikaners geëmigreer het, is bestudeer terwyl 'n breër prentjie geskets is van wat in Australië sou voorlê. Die 'breindrein' (kundigheidsverlies of breinkwyn) is 'n deurlopende tema in hierdie tesis, aangesien dit tans 'n wêreldwye neiging is. Ook die verskillende stoot- en trekfaktore wat Suid-Afrikaners tot emigrasie gedryf het, is bespreek. Die jaar 2008 was kritiek in dié verband.

Die navorsing vir die tesis het uitsluitlik gebruik gemaak van die Suid-Afrikaanse media om sowel feite as menings oor emigrasie na Australië te verstaan.

Acknowledgements

I would personally like to thank my supervisor, Professor Albert Grundlingh, for his help with this thesis. His never-ending library and ability to find a book for any reference will always astound me. With Prof G's supervisory style, I have seen myself grow into an independent academic, and for that I am very thankful. I am grateful that he has continued to help my academic career in both my honours and masters and without his guidance and passion for history I would not be here today. I would also like to thank the Stellenbosch University History Department for providing an atmosphere of growth, in which I have seen myself excel.

I would like to thank my family for their support during my academic career. My father for supporting me every step of the way, physically, emotionally and financially. Without his unwavering assistance, this thesis would not have happened. I thank my sister for listening to every thesis conversation I had, and for always trying to understand my gist while filling up my wine glass.

To my loved ones, we have finally reached a point where no one has to ask me how my thesis is going anymore. I would like to thank Braydon, Celeste, Daniel, Deryck, Fabio, Nicole and every other person who has been involved in my life for the past two years for any insight or help they have provided.

Contents

Introduction.....	1
Structure	2
Methodology	4
Literature Review	6
Problem Statement	8
Chapter One: Overview of emigration from South Africa from 1976-2007	9
1.1. 1976-1983: The Soweto Wave	9
1.2. 1984-1994: The Rubicon Wave	11
1.3. 1995-2003: Post-apartheid Wave	15
1.4. 2004-2007: Homecoming Wave	21
1.5. Immigration versus emigration: the statistics.....	25
1.6. The ‘chicken’ or ‘opportunity’ run.....	28
1.7. Conclusion.....	30
Chapter Two: The brain drain in South Africa	31
2.1. Dynamics of the brain drain	31
2.2 Why is the brain drain so prevalent in South African society?	33
2.3. How to measure the brain drain	34
2.4. Connotations surrounding the brain drain	37
2.5. The highest emigrating job sector	38
2.6. The negative side of the brain drain on South Africa	44
2.7. Conclusion.....	47
Chapter Three: Push and pull factors	48
3.1. The government, political unrest and the economy	49
3.2. Job opportunities and affirmative action	51
3.3. Standard of living	53
3.4. Education.....	55
3.5. Crime.....	58
3.5.1. South African crime statistics	58
3.5.2 Crime and emigration.....	61
3.5.3 Crime and Australia	64
3.6. Conclusion.....	65
Chapter Four: Australia: the new South Africa	67
4.1. Waves of popularity over the years	68

4.2. Emigration to Australia statistics	73
4.3. Look, see and decide (LSD)	76
4.4. Apocalyptic South Africa.....	77
4.5. Cultural climate	80
4.6. ‘Tall poppy syndrome’ and tension between parties.....	82
4.7. The cost of emigration.....	86
4.8. Diaspora	89
4.9. Conclusion.....	91
Chapter Five: 2008: A case study for emigration	93
5.1. Electricity	93
5.2. Xenophobia	96
5.3. The ANC and Jacob Zuma	98
5.4. The Great Recession of 2008	100
5.5. Other push factors:	101
5.6. Emigration and 2008	104
5.7. Conclusion.....	109
Concluding remarks	111
List of sources	115

Introduction

From what many have deemed as the ‘new Great Trek’, this thesis seeks to uncover emigration from South Africa to Australia between 1976 and 2008 via the use of South African newspapers and media. Through the scope of newspapers, the portrayal of emigrants and how the numbers of those leaving South Africa correlate with the statistics provided by the South African government will be studied. There will be a focus on the brain drain, which goes hand in hand with emigration, as educated individuals were looking for a better quality of life and employment opportunities. Many South Africans tend to view the brain drain as a local phenomenon; however, it is a phenomenon happening all around the globe, which will be briefly expanded on within this thesis. By using the brain drain as a compass, this thesis further explains how those who emigrate, fit into this global term and what the connotations surrounding them are. It also discusses the various push and pull factors that ultimately assisted the brain drain and how one factor rarely happens without the other. These structuring notions helped to inform our understanding of the brain drain phenomenon.

This thesis also concentrates on the waves of emigration that took place from South Africa and what political, social and economic factors allowed them to happen. Australia’s cultural climate was explored as this became the new home for many South Africans. This factored in their emigration costs, what they were forced to leave behind, what they took with them and how emigrants spoke about their home country after having moved abroad, as well as how those South Africans that remained, chose to speak about those who had emigrated. The year 2008 was used as a case study for this thesis due to the mass migration numbers following the global economic crisis and a disrupted local political climate.

The study seeks to understand the history behind South African emigration by using South African media and discovering the effects that this may have had on both local South Africans and those that chose to move abroad during the period from 1976 to 2008. By choosing to study a more modern period, one can cover more factual statistics and show the relevance that emigration continues to have to this day, and how those left behind speak about family members and friends that have emigrated. While migratory patterns have always taken place throughout the world, especially during the period of colonialism, emigration has become a more modern trend as people choose to now assimilate into foreign countries rather than colonising them.

The period studied in this thesis is during an era known for its political unrest in South Africa. Each decade has brought upon a change that left many fearing for the future, such as recessions and the end of apartheid. Each event welcomed a new wave of emigration – a major focus in this thesis. This thesis attempts to fit into the migration trope by understanding why South Africans emigrated to Australia, just how common it was, and how it affected the country they left behind and the new country they entered.

Structure

This thesis consists of five chapters excluding the introductory chapter and the final concluding remarks. The first chapter seeks to provide an overview of the emigration waves from South Africa, by explaining and unpacking the emigration numbers and what may have affected them during this time. These were often politically, economically and socially related. Each wave is described by what was politically happening at the time which could possibly be viewed as one of the main reasons for emigration. The first chapter then attempts to discuss the difference between immigration and emigration statistics in South Africa, and how South Africa remained in an immigrant deficient state during the period being studied, as more people left the country than those that arrived. It also mentions how unreliable South African emigration statistics are and what makes them so unreliable. Finally, it addresses the term the ‘chicken run’, which was often used to describe emigrants who were seen to be too afraid to deal with the unrest in South Africa. This chapter intends to understand how emigration waves functioned by providing background information and statistics that correlated to understand why emigration became popular during specific periods in the country.

The second chapter focusses on the brain drain, defining what it is, who is a part of it, why it happened, and how it affected South Africa. This chapter mentions how those who emigrate are usually from a middle- to upper-class background, mainly that of white South Africans, as emigration is an expensive feat and one needs to fit into certain skilled immigration requirements to be placed abroad. It also addresses the known fact that the brain drain is currently a worldwide phenomenon, despite many feeling that it is a purely South African phenomenon, and how those who became a part of the brain drain were viewed by those who remained in the country. The media was used to understand which profession emigrated the most and why, what has been done to combat it, and how it is measured within South Africa. The downfalls of the brain drain to South Africa will also be discussed, explaining why the brain drain could become detrimental to South Africa and its economy if nothing is done to

stop it. When understanding the brain drain, one needs to understand a broader picture of why it happens and what problems it causes this is why specific career and field paths of study are examined.

The third chapter focusses on both the push factors – negative factors that push people to leave their home country, and the pull factors – benefits that attract them to specific countries abroad. This chapter voices how push and pull factors go hand in hand with one another. Crime plays a major theme in this chapter as it remains the most cited reason for emigration and is still not viewed to be under control in South Africa. While crime is a major feature, this chapter also considers other push and pull factors, such as the South African economy, government and political unrest, as well as the driving forces that made one decide to emigrate. It also attempts to connect that those who have a formal education as the ones who were often the most likely to receive skilled visas abroad and ultimately leave the country, thereby contributing to the brain drain. This chapter looks in depth at several push and pull factors to gain a broader understanding of how they can be so detrimental for those deciding to emigrate.

The fourth chapter focusses on the allure that Australia has for South Africans and why it is often such a popular emigration destination. It attempts to understand the waves of popularity and the emigration statistics to Australia from South Africa over the years. It explains how ‘look, see and decide’ visits were often a crucial part before emigration. It then focusses on how Australians perceive South Africans and how they adjust or struggle to fit into their new lives abroad. This chapter also deals with the costs of emigration to Australia – a reminder that it is often only those from wealthier backgrounds who could afford to emigrate. It also mentions the emotional struggles that those who emigrated faced. The final section mentions the South African diaspora that now exists as emigration numbers continue to rise and how this affects how expatriates perceive themselves and their community.

The fifth chapter uses the year 2008 as a case study for push factors and emigration. This chapter focusses on various push factors that happened in South Africa, including: the Eskom electricity crisis, xenophobia, Jacob Zuma becoming the African National Congress president, the global recession and other smaller factors which together made South Africans unhappy in their country and looking for a way out via emigration. Along with these push factors came reports that emigration numbers rose, a development that is studied and broadened in an attempt to understand just how detrimental push factors are to migration. This chapter uses the year

2008 to focus the scope of emigration onto various factors that are often out of one's control but can change one's life dramatically.

This thesis ultimately seeks to explore South African emigration to Australia, encountering how often it happens, why it happens, why people choose to move to Australia, as well as the effects on one's mental state and the wellbeing of the South African state. This thesis explicitly uses South African media as a scope to grasp both facts as well as opinions on emigration, as well as showing how often emigration statistics deviated.

Methodology

The primary resource used throughout this thesis was South African media, with a particular focus on South African newspapers. This thesis used qualitative methods of newspapers and secondary literature to gain an in-depth insight as well as to contextualise emigration from a South African context. This thesis used quantitative methods to identify patterns and define an argument about emigration waves. While both qualitative and quantitative methods were used, this thesis used more qualitative methods to understand emigration in South Africa, including how it is perceived. It used quantitative methods to make the reader understand just how detrimental emigration can be and what affects it.

This thesis was based on existing data, which was sourced by using the online database SA Media, to look through South African newspapers. The search looked for articles from 1976 to 2010 in order to get a more extensive study. An obstacle occurred as SA Media has only captured newspaper articles from 1978 onwards; however, secondary literature was able to fill the two-year gap between 1976 to 1978. Searching through SA Media, the two key phrases used were 'emigration' and 'Australia'. During the beforementioned time period, this provided over 1,600 relevant articles, of which 1,200 were studied. However, approximately only 700 of these fit into the criteria of the field being studied and were of use for this thesis. The newspapers found were predominantly English but some Afrikaans newspapers were also studied. However, not many of the few Afrikaans newspapers on SA Media contained viable content on the topic of emigration to Australia. Most quantitative facts came from either newspapers, government statistics or from secondary literature, which was more of an aid. Government statistics included both those from Statistics South Africa (previously Central Statistics Service) and those from the Australian government. However, as South Africans still remain a small immigrant population group in Australia, not much has been studied about their emigration figures or how well they adjust to their new lives abroad. This fills another gap in

the literature, as Australians do not view the South African immigrant population large enough to study. This is due to having such a broad and vast immigrant population within their country, of which South Africans are seen as a small minority.

From these 700 media articles, the articles were then categorised by year, as this thesis chose to discuss emigration in chronological order. From this, the most popular topics were chosen to be chapters or were mentioned as sub-sections, for example, crime is often mentioned as a reason for emigration and therefore received its own sub-section in the push and pull factors chapter.

There is a lack of archival sources in this thesis as emigration is still seen to be a more recent, modern development that is yet to be reflected in accessible archives. While all post-apartheid presidents have made statements about emigration and the brain drain, it is yet to become an issue in parliamentary debates. The use of newspapers can often lead to subjective interviews or polls that may not always capture the overall correct milieu throughout South Africa, but at least show that there was an awareness to emigration and that it did affect the South Africans who were interviewed or polled either negatively or positively. There is very little written about South African emigration to Australia. As this topic, therefore, has very little archival research, the use of South African newspapers and government statistics are the primary sources. While some secondary literature may make mention of it, it is not their primary focus or is as in-depth.

Through the use of newspapers and secondary literature, this thesis was able to fill the gaps of South African emigration to Australia, – a popular topic which has not yet been fully researched. The researched literature nevertheless made it possible to establish how and why people migrate to Australia, what the appeal is, and what the deciding factors are before they leave. It also looks at how emigration is viewed by those who are left behind and whether emigration to Australia is something South Africans need to be concerned about in the near future. Secondary literature from South Africa that mentions emigration figures, often makes use of South African newspapers for a broader understanding of the topic and emigration figures. As this topic remains a small feature in secondary literature, this is the first thesis to focus solely on South African emigration, specifically to Australia between 1976 and 2008.

While this thesis uses newspaper articles which can be seen as subjective, it tries to remain objective. Rather than understanding individual emotions, it aims to try and grasp the statistics and understand how the country was affected by emigration, rather than just solely focusing on how the individual was affected.

Literature Review

As previously stated, this thesis uses South African newspapers to get a broader understanding of how the media reported emigration from 1976 to 2008. A wide variety of newspapers was studied, including: *The Star*, *The Cape Times and Cape Argus*, *Business Day* and *The Citizen* to name but a select few. The use of media gives both objective views on statistics, while also giving personal views of those who choose to leave as well as those who get left behind. This thesis also uses government statistics from both Statistics South Africa and the Australia Bureau of Statistics as primary sources. It then uses secondary literature to further understand how emigration to Australia affected South Africans.

Johann van Rooyen's book from 2000, titled: *The New Great Trek: The story of South Africa's white Exodus*, was useful in finding main themes and topics for this thesis as van Rooyen touched on a wide variety of emigration topics. Like this thesis, van Rooyen also used South African media to broaden his understanding, which in turn was able to broaden the work in this thesis as one could often double-check the original source he used. Van Rooyen's book mainly focused on an overall emigration and exodus of white South Africans, choosing to focus on the five main countries for South Africans to emigrate to (of which Australia was one), and why people leave – all things mentioned in this thesis. However, van Rooyen's work only covers the period until 2000 and has not been updated since then, allowing for a gap in information from 2000 to 2008. This thesis also focusses solely on emigration to Australia, which van Rooyen has not done. While van Rooyen's book was useful in planning chapters, his writing is used more as a framework for this thesis as it provides the necessary background but lacks in-depth analysis.

R.W. Johnson's three chapters titled 'Things fall apart', 'Democratic Renewal or Failed Colonization?' and 'Denouement', in his book *South Africa's Brave New World*, were extremely helpful when attempting to understand what happened in South Africa in 2008, as the main focus of chapter five in this thesis is: 2008: a case study for emigration. The year 2008 served as a case study to understand the emigration push factors that made many South Africans want to emigrate because this year had reportedly higher emigration numbers than usual. Johnson's chapters uncovered the nature of the decline in South Africa, looking from the early 2000s while emphasising the events around 2008. While Johnson does mention why South Africa was on a decline, he does not study how this affected emigration. His study rather paid attention to how certain job fields had more losses than usual due to certain incidents. His

findings were used to explain how the cumulative push factors found in 2008 were able to ultimately affect emigration, emphasising just how important push factors are when one decides to emigrate.

The journal article, 'Packing for Perth: The Growth of a Southern African Diaspora' written by Eric Louw and Gary Mersham in 2001, was helpful in trying to understand and explain how vast the South African diaspora is and what makes it a diaspora. The article researched why there is a diaspora. It also included the waves of emigration, as well as the motivation for leaving, which is examined in this thesis. In turn, this thesis argues how emigration is a newer term whereas previously emigration was viewed more as colonisation. However, it is now the wealthier individuals who choose to leave and assimilate into a new country, rather than attempt to repopulate it. However, as this article was published in 2001, it also leaves a gap in the literature from 2001 to 2008, something which this thesis covers.

Fred de Vries' Afrikaans contemporary novel, *Rigting bedonnered: op die spoor van die Afrikaner post-94*, ('The Great Trek: Afrikaner immigrants post-94'), published in 2012, gives contemporary views of his Afrikaans friends and acquaintances who have moved to Australia as de Vries interviews them in order to comprehend why they left. While his work is on a dramatised rather than academic note, it is notable that novels about South African emigration to Australia are finding their way out into the everyday world – even though this reaches a small target market being written in Afrikaans. His work is based more on interviews and testimonials rather than on facts; however, it provides a new outlook onto more than just statistics and academic books and articles.

The journal article by Wessel Visser, titled: 'Afrikaner responses to post-apartheid South Africa: Diaspora and the re-negotiation of a cultural identity', helped in chapter four to understand how the Afrikaner diaspora is continuing to grow due to emigration. This article uncovers how Afrikaner emigration increased post-1994 due to various push factors and the responses this has led to, including name-calling. This article did not focus on the broader South African population and also did not show the various emigration statistics over the years; it rather focusses on how Afrikaners are adapting to their new homes abroad, thus creating a gap in the literature on the broader South African emigration statistics to Australia. However, this article does show that Afrikaans emigration is on the rise; something this thesis will reiterate.

Problem Statement

This thesis examines South African newspapers to uncover what the general zeitgeist towards South African emigration was between 1976 to 2008. Ultimately, it attempts to understand why emigration happened, what effects it had on both those who left and those who remained in South Africa, and why emigration is so detrimental to the overall wellbeing of South Africa. It attempts to illustrate whether the South African government statistics that were provided corresponded with what was shown by the South African media and the Australian government. This thesis looks at the waves of South Africans emigrating, how this complements the global phenomenon of the brain drain, and how the brain drain often happens because of various push and pull factors. It further attempts to understand why Australia is one of the top destinations for educated South Africans to move to.

South African emigration is either often brushed under the rug as a middle- to upper-class problem that has no real effect at the grassroots level or is so overly exaggerated to the point that some no longer have hope for the future of South Africa. This thesis seeks to understand how many South Africans have emigrated, at what time in South African history they chose to emigrate, and what may have been some of the driving factors for one to emigrate. Once the waves of emigration have been understood and uncovered, a further understanding of the global phenomenon, the brain drain, is studied. The brain drain occurs due to globalisation. Its effects on South Africa is studied, as well as why South Africans are so commonly a part of this phenomenon. This thesis then attempts to understand what drives people to be a part of this brain drain, and what makes them choose Australia as their new home country. Finally, it attempts to understand why 2008 was such a detrimental year to South African history and emigration records.

Chapter One: Overview of emigration from South Africa from 1976-2007

This chapter discusses pivotal political, economic and social events that prompted each emigration wave in South Africa and how the transition and unrest in the country boosted emigration numbers. It then looks at emigration statistics and whether the people emigrating were leaving due to opportunities or running away from the ever-changing political sphere in South Africa, or perhaps emigrating for both reasons. This chapter's primary focus is on how South African political events affected the emigration numbers to Australia. There are four main waves of emigration that have already happened in South Africa, these being: the Nationalist Wave (1948-1960), the Sharpeville Wave (1961-1975), the Soweto Wave (1976-1983), and the Rubicon Wave (1984-1994).¹ This thesis will look from the beginning of the Soweto Wave (1976), and includes the Post-apartheid Wave (1995-2003), the Homecoming Wave (2004-2007) and the final chapter ends touching on the global financial crisis (2008) which led to both local and worldwide economic convulsions.

The Nationalist and Sharpeville waves are not covered in this thesis as there is limited information on emigration from this period. Moreover, the 'golden years' of apartheid during the 1960s, were armed with an average economic growth rate of 6 percent, and all black-run political parties were oppressed, leaving many educated white South Africans with little reason to leave South Africa. From 1959 to 1982, approximately 31,000 South Africans settled in Australia, with more than half of these figures happening after 1976, this makes Australia the country of choice when emigrating in the 1980s.² It is therefore worthwhile for this thesis to look at figures after 1976, as this was when most of the emigration to Australia took place. Prior to this period, the emigration trend had not gained enough momentum.

1.1. 1976-1983: The Soweto Wave

This chapter will start with the Soweto Wave in 1976. The Soweto Uprising, which took place on 16 June 1976, set off mass emigration. The Soweto Uprising was supposed to be a peaceful march of 15,000 to 20,000 black South African schoolchildren protesting against the use of Afrikaans in schools, the police, however, opened fire on this nonviolent march, killing and injuring many unarmed students.³ The action to open fire on students led to not only more local unrest and protest but became an international outcry, issuing in economic sanctions. The death

¹ *The Daily News*, 07 August 1995, p. 6.

² *The Citizen*, 31 October 1994, p. 15.

³ S. Dubow: *Apartheid, 1948-1994*, p. 180.

of Steve Biko in September 1977, while he was held in detention, only spurred this movement on as police brutality became questioned.⁴ Finally, in 1978, South African Prime Minister B.J. Vorster was succeeded by Defence Minister P.W. Botha, bringing in a new reign to the apartheid system.⁵

It is reported that the 1976 Soweto Uprising, which took police and military approximately two years to quell the unrest, generated two groups of South African migrants. The first group consisted of black political activists, who faced exile and mainly moved to other African countries like Mozambique, Zambia and Tanzania, while the second group was mainly white, English South Africans, who emigrated to places like Australia.⁶ An estimated 17,000 white South Africans settled in Australia between 1977 and 1984 (the Soweto Wave), suggesting that just over 2,000 South Africans emigrated each year.⁷

With this political change came new reform. From 1977 to 1989, the use of whites in semi-professional occupations, such as: nurses, teachers, technicians and principals, declined from 65 percent of the workforce to 50 percent, with African, Coloured and Indian semi-professionals filling the gap instead.⁸ While one can assume that whites were mainly replaced by their counterparts in reserved 'non-white' areas, this did lead to a loss of white income share by almost 11 percent, perhaps giving a reason for more white South Africans to consider emigrating.⁹ From 1976 to 1977, there was a 93 percent increase of South Africans leaving for Australia when compared to previous years.¹⁰ One can assume that this dramatic increase in numbers of emigration was due to the political unrest and violence that was ongoing within the country during this period.

It is during the Soweto Wave that one sees the beginning spike in numbers of medical doctors leaving South Africa, contributing to the brain drain saga that would only gain more momentum in the later years as emigration numbers increased and Australian immigration visas became harder to attain. The main reasons for medical doctors emigrating was the same that would remain in later years: a large salary difference overseas, a more stable job and more academic

⁴ S. Dubow: *Apartheid, 1948-1994*, pp. 187-188.

⁵ *Ibid.* p. 192.

⁶ E. Louw & G. Mersham: "Packing for Perth: The Growth of a Southern Africa Diaspora." *Asian and Pacific Migration Journal*, (10), (2), (2001), pp. 310-311.

⁷ *Ibid.* p. 311.

⁸ S. Dubow: *Apartheid, 1948-1994*, p. 197.

⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰ *The Star*, 28 October 1977, p. 24.

opportunities.¹¹ However, these South African medical doctors were not made aware of the high influx to Australia, which resulted in many remaining unemployed, or sent to rural areas in Australia, ultimately not helping to further their careers as they had expected.¹² South Africa used this downfall to promote that there was ‘still some green grass around the republic’ as doctors could still get jobs here, an attempt to slow down the large emigration numbers.¹³

In 1978, Australia openly stated that they were allowing black South Africans into the country, as long as their qualifications were recognised in Australia – this meant that only the educated black South Africans were at liberty to move.¹⁴ From 1981, both coloured and black families alike were reported to have started moving to Australia, with examples of a director of the University of the Western Cape and a music teacher, whom both stated they were leaving for freedom and equal opportunities regardless of their skin colours.¹⁵

By the end of 1982, Australia was advised to cut their yearly migrant intake of 130,000 by 15,000 for the upcoming year, due to rising unemployment rates in Australia, which was followed by a national recession at the end of the 1980s.¹⁶ By 1983, emigration to Australia had decreased due to their economic situation, many South Africans were being turned away and told to emigrate to somewhere else. During the early 1980s, South Africa’s political climate had become more stable, making many feel that there was no urgency in emigrating, as there had previously been in 1976. However, this quiet period would not last for long.

1.2. 1984-1994: The Rubicon Wave

Towards the end of 1984, there was national protest against apartheid with support from the political party, the United Democratic Front (UDF). These protests started in Johannesburg and made their way around South Africa, and by July 1985, the South African government had called for a nationwide state of emergency.¹⁷ This period of urban revolt from 1984 to 1986 has been perceived as the most sustained and widespread period of resistance against the white rule in South African history.¹⁸ This led to the use of South African Defence Force (SADF)

¹¹ *The Daily News*, 05 August 1978, p. 2.

¹² *The Rand Daily Mail*, 20 January 1979, p. 2.

¹³ *Ibid.*

¹⁴ *The Daily News*, 15 March 1978, p. 17.

¹⁵ *The Argus*, 11 February 1981, p. 14. & *The Sowetan*, 02 October 1981, p. 13.

¹⁶ *The Cape Times*, 17 December 1982, p. 5.

¹⁷ S. Dubow: *Apartheid, 1948-1994*, p. 211.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*

conscripts in townships as an attempt to stop the ongoing violence and quell any radical ideas.¹⁹ The state of emergency was lifted in September 1985, only to be renewed again in June 1986 throughout the country, leaving many feeling that South Africa was in a civil-war like state.²⁰ The use of white South African soldiers in rural townships led to higher numbers of emigration, as many white families avoided conscription. Because of this, many were either viewed as ‘racist whites’ for leaving their country during a time of impending change or accused of doing the ‘chicken run’ as they avoided any political confrontation or a potential racial civil war. While those who were deciding to emigrate, came to view themselves as ‘sitting on a volcano’ with no other choice but to leave.²¹

In August 1985, Prime Minister Botha gave his infamous ‘Rubicon’ speech. While many believed this would be the speech that would begin political change within South Africa, this was the complete opposite as Botha reinstated that apartheid South Africa would still not follow a one-man-one-vote system and that he would not consider releasing Nelson Mandela from prison, as suggested by the United States government.²² After the Rubicon speech, anti-apartheid activism grew, and so did international sanctions. Many international companies, such as IBM, General Motors and Coca-Cola, withdrew their investments in South Africa, which led to the economy becoming stagnant and many losing their jobs, again resulting in high emigration rates.²³

It was after the Rubicon speech that the previously stagnated emigration rates, which had dropped by 25 percent, were now reaching an all-time new high due to the political unrest, including the state of emergency, as well as the citizenship act which now forced white immigrants to join the SADF.²⁴ By late September 1985, following the Rubicon speech, applications to emigrate to Australia had risen by 800 percent, with 70 percent of Cape Town’s applicants being ‘non-whites.’²⁵ By late 1985, almost 3,000 South Africans were emigrating monthly to various countries, with approximately 2,000 South Africans going to Australia per a year.²⁶ Contradicting this statement is the official Central Statistics Services (CSS, later becoming StatsSA) which stated that only approximately 900 South Africans were moving

¹⁹ S. Dubow: *Apartheid, 1948-1994*, p. 213.

²⁰ *Ibid.* p. 240.

²¹ *Die Vaderland*, 17 March 1984, p. 3.

²² S. Dubow: *Apartheid, 1948-1994*, p. 221.

²³ *Ibid.* p. 223.

²⁴ *The Sunday Star*, 11 August 1985, p. 3.

²⁵ *The Star*, 23 September 1985, p. 5.

²⁶ *The Citizen*, 20 December 1985, p. 13, & *The Natal Mercury*, 28 November 1985, p. 7.

abroad each month during 1985, which showed no increase from 1984.²⁷ On the contrary, what did drop was South Africa's immigration numbers – by an almost 50 percent drop, which showed how the political condition of the country was affecting how those internationally began to view South Africa.²⁸ With an estimated 40 people leaving South Africa a day, the emphasis of the brain drain only grew stronger as educated individuals left for countries with more stable politics and economic opportunities.²⁹ When comparing statistics in April 1985 to those in April 1986, the emigrant figures almost doubled for those choosing to emigrate to Australia, showing just how much political disruptions affected emigration rates during the apartheid era.³⁰

With the prevailing sanctions, the South African economy was not the only area affected, as the Australian consulate threatened to withdraw their consulate facilities from South Africa, thereby making it impossible for those planning to emigrate to apply for the appropriate documentation within South Africa.³¹ This threat did not come into effect before apartheid ended, but shows the extremity some countries were willing to go to in the name of sanctions. By 1988, Australia replaced the popular United Kingdom as the number one country for South Africans to emigrate to, however, Australia also had the highest return rate of émigrés.³² Suggesting that those who did emigrate to Australia were not always happy in their new-found home and often came back once political unrest in South Africa had subdued. By 1986, a reported 37,000 South Africans were living in Australia.³³

In January 1989, P.W. Botha suffered his second stroke, despite wanting to cling to the presidency, F.W. de Klerk took over his role as the new South African Prime Minister.³⁴ With the collapse of Communism and the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989, there was no longer a 'red threat' facing South Africa, SADF troops were withdrawn from Angola and Namibia, putting an end to almost 25 years of white conscription for the Border War.³⁵ From 1989, emigration numbers declined, due to the cooling political climate that De Klerk brought with him. Many

²⁷ *The Star*, 31 January 1986, p. 7.

²⁸ *Ibid.*

²⁹ *Evening Post*, 30 June 1986, p. 10.

³⁰ *Financial Mail*, 12 July 1986, p. 59.

³¹ *The Sunday Star*, 10 August 1986, p. 6.

³² *The Star*, 01 August 1988, p. 2. & *The Argus*, 24 May 1988, p. 1.

³³ E. Louw & G. Mersham: "Packing for Perth: The Growth of a Southern Africa Diaspora." *Asian and Pacific Migration Journal*, (10), (2), (2001), p. 311.

³⁴ S. Dubow: *Apartheid, 1948-1994*, p. 262.

³⁵ *Ibid.* p. 264.

saw the democratic change that was coming as a step forward, and those who were emigrating in this period were considered to be abandoning their country in a time of need.

On February 1990, de Klerk announced the unbanning of all political organisations, including the African National Congress (ANC) and the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC), the release of political prisoners, such as Nelson Mandela, as well as his commitment to creating a new democratic constitutional order.³⁶ The Convention for a Democratic South Africa (CODESA) began in 1991. However, this did not lead to a smooth transition from apartheid to democracy. Due to the ongoing change within the country and the instability of what would happen next with the new government, emigration numbers rose again from 1992 onwards. This brought upon the ‘look, see and decide’ (LSD) trips, in which South Africans would go overseas and look at prospective countries they would consider emigrating to, before officially applying to emigrate, some even left for these trips with only a one-way ticket.³⁷ It was believed that the ‘chicken run’ was becoming more like a stampede, with each massacre, protest or incident of political madness triggering a new source of inquiry to move abroad.³⁸ During this massive democratic change, one could only imagine how many people were going abroad to look, emigrate or just never come back to South Africa.

From 1992, emigration rates began to rise again after an almost five-year cooling-off period. This could be due to the uncertainty of how a democratic and black-run government could change South Africa. After the death of Chris Hani in April 1993, there was an overall 15 percent increase in applications to emigrate from South Africa.³⁹ This is another example of how political strife can cause a big impact on emigration. Between July 1992 and June 1993, 984 Australian emigration visas were given to South Africans, with the Australian embassy believing that within the following year they would give out more than 1,500 emigration visas.⁴⁰

The world watched with bated breath as democracy followed in 1994, with Nelson Mandela becoming the first black South African president. Internationally, many were sceptical of a possible civil war breaking out due to such a dramatic change in political power. However, the change to democracy was considerably peaceful. In 1994, official emigration yearly figures sat

³⁶ S. Dubow: *Apartheid, 1948-1994*, p. 265.

³⁷ *Weekend Argus*, 15 January 1994, p. 7.

³⁸ *The Argus*, 20 April 1994, p. 5.

³⁹ *Die Volksblad*, 30 July 1993, p. 15.

⁴⁰ *Die Beeld*, 31 December 1993, p. 5.

at 10,235 in total, however, it is known that these figures can be under-exaggerated, as those who left, did not always declare it, 1994 was one of the years with the highest emigration figures in South Africa at this point.⁴¹

1.3. 1995-2003: Post-apartheid Wave

After the stability that followed 1994, emigrants found new reasons to move overseas, the main ones being the increase of crime and financial reasons, which sent them seeking for such as the opportunity to earn better salaries. In 1995, there was a slight increase in emigrants coming back to South Africa, as the apartheid political unrest came to a halt, and the new South African government called for the educated to return home to help rebuild the new democratic South Africa. This also meant that those who had previously been exiled because of apartheid could now return. With the end of the apartheid era, began the reconciliation era with the formation of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC), which was set to unearth the secrets of apartheid and bring clarity to those who suffered. While South Africa has about 3.1 percent average real economic growth per an annum, it was mainly jobless growth during this post-apartheid period, forming what would later become an unemployment crisis.⁴²

From 1995, laws started changing, introducing affirmative action (AA) and Black Economic Empowerment (BEE) as a new company requirement when hiring and promoting staff – this imposes that companies need to hire from a previously disadvantaged group (black, coloured or Indian) before considering hiring a white employee and that a certain percentage of the staff of a business have to be black-owned. This saw a decline in people of colour emigrating. AA came at a high political cost, as companies soon started to show a preference for Africans over coloureds, Indians and whites – with 75 percent of jobs going to black South Africans, many international studies began to show how AA was lowering South Africa's economic efficiency.⁴³ By bringing in these new staff quotas, many businesses became fixated on trying to reach their transformation targets with little regard for skills shortages and other binding constraints.⁴⁴ This led to deterred direct investments, restricted growth and the limited

⁴¹ *The Star*, 14 October 1999, p. 7.

⁴² A. Butler: *Contemporary South Africa*, p. 56.

⁴³ R. W. Johnson: *South Africa's Brave New World: The beloved country since the end of apartheid*, pp. 110-111.

⁴⁴ E. T. Gomez & R. R. Premdas: *Affirmative action, ethnicity and conflict*, p. 127.

generation of new jobs; it also had little impact on the unskilled and impoverished black South Africans, who remained in the same job positions years after apartheid has ended.⁴⁵

When AA came into action, only 1.5 percent of the black South African population held a tertiary qualification, meaning the act overlooked the fact that South Africa had a general skills shortage.⁴⁶ The act attempted to prohibit any unfair racial discrimination, by ensuring that all races, genders and disabilities are equitably represented in the workplace.⁴⁷ With many businesses trying to reach their AA quota, many skilled and experienced workers were replaced by those with less experience, and sometimes without qualifications because of their skin colour. South African white males were now often excluded from seniority positions, even if no suitable candidate could be found, while companies were willing to pay up to 20 percent more to get a qualified black South African to fill the role.⁴⁸ Larger companies who did not meet this requirement, were often fined for non-compliance and could be fined for up to 10 percent of their turnover, which many had warned may push companies into bankruptcy.⁴⁹ Affirmative action remains a theme throughout this thesis as it was a significant push factor for emigration, mainly for white males and their families.

Affirmative action has not only been used in job criteria but also in university admissions. Applicants from disadvantaged backgrounds were allowed to receive poorer marks for top courses, an example of this is: the University of Cape Town Medical School allowing black and coloured students to gain admission with a minimum of three B's and three C's, while white and Indian students required a minimum of five A's and one B to gain entrance to the same course.⁵⁰ This also brought in the 'sunset clause' package, which gave many white heads of companies the opportunity to work for another five years before retiring with a comfortable settlement package after which their position was replaced with a person of colour.

During apartheid, emigration was always seen as a 'disease unique to white English-speaking South Africans' and did not tend to affect the Afrikaner hegemony over South Africa.⁵¹ In 1996, a rise began in the number of Afrikaner families who were now wanting to emigrate. Afrikaners now made up to 50 percent of the applications to move abroad, while white, English

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

⁴⁶ E. T. Gomez & R. R. Premdas: *Affirmative action, ethnicity and conflict*, pp. 128-129.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.* p. 129.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.* p. 130, 132.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.* p. 133.

⁵⁰ R. W. Johnson: *South Africa's Brave New World: The beloved country since the end of apartheid*, p. 607.

⁵¹ J. van Rooyen: *The New Great Trek: The story of South Africa's white exodus*, p. 115.

speakers only made up about 15 to 20 percent of the overall figures.⁵² A surprising turn of events as emigration figures turned on their heads, as many still believed emigration to be a predominantly English-speaking trait, with Afrikaners dribbling in.⁵³

In the previous waves, many rushed to emigrate from South Africa due to the political climate, but after the end of apartheid, the rush died down, people were a bit more willing to wait for a prolonged period of time before emigrating. This brought in a number of emigration companies into South Africa to assist with the tedious process. Companies such as *Australian Opportunities* and *Oztrade* were used to assist families in moving abroad. When paid an upfront fee of R10,000, the company would sort out the families' administration work, such as taxes and income statements, as well as applications for their visas. They would attempt to fast track their emigration application, and get them in contact with overseas companies in their career field to help with potential job interviews.⁵⁴ However, Australia dropped their emigration numbers in 1996 again, cutting their annual intake by 10 percent, to 74,000 to ease their ongoing unemployment and also introduced a pool system for incoming emigrants.⁵⁵ This left many out of the loop, as many South Africans who had planned to go to Australia were now rejected or had to wait even longer to emigrate despite having already paid a large fee. These potential émigrés started to blame the emigration companies that they chose to assist them instead of the Australian government who had changed the emigration selection.

Another problem faced by these emigration companies, was that those who applied or were interested in applying did not always meet the criteria to move overseas. While the Director of *Global Visas* reported that 60 percent of enquiries were from black South Africans, the majority of them had an average income with a low to medium skill base.⁵⁶ It is worth noting that like most developed countries, Australia wanted immigrants to have a formal education that would assist their economy. While emigration is seen as an English and Afrikaner characteristic, it is reported that most notably, many black school teachers have been targeted.⁵⁷ Australia's dwindling immigration numbers led to them only accepting the best of the best that South Africa had to offer, and therefore only aggravated the brain drain in South Africa. This again

⁵² *The Sunday Independent*, 31 March 1996, p. 1.

⁵³ *The Cape Times*, 07 August 1997, p. 8.

⁵⁴ *The Star*, 09 July 1996, p. 11.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*

⁵⁶ *Business Day*, 14 June 2001, p. 3.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*

acts as a reminder that emigration is usually for the educated and wealthy, therefore those who emigrated to Australia during this period were predominantly white South Africans.

While emigration seminars had previously taken place, by 1997 these seminars were happening more frequently around South Africa, if not weekly. The seminars were intended to help those who were considering emigrating to finalise their papers and prepare themselves for the next few months, the seminars walked potential émigrés step-by-step through the application process, informing those considering emigration to start getting their affairs in order before applying to emigrate.⁵⁸ These seminars provided South Africans with information about the sectors most likely to provide employment, the best areas to live in, average costs, and what to expect once in Australia.

In 1996, the main reasons for emigration were: crime (which would remain the most cited reason for over the next 10 years), declining education and medical standards, affirmative action enforcing poor job prospects for skilled white workers and the declining rand and rise of interest rates, which started to lower the quality of life in South Africa.⁵⁹ In the six-year period from 1994 to 2000, approximately 150,000 South Africans were criminally murdered, this includes those who were attacked and suffered from robbing, abduction, rape and torture.⁶⁰ This amounted to approximately 67 South Africans being killed each day. This does not include the 750,000 violent crimes reported each year, working out to one violent crime every 17 seconds – these violent crimes could be described as car hijackings, house break-ins, attempted murder, assault and, most importantly rape, in which South Africa became the world leader, with one rape happening reportedly every 10 minutes.⁶¹ With these high crime statistics all taking place within the first six years of democracy, it is easy to see why South Africans used crime and violence as the number one reason for leaving their home country. The skyrocketing crime rates even drove police officers to start leaving South Africa, such as the Nelspruit Police Captain leaving in 1999, due to feeling that criminality was now out of control.⁶² As crime was one of the most cited reasons for emigration, one can understand just how much it affected emigration numbers, something that will be spoken about throughout this thesis.

⁵⁸ *Sunday Times*, 26 January 1997, p. 15.

⁵⁹ *Financial Mail*, 25 October 1996, p. 24.

⁶⁰ J. van Rooyen: *The New Great Trek: The story of South Africa's white exodus*, p. 74.

⁶¹ *Ibid.* pp. 74-75.

⁶² *Sunday World*, 20 June 1999, p. 1.

Along with the growing crime rate, the medical facilities were on a sharp decline, as the government refused to pay attention to the growing HIV/AIDS rate, which had skyrocketed from 7.6 percent in 1994 to 14.2 percent in 1996.⁶³ The medical budget in the country was being cut to help pay for the AIDs epidemic, which the country was concealing from the public and the media. This does not even mention how the high death rate affected the South African Gross Domestic Profit (GDP) due to HIV/AIDS affecting those who were economically active.⁶⁴ Due to the high rape rate within South Africa, there were now more AIDS victims than in any other country around the world.⁶⁵ This only made South Africa look even more unwelcoming to those who were leaving. They saw a country infested with crime and disease, believing it was only a matter of time before they became another victim or statistic.

In September 1998, in a national speech, Mandela addressed the ongoing emigration statistics, by stating that those who left South Africa when their country needed them the most, were not loyal and should be seen as ‘cowardly.’⁶⁶ While Mandela’s attack on those emigrating was supposed to halt those considering leaving, this was not the case.

One can also view how Nelson Mandela stepping down as South African President in 1999 and Thabo Mbeki stepping up also affected emigration. Emigration numbers from South Africa went from 9,700 self-declared emigrants in 1996, to 10,079 in 1997, with more than half of these being economically active persons with an estimated average of 900 people leaving the country per a month in 1999.⁶⁷ By 1999, South Africa was feeling the ‘brain drain’ as accountants, information technologists (IT) and entrepreneurs, who received a special emigration visa in order to help Australia’s economy grow, left the country.⁶⁸ From 1989 to 1999 it is estimated that there had been a total of 74,034 émigrés from South Africa and that the years 1994 and 1997 contained the highest number of people emigrating.⁶⁹ The only considerable way to end the high emigration rates and stop the brain drain was to drop the crime rate, make the rand firmer and create better job opportunities for everyone in South Africa – not an easy feat for a country just entering its newfound democracy.⁷⁰

⁶³ R. W. Johnson: *South Africa’s Brave New World: The beloved country since the end of apartheid*, p. 183.

⁶⁴ A. Butler: *Contemporary South Africa*, p. 81.

⁶⁵ R. W. Johnson: *South Africa’s Brave New World: The beloved country since the end of apartheid*, p. 185.

⁶⁶ *The Independent on Saturday*, 10 October 1998, p. 7.

⁶⁷ *Eastern Province Herald*, 04 January 1999, p. 4.

⁶⁸ *The Star*, 05 February 1999, p. 5.

⁶⁹ *The Daily News*, 14 October 1999, p. 3.

⁷⁰ *Business Day*, 14 June 2001, p. 13.

By 1999, many were now realising that, due to affirmative action, even white youths could no longer get work in their specialised fields. This created what many deemed a ‘new generation of racism,’ a problem South Africa would still be facing another 20 years later.⁷¹ This meant that if white South Africans struggled to find jobs in their chosen fields because of their skin colour, they were more likely to emigrate to another country rather than remaining unemployed in South Africa.

With the rise of the Information Technology (IT) sector in the workplace, the brain drain began to reach new heights for South Africa, as higher salaries were no longer a good enough reason to stay in a country with high crime rates and a lowering education standard.⁷² The annual emigration of professionals post-1994 was 56 percent higher than that of 1989 to 1994 and affected all lines of careers, including engineering and nursing.⁷³ With 40 percent of newly qualified doctors leaving South Africa for greener pastures, this meant that 500 out of 1,200 newly qualified doctors were expected to leave South Africa each year in the early 2000s.⁷⁴ This also relates to 23,000 newly graduates who were leaving South Africa every year, while this was not always on a permanent basis, as some went abroad to study or to earn a higher income for a year or two before coming back, it was done at a cost to South Africa’s economy.⁷⁵ One of the most prominent features of post-apartheid is the unprecedented levels of unemployment and disengagement of young people from economic activity.⁷⁶ The unemployment rate in 1995 sat at 17 percent, and grew to 28 percent by 2003, only deepening the inequality felt in South Africa.⁷⁷ It is believed that between 1991 and 2001, approximately 1,2 million skilled people had left South Africa, some with two or more tertiary degrees.⁷⁸

By 2003, there was a drop in emigration to Australia, as Australia changed their business and temporary visa regulations and suffered a drop in job vacancies.⁷⁹ In 2001 and 2002 there was an 11 percent emigration drop in South Africa, and many were led to believe that the ‘emigration tide’ had broken.⁸⁰ While the tide of leaving had broken, the number of expatriates returning to South Africa was on the rise, as the economy and political sphere stabilised. A

⁷¹ *The Sunday Independent*, 12 December 1994, p. 1.

⁷² *Business Day*, 28 January 1999, p. 8.

⁷³ *Ibid.* 27 August 1999, p. 13.

⁷⁴ *The Citizen*, 12 July 2001, p. 3.

⁷⁵ *Business Day*, 03 August 2001, p. 14.

⁷⁶ S. Moon: *The political economy of state-making in post-apartheid South Africa*, p. 100.

⁷⁷ A. Butler: *Contemporary South Africa*, p. 87.

⁷⁸ *The Citizen*, 04 September 2001, p. 4.

⁷⁹ *Sunday Independent*, 09 March 2003, p. 5.

⁸⁰ *The Citizen*, 16 May 2003, p. 10.

strong rand and stabilising crime rate led to a healthy return of émigrés, as many had lost their initial fears towards a black-run government.⁸¹ However, in 2003, 16,165 South Africans still managed to emigrate, a 48 percent increase in 2002 figures, with 3,248 of these émigrés moving to Australia.⁸²

1.4. 2004-2007: Homecoming Wave

The homecoming period was one of stability in South Africa. The economy and emigration numbers stabilised as more emigrants returned home to a more secure South Africa. Many ads, websites and articles were created to target those who had moved abroad, in an attempt to get these emigrants to return home. The homecoming wave was metaphorically known as the ‘Flight of the Flamingos’ as it followed the routine of flamingos: which leave when their brackish pan or lagoon empties but slowly return at a later stage once the lagoon is full again.⁸³ Implying that when a brackish pan is replenished, the flamingos will return is a metaphor used to describe South African emigrants slowly returning to South Africa as the ‘brackish pan’ (economy) becomes replenished.

The Homecoming Revolution was a non-profit organisation website founded in 2003, by Angel Jones, an emigrant who had returned to South Africa after emigrating to the United Kingdom. The website acted as a one-stop platform for African diaspora repatriation. Its work would later be praised by President Mbeki in his state of the nation address in 2004.⁸⁴ It would then later become an online enterprise to assist émigré customers with relocation and housing fees when returning to South Africa.⁸⁵ It currently assists émigrés by acting as an executive recruiter, an attempt to end the African brain drain and help those who return home to jobs, while also holding bespoke events across the globe.⁸⁶ When first launched, the *Homecoming Revolution* website generated more than 260,000 hits a month from expatriates.⁸⁷ Reportedly 8,000 expatriates had made inquiries with the *Homecoming Revolution* about returning to South

⁸¹ *This Day*, 14 November 2003, p. 3.

⁸² *Sunday Argus*, 27 November 2005, p. 3.

⁸³ *The Star*, 29 January 2004, p. 99.

⁸⁴ <http://homecomingrevolution.com/how-we-began/> (Date accessed: 21 May 2019).

⁸⁵ M. J. Andrucki: “Wish you were here: bodies, diaspora strategy and the politics of propinquity in post-apartheid South Africa.” *The Geographical Journal*, (183), (1), (2017), p. 47.

⁸⁶ <http://homecomingrevolution.com/how-we-began/> (Date accessed: 21 May 2019).

⁸⁷ *City Press*, 25 April 2004, p. 5.

Africa within its first two years of existence, and by 2005 they believed that for every person leaving South Africa, there was one returning.⁸⁸

Along with this, in 2003, a Come Home Campaign was launched by the Solidarity and Company for the Immigration Trade Union, in an attempt to create a support system for expatriates wanting to return home; they also wanted to create more favourable conditions to keep people in the country and to point out common misconceptions about life abroad.⁸⁹ By 2006, the Come Home Campaign, now managed by Afriforum, had assisted over 1,000 expatriates to return to the country, and during this time answered many questions from those looking to return, estimating that there were still at least another 3,000 émigrés looking to return to South Africa.⁹⁰ Along with these two campaigns, in 2007, a web-based survey was launched, titled: ‘Where in the World Are You?’ This was an attempt to cover the gaps in South African statistics (StatsSA) by finding out when people left, how many left and their reasons for leaving.⁹¹ However, not much came from this survey and the website no longer exists.

Following the crime rates reported in 1996, eleven years later, the murder rate had declined while the robbery rate had increased from 123,000 in 1996 to 198,000 robberies in 2007.⁹² Crime remained one of the major reasons for emigration, but the job market and affirmative action were fast becoming a reason for leaving the country, as more and more graduates were excluded from jobs that they should have been eligible to apply for.⁹³ Half of *Deloitte’s* (an accounting firm) emigrating executives cited better job opportunities abroad as their main reason for leaving, followed by crime and failing education standards.⁹⁴ Along with these, new reasons started to replace the old fears of South Africa; instead, people now wanted to leave because of dissatisfaction with the cost of living, the level of taxation and the poor standard of public services within South Africa.⁹⁵

In 2004, South Africa was awarded the opportunity to stage the 2010 FIFA World Cup which cemented hope in President Mbeki.⁹⁶ This served as a reminder to the 1995 Rugby World Cup, in which a newly democratic South Africa stood together as one ‘rainbow nation’ and took the

⁸⁸ *Weekend Post*, 26 November 2005, p. 11.

⁸⁹ *The Citizen*, 12 March 2004, p. 6.

⁹⁰ *The Natal Witness*, 15 May 2006, p. 2. & *Financial Mail*, 25 August 2006, p. 48.

⁹¹ *The Citizen*, 31 May 2007, p. 34.

⁹² R. W. Johnson: *South Africa’s Brave New World: The beloved country since the end of apartheid*, p. 446.

⁹³ *City Press*, 25 April 2004, p. 5.

⁹⁴ *Financial Mail*, 25 August 2006, p. 48.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.* 29 September 2006, p. 62.

⁹⁶ A. Butler: *Contemporary South Africa*, p. 2.

winning Rugby Cup home. Many hoped the 2010 FIFA World Cup would bring about the same sense of reunion and belonging as seen in 1995 and this brought optimism for many to stay in South Africa and see. However, others saw this as a waste of infrastructure and money that could rather be focussed on closing the poverty gap and halting crime in South Africa. With 21,000 murders and 53,000 reported rapes a year in 2007, many believed that assault and rape had become the new national sports over rugby and soccer and that the FIFA World Cup was a guise to help people forget what was really happening on the streets in South Africa.⁹⁷

The masses that used to attend the emigration seminars that took place every month, had dwindled from 200 to approximately 40 people a month in 2005, with black South Africans making up for more than a quarter of attendees.⁹⁸ In the mid-1990s, on average for every ten household containers shipped abroad, there would be fewer than two containers coming in, by 2005, this number had changed to seven containers coming back into the country for every ten leaving, with 70 percent of these returning containers belonging to expatriates.⁹⁹

As of 2004, the government stopped collecting statistics of emigration figures in accordance to the Immigration Act (Act No. 13) of 2002, making it more difficult to track emigration figures, making them even more unreliable.¹⁰⁰ By 2005, over 27 percent of all public health service jobs were vacant, and studies found that over 70 percent of fifth-year medical students were considering emigrating due to poor salaries and the compulsory community service enforced by the South African government.¹⁰¹ By 2007, more than 230,000 South African health professionals were working abroad while South Africa was short about a third of the medical staff that was actually needed for the country's demographics.¹⁰² By 2006, there were 40,000 vacant posts at administrative levels in the national government alone, mainly due to affirmative action, leaving those in charge of hiring with a non-existent pool of qualified candidates.¹⁰³ It was reported that many of South Africa's final year university students were patriotic but restless, they remained optimistic about the country's future but less so about their own professional advancement if they were to remain.¹⁰⁴ Research showed that up to 40 percent

⁹⁷ *Sunday Tribune*, 09 December 2007, p. 44.

⁹⁸ *Daily News*, 01 June 2005, p. 9.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁰ D. Kaplan, D. & T. Höppoli. "The South African brain drain: An empirical assessment." *Development Southern Africa*, (34), (5), (2017), p. 498.

¹⁰¹ R. W. Johnson: *South Africa's Brave New World: The beloved country since the end of apartheid*, p. 463.

¹⁰² *Sunday Times*, 25 February 2007, p. 13.

¹⁰³ R. W. Johnson: *South Africa's Brave New World: The beloved country since the end of apartheid*, p. 607.

¹⁰⁴ *Mail and Guardian*, 09 November 2006, p. 10.

of final-year university students were considering emigrating, only furthering the brain drain crisis for South Africa.¹⁰⁵

By 2006, the concept of the ‘missing million’ had come to light, when statistics showed that the number of white South Africans had decreased by a million – many unaccounted for, mainly due to lack of consistent emigration records.¹⁰⁶ A report in 2006 showed that where there had reportedly been 200,000 white South African teenagers; by the time they reached the ages of between 25 to 30 years old, this figure had halved, this was mainly due to emigration, as many left the country straight after high school or university.¹⁰⁷ The white population according to the South African Institute of Race Relations was seen to be shrinking as the population downsized from 5,2 million in 1995 to 4,4 million in 2005, a decline of 16,1 percent, with emigration being cited as the main reason for the decline.¹⁰⁸

In 2007 the first big Eskom power-cuts hit South Africa. The electricity company could no longer keep up the power usage needed for the growing democratic South Africa.¹⁰⁹ Eskom scrambled to rehire previously retrenched white employees and attempted to revive old power stations last used during the apartheid years.¹¹⁰ These rolling blackouts would hit an all-time high in 2008, wreaking havoc on the local economy as cities went without power for a minimum of two hours a day, and both investors and South Africans started to withdraw and leave the country. During 2007 there was much uproar; however, not a lot of emigration movement. By 2008 people began to move out of fear as they thought the country was at a point of no return.

In the year 2000, approximately 18 percent of South Africans surveyed by *Die Burger* said they were considering emigration. This figure was broken up into racial groups, with: 22 percent white South Africans wanting to emigrate, 17 percent black South Africans, 12 percent coloured and 26 percent of Indians all wanting to emigrate.¹¹¹ By 2007, these surveyed figures had increased to 41 percent of white South Africans wanting to leave, followed by, 38 percent

¹⁰⁵ *Weekend Argus*, 11 November 2006, p. 5.

¹⁰⁶ R. W. Johnson: *South Africa's Brave New World: The beloved country since the end of apartheid*, p. 114.

¹⁰⁷ *The Citizen*, 06 April 2006, p. 12.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.* 03 October 2006, p. 11.

¹⁰⁹ R. W. Johnson: *South Africa's Brave New World: The beloved country since the end of apartheid*, p. 477.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹¹ *Die Burger*, 26 July 2008, p. 5.

of black South Africans, 42 percent coloured and 30 percent of Indians all wanting to emigrate.¹¹²

In 2007 a report came out using the World Bank's poverty line to understand the level of poverty in South Africa. It is believed that if one earned under US\$1 a day, one was by World Bank definition living in extreme poverty.¹¹³ Using this statement in 1996, 1.9 million South Africans were said to be living in extreme poverty, by 2005, this number had jumped to 4.2 million, showing just how much poverty levels had increased within less than ten years.¹¹⁴

An estimated 5 percent of emigrants who left South Africa before 1994 in an attempt to escape apartheid, conscription, and uncertainty of the political climate, returned in the post-apartheid and homecoming waves, mainly because their expectations of their new host country were not met, they were unable to find work or they missed their friends and family.¹¹⁵ For expatriates living in Australia, it was not unusual for somebody to burst into tears at a dinner party when talking about South Africa, as a feeling of homesickness always remained.¹¹⁶ While many missed their home country, many remained reluctant to come back to a South Africa they no longer knew. On top of this, returning home could be just as expensive as emigrating again, with costs of more than R100,000 just to return, including flights and administration costs to move out of a country.¹¹⁷ During this homecoming period, many people were still emigrating out of the country, but many people were also returning.

1.5. Immigration versus emigration: the statistics

Both emigration and immigration have changed in the recent century, with immigration policies growing more restrictive, as migration becomes viewed as a remedy for labour-market bottlenecks, and as a looming threat for countries during a time of demographic transition (declining mortality and fertility).¹¹⁸ Migrants are beginning to be viewed more as labour rather than integral parts of the societies they join, this is shown in the constant conflict for migrants, refugees and citizens that is continually growing globally.¹¹⁹ While some view emigration as

¹¹² *Ibid.*

¹¹³ A. Butler: *Contemporary South Africa*, p. 84.

¹¹⁴ A. Butler: *Contemporary South Africa*, p. 84.

¹¹⁵ J. van Rooyen: *The New Great Trek: The story of South Africa's white exodus*, pp. 22-23.

¹¹⁶ *Financial Mail*, 04 August 2000, p. 70

¹¹⁷ *Daily Dispatch*, 18 August 2006, p. 10.

¹¹⁸ M. Livi Bacci.: *A Short History of Migration*, p. ix.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.* p. ix-x.

the price a country must pay for their backwardness.¹²⁰ Migration has ultimately become a tool and strategy of globalisation in the modern era, as more workers can move abroad without having to adapt their skills.¹²¹ While richer more affluent countries, with more selective immigration policies, compete for immigrants that are more highly skilled and innovative.¹²² While migration is not a new concept, globalisation and the brain drain have brought about new views and dimensions to migration.

When looking at official and unofficial statistics of those emigrating from South Africa, it is possible to see a huge discrepancy between these figures. The main reason for this is that the South African government's way of finding out who was emigrating, was by relying on those leaving to self-declare emigration, with a simple form that had to be filled out before their flight. This gave them the option to check off whether they were emigrating. A seemingly fool-proof plan except for the hordes of people who did not fill it out before leaving the country for good. Emigration figures tend to be halved by official reports produced by the Central Statistics Service (CSS/StatsSA), as some left on temporary visas and did not return, while others simply did not check off the emigrating box on the beforementioned forms. One should also note that some émigrés left on another passport, with 20 percent of émigrés leaving South Africa on a British passport, and a further 10 percent on another international passport – these people are not seen as emigrants by the Central Statistics Service as they used alternative passports.¹²³

Before 2004, CSS tried to keep track of those immigrating into South Africa and those emigrating out of South Africa. However, after this period it was harder to keep track of the numbers. Importantly, CSS always tried to point out that there were more people immigrating to South Africa than there were people emigrating out of South Africa. However, there were many years during which this was not always true. The year 1978 was one of the first times in 18 years where emigration numbers outnumbered immigration, with 20,688 people leaving South Africa and 18,669 people entering South Africa.¹²⁴ In 1985, there was another sharp drop in immigration as only 15,414 people settled in South Africa, compared to 24,844 in 1984; the same for emigration as 11,401 emigrated in 1985, while only 8,550 emigrated in 1984.¹²⁵ Thus showing that in the apartheid era, immigration and emigration statistics would fluctuate

¹²⁰ *Ibid.* p. viii.

¹²¹ *Ibid.* p. 70.

¹²² *Ibid.* p. 87.

¹²³ *The Daily News*, 16 September 1998, p. 17.

¹²⁴ *Ibid.* 04 December 1979, p. 10.

¹²⁵ *The Star*, 31 January 1986, p. 7. & *The Natal Mercury*, 26 June 1986, p. 4.

whenever there was a political crisis. In the first four months of 1986, 4,760 South Africans emigrated, with 1,262 of them moving to Australia, while South Africa only received 2,603 immigrants in the first four months, putting the country at a population loss.¹²⁶

Within the first five months of 1996, 5,000 South Africans had emigrated, and only 2,000 had arrived in South Africa, showing yet another drop between immigration and emigration rates.¹²⁷ When looked at in a historical context, emigration also exceeded immigration whenever there was any conflict or crisis in the country, ultimately determining the waves of emigration.

South Africans as a group in Australia are only a small fraction of the migrants they receive, making up less than 5 percent of the total Australian population, in reality, more than 25 percent of Australia's total population are actually born outside of Australia.¹²⁸ During the 1950s Australia had a 'populate or perish' philosophy, where they thought high immigration numbers was the only way to aid economic growth.¹²⁹ In 1986 there were reportedly 35,000 South African migrants living in Australia, a figure that would keep growing.¹³⁰ To realise how far emigration numbers had jumped: in 1961 there were around 4,000 South African expatriates in Australia, by 1992 there were 54,000.¹³¹ In a 2005 Australian census it was estimated that approximately 114,000 immigrants in the country were South African.¹³²

As previously mentioned, the only exact way for the CSS to keep track of emigration statistics was by using a simple exit form. By 2003 it was known that only 62.5 percent of South Africans who left the country via the three international airports completed the form – this does not even mention how well they completed the form.¹³³ Throughout the period being studied, this form shows how misconstrued and incorrect both emigration and immigration numbers can be, however, this is the only thing that one has to go on. After 2004 the South African government no longer kept records relating to emigration and therefore emigration figures became even more inaccurate, which will be later shown in the 2008 case study chapter.

¹²⁶ *Financial Mail*, 18 July 1986, p. 59.

¹²⁷ *The Daily News*, 09 September 1996, p. 8.

¹²⁸ *The Citizen*, 18 September 2007, p. 20.

¹²⁹ *The Argus*, 28 June 1983, p. 21.

¹³⁰ *The Star*, 01 May 1986, p. 10.

¹³¹ *The Daily News*, 12 August 1992, p. 9.

¹³² *Financial Mail*, 14 December 2007, p. 31.

¹³³ *The Cape Times*, 17 July 2003, p. 3.

1.6. The ‘chicken’ or ‘opportunity’ run

Many loyal South Africans used to deem those emigrating from the country as doing the ‘chicken run’ – a negative connotation which was made to make those who were leaving sound scared and flighty. This term, used from the 1970s onwards, had many connotations over the years. It was mainly used for those running due to political reasons, for example violence resistance and conscription. Another term used during the late 1980s was ‘Packing For Perth (PFP),’ which was an insult to those who voted for the Progressive Federal Party (PFP), as it was suggested that those who voted for this party were going to emigrate, or those who had already emigrated voted for the PFP. In 1987, *Die Vaderland* newspaper suggested that if one had any emigration questions, one should ask the PFP for help to answer them, as all their supporters emigrate from South Africa.¹³⁴

On the other hand, those emigrating from 2000 and onwards, were seen as doing the ‘opportunity run.’ Although the political climate had cooled, and émigrés acknowledged the positive change in the country that this had brought about. Unfortunately, due to surrounding circumstances, such as affirmative action and crime, they were leaving for better work and the prospect of a better quality of life overseas. While it was deemed the ‘opportunity run’, many emigrants did not realise that what was overseas for them, were not always opportunities, as South Africa was not the only country with citizens emigrating and looking for a better way of life.

Those that left during apartheid, did not believe themselves to be political refugees, but rather they claimed that they left South Africa for better career possibilities or stable politics.¹³⁵ Some preferred to call it ‘relocation’ rather than emigration as they did not want to relinquish their citizenship to South Africa but wanted to experience a new lifestyle.¹³⁶

Many of those who decided to leave South Africa straight after apartheid ended, were seen as racists by patriotic South Africans, as these émigrés were willing to live under the apartheid system but wanted to leave as soon as the government changed.¹³⁷ These émigrés were seen to be hypocrites who no longer enjoyed the blanket of apartheid security.¹³⁸ While this was not always the case, and many left for other reasons, as freedom of movement is a basic human

¹³⁴ *Die Vaderland*, 18 June 1987, p. 5.

¹³⁵ *Sunday Tribune*, 19 July 1987, p. 19.

¹³⁶ *The Cape Times*, 27 November 1996, p. 2.

¹³⁷ *Ibid.* 07 August 1997, p. 8.

¹³⁸ *Eastern Province Herald*, 04 January 1999, p. 4.

right, many locals viewed émigrés as doing the country good for leaving, as their attitudes would not benefit the new democratic South Africa.¹³⁹ These ‘deserters’ were often named the ‘racist rats’ by their fellow South Africans.¹⁴⁰ The debate for emigration was structured as: one side questioning the loyalty and patriotism of those choosing to leave, while the other side was pointing out the socio-political factors within South Africa that were making them leave.¹⁴¹ These emigrants also fell into the pattern of talking badly about South Africa once moving abroad, spreading negative stereotypes and old news, about a country they chose to no longer live in.¹⁴² This only hurt their home country as tourists chose to draw conclusions from what the expatriates would say about South Africa, as they always focussed on the negative aspects in an attempt to justify their move abroad.¹⁴³

By 2004, there was said to be a new breed of chicken runners, now named the scaremongers, who were leaving out of fear due to the changes in South Africa, including the new black-run government, affirmative action, crime and a firm belief that the country was being run into the ground.¹⁴⁴ While many viewed the “grass as being greener on the other side,” South Africa tried its utmost best during the 2000s to remind those leaving that somebody took the time and care to water that grass, and that is why they were needed in their own country.¹⁴⁵

Australia is seen to be an almost cultural copy of South Africa, perhaps without all the publicised racial politics. Both countries were colonised by the British, have similar climates, cultures and hobbies. Unlike that of Britain, a South African is more accustomed to warm weather that only Australia can offer. It is because of this thought that so many South Africans thought they could transition so smoothly. While everything looks similar on the outside, many did not ease into assimilation as easily as one would think. What many did not realise before emigrating, was that by moving to a developed country while the rand was weak, was going from an established life in South Africa to starting your life all over again in Australia – with less money, property, belongings and loved ones.¹⁴⁶ Emigration is more than just acquiring a visa; it is a fundamental life decision.¹⁴⁷ Very few actually realised the psychological toll that

¹³⁹ *The Cape Times*, 07 August 1997, p. 8.

¹⁴⁰ *Eastern Province Herald*, 04 January 1999, p. 4.

¹⁴¹ J. van Rooyen: *The New Great Trek: The story of South Africa's white exodus*, p. 116.

¹⁴² *The Cape Times*, 06 April 1999, p. 1.

¹⁴³ *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁴ *The Star*, 08 September 2004, p. 12.

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁶ *The Citizen*, 13 August 1997, p. 20.

¹⁴⁷ *The Daily News*, 27 September 1985, p. 12.

emigration has on a person, an aspect that is touched on in this thesis. One needs to remember that this brain drain, while seen as a South African phenomenon, was also happening in Australia, as South Africans began to fill Australian jobs when Australians themselves began to emigrate to other developed countries, creating a never-ending merry-go-round.¹⁴⁸

Emigration was always seen as doing the ‘chicken run,’ but those who decided to leave to countries with more prospects, rather viewed it as doing the ‘opportunity run.’¹⁴⁹ Ultimately, skilled people are in demand all over the globe, and the only way for South Africa to attract them is to make South Africa attractive to them.¹⁵⁰

1.7. Conclusion

This chapter looked at the various waves of emigration that happened in South Africa. The chapter explained what social, political and economic factors were happening in each individual wave and attempted to understand how these aspects would have affected emigration rates. Ultimately, if the country is in a period of unrest, South Africans are more likely to emigrate, while if the country is relatively peaceful, more are likely to stay. This chapter intended to point out various reasons that would have led to high emigration numbers, as well as state just what those emigration numbers are. By breaking up emigration numbers into waves of political disruption, one is more likely to understand just how detrimental these factors can be when one decides to emigrate. This chapter also emphasised how these statistics were often incorrect or not calculated correctly due to poor management from the South African statistics side, something that affects how emigration is viewed in South Africa.

¹⁴⁸ *Business Day*, 28 January 1999, p. 8.

¹⁴⁹ *The Star*, 19 January 2000, p. 9.

¹⁵⁰ M. J. Andrucki: “Wish you were here: bodies, diaspora strategy and the politics of propinquity in post-apartheid South Africa.” *The Geographical Journal*, (183), (1), (2017), p. 52.

Chapter Two: The brain drain in South Africa

The brain drain is a term used when highly skilled and educated people choose to leave their country of origin in search of a better career path, thereby depriving their home country of their expertise which they gained within the country. The brain drain is a common phenomenon between developed and developing countries, becoming exaggerated as globalisation occurs. The brain drain is not a South Africa-only spectacle but rather a global phenomenon. While the brain drain is not a new trend, it has recently gained more momentum as people become unhappy in their home country due to: discontent with the government, corruption, poverty levels, high unemployment rates and poor salaries. Due to a higher mobility of skilled individuals, they tend to have a lower threshold of sensitivity and therefore react not only to an oppressive government but also towards an unsatisfactory or disagreeable government and their policies.¹⁵¹ With mass population increases, people are always moving to some place more developed that can support a better or different quality of life than what one is used to.

2.1. Dynamics of the brain drain

The brain drain refers to the movement of talented or trained individuals from developing nations to developed ones, with a focus on advanced skills, including: physicists, engineers, doctors, business managers and economists.¹⁵² The countries in which the brain drain most commonly occur, are those who suffer a shared history of colonialism and violence by Western Powers, this includes South Africa.¹⁵³ Some of the many reasons for leaving a developing society is the poor working conditions, inadequate remuneration, lack of professional development, lack of security and funding – all of which are often offered by developed countries.¹⁵⁴ The brain drain is also known by several other terms, for example: ‘human capital flight, quality migration, intellectual migration, brain mobility,’ and ‘intellectual colonization.’¹⁵⁵ Most of these terms play on the intellectual property of an individual. Due to the rise of technology, most jobs are universally transferable, making it is easy to move from one job to another if one has the relevant education background.

¹⁵¹ R. Mattes & W. Richmond: “The Brain Drain: What do skilled South Africans think?” *Africa Insight*, (2007), p. 10.

¹⁵² G. Brock & M. Blake: *Debating Brain Drain: May governments restrict emigration?*, p. 2.

¹⁵³ *Ibid.* p. 3.

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid.* p. 12.

¹⁵⁵ E. Gwaradzimba & A. Shumba: “The nature, extent and impact of the brain drain in Zimbabwe and South Africa,” *Acta Academia*, (42), (1), (2010), p. 211.

The brain drain has also been defined as: a deliberate or systematic act by a superior country to consistently draw out highly skilled persons from a poor-source country, using direct or indirect means, such as: coercing, creating unfavourable socio-political and economic conditions, thereby propelling highly skilled professionals to leave their home country.¹⁵⁶

The brain drain goes hand in hand with emigration. For one to emigrate to a developed country, one needs to be educated or skilled in order to meet visa requirements abroad. In many South African newspapers, emigration statistics are often titled ‘brain drain statistics’. However, the number of educated or economically active people is not always mentioned; rather the whole figure of émigrés is given. On average, 54 percent of this figure is made up of economically active individuals.¹⁵⁷ For one to be considered a part of the brain drain, one needs to be educated or skilled and economically active. Children, students and retired persons would not be considered a part of this group.

To be a part of the brain drain, one would need to be defined as a ‘skilled’ South African, which would involve: being above the age of 20 years, holding a school-leaving certificate, or a diploma or university degree, as well as being currently economically active, meaning one should be employed or looking for employment.¹⁵⁸ In 2000 it was calculated that South Africa had a skilled population of 1.6 million individuals out of 44 million; with 72 percent of the skilled population being white, following with 18 percent black, 8 percent coloured, and 3 percent Indian, with the black skilled sector rising the fastest.¹⁵⁹ To be a part of the brain drain, one has to be put under the assumption that the émigré will never return back to their country of origin and therefore create a permanent loss of skills to the country’s economy and development.¹⁶⁰

The table below shows how many South Africans that emigrated to Australia during the 1990s fell into the brain drain, focusing on what education they had received before emigrating. The table shows that out of the 391 émigrés questioned, 170 of them held a university degree or diploma, ultimately contributing to South Africa’s brain drain.

¹⁵⁶ E. Gwaradzimba & A. Shumba: “The nature, extent and impact of the brain drain in Zimbabwe and South Africa,” *Acta Academia*, (42), (1), (2010), p. 212.

¹⁵⁷ J. van Rooyen: *The New Great Trek: The story of South Africa’s white exodus*, p. 37.

¹⁵⁸ R. Mattes & W. Richmond: “The Brain Drain: What do skilled South Africans think?” *Africa Insight*, (2007), p. 10.

¹⁵⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁶⁰ M. Brown, D. Kaplan & J. B. Meyer: “The Brain Drain: An outline of skilled emigration from South Africa.” *Africa Insight*, (2007), p. 41.

Highest formal educational qualification held by South Africans upon entering Australia (in percent).		
	Number	Percent
University degree/diploma	171	43.7%
Technical qual./diploma/certificate	110	28.1%
Trade certificate	26	6.7%
Completed 12 years of schooling	64	16.4%
Completed 10-11 years of schooling	14	3.6%
Completed 7-9 years of schooling	6	1.5%
Total respondents (n)	391	100%

161

2.2 Why is the brain drain so prevalent in South African society?

The brain drain is often seen as a uniquely South African problem, with many locals failing to realise that it is happening around the globe. It is perhaps the poor quality statistics that surround emigration and the brain drain that make it impossible to assess just how many people are leaving the country for better careers, among many other reasons.¹⁶² After the initial success of democracy and growth in South Africa, the economy started to decline from 2003 onwards. Many used emigration and the brain drain as a scapegoat, as educated individuals left the economy, thereby no longer paying taxes or contributing to the economy. An unstable economy, high personal income tax rates, and high interest rates all began to play a role in this economic decline and brain drain.¹⁶³ The worse the economy got, the more the brain drain was used as an excuse as more educated people left due to dissatisfaction in South Africa.

In general, South Africa's skilled population was very nervous and dissatisfied with the economic, security and crime conditions within the country. If they did not think things would improve in time or did not see any actions made towards improving South Africa, they were most likely to move.¹⁶⁴ When South Africans emigrated, many stated crime as the main reason for leaving the country, to such a point that the South African government became aware of the emigration and brain drain issue, and openly criticised those who were emigrating, but did very little to address or rectify the problem.

¹⁶¹ J. Forrest, R. Johnston & M. Poulsen: "Middle-class diaspora: recent immigration to Australia from South Africa and Zimbabwe." *South African Geographical Journal*, (95), (1), (2013), p. 53.

¹⁶² V. Hoskins (ed.): "Economic, Financial and Technical Series." *Africa Research Bulletin*, (43), (9), (2006), p. 17110.

¹⁶³ J. van Rooyen: *The New Great Trek: The story of South Africa's white exodus*, p. 100.

¹⁶⁴ J. Crush: "The Global Raiders: Nationalism, Globalization and the South African Brain Drain." *Journal of International Affairs*, (56), (1), (2002), p. 155.

Due to affirmative action (AA) and Black Economic Empowerment (BEE), which were both racially selective programmes launched by the South African government, many white South Africans struggled to find jobs, as companies tried to hire black, coloured or Indian South Africans first to correct apartheid injustices, and gave those previously disadvantaged more control and access to the economy. This resulted in a large white flight, as many white South Africans would rather emigrate than remain unemployed in their home country. Many white South Africans felt AA was reverse discrimination, affecting the employability, earnings and career prospects of white South Africans.; it was estimated in 2000 that AA would force 800,000 white South Africans out of the economy to be replaced by their black counterparts.¹⁶⁵ If no South African companies were prepared to hire white South Africans, they would be forced to emigrate.

Australia gained many South Africans in the brain drain, due to its common language, similar cultural and historical background and low crime rates, thus making it easier for émigrés to integrate into their new society, and this is perhaps why Australia is seen as a top destination for those considered part of the brain drain.¹⁶⁶ In turn, while South Africa lost its best and brightest to Australia, Australia lost their own educated to the United States of America and the United Kingdom, thereby giving South Africans the gap to enter Australia.¹⁶⁷ This is a reminder that the brain drain is a global trend and that even developed countries suffer losses.

2.3. How to measure the brain drain

Before 2004, Central Statistics Service (CSS) or StatsSA relied on self-declaration from emigrants as they left the country via an international airport. Very few émigrés actually declared that they were leaving. The United Nations (UN) even concluded that the official South African emigration statistics were highly misleading, and gave little concrete sense towards the dimensions and impact of the brain drain on the country.¹⁶⁸ The underestimation of emigration flows is a common phenomenon and is not unique to South Africa, as most

¹⁶⁵ J. van Rooyen: *The New Great Trek: The story of South Africa's white exodus*, p. 101.

¹⁶⁶ D. Kaplan & T. Höppoli: "The South African brain drain: An empirical assessment" *Development Southern Africa*, (34), (5), (2017), p. 501.

¹⁶⁷ Business Day, 28 January 1999, p. 8.

¹⁶⁸ D. Kaplan & T. Höppoli: "The South African brain drain: An empirical assessment" *Development Southern Africa*, (34), (5), (2017), p. 499.

countries prefer to keep track of immigration flow, something which is easier to capture, rather than struggle to keep count of those who leave permanently.¹⁶⁹

As mentioned, one could no longer measure the brain drain in South Africa after 2004, as StatsSA no longer kept records of emigration in accordance to the Immigration Act of 2002, and therefore stopped keeping record of who was leaving the country and why. A research network: South African Migration Project (SAMP), founded in 1996, was created to shed light on the poorly documented immigration and emigration statistics, and to uncover why people were either leaving or entering the country.¹⁷⁰ When SAMP queried how many skilled South Africans had given some thought towards emigrating, more than two-thirds of the group questioned said that they had, however, this did not mean that all of those questioned were going or able to emigrate.¹⁷¹

When attempting to measure the brain drain in South Africa, it was necessary to look at the socio-political and economic factors that would make one leave. During a recession, for instance, the educated are more likely to leave in search of better salaries and living standards. This is why in 1985, during the state of emergency, so many educated individuals were leaving, as South Africa faced sanctions and the withdrawal of many international companies, therefore taking away a supported financial infrastructure. During apartheid many white South African's were still financially comfortable, even under sanctions, thereby showing that finances were not always the main reason for emigrating, as in 1986 when political uncertainty and disruption became the main factor for emigration and would remain until 1994.¹⁷²

The UN economic Commission stated that the most recent biggest obstacle for Africa as a continent is the brain drain, and it is believed that 20,000 educated individuals have left Africa every year since 1990.¹⁷³ South Africa has the most advanced higher education sector on the African continent and therefore suffers the most losses.¹⁷⁴ With this in mind, it is believed that

¹⁶⁹ D. Kaplan & T. Höppli: "The South African brain drain: An empirical assessment" *Development Southern Africa*, (34), (5), (2017), p. 499.

¹⁷⁰ V. Hoskins (ed.): "Economic, Financial and Technical Series." *Africa Research Bulletin*, (43), (9), (2006), p. 17111.

¹⁷¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁷² *The Daily News*, 19 March 1987, p. 18.

¹⁷³ V. Hoskins (ed.): "Economic, Financial and Technical Series." *Africa Research Bulletin*, (43), (9), (2006), p. 17111.

¹⁷⁴ J. Crush: "The Global Raiders: Nationalism, Globalization and the South African Brain Drain." *Journal of International Affairs*, (56), (1), (2002), p. 151.

in the 2000s, there were more African scientists and engineers working in the United States of America than those remaining in sub-Saharan Africa.¹⁷⁵

Another way to measure emigration losses between the different job sectors is through the use of association boards, like that for lawyers (the Law Society of South Africa) and accountants (South African Institute of Chartered Accountants). They record where their members live, which can be used to determine how many members live outside of the country but remain registered to their appropriate job council boards. For example, in 1999, SAICA recorded that of the 18,041 Chartered Accountants belonging to the board, 3,546 of the members were absent from the country, meaning a fifth of its members were living abroad.¹⁷⁶ In 1999 it was reported that between one eighth and one fifth of South Africans with a tertiary education were now living abroad.¹⁷⁷

The South African Network of Skills Abroad (SANSA) project estimated that the emigration of professionals was 56 percent higher post-1994 when compared to the figures of 1989 to 1994.¹⁷⁸ SANSA also estimated that between 12 to 20 percent of South Africans with tertiary qualifications resided outside of South Africa in 2000.¹⁷⁹

It is reported that when a group of highly skilled people emigrate, it is generally the least skilled of them that would most likely return to their country of origin, therefore South Africa is still losing their ‘best and brightest’ despite having many expatriates return home at a later stage.¹⁸⁰ The figures to see who is returning home are not recorded, and therefore one cannot see how many that left as a part of the brain drain have now returned to South Africa in more recent years.

¹⁷⁵ *Business Day*, 03 August 2001, p. 14.

¹⁷⁶ *Ibid.* 11 August 1999, p. 2.

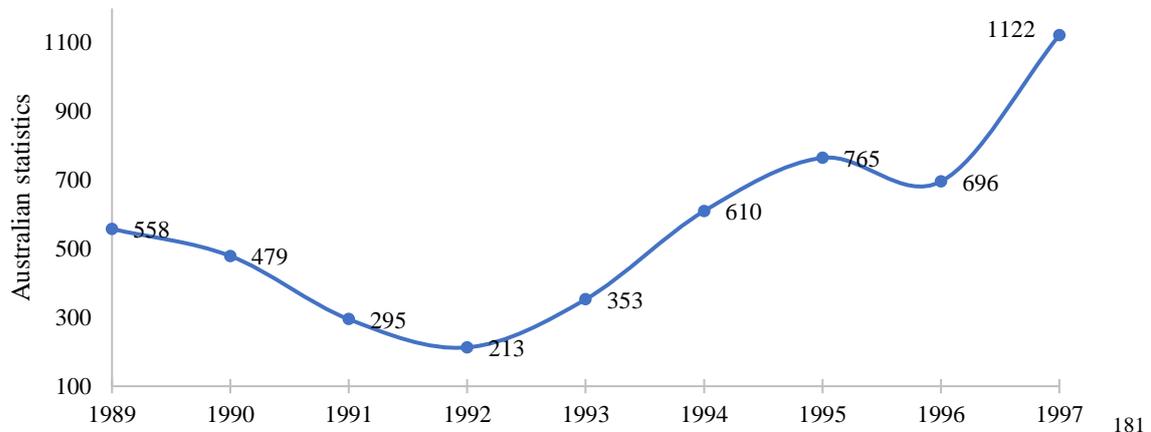
¹⁷⁷ *The Sunday Independent*, 24 October 1999, p. 1.

¹⁷⁸ E. Louw & G. Mersham: “Packing for Perth: The Growth of a Southern Africa Diaspora.” *Asian and Pacific Migration Journal*, (10), (2), (2001), p. 324.

¹⁷⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁸⁰ D. Kaplan & T. Höppoli: “The South African brain drain: An empirical assessment” *Development Southern Africa*, (34), (5), (2017), p. 508.

Recorded emigration of professionals from South Africa to Australia 1989 - 1997



2.4. Connotations surrounding the brain drain

The brain drain brought along many connotations, especially negative ones made by those who remained in the country. For example, émigrés could be referred to as ‘disloyal,’ ‘unpatriotic,’ ‘cowardly,’ ‘racist’ and accused of doing the beforementioned chicken run.¹⁸² Those who left were also considered traitors to the rainbow nation. However, the new South Africa constitution allowed freedom of movement for all races and therefore the only way to stop people from leaving the country was ultimately by finger-pointing and verbally protesting their actions.¹⁸³

Those emigrating after 1994, were seen as racists as they did not want to live under a black government, or considered to be committing “treason” if they were white and were prepared to weaken the white population group in South Africa by leaving.¹⁸⁴ It was believed that “good citizens would not emigrate’ despite their reasoning.¹⁸⁵

In 1996, the vast majority of émigrés were upper to middle-class white South Africans with a high skill level, and by emigrating, they were leaving South Africa with a higher percentage of unqualified people with a low skills level.¹⁸⁶ White South Africans, in general, were more

¹⁸¹ M. Brown, D. Kaplan & J. B. Meyer: “The Brain Drain: An outline of skilled emigration from South Africa.” *Africa Insight*, (2007), p. 41.

¹⁸² W. Visser: “Afrikaner responses to post-apartheid South Africa: Diaspora and the re-negotiation of a cultural identity.” *New Contree*, (54), (2007), p. 10.

¹⁸³ J. Crush: “The Global Raiders: Nationalism, Globalization and the South African Brain Drain.” *Journal of International Affairs*, (56), (1), (2002), p. 162.

¹⁸⁴ W. Visser: “Afrikaner responses to post-apartheid South Africa: Diaspora and the re-negotiation of a cultural identity.” *New Contree*, (54), (2007), p. 10.

¹⁸⁵ J. van Rooyen: *The New Great Trek: The story of South Africa’s white exodus*, p. 125.

¹⁸⁶ B. M. du Toit: “Boers, Afrikaners and Diasporas,” *Historia*, (48), (1), (2003), p. 36.

privileged and educated due to the apartheid system and therefore were more likely to emigrate and fall into a part of the brain drain category, the change of racial colour in émigrés has gradually transformed from the mid-2000s onwards, as tertiary education became more inclusive.¹⁸⁷ This is perhaps why emigration and the brain drain were always stereotyped towards only white South Africans. With this in mind, one-fifth of skilled white South Africans reported that a member of their immediate family had left South Africa to work abroad.¹⁸⁸ However, many would rather have been labelled as racists or unpatriotic than sitting around and remaining unemployed if they did not meet the affirmative action requirements.

From an outsiders perspective, the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and World Bank have dubbed globalisation and the brain drain as a ‘weapon of mass destruction.’¹⁸⁹ It is viewed as an attempt to recolonise Africa as it faces economic exploitation from more developed countries, normalising poverty and therefore making many African intellectuals seek a higher standard of living in more developed countries.¹⁹⁰

2.5. The highest emigrating job sector

An essential part of studying the brain drain is to understand which job sectors leave the most, the number of people that leave from specific job sectors and why they choose to leave. For example, a doctor and a teacher are most likely to leave the country for different reasons. To fully comprehend the brain drain and emigration, it is important to understand at what rate educated individuals are leaving South Africa and why it is happening.

While the brain drain occurs in most professional sectors, it is most common among health professionals, which is ultimately more damaging on developing countries as they already struggle with affordable health care resources.¹⁹¹ In 2015 it was estimated that a third to half of all South African medical school graduates had emigrated to more developed countries.¹⁹² Many of South African health professionals moved to Canada, who in turn lost their own health

¹⁸⁷ B. M. du Toit: “Boers, Afrikaners and Diasporas,” *Historia*, (48), (1), (2003), p. 38.

¹⁸⁸ R. Mattes & W. Richmond: “The Brain Drain: What do skilled South Africans think?” *Africa Insight*, (2007), p. 10.

¹⁸⁹ E. Gwaradzimba & A. Shumba: “The nature, extent and impact of the brain drain in Zimbabwe and South Africa,” *Acta Academia*, (42), (1), (2010), p. 212.

¹⁹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹⁹¹ G. Brock & M. Blake: *Debating Brain Drain: May governments restrict emigration?*, p. 12.

¹⁹² *Ibid.* p. 38.

professionals to the United States of America – another reminder that the brain drain exists even in the most developed countries.¹⁹³

From 1978 onwards, the flight of doctors was a grave concern for the South African government, as the number of doctors leaving South Africa was more than those entering South Africa, various reasons were given, including: better fringe benefits, better salaries and academic opportunities.¹⁹⁴ However, during the 1970s and 1980s Australia was overwhelmed with the amount of South African doctors emigrating, and many faced unemployment as there were too many doctors and not enough patients, this halted the medical brain drain for another 10 years.¹⁹⁵ By the 2000s, the flight of nurses overtook the flight of South African doctors, as approximately 350 nurses a month were applying for verification of their qualifications, which was required before one could leave South Africa.¹⁹⁶ More recently, the expectation of community service in public hospitals has become a driving emigration factor, as doctors do not want to work in unsanitary and overcrowded conditions while earning a minimum salary.

In 1986, 20 percent of South Africa's actuaries had emigrated within a period of 18 months, with Australia being the most popular destination of choice, it is estimated that it would take five years to replace the 20 percent that had left.¹⁹⁷ One can assume that they left during this time due to the political instability in South Africa.

It was reported that the United Kingdom received an estimated 4,000 teachers from South Africa alone each year during the 2000s, and 70 percent of these were said to be of an above-average standard regarding their teaching effectiveness, meaning they had appropriate qualifications and experience.¹⁹⁸ The South African government has openly criticised the United Kingdom for poaching South African trained teachers during a crucial time of development and political change in South Africa.¹⁹⁹ South African teachers leave for several reasons, namely career dissatisfaction, the possibility of financial gain, an attempt to gain more

¹⁹³ J. Crush: "The Global Raiders: Nationalism, Globalization and the South African Brain Drain." *Journal of International Affairs*, (56), (1), (2002), p. 148.

¹⁹⁴ *The Daily News*, 05 August 1978, p. 2.

¹⁹⁵ *The Star*, 03 February 1979, p. 2.

¹⁹⁶ *Ibid.* 19 February 2001, p. 1.

¹⁹⁷ *The Sunday Star*, 08 June 1986, p. 1.

¹⁹⁸ P. Miller: "Brain Gain in England: How overseas trained teachers have enriched and sustained English education", *Perspectives in Education*, (25), (2), (2007), p. 29.

¹⁹⁹ E. Gwaradzimba & A. Shumba: "The nature, extent and impact of the brain drain in Zimbabwe and South Africa," *Acta Academia*, (42), (1), (2010), p. 215.

experience and the poor discipline of students.²⁰⁰ When comparing the financial differences between practising the same career overseas, but with a doubled salary, it is easy to see why South African teachers, of all races, are moving abroad.

With this in mind, it was reported that in South Africa during 1985, there were 24 primary school students for every single teacher, by 2006 this figure had reached 51 students for every single teacher.²⁰¹ Not only does this create poor learning conditions for the students, but also poor working conditions for the teachers who have to teach overcrowded classrooms with poor resources. In 2006 teaching staff turnover had reached 15 percent, and out of that 22 percent left the country permanently, this does not account for tertiary institutions who lose 475 staff members on average a year.²⁰² With 90 percent of South Africans believing that financial packages in South Africa are not lucrative enough, it is understandable to see why teachers so often jump ship due to the lack of incentives to stay in their career path or in the country.²⁰³

With the rise of Teaching English as a Foreign Language (TEFL), many young university graduates move abroad, mainly to Eastern countries, where they get to teach young children English, all while exploring a new country, gaining life experience and earning a better salary than they would at home. This is a short-term job, which very rarely lasts over two years, as many return wanting to start their lives, and now have the finances to do so. However, this creates a loss to the South African economy and many who return do not become economically active straight away, with many opting to return to studies. Those that have gone to teach overseas can also be viewed as having a taste for abroad and travelling, making many view this as a preliminary step before emigrating at a later stage in life.

Globally it has been said that the driving force for emigration has been the technological revolution, as people leave to work in countries with more advanced technology, such as those in the IT (Information Technology) sector.²⁰⁴ In 1997, 57 percent of South African recruitment agencies were facing difficulty in recruiting qualified IT staff due to high emigration rates in the IT sector and qualified IT staff preferring to work overseas.²⁰⁵ Emigration was the third

²⁰⁰ S. Manik: "To greener pastures: Transnational teacher migration from South Africa," *Perspectives in Education*, (25), (2), (2007), pp. 58-61.

²⁰¹ *Pretoria News*, 19 May 2006, p. 4.

²⁰² *Ibid.*

²⁰³ *The Daily News*, 21 December 2006, p. 5.

²⁰⁴ V. Hoskins (ed.): "Economic, Financial and Technical Series." *Africa Research Bulletin*, (43), (9), (2006), p. 17111.

²⁰⁵ *Business Day*, 23 October 1997, p. 13.

highest reason for IT staff turnover, coming short of retirement and moving to a new company.²⁰⁶

In 1997, 13 percent of executives emigrated to Australia due to crime, creating an executive brain drain in sales and marketing, IT and the finance sectors.²⁰⁷ In 1998, 96 percent of emigrating employees from all job sectors cited crime as being their main reason for leaving South Africa, noting that the brain drain is a reaction to a cause.²⁰⁸ If crime and other corresponding factors worsened in South Africa, more educated South Africans were willing to leave, as an increase in salary will not stop crime, better the education system or improve the health care system. The brain drain goes hand in hand with the quality of life that people in a country are receiving and whether or not they think they can receive better quality elsewhere. In 1999 there was an estimated 65,000 South Africans living in Australia, on average they were earning AU\$105,000 a year, nearly triple the Australian average of AU\$38,000 a year, most likely due to the fact that 84 percent surveyed had a form of tertiary education, therefore making them more educated than the average Australian and more likely to earn a higher salary.²⁰⁹

In 1999, a large auditing firm revealed that they lose 90 percent of their trainee Chartered Accountants (CAs) shortly after they qualify, with about three-quarter of these trainees emigrating.²¹⁰ CAs and IT professionals were the most likely to move during the late 1990s to mid-2000s as their jobs are versatile, and there remains a high demand for them around the world. This is why in 2001 most South African accounting firms started signing up students to join their workforce before they even graduated, allowing them to retain graduates for another three years after university, as a part of their articles experience.²¹¹ This meant most accounting graduates were contracted to stay in the country, contribute to both the economy and the company until they became qualified CA's. These graduate programs are still done today. With 40 percent of final-year tertiary education students considering emigrating, it is easy to understand why graduate programmes have popped up in various job sectors, including engineering, agriculture and administration.²¹²

²⁰⁶ *Sunday Times*, 17 August 1997, p. 3.

²⁰⁷ *Ibid.*

²⁰⁸ *The Sowetan*, 19 March 1998, p. 26.

²⁰⁹ *Sunday Times*, 28 February 1999, p. 21.

²¹⁰ *Financial Mail*, 29 January 1999, p. 37.

²¹¹ *Business Day*, 23 February 2001, p. 1.

²¹² *Saturday Weekend Argus*, 11 November 2006, p. 5.

The Engineering Council of South Africa (ECSA) estimated that by 2008 an average of 300 qualified engineers were leaving the country each year, and this amount only intensified when the Eskom power crisis grew in 2008, as few saw hope in the future of South Africa.²¹³ Reportedly, an engineer who struggled to get a job in South Africa in 2005 due to affirmative action requirements, received three job offers in Australia within his first week of arrival.²¹⁴ Engineering lecturers reported that to survive in South Africa as an engineer, one either needs to change professions or leave South Africa.²¹⁵

Australia also created an entrepreneurial skills visa, which allowed South Africa entrepreneurs to settle in Australia and develop new business opportunities for the country, granting they could make investments of over R3 million in Australia.²¹⁶ This meant not only was South Africa losing new business opportunities but also the creativity and drive of entrepreneurs and their financial equity. Along with this, in 1995 a new scheme was introduced by the Australian government where entrepreneurs could settle permanently in Australia if they deposited at least AU\$750,000 (equivalent to R2 million at the time) in an Australian bank.²¹⁷

While the statistics can show what job sector emigrates the most, it is also up to the host country to choose which qualified émigrés they allow in. This is why immigration policies often change, so countries like Australia can fill the domestic skills gap by creating a mass migration scheme for certain careers over a certain period of time.²¹⁸ Australia follows a point-based system to make emigration easier. One's age, education, marital status, dependents, health and financial background all play a part in this. The more points one has to one's name, the more lucrative one is, which can lead to being accepted faster into Australia. If they want a specific field of work, the application to emigrate will be sped up for the person who has the right qualifications. An example of this was in 1989 when Australia opened up a quota for 666 accountancy immigration visas, ultimately fast-tracking all applicants who were accountants to fulfil the job shortage they were suffering.²¹⁹ Because of these strict immigration laws,

²¹³ *Saturday Weekend Argus*, 09 February 2008, p. 9.

²¹⁴ *The Citizen*, 15 November 2005, p. 19.

²¹⁵ *Ibid.*

²¹⁶ *The Star*, 08 December 1999, p. 5.

²¹⁷ *Ibid.* 06 April 1995, p. 6.

²¹⁸ E. Gwaradzimba & A. Shumba: "The nature, extent and impact of the brain drain in Zimbabwe and South Africa," *Acta Academia*, (42), (1), (2010), p. 214.

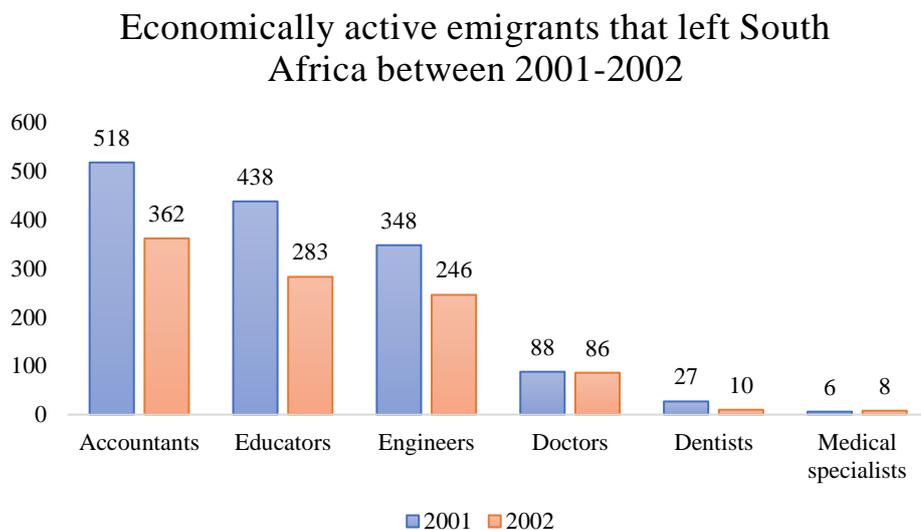
²¹⁹ *Pretoria News*, 01 February 1989, p. 17.

developed countries are becoming disproportionately educated as they only accept skilled and educated immigrants.²²⁰

One should note that while it may seem that emigration is mainly for the university-educated South Africans, many trade workers, such as plumbers and electricians are also looking to move abroad to developed countries with more regulated health and safety rules, where they can earn a better salary and escape South Africa's high crime rates.²²¹

Another lucrative job opportunity in Australia is for miners, where health and safety regulations are of high standards. Australia's total mining-related deaths over the past 200 years is the same amount as South Africa's yearly mining-related death figures.²²² In 1977, Australian coal mines, such as Coalex Pty Ltd were actively seeking South African managers, engineers and assistants to move across and work.²²³ Large ads for jobs in Australia were often printed in the job sections of South African newspapers in the 1970s and 1980s.

Below is a graph that shows how many economic active South African emigrants left for Australia between 2001 and 2002, and of which job sector they were a part of.



224

²²⁰ D. Kaplan & T. Höppli: "The South African brain drain: An empirical assessment" *Development Southern Africa*, (34), (5), (2017), p. 502.

²²¹ *Business Day*, 14 June 2001, p. 3.

²²² *The Star*, 11 February 2008, p. 3.

²²³ *The Rand Daily Mail*, 21 July 1977, p. 19.

²²⁴ *Pretoria News*, 16 October 2002, p. 1.

2.6. The negative side of the brain drain on South Africa

When a highly skilled individual leaves, they impose a number of costs onto the community, such as: training costs, lack of services they could have provided, the loss of income from taxed wages, loss of progressivity in fiscal arrangements and those left behind now have to bear more costs for public goods to cover this loss, such as Value Added Tax (VAT).²²⁵ Often skilled professionals leave the country before being able to pay back their community, implying that they leave before someone can be trained to replace them.²²⁶ This means that university graduates emigrate either straight after they graduate, or gain an appropriate amount of experience before leaving and therefore do not properly interact or assist within their community. It is believed that for every loss of one skilled emigrant, ten unskilled people lose their jobs in South Africa.²²⁷ The average age of emigrants to Australia is 25 years old, an age where educated people have just started contributing the South African economy.²²⁸ While this age shows that most received an education in South Africa, it suggests that many moved before they could gain any real job experience. It also shows how the brain drain affected both the economy as well as population groups that remained in the country.

The loss of teachers in South Africa is due to insufficient funding for training, poor salary levels and the impact of HIV/AIDS, with HIV/AIDS affecting the demand and supply for education and availability of resources for education, as the disease affects the teachers, learners and also how it should be educated to the public.²²⁹ HIV/AIDS is a major threat to all career paths in South Africa as experienced and skilled workers are forced to leave their jobs due to ill health, or are outcast because of their condition and are not seen as employable.

South Africa is bleeding skilled personnel at an accelerated rate, but still has not joined the global hunt to try and poach educated individuals from other countries to replace the individuals they are losing.²³⁰ It is perhaps because they hope many will return or that graduates will choose to stay in the country. A suggestion made in 1999 was that it is South Africa's xenophobic tendencies which keep professionals away from the country, especially those from

²²⁵ G. Brock & M. Blake: *Debating Brain Drain: May governments restrict emigration?*, p. 63.

²²⁶ E. Gwaradzimba & A. Shumba: "The nature, extent and impact of the brain drain in Zimbabwe and South Africa," *Acta Academia*, (42), (1), (2010), p. 217.

²²⁷ *Business Day*, 23 February 2001, p. 1.

²²⁸ *Pretoria News*, 09 September 1980, p 5.

²²⁹ P. Miller: "Brain Gain in England: How overseas trained teachers have enriched and sustained English education", *Perspectives in Education*, (25), (2), (2007), p. 29.

²³⁰ J. Crush: "The Global Raiders: Nationalism, Globalization and the South African Brain Drain." *Journal of International Affairs*, (56), (1), (2002), p. 150.

other neighbouring African countries – this statement was suggested nine years before South Africa faced extreme xenophobic attacks.²³¹ Immigration numbers from the 1980s very rarely exceed emigration numbers, putting South Africa at a loss of educated individuals for numerous years. However, these statistics were not accepted by Mbeki in the late 1990s as he believed South Africa was experiencing a brain-gain after 1994 due to the democratic dispensation, despite official statistics stating otherwise.²³² In 1984, the rector of Peninsular Technikon (now Cape Peninsula University of Technology) reported that 50 percent of his graduates go overseas, and that he lost lecturers every month to emigration.²³³ This immigration deficit would continue over the years.

In 1995, Thabo Mbeki called for the ‘extra-ordinary brain power’ to come home or to make a contribution to the changing South Africa, as the new democratic government became aware of the skill shortages throughout the country.²³⁴ A similar statement was issued in 2019 by South African president, Cyril Ramaphosa, stating he wanted South African emigrants to return home and for all white South Africans to remain in the country.²³⁵ In the three years after the 1994 elections, South Africa reportedly lost 9,048 economically active people alone.²³⁶ This figure also does not account for the people that moved with the economically active persons, for example, children, students, homemakers or retired persons, which would all affect South Africa’s economy.

In 1998, a new network was created by the University of Cape Town, called the South African Network of Skills Abroad (SANSA), which hoped to gain the help of expatriates across the world to assist and bring some of their expertise back into the country.²³⁷ SANSA was supposed to be an organised network in which professional expatriates could feed their expertise back into South Africa in an attempt to educate South Africans and develop the South African economy, it did not want émigrés to be burdened by moving back, but rather more open to helping out their home country via correspondence.²³⁸ SANSA no longer exists, as it was reportedly absorbed by the National Research Foundation, a division of the Arts, Culture,

²³¹ *Sunday World*, 21 March 1999, p. 11.

²³² *Ibid.*

²³³ *The Daily News*, 14 September 1984, p. 10.

²³⁴ *The Argus*, 25 April 1995, p. 29.

²³⁵ <https://www.news24.com/SouthAfrica/News/stay-in-sa-ramaphosa-urges-young-white-people-20190410>
(Date accessed: 15 April 2019).

²³⁶ *The Daily News*, 17 June 1997, p. 6.

²³⁷ *Ibid.* 17 March 1998, p. 3.

²³⁸ *Ibid.*

Science and Technology Department in the South African government, therefore making its results inconclusive to the public.²³⁹

In 1999 it was reported that the emigration of professionals was lowering the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) of South Africa by 0,37 percent a year and that in 1997, R67,8 billion of investment in human capital left South Africa.²⁴⁰ With emigration, it is estimated that each émigré took approximately R100,000 out of the country when they left, causing the country to lose R11 billion in three years.²⁴¹ Between 80 to 90 percent of skilled emigrants are willing to cut economic ties with the country, this includes selling their houses, withdrawing savings and investments, and some even willing to give up their citizenship.²⁴² In 2004 it was reported that with 400,000 South Africans living abroad, about R800 million worth of tax contributions were lost per a year due to emigration.²⁴³

Losses due to the brain drain include a significant reduction in educational and health services and attainment, loss of public funds due to expensive tertiary education with no benefits for the country and more fiscal losses.²⁴⁴ This is why in 2019 an expatriate tax bill was proposed to become active in March 2020, in which the South African Revenue Service (SARS) could tax South Africans who did not inform the country that they were no longer a tax resident due to emigrating as they are seen to still be reaping the benefits in the country.²⁴⁵ SARS also wants a capital gains tax for those who still own assets in the country but no longer live in it.²⁴⁶ This emigration tax would also affect people who were out of South Africa for more than half of the year. Previously, if one was out of the country for more than 181 days, they did not pay South African income tax on their salary. This will no longer be applicable. While this expatriate tax bill is more of a show, as SARS would have to track thousands of emigrants across the world, this is a precautionary method on behalf of the South African government to slow down

²³⁹ E. Louw & G. Mersham: "Packing for Perth: The Growth of a Southern Africa Diaspora." *Asian and Pacific Migration Journal*, (10), (2), (2001), p. 306.

²⁴⁰ *The Sunday Independent*, 24 October 1999, p. 1.

²⁴¹ *Ibid.*

²⁴² R. Mattes & W. Richmond: "The Brain Drain: What do skilled South Africans think?" *Africa Insight*, (2007), p. 10.

²⁴³ *The Citizen*, 12 March 2004, p. 6.

²⁴⁴ G. Brock & M. Blake: *Debating Brain Drain: May governments restrict emigration?*, pp. 12-13.

²⁴⁵ https://businesstech.co.za/news/finance/299926/south-africas-expat-tax-is-coming-and-theres-only-one-way-to-legally-avoid-it/?fbclid=IwAR2mF7_mIxSCyhyb97MxjZEozfrWlbMa28-PrZio1e4I8WkF6Vw7qf-CiQM (Date accessed: 18 March 2019).

²⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

emigration, and perhaps frighten those who are thinking of leaving currently, or that think they can escape tax by staying out of the country for more extended periods of time.

With this loss of South Africans due to emigration, there was a mass white exodus which reduced the South African white population from 5.2 million in 1995, to 4.4 million in 2005, amounting to the loss of over 800,000 white South Africans, with an overall decline of 16 percent of white South Africans.²⁴⁷ This loss will have an impact on strength and viability of the white ethnic group, as their proportional economic power is greater than their population numbers, meaning their departure from the country will cause a greater impact on those that remain.²⁴⁸ To stop the economic damage from the white brain drain, South Africa needs to increase the training and empowering of black professionals.²⁴⁹ The South African brain drain has often been referred to as a ‘brain haemorrhage’ as it is so detrimental to the country.²⁵⁰

2.7. Conclusion

The brain drain is not a sole reason for individuals to leave South Africa; émigrés do not only look at new job perspectives when considering moving abroad. Rather they take that into account along with other reasons, such as: quality of life, crime and security, family responsibilities, education, and if one still feels optimistic about living in their country of origin. The brain drain goes hand in hand with other corresponding factors, holding a tertiary qualification makes it easier for individuals to emigrate as they are in demand across the globe, but people will not leave their home country unless other factors are taken into account. This is why crime is often linked as the biggest factor as to why people emigrate, and the brain drain becomes a symptom to this cause.

This chapter has discussed what the brain drain is, how it is perceived, who falls part of this classification, and how it is ultimately affecting South Africa. It has attempted to understand which careers emigrate the most to understand how this would affect South Africa, as those with a tertiary education take their skills elsewhere before anyone can be trained to replace them, affecting the future state of the country.

²⁴⁷ *The Citizen*, 03 October 2006, p. 11.

²⁴⁸ J. van Rooyen: *The New Great Trek: The story of South Africa's white exodus*, p. 39.

²⁴⁹ *Sunday World*, 21 March 1999, p. 11.

²⁵⁰ F. de Vries: *Rigting bedonnered: op die spoor van die Afrikaner post-94*, p. 341.

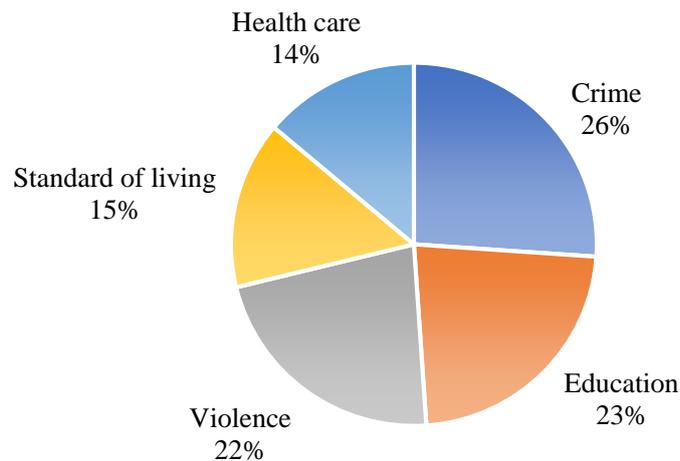
Chapter Three: Push and pull factors

When one starts considering emigrating from one's home country, there are often various push and pull factors that encourage the idea of emigration. Push factors would be negative issues that 'push' people out of their home country, for example: high crime rates, corruption, unemployment and poor health care. Pull factors are benefits that pulls one towards emigrating to a specific country, for example: better job opportunities, a higher standard of living, better education and family security. Without the push and pull factors, one is unlikely to emigrate long term as one would likely be content in one's current place of living.

This chapter focusses on various popular push and pull factors used to leave South Africa. With an explicit focus on crime and the big role it plays in the brain drain. The brain drain would not be as exaggerated if these push and pull factors did not exist as educated and skilled people would have no reason to leave their home country permanently. This is not to say that people would no longer emigrate; it is just that fewer people would emigrate if they were happier with the current and future conditions in their home country. This is why such a strong emphasis has been placed on the need for the South African government to stabilise the crime situation within South Africa, so fewer people will continue to emigrate out of the country. This chapter also fuses the push and pull factors to get a broader understanding as to what would make one want to leave, for example, high rates of unemployment in South Africa, while overseas companies are willing to pay relocation packages in order to get new people with different perspectives to join their teams.

The graph below shows the most common push factors listed as reasons for emigration, and how often they are listed. One can assume crime and violence can go hand in hand, as a crime can turn violent very quickly.

Push factors cited by émigrés



251

3.1. The government, political unrest and the economy

The uncertainty of the South African government, both pre-1994 and post-1994 elections has always been a significant push factor for many to emigrate out of South Africa. The pre-1994 elections political unrest led to many emigrating instead of waiting around to see if things would stabilise and get better after the arrival of democracy. The economic shortfalls that came with the ANC government led to many people losing hope and considering emigration instead. If citizens no longer feel positive towards the country they live in, they choose to emigrate instead. As previously discussed, after the 1976 Soweto Uprising there was a sharp rise in the number of people emigrating from South Africa for the following two years. The same scenario repeated itself in 1985 and again just before the 1994 elections. This shows that people often decide to move during periods of political instability when they think the country may not be able to return to a peaceful state. It is often shortly after a period of political unrest that there is a rise in the number of inquiries made about emigration, this has been previously emphasised in the waves of South African emigration chapter and how emigration often correlates with political unrest and instability from the government and the economy.

Examples of economic shortfalls post-1994 elections can be seen in the weakening of the South African rand, between 1994 and 1999. The rand declined by half of its value (against the British pound it declined from R5 to R10), making many feel that they should emigrate quickly while their money was still worth something overseas.²⁵² In 2019 the rand to pound value has dramatically fallen, with £1 equivalent to an average of R18. The Australian dollar also

²⁵¹ *The Sowetan*, 19 March 1998, p. 26.

²⁵² J. van Rooyen: *The New Great Trek: The story of South Africa's white exodus*, p. 99.

fluctuated, from an average of AU\$5 for R1 in 2004, to AU\$10 for R1 in 2019. However, South Africa's currency did not only start dropping post-1994; it can be seen to start dropping from the 1980s onwards, where in 1985 it took R2 to buy on US\$1, whereas previously the South African Rand had always been stronger.²⁵³

Secondly, South Africa has high personal income tax rates, with the highest tax rate sitting at 45 percent of ones paycheque going straight to government taxes. This income tax does not take the additional value-added tax (VAT) on everyday items into account. Between 1994 and 1998 an estimated minimum of R21 billion was lost to government corruption, while corruption is not new in South Africa, it does not seem to be ending, making many unhappy and more willing to leave.²⁵⁴ In 1995 it was reported that the reason many decided to emigrate was because they felt they were not getting anything out of the high taxes they were paying to the government.²⁵⁵

Unlike in most developed countries, many South Africans feel that they do not see where their tax money is going to, as many complain about South African infrastructure, for example: public roads and E-tolls (electronic tolls). E-tolls are an additional tax service that one has to pay to drive on public roads in certain provinces across South Africa. These roads can sometimes be unsafe and filled with potholes. Many South Africans do not feel that their tax money is being spent wisely if their quality of life is not improving or at least remaining the same. For example, in 1998 almost 71 percent of South Africa's national and provincial roads were considered to be in good condition according to global standards, by 2008, only 16 percent of the roads fell into this category – showing that there had been no significant attempt to upkeep the roads with tax payer's money over a ten-year period.²⁵⁶ This, along with a deterioration of South Africa's railway network, Transnet, and their inability to expand the train networks as well as upgrade the infrastructure to meet the growing needs of South Africa, serves as a reminder that taxpayer money is not being put where those who contribute to tax can actually visibly see and gain from it.²⁵⁷ South Africa also lacks public transport. This ties in with poor use of public funds and makes South Africa remain a developing country.

²⁵³ C. Tatz, P. Arnold & G. Heller: *Worlds Apart: the re-migration of South African Jews*, p. 143.

²⁵⁴ J. van Rooyen: *The New Great Trek: The story of South Africa's white exodus*, p. 104.

²⁵⁵ *The Sunday Independent*, 19 November 1995, p. 3.

²⁵⁶ E. T. Gomez & R. R. Premdas: *Affirmative action, ethnicity and conflict*, p. 131.

²⁵⁷ *Ibid.* pp. 131-132.

In a 2008 survey, 30 percent of South Africans in the 18-24 age group that were surveyed, were planning to emigrate with violent crime and corruption being cited for 82 percent of the main reason to emigrate, followed with the volatile economy and government problems receiving 31 percent each.²⁵⁸ Reasons for staying in South Africa were: the climate (28 percent), wanting to be close to family and friends (23 percent) and a general love for the country (22 percent).²⁵⁹

In 2008 the dissatisfaction with the government only grew. Eskom, the government-owned electricity supplier, started a period of ‘load shedding’ as the electricity demand exceeded the electricity supply. This made many upset with the government, who had not maintained power stations or prepared for the population growth since 1994. This, along with soaring electricity tariffs, rising petrol prices, increasing interest rates, xenophobia and a recession only made South African citizens more upset with the government leading to a spike in emigration rates.²⁶⁰ This will be examined in chapter five of this thesis.

From the outside, Australia is viewed as a country with very little political drama. Strikes are often planned, peaceful, and do not last long, as the government seems to be on top of social issues. Many see Australia as an escape from the never-ending political issues that South Africa has. Australia is also seen as a conservative state, which means they tend to have more traditional values. Due to higher mobility, skilled people are able to have a lower threshold of sensitivity, and thus are able to react when they find the government and its policies unsatisfactory, something often seen in South Africa.²⁶¹

3.2. Job opportunities and affirmative action

Push and pull factors, like that of high unemployment and affirmative action, assist in the brain drain as educated people who struggle to find employment in South Africa are often the first to leave. For many, it is not only about finding a job in their chosen expertise but also about earning enough money. If one could be paid more or receive better benefits overseas, then one is more likely to consider emigrating. The same is true if one can practise their chosen career path straight away overseas, as one is more likely to emigrate instead of spending five years trying to reach a position that is seen as mid- to entry-level overseas due to South Africa’s lack of industry. This, along with job security, plays a role. Developed countries tend to have better

²⁵⁸ M. C. Marchetti-Mercer: “Is it just about crime? A psychological perspective on South African emigration.” *South African Journal of Psychology*, (42), (2), (2012), p. 244.

²⁵⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁶⁰ *Sunday Tribune*, 30 March 2008, p. 4.

²⁶¹ R. Mattes & W. Richmond: “The Brain Drain: What do skilled South Africans think?” *Africa Insight*, (2007), p. 10.

job security as their economy does not tend to fluctuate as much as that of a developing country and they also have better economic ratings than South Africa.

As previously discussed, affirmative action enforces that companies hire from a previously disadvantaged race; this often means that white South Africans are hired last and are often the first to be let go. Many young white graduates also struggle to find work in their area of expertise as they lack experience but cannot gain experience in South Africa because of their skin colour. Many who struggle to find jobs in South Africa often decide it is easier to move abroad than to wait around for a run-of-the-mill job in South Africa, where they will not move up the ranks because of their skin colour. Job opportunities and better salaries remain a pull factor for those wanting to leave the country, while high unemployment rates and affirmative action acts as a push factor for a reason to move. These two push and pull factors go hand in hand.

A survey from 2000 summarised that 76 percent of those questioned would move abroad if the job offer was attractive enough, with 31 percent feeling insecure in their current job due to ongoing retrenchments, 42 percent were worried about restructuring occurring in their current field and 17 percent worried about how affirmative action would affect them.²⁶² Historically, African leaders have often related the brain drain issue to the consequence of higher wages abroad.²⁶³ However, 45 percent of over 500 expatriates that were questioned said they would return to South Africa if they could get immediate employment, indicating that salaries are not always the crutch of the brain drain.²⁶⁴ This shows how detrimental affirmative action is to the South African economy, and also how hard it is to find suitable employment as a white South African when starting one's career.

Due to both the brain drain and affirmative action, many South Africans feel they are also being overworked due to a high shortage of skilled staff, South African companies may also pay slightly higher salaries to try and keep staff happy even though they are doing more than their load of work.²⁶⁵ While there are many different points of view on affirmative action, and it does not always affect all who choose to emigrate, however, when considering moving abroad because of a job, affirmative action and better job opportunities are always listed as the top common reasons.

²⁶² *Sunday Times*, 12 March 2000, p. 1.

²⁶³ *Saturday Star*, 13 September 2003, p. 15.

²⁶⁴ *The Citizen*, 12 March 2004, p. 6.

²⁶⁵ *The New Age*, 12 October 2016, p. 16.

3.3. Standard of living

In 1993 the drop in standard of living in South Africa was listed as one of the main reasons for emigration, as many complained that within the past ten years there had been massive rates of inflation and no salary increases to keep up with the momentum.²⁶⁶ However, it has also been suggested that the brain drain is heavily driven by white South African's perceptions that the quality of life is on a decline since the demise of apartheid.²⁶⁷ These two statements tie in together as sanctions and the recession started in the 1980s, which would have led to higher inflation rates. One could suggest that the standard of living started dropping in the mid-1980s, stabilised in the late 1990s and then took a dive again the mid-2000s, resulting in the above discourse.

Often when thinking about declining standards, people think about the public and commercial services that their children will have in the near future.²⁶⁸ If the quality of services is depleting, it is viewed as a decline in the standard of living. This makes many realise that the future standards will not be as good for their children. While educated people are often the first to emigrate if they are unhappy, they understand that they are still in a better position than the bulk of the nation.²⁶⁹ Many who emigrate remain pessimistic about the future costs of living, taxation and standard of public services, believing things will not get any better in South Africa.²⁷⁰

There appears to be a drop in the everyday standard of living in South Africa, including roads with potholes, unlicensed drivers, bureaucratic inefficiency, declining municipal and medical services, electricity and telephone interruptions, and slow service delivery.²⁷¹ The United Nations Human Development Index ranks 174 countries across the world by their standard of living according to their life expectancy, educational attainment and gross domestic profit per capita, in 2000 South Africa was ranked 98 out of 174 countries, in 2017 South Africa dropped

²⁶⁶ *The Sunday Star*, 02 May 1993, p. 24.

²⁶⁷ R. Mattes & W. Richmond: "The Brain Drain: What do skilled South Africans think?" *Africa Insight*, (2007), p. 10.

²⁶⁸ *Ibid.*

²⁶⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁷⁰ *Ibid.*

²⁷¹ J. van Rooyen: *The New Great Trek: The story of South Africa's white exodus*, p. 106.

down to 113.²⁷² This shows that South Africa, according to global living standards, is currently on a decline.

On average, South Africans pay approximately 40 percent of their income to the government in the form of both direct and indirect taxation.²⁷³ With this in mind, the average disposable income in 2019 South Africa is R156,206 per a year, whereas the world average is R439,120 a year, however, it is emphasised that the cost of living in South Africa is comparably cheaper than elsewhere in the world.²⁷⁴ While South Africans often enjoy cheaper food and alcohol, Australians pay up to 120 percent more for a beer and activities when compared to global standard pricing, South Africans often make up for their cheaper lifestyle in other ways, like paying more for security or education.²⁷⁵ So while one may earn less in South Africa, it is possible to live more comfortably even if the public services and standard of living are on what is reported to be an ever-present decline.

The failure to upkeep public health care during the political transition shows as South Africa remains the world leader in the HIV/AIDS infection, with 18 percent of the South African population living with HIV in 2013.²⁷⁶ A drop in medical standards was also quoted for being one of the reasons for emigration, while it has also been made apparent that those who work in the South African medical field would rather move abroad where there are higher medical standards and more funding towards government-run health care.²⁷⁷ It is important to remember that healthcare professionals also experience the same push and pull factors as any other profession, with almost 50 percent of South Africa's medics wanting to emigrate.²⁷⁸ This explains the drop in South African health care as those that are sufficiently trained, leave South Africa before more can be trained to take their place.

²⁷² *Ibid.* pp. 107-108. & Human Development Indices and Indicators, p. 33.

http://hdr.undp.org/sites/default/files/2018_human_development_statistical_update.pdf (Date accessed: 16 May 2019).

²⁷³ <https://citizen.co.za/news/south-africa/1619684/standard-of-living-on-a-slippery-slope/> (Date accessed: 17 May 2019).

²⁷⁴ <https://www.expat.com/za/about/basics/the-cost-of-living-in-south-africa-1167470/> (Date accessed: 17 May 2019).

²⁷⁵ *The Citizen*, 24 April 2009, p. 23.

²⁷⁶ E. T. Gomez & R. R. Premdas: *Affirmative action, ethnicity and conflict*, p. 127.

²⁷⁷ *The Sunday Independent*, 23 June 1996, p. 1.

²⁷⁸ *Cape Times*, 19 February 2008, p. 1.

3.4. Education

The apartheid government and post-apartheid government both undertook different educational styles. Often the apartheid education system is praised by the older white South African generation for being one of the best in the world. Contrariwise, the current ANC-led education system is often critiqued as almost 100 percent of its budget goes towards paying teachers' salaries, many who complain about being underpaid, while the budget leaves no room for equipment, textbooks and general upkeep of schools.²⁷⁹ In 2019 one of the main reported concerns for the education budget was to start replacing pit latrines in over 2,400 schools and start updating the infrastructures of schools.²⁸⁰ A sad reminder that some South African public schools do not meet the minimum sanitation requirements students should have while being educated, therefore effecting the children's mindset and ability to learn. While this does not necessarily affect those deciding to emigrate, it serves as a reminder that South Africa is still a developing country and adds to the South Africa on a decline rhetoric.

In 2015, the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) ranked 76 countries on their educational levels of maths and science at the age of 15. South Africa came 75 out of the 76 countries that were ranked.²⁸¹ In 2016 the South African education minister reported that less than half of the students who enrolled in grade 1 in 2002 passed the school-leaving exam eleven years later, showing a failing standard of education, as more than half either dropped out of school or were held back a grade.²⁸² As education in South Africa is only compulsory until grade nine, many students leave school early to assist their families or get jobs. In 2015, 70,7 percent of students passed the school-leaving matric exams, with only half of these achieving a 50 percent pass rate, this meant more than half did not receive access to study at a tertiary education institute, such as a college or university.²⁸³

In 2017 only 28,7 percent of those who passed the matric exams received entrance to university, out of this, 51 percent of those who received entrance, could not afford to attend university.²⁸⁴ This meant that less than 14 percent of South African high school graduates were able to attend

²⁷⁹ J. van Rooyen: *The New Great Trek: The story of South Africa's white exodus*, p. 103.

²⁸⁰ <https://www.iol.co.za/news/politics/budget2019-education-and-culture-biggest-spend-items-in-budget-19403738> (Date accessed: 16 May 2019).

²⁸¹ <https://www.expatica.com/za/education/children-education/education-in-south-africa-803205/> (Date accessed: 16 May 2019).

²⁸² *Ibid.*

²⁸³ *Ibid.*

²⁸⁴ <https://www.southafricanmi.com/education-statistics.html> (Date accessed: 16 May 2019).

university or college. Despite many South Africans' inability to afford university education, the number of graduates since 2000 has more than doubled, with 92,874 university graduates in 2000 compared to 203,076 in 2016, this does not include the 135,492 graduates from private and technical colleges.²⁸⁵ While these recent figures are excluded from the period being studied, it shows the relevance to how certain education levels are still inaccessible. Many high school graduates do not receive access to universities, and many South Africans use the educational system as a reason to emigrate, as many worry about the quality of their children's education and how far one could get as a South African high school graduate. It also shows how the skills gap in South Africa is still widening, as only a select few can receive and afford the tertiary education necessary to fill the skilled jobs that are usually left open by those who emigrate.

One should also note that the final end-of-year matric examinations was not accessible for all races during the apartheid era, and to use information from that era to compare it to more recent marks, would be unjust. For example, in 1985 only 82,815 black South African students wrote the matric exam in 1985 and only 47 percent of those who wrote passed.²⁸⁶ Less than ten years later, 400,000 black South Africans took the matric examinations in 1994.²⁸⁷ While the matric pass rate has grown in the post-apartheid era, there are still a large number of South African students who fail or drop out too early. This also coincides with underappreciated teaching staff and poor infrastructure and equipment. While the money and infrastructure are significant factors, the education system is also dependent on how the education process is ordered, managed and translated into classroom practice – with many believing this is where the inefficiency grows.²⁸⁸

It should be mentioned that many have to come to view the ANC government's outcomes-based education (OBE) as flawed, as it has brought down the quality of education to such a point that more than half of the country's matriculants are functionally illiterate and innumerate, as one only needs 30 percent to pass their school subjects and graduate high school.²⁸⁹ These students are able to make it to grade 12 in spite of poor curriculum, teaching habits, as well as the lack of textbooks and equipment needed to teach students. Due to the low

²⁸⁵ <https://www.southafricanmi.com/education-statistics.html> (Date accessed: 16 May 2019).

²⁸⁶ <https://www.ieducation.co.za/matric-a-50-year-review/> (Date accessed: 17 May 2019).

²⁸⁷ *Ibid.*

²⁸⁸ J. Hofmeyer (ed.): *Vision or Vacuum? Governing the South African Economy: 2010 Transformation Audit*, p. 74.

²⁸⁹ E. T. Gomez & R. R. Premdas: *Affirmative action, ethnicity and conflict*, p. 127.

pass rate, many who emigrate no longer see the worth in the school-leaving matric certificate when compared to global standards. This is why some South Africans would rather disrupt their children's lives earlier to ensure that they get a quality education before it is too late for them or would rather pay higher school fees so their children can attend private or governing-body run schools rather than South African public schools.

When using education as an emigration push factor, some stated that it was not just the declining education standards throughout South Africa, but the declining education standards in predominantly white schools where many émigrés had studied at previously.²⁹⁰ In 2004 Bishops Diocesan College in Cape Town reported that they were aware of 800 to 1200 of its former students now living in Australia, who would consider sending their children to the school should they ever return to South Africa.²⁹¹ This implies loyalty to the school rather than the education system. If they had faith in the current education system, they would return to South Africa with their children.

One should note that while the South African education standards has been proven to have dropped, the larger majority of those who emigrate, fall into the middle- to upper-class bracket, and therefore are more likely to send their children to private or governing-body (semi-private) schools in South Africa. For these people complaining about the decline in education, standards has become more of a rhetoric, as their children are less likely to be affected by the education standards as very few go to fully government-run schools.

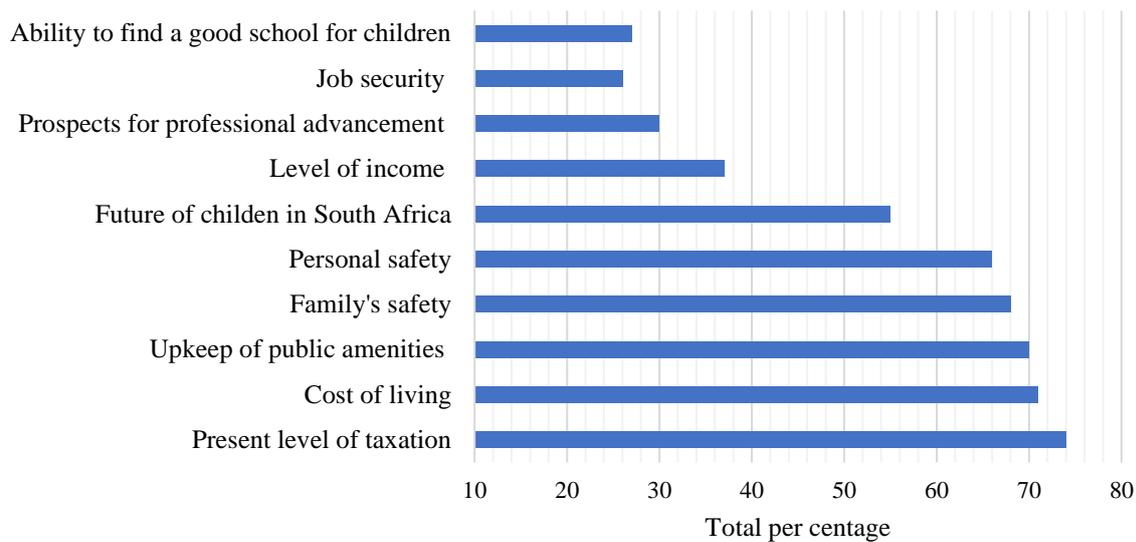
The graph below summarises the general dissatisfaction felt in South Africa in 2000. The information was gathered after 725 interviews took place between both those seen as skilled workers and those seen as unskilled.²⁹² This ties in with the general push and pull factors as those who emigrate are often so dissatisfied they feel the only way to become satisfied again is to leave to country.

²⁹⁰ *Financial Mail*, 25 October 1996, p. 24.

²⁹¹ *This Day*, 14 May 2004, p. 3.

²⁹² R. Mattes & W. Richmond: "The Brain Drain: What do skilled South Africans think?" *Africa Insight*, (2007), p. 10.

Levels of dissatisfaction within South Africa in 2000



293

3.5. Crime

Crime is perhaps one of the most prevalent reasons cited when South Africans emigrate and therefore receives its own focus within this chapter. Crime is cited over 60 percent of the time as the main reason to move abroad. This number has continued to grow post-1994.²⁹⁴ Crime has overtaken South Africa: as the country is one of the world leaders in rape, murder, car hijackings and violent crimes, making many lose hope in the future of South Africa. Crime has become so prevalent in South Africa that some deem it as a 'civil war' between law and order within the country, as South Africa loses the same number of people daily that a country would lose during a civil war.²⁹⁵ Just how badly crime affects the rate of emigration and why will be studied in this chapter, as it is one of the most detrimental push factors.

3.5.1. South African crime statistics

On average in 2000, it was said that 25,000 South Africans were killed a year, amounting to 67 people a day.²⁹⁶ During 1990 to 2000 the average murder rate was between 50 to 60 people a day, making South Africa the country with the third highest murders per day.²⁹⁷ It is also

²⁹³ R. Mattes & W. Richmond: "The Brain Drain: What do skilled South Africans think?" *Africa Insight*, (2007), p. 10.

²⁹⁴ J. van Rooyen: *The New Great Trek: The story of South Africa's white exodus*, p. 72.

²⁹⁵ *Ibid.* pp. 73-74.

²⁹⁶ *Ibid.* p. 74.

²⁹⁷ *Ibid.* p. 75.

reported that 750,000 violent crimes happen in South Africa per a year, these crimes include: car hijackings, break-ins, attempted murder, assault and rape, with approximately 134 rapes happening a day in South Africa.²⁹⁸ One should note that South Africa is the world leader in Interpol's reported rape statistics, and this does not even account for the rapes that happen daily but are never reported. When looking at emigration push factors, very few mention rape as their primary fear, despite it being such a common occurrence within South Africa. This is perhaps because it is still such a taboo topic. In 1998, 49,000 rapes were reported to the South African police services, but it is estimated that only one out of every 20 rape cases is reported to the authorities, suggesting that 1,2 million rapes could have taken place in 1998 alone, allowing a new rape to happen every 26 seconds in South Africa.²⁹⁹ Along with this, it is suggested that 60 to 70 percent of crime in South Africa is either not reported or not recorded correctly.³⁰⁰

When comparing both the apartheid and post-apartheid era, there is a major discrepancy in crime as South Africa became more open and inclusive to all races. No longer using restricted homelands and passes, many became more aware of the poverty gap between those who had been previously disadvantaged and those that had not. It became easier for those from poorer backgrounds to wander into more affluent areas, while more and more civil servants turned a blind eye to the ongoing crime. After 1994, the disparity between 'the haves' and the 'have-nots' only widened between those driving a Mercedes and those pushing shopping carts in the streets.³⁰¹ This perhaps explains why violent crimes increased by 21.6 percent between 1994 and 1999.³⁰² As a majority of those who emigrate come from 'the haves' wealth bracket, they are more likely to feel threatened by crime rates, even if they are not directly affected by them.

In 1998 more than 15,000 car hijackings took place in South Africa, with a large portion of these happening in Johannesburg, some of these hijackings were followed with the rape and murder of the vehicle owners.³⁰³ If the owner refused to get out of the car, it was easier to shoot them and remove the dead body than to argue with them or to wait for another victim. By the

²⁹⁸ J. van Rooyen: *The New Great Trek: The story of South Africa's white exodus*, p. 75.

²⁹⁹ *Ibid.* pp. 83-85.

³⁰⁰ C. Tatz, P. Arnold & G. Heller: *Worlds Apart: the re-migration of South African Jews*, p. 198.

³⁰¹ *Weekend Saturday Argus*, 23 August 1998, p. 23.

³⁰² E. Louw & G. Mersham: "Packing for Perth: The Growth of a Southern Africa Diaspora." *Asian and Pacific Migration Journal*, (10), (2), (2001), p. 315.

³⁰³ J. van Rooyen: *The New Great Trek: The story of South Africa's white exodus*, p. 78.

time the body would be found, the vehicle would have been scrapped for parts and never found again.

With the majority of South Africans feeling that crime is constantly on the rise, it is no surprise that 30 percent of white South Africans felt unsafe in 1994, with this number rising to 80 percent in 1997.³⁰⁴ This number also rose amongst black South Africans from 11 percent feeling unsafe in 1994 to 43 percent in 1999.³⁰⁵ To add to this feeling of lack of safety, many have little faith in the South African judicial system, with only 77 people on average being arrested for every 1,000 crimes that take place.³⁰⁶ Furthermore, out of the 25,000 murders that took place in 1997, only 15 percent received convictions, the same follows with only 7 percent of 50,000 rapes being convicted.³⁰⁷

In only one day in April 1997, a Johannesburg newspaper reported four different rape cases and a murder that had all taken place on the previous day.³⁰⁸ Many living in South Africa feel that there is no longer respect for human life, fearing that something like a mobile phone may be a deciding factor between life and death.³⁰⁹ In 2002 the BBC News reported that between January and September 2001, 15,000 people had been murdered in South Africa.³¹⁰ In 2007, BBC World announced that ‘South Africa jostles with Iraq and Columbia for the title of the most violent country in the world, war zones included.’³¹¹ Crime is a major push factor as many no longer feel that human life is being valued in South Africa.

In 2018 farm murders hit an all-time high of publicity, as more and more South African farmers are being attacked and murdered due to their secluded homesteads making them easy targets. This has led to the Australian government momentarily offering refuge to any South African farmers who chose to leave the country, as well as the Australian immigration minister also offered to pay ‘special attention’ to the farmers by fast-tracking any visas for white South African farmers who face land expropriation.³¹² While it is out of the time period being studied in this thesis, it shows the relevance towards crime and emigration.

³⁰⁴ J. van Rooyen: *The New Great Trek: The story of South Africa's white exodus*, p. 89.

³⁰⁵ *Ibid.*

³⁰⁶ *Ibid.* p. 90.

³⁰⁷ *Ibid.*

³⁰⁸ *The Star*, 11 April 1997, p. 9.

³⁰⁹ *The Independent on Saturday*, 10 October 1998, p. 7.

³¹⁰ C. Tatz, P. Arnold & G. Heller: *Worlds Apart: the re-migration of South African Jews*, p. 198.

³¹¹ *Ibid.*

³¹² <https://www.sowetanlive.co.za/news/south-africa/2018-10-14-afriforum-in-australia-to-talk-about-farm-attacks-and-murders-in-sa/> (Date Accessed: 19 March 2019) & *Witness*, 16 March 2018, p. 2.

Farm murders are not new but have gained more publicity in recent years due to social media, like Facebook. From 1994 to 1997, 554 farmers were killed, averaging at 200 murders per 100,000 farmers in South Africa, this number excludes the 1,400 violent attacks that farmers have also faced.³¹³ Between 2017 and 2018, there were 62 recorded farm murders in total, however, this pales in comparison to the 57 South Africans that are murdered daily.³¹⁴ With the introduction of land expropriation in 2018, many white South African farmers have become fearful of being attacked and murdered for their land, and this is slowly causing an ongoing racial debacle across South Africa, which has been vehemently denied by the South African government and President Cyril Ramaphosa. This is important to mention in this thesis as it shows that emigration and crime are still just as common in 2019, even if new push factors do arise.

3.5.2 Crime and emigration

Before the 1994 elections, many emigrating cited they were leaving due to the political unrest, the recession, trying to escape the apartheid government and because they no longer saw a positive political future in South Africa.³¹⁵ From 1994 to 2005, the panic about the political state of the country started to decline, as South Africa was on an economic boom and therefore South Africans could take more calculated moves before moving abroad. This is when the biggest pull to move abroad became the fear of crime, and how one needed to sell their house before they became another South African crime statistic.³¹⁶

As crime is listed as one of the most popular reasons to leave the country, it is easy to understand why crime and emigration go hand in hand. If people, despite numerous security measures, do not feel safe in their homes, they will start looking for a place with a lower crime rate to relocate to. To increase the chances of permanently moving abroad, one has to be educated; therefore crime feeds into the brain drain. In South Africa crime has become out of control, and many feel that the government does very little to stop these attacks. Because crime remains at an all-time high in South Africa, this affects the psyche and morale of South African citizens, and many choose to move away rather than to remain anxious and hopeless about their

³¹³ J. van Rooyen: *The New Great Trek: The story of South Africa's white exodus*, p. 83.

³¹⁴ <https://www.sowetanlive.co.za/news/south-africa/2018-10-14-afriforum-in-australia-to-talk-about-farm-attacks-and-murders-in-sa/> (Date Accessed: 19 March 2019).

³¹⁵ *The Sunday Star*, 11 August 1985, p. 3.

³¹⁶ *The Sunday Independent*, 28 June 1996, p. 1.

future.³¹⁷ Many feel that crime is destroying the quality of life in South Africa and is affecting even the most mundane tasks, like going to the shopping centre or going for a walk in a public space.³¹⁸

Many émigrés feel that it is only a matter of time before they experience crime or violence, or have to experience it again, believing that the longer they stay in South Africa, the more likely they are to be at risk of a personal attack.³¹⁹ It is often a horror story from a friend or family member that can make people emigrate before they too become another statistic. In 1995 an immigration consultant stated that one in every three of her clients has had a direct experience of violence, murder, robbery or a hold-up of some kind and no longer felt they had a choice in whether they should stay or leave the country.³²⁰ Many people that investigated moving abroad only made up their minds when one of their loved ones was directly affected by crime.³²¹ Some émigrés felt they were more likely to be hijacked than to be in a car accident and therefore did not always abide by the rules of the road; instead they jumped red lights and drove with their children on their laps at night.³²² Implying that South Africans are willing to risk their lives in the name of escaping crime.

In 1997, 84 percent of emigrating executives cited crime and violence as their main reason for leaving South Africa.³²³ In 1998, 96 percent of all employees who emigrated blamed crime for their decision, followed by declining education standards.³²⁴ Many parents try to protect their children from the harsh realities of the world, but once they realise that their children are also just as aware of the crime situation and are able to enter the debate on crime in South Africa, parents become more willing to leave rather than share the stress with their kids. In 1999, 60 percent of those questioned said crime would be the main reason for their exodus, this was followed with a further 47 percent citing violence as the other main reason, these two terms are interchangeable as a simple mugging could lead to a violent attack.³²⁵

Crime in South Africa has also become about victim-blaming. If someone were to be car hijacked late at night, the community would question as to why that person was driving alone

³¹⁷ J. van Rooyen: *The New Great Trek: The story of South Africa's white exodus*, p. 93.

³¹⁸ *Ibid.* p. 95.

³¹⁹ *The Star*, 06 May 1993, p. 13.

³²⁰ *Weekend Argus*, 10 December 1995, p. 18.

³²¹ *The Daily News*, 09 September 1996, p. 8.

³²² *The Natal Witness*, 05 November 1998, p. 11.

³²³ *Sunday Times*, 17 August 1997, p. 3.

³²⁴ *The Sowetan*, 19 March 1998, p. 6.

³²⁵ *Sunday World*, 21 March 1999, p. 11.

late at night, instead of blaming the criminals. This shows just how normalised crime has become in South Africa, as average citizens are blamed for doing something considered ordinary in safer developed countries. In 2006 the South African rugby team made an open call to President Mbeki to tackle the crime in South Africa, as they felt the basic human right to safety was being stripped from them after several of the team members faced crime scares, yet nothing came of this.³²⁶

In 2007 South African Defence Minister, Mosiuoa Lekota, stated that while the people with the loudest voices and wealthiest pockets are most likely to use crime as an excuse for emigrating, crime is often felt more by those in poorer communities who live in informal settlements.³²⁷ Lekota has gone as far as to call those who complain about the levels of crime in South Africa, ‘crime-whingers,’ stating that ‘every country has crime and crime is not a policy of the government,’ perhaps showing how the South African government felt about the crime levels and those that reacted to it by emigrating.³²⁸

Despite poor record keeping, it is indicated that white South Africans only make up for 12 to 20 percent of the victims of violent attacks, with the majority of victims being black South Africans.³²⁹ However, South African citizens began to believe that ‘assault and rape are the new national sports’ instead of rugby and soccer and a FIFA Soccer world cup could not be held in a country so rampant with crime.³³⁰

While those who emigrate often cite crime as one of the main reasons, they are not necessarily victims that have been attacked but rather fall into a social trope that echoes attacks that may have happened to their friends or family, thereby regurgitating that they need to leave before they become a victim. Reactions to crime involve: additional safety precautions, moving to a less dangerous area, demands for corporal punishment or emigration.³³¹ Every time people have to further upgrade their security systems due to crime, more and more consider leaving. Some émigrés no longer want to live in a country where they have to ‘live in a self-imposed prison’ to feel safe.³³² They ultimately decide to leave when they no longer see a ‘light at the

³²⁶ *Saturday Star*, 21 October 2006, p. 1.

³²⁷ *Cape Argus*, 14 February 2007, p. 11.

³²⁸ *The Star*, 15 February 2007, p. 3. & *Ibid.* 19 February 2007, p. 12.

³²⁹ C. Tatz, P. Arnold & G. Heller: *Worlds Apart: the re-migration of South African Jews*, pp. 198-199.

³³⁰ *Sunday Tribune*, 09 December 2007, p. 44.

³³¹ J. van Rooyen: *The New Great Trek: The story of South Africa's white exodus*, p. 96.

³³² *The Sunday Independent*, 28 June 1996, p. 1.

end of the tunnel, particularly regarding crime.³³³ It is only in 2008 that one sees a shift in reasons to emigrate, as load shedding, corruption and xenophobia overtook the fear of crime.

3.5.3 Crime and Australia

Many South Africans view Australia as a safe haven in which one does not need any security and can sleep peacefully at night with the front door unlocked. Like any country, this is not true, but when compared to South Africa, the security measures one needs to take are minimal. An example of this was in 1986 when a family moved to Australia and saw that their neighbourhood lacked burglar bars on windows and doors, a common household trait in South Africa.³³⁴ Also, there was a sense of security when travelling, as drivers no longer felt the need to lock car doors when driving around the block or skipping red lights at night.³³⁵ Often many South African emigrants view Australia as their haven from crime, acquiring a tunnel-vision outlook and ignoring the other problems that Australia may have.

It has been reported that many are under the impression that anything must be better than the lives people are living in South Africa, they want their children to be able to play freely and want to feel safe driving around, something they think Australia can give them.³³⁶ Often many fall into a migration phenomenon, where one believes that if people are leaving South Africa to go to Australia, then it must be good.³³⁷ When émigrés gather together in Australia, they often talk about how they left because they ‘did not feel safe’ in South Africa.³³⁸ It is often these émigrés who talk badly about South Africa once they have left that affect the South African tourism industry, as those abroad are told not to visit South Africa unless they want to be murdered or robbed.

When moving abroad, many émigrés think about their children and where they would benefit growing up the most. The birth of a first child is often found to be the trigger for many people to start the emigration process.³³⁹ While many emigrants grew up in South Africa and have fond childhood memories, many parents do not feel that their children will have the same quality of life that they once did. For security and education reasons, many parents prefer to

³³³ *The Natal Witness*, 05 November 1998, p. 11.

³³⁴ *Sunday Times*, 15 June 1986, p. 7.

³³⁵ *The Star*, 11 April 1997, p. 9.

³³⁶ *The Citizen*, 13 August 1997, p. 20.

³³⁷ E. Louw & G. Mersham: “Packing for Perth: The Growth of a Southern Africa Diaspora.” *Asian and Pacific Migration Journal*, (10), (2), (2001), p. 316.

³³⁸ *The Natal Witness*, 05 November 1998, p. 11.

³³⁹ *Business Day*, 29 October 2008, p. 20.

move their children abroad so they can continue to have the same quality of life they once had. It is often thought that if the parents do not emigrate now, then their children will emigrate in the future when it could be too late for them to join due to their age.³⁴⁰

The murder rate in Australia in 1996 was 1.6 murders per 100,000 people, whereas South Africa was at 61.1 murders per 100,000 people in the same year, meaning one is 38 times more likely to be murdered in South Africa than in Australia.³⁴¹ However, Australia has a very open drug problem. An example that left many expatriates shocked was when a bus driver announced that ‘all passengers hand in their drug equipment for the duration of the [bus] trip’ from Sydney to Brisbane.³⁴² This is perhaps an unglamorous side of Australia that is never mentioned by those who choose to emigrate. Many parents fear for their children’s safety in South Africa but willingly move them to a country with an openly high drug problem, where free clean needles are supplied in public bathrooms, as part of the Clean Needle Program. While one is less likely to be murdered in Australia, the drug problem they face kills one in every 20 people in the country.³⁴³ In the year 1999, 1,740 Australians died due to drug-related reasons, estimating 4,7 people died a day in Australia due to drugs.³⁴⁴ Along with drug problems, petty crime usually follows as people do whatever they can to be able to afford their next fix. This shows that the grass is perhaps not as green in Australia as many believe it to be. Although they do not have a high murder rate, they certainly have their own set of problems.

Despite this, for any migrant Australia seems far-removed from any major conflict zones and is often viewed as a society with minimal internal or racial problems and political conflict or crime, especially when compared to South Africa.³⁴⁵

3.6. Conclusion

This chapter has spoken about several push and pull factors that South Africans face before emigrating, including the government and political atmosphere, the economy, affirmative action, job opportunities, the standard of living and education within South Africa. It briefly

³⁴⁰ *The Star*, 06 May 1993, p. 13.

³⁴¹ *Ibid.* 11 April 1997, p. 9.

³⁴² *The Natal Witness*, 02 December 1998, p. 13.

³⁴³ <https://www.news.com.au/lifestyle/health/australias-alcohol-drugs-problem-revealed-in-aihw-report/news-story/fb4163749ed3e01466e2d54a13a43eb4> (Date accessed: 26 March 2019).

³⁴⁴

<https://www.abs.gov.au/ausstats/abs@.nsf/Lookup/by%20Subject/3303.0~2016~Main%20Features~Drug%20Induced%20Deaths%20in%20Australia~6> (Date accessed: 21 May 2019).

³⁴⁵ E. Louw & G. Mersham: “Packing for Perth: The Growth of a Southern Africa Diaspora.” *Asian and Pacific Migration Journal*, (10), (2), (2001), p. 327.

discussed certain elements that could make one want to emigrate. A specific focus was then placed onto crime to show just how much push and pull factors can attribute to emigration, perhaps even becoming the main reason for emigration from South Africa. Often some push factors can become a rhetoric or be exaggerated, to make people feel unhappier in their home country even if it does not explicitly affect them. Push factors can also create tunnel-vision on those choosing to emigrate as they no longer see any hope in their home country and believe their future lies in the hands of the country they are choosing to emigrate to. Push factors become the main drive in 2008 as new problems arise. This will be further examined in the 2008 case study chapter.

Push factors go hand in hand with pull factors. If one is in an unsatisfactory job or cannot get employment, there is always another country that can provide better opportunities. Many people with families do not want to have to constantly look over their shoulder and make sure all their doors are locked at all times of the day. Crime runs concurrently with the brain drain as educated people get sick of risking their lives for a job they could get anywhere around the globe. The South African government has yet to come up with a solution for both the brain drain and crime. It seems that they prefer to believe that it is not their problem; while those emigrating can be seen to have given up on the South African government. While crime plays a major role, it is not the only deciding factor when one chooses to emigrate. People are rather influenced by many factors that they encounter in their day to day life. This chapter merely listed the main elements that could influence one's emigration decision.

Chapter Four: Australia: the new South Africa

Australia has a high immigrant population where one in every four people born outside of the country; South Africans only make up a small minority of this immigrant figure.³⁴⁶ Australians and South Africans have always been considered alike due to their similar heritage, culture and English language. Both countries have a colonial history and are a part of the British Commonwealth. They are also both in the southern hemisphere; therefore they have similar climates, geography and housing architecture. Australians and South Africans have both been viewed as wanderers, with very few citizens being able to trace back their lineage.³⁴⁷ They both have similar climatic, and vegetation zones, land usage, outdoor culture and economies that were founded on farming and mining.³⁴⁸ Because of this, many South Africans feel that they would adjust more easily to Australia than to the United Kingdom, or the United States of America. This is why Australia is the main focus of this research due to the large portion of South Africans that choose to go there. Australia is often the preferred choice over its neighbouring country, New Zealand as New Zealand has a smaller population, more dreary weather and does not appear to have the same ‘big town feel’ as the main cities in Australia do. Therefore, many South Africans feel that moving to New Zealand would require more adjustment than Australia.

South Africans also view Australia as a safe haven from crime and the country has also been condemned as a country where white people are still in political power despite having a large immigrant population.³⁴⁹ As Australia is a large island with six times the land mass of South Africa, they are forever trying to expand more inland as most of their major cities lay on the coastal regions of the country, see Perth and Sydney for example. They have recently started trying to recruit immigrants to live in the middle of Australia, in newer small towns as to give infrastructure in the bigger cities a breather, and to expand the populations in the inland towns and widen the interior population.³⁵⁰ This would also tie hand in hand with Australia openly fast-tracking visas for white South African farmers in 2018, so that they could expand these small farming and industrial towns. However, most educated individuals that form a part of the

³⁴⁶ *The Daily News*, 20 April 1998, p. 10.

³⁴⁷ C. Tatz, P. Arnold & G. Heller: *Worlds Apart: the re-migration of South African Jews*, p. 8.

³⁴⁸ E. Louw & G. Mersham: “Packing for Perth: The Growth of a Southern Africa Diaspora.” *Asian and Pacific Migration Journal*, (10), (2), (2001), p. 326.

³⁴⁹ *The Weekender*, 04 March 2007, p. 1.

³⁵⁰ <https://www.news.com.au/finance/economy/a-plan-to-force-migrants-to-live-in-regional-areas-would-create-ghetto-towns/news-story/3d1eee2cab57531fc1b506058a2193e6> (Date accessed: 10 April 2019).

brain drain do not want to move abroad just to live in a rural town overseas. They would rather go to major cities or not move at all.

4.1. Waves of popularity over the years

Australia and the United Kingdom have always vied for the top spot for South Africans who chose to move abroad. Almost 1 million white South Africans have a British passport or can access ancestral citizenship for the United Kingdom, which is often why the United Kingdom is seen as the top emigration destination for South Africans.³⁵¹ For many white South Africans, when moving abroad, the choice is easier if they have a British passport or can gain access to an ancestral visa. However, many want to stay within a similar cultural climate and choose Australia instead. Many choose to move to Australia for at least they will be ‘under the same southern skies’ as their loved ones back in South Africa.³⁵² With a similar climate and landscape, many believe they would adjust better than heading to the colder United Kingdom. However, their depictions of Australia are not always correct.

During the 1976 Soweto emigration wave, the United Kingdom became the favourite destination to emigrate to, however, after the 1985 Rubicon wave, Australia overtook the United Kingdom as the most popular destination, referring to this emigrating group as the new ‘Bruce’s and Sheila’s – a generic Australian term for men and women.’³⁵³ Those who struggle to get into Australia often go to New Zealand first and then hop over to Australia once they are deemed a New Zealand resident, they will not require a visa to work or live in Australia.³⁵⁴ This also gives them access to choose between the two countries.

In the 1970s and 1980s it was easier to migrate to Australia if one had family members there, as one only needed to prove a close blood relationship with someone already in Australia to be eligible for a family visa, which would then enable them to work and live in Australia until they could deem citizenship five years later. The Australian government used this family reunion programme to bring more people into Australia and reunite families, thereby expanding the Australian population and keeping immigrants happy and in the country for longer. In 1979, South Africa was the third-largest source of immigrants to Australia, with approximately 2,924

³⁵¹ *The Citizen*, 20 December 1985, p. 13.

³⁵² J. van Rooyen: *The New Great Trek: The story of South Africa’s white exodus*, p. 143.

³⁵³ *The Star*, 01 August 1988, p. 2.

³⁵⁴ *The Daily News*, 02 February 1994, p. 3.

South Africans arriving in Australia the year before.³⁵⁵ While Australia accepted 111,000 immigrants between 1980-1981, only 4,000 of these were South African, leaving Australia with the third-largest source of South African immigrants, after the United Kingdom and New Zealand.³⁵⁶ Whenever there was political unrest during the 1980s, South African emigration consultants received approximately ten phone calls a day about applications to Australia.³⁵⁷ In 1985, there was an 800 percent increase in applications from South Africans looking to migrate to Australia, despite there being no increase in the number of immigrants being accepted into Australia.³⁵⁸ In 1987, almost 60 percent of South African emigrants were heading to Australia, with only 16 percent going to the United Kingdom, showing how often Australia's popularity fluctuated for those choosing to leave South Africa.³⁵⁹

In the 1980s and early 1990s, the South African political party, the Progressive Federal Party (PFP), was often jokingly called 'Packing for Perth' as the majority of its supporters emigrated to Australia. PFP was mainly supported by white liberal English speaking South Africans who lived in the wealthier suburbs and usually gave their vote to PFP before they migrated abroad, or voted for them once they had already moved abroad.³⁶⁰ Ironically, in 2000 only 18 percent of South African expatriates in Australia lived in Perth, however, as the city is smaller the South African presence is felt more.³⁶¹

In 1992, the Australian embassy received approximately 100 emigration applications per a month from South African citizens, by 1993, this figure rose by 65 percent.³⁶² In 1994, the reported figures were that 2,880 South Africans emigrated to the United Kingdom, while only 1,298 emigrated to Australia, showing a decrease in the waves of popularity to emigrate to Australia, however, as previously mentioned, these figures are not always realistic due to poor record-keeping by CSS.³⁶³ In 1994, it was reported that 1,654 South Africans emigrated to Australia during the year, and that by the end of 1995, there were over 4,000 applications in the queue.³⁶⁴ In the first nine months of 1996, a total of 8,000 South Africans had emigrated

³⁵⁵ *The Star*, 22 February 1979, p. 7.

³⁵⁶ *Ibid.* 29 December 1981, p. 1.

³⁵⁷ *Ibid.* 26 August 1985, p. 6.

³⁵⁸ *Ibid.* 23 September 1985, p. 5.

³⁵⁹ *Business Day*, 25 May 1987, p. 3.

³⁶⁰ E. Louw & G. Merham: "Packing for Perth: The Growth of a Southern Africa Diaspora." *Asian and Pacific Migration Journal*, (10), (2), (2001), p. 311.

³⁶¹ *Ibid.* p. 325.

³⁶² *Weekly Mail and Guardian*, 18 November 1993, p. 8.

³⁶³ *The Citizen*, 13 September 1995, p. 15.

³⁶⁴ *The Weekend Argus*, 10 December 1995, p. 18.

worldwide, with both Australia and the United Kingdom sharing the number one spot to emigrate to between this group of emigrants.³⁶⁵ Between 1994 and 1997, CSS reported that 5,514 South Africans had emigrated to Australia; on the contrary, Australian authorities had counted that the emigration number sat at 9,092 for South Africans.³⁶⁶ The Australian government also reported that between 1990 and 1997, 18,320 South Africans took up permanent residency (citizenship) in Australia.³⁶⁷

In 1999, the *Business Times* conducted a survey questioning 10,000 South Africans. The results showed that 79 percent of those questioned would leave South Africa due to crime and violence, and when given a choice, 46 percent of those questioned chose Australia as their preferred destination.³⁶⁸ In 1999, 4,280 South Africans arrived in Australia for permanent settlement, a 33 percent increase from the previous year, also making it the highest level of permanent migration from South Africa to Australia in over a decade.³⁶⁹ To add to this, in 2001 it was estimated that between 1,200 to 1,500 South African Jewish citizens were leaving South Africa a year, with between 40 and 45 percent of them choosing to move to Australia.³⁷⁰ In 2007, it was estimated that one out of every seven South African emigrants in Australia was Jewish.³⁷¹ While there is considerable literature on Jewish life in Australia, there is nothing about South African settlement, because, due to their assimilation, few see it as controversial or problematic.³⁷²

When moving abroad, many South Africans use emigration consultants to help with the emigration process, often paying a hefty fee so they do not have to do as much administrative work. These emigration consultants do not guarantee that one would be accepted into Australia, although they usually only take on candidates who have a chance to get into Australia. During the 1990s, Australia decreased their immigration intake by half of what it had once been in the 1980s, reducing it from 160,000 to 74,000, meaning many South Africans on waiting lists now lost the opportunity to move to Australia, usually those who were not qualified enough were turned away.³⁷³ It is speculated that more than 50 percent of emigration applications to

³⁶⁵ *Sunday Times*, 26 January 1997, p. 15.

³⁶⁶ *Saturday Star*, 06 June 1998, p. 9.

³⁶⁷ *The Star*, 26 May 1999, p. 2.

³⁶⁸ *Sunday Times*, 28 February 1999, p. 21.

³⁶⁹ *The Star*, 05 March 1999, p. 15.

³⁷⁰ *Cape Argus*, 26 June 2001, p. 5.

³⁷¹ C. Tatz, P. Arnold & G. Heller: *Worlds Apart: the re-migration of South African Jews*, p. 8.

³⁷² *Ibid.* p. 10.

³⁷³ *The Star*, 09 July 1996, p. 11.

Australia are turned down, those who use a consulting agency tend to have a higher success rate due to its precise screening mechanisms.³⁷⁴ On average, it can take about nine to fifteen months to process an Australian visa application, and this does not always mean one will be accepted the first time.³⁷⁵

In 2002, South African emigration declined, and this affected the number of people now moving to Australia. Some reported that the fall in emigration to Australia was due to major changes in Australia's business migration. Previously, entrepreneurs who emigrated on a business visa were given permanent residency as long as they started a business in Australia within their first five years of residency. In 2002, this changed to a temporary residency where one had to have a preapproved business plan and a sponsorship by one of the six Australian state governments before they were even allowed to move across.³⁷⁶ The change in visa requirements made many reluctant to leave South Africa, especially during a period of complacency in the country, which showed when emigration statistics dropped by 11 percent in 2002 when compared to 2003.³⁷⁷ With this emigration drop, a mass influx of people returning to South Africa began as people who could not adjust abroad returned home as a part of the Homecoming Revolution.

In 2005 Australia undertook an initiative to attempt to lure 20,000 skilled workers from across the globe to Australia due to their ageing population and their brain drain which had now left them with many job shortages in areas such as carpentry and doctors.³⁷⁸ The initiative was an attempt to get more young, skilled workers to Australia by relaxing immigration rules and allowing companies to use incentives to get more workers into the country.³⁷⁹ Australia still follows skilled workers lists when accepting immigrants. Often those who fit into required skills and labour are more likely to be accepted faster into Australia.

In 2006, 4,293 South Africans successfully applied for permanent residency in Australia compared to 3,895 in 2005.³⁸⁰ It was at this time that the Australian embassy in Pretoria openly stated that they were trying not to exacerbate the loss of skilled workers from South Africa, but did not discriminate against those who chose to apply to Australia, as South Africans only

³⁷⁴ *Sunday Tribune*, 20 June 2004, p. 17.

³⁷⁵ *Ibid.*

³⁷⁶ *Sunday Independent*, 09 March 2003, p. 5.

³⁷⁷ *The Citizen*, 16 May 2003, p. 10.

³⁷⁸ *Weekly Mail and Guardian*, 25 August 2005, p. 9.

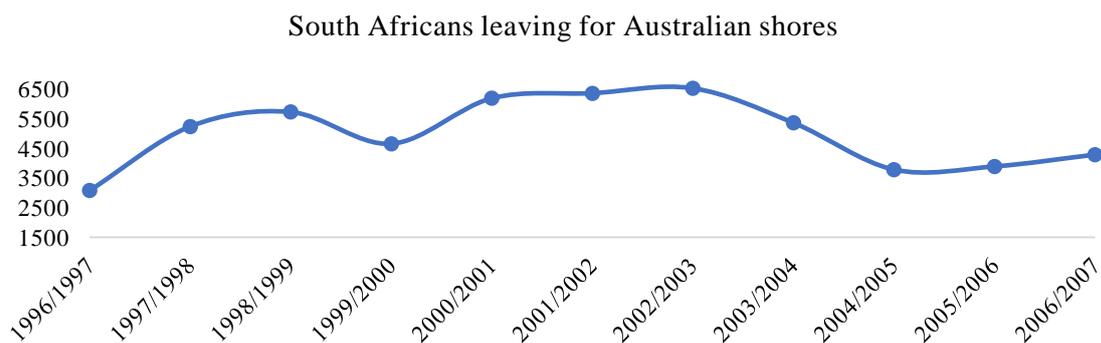
³⁷⁹ *The Citizen*, 06 April 2006, p. 12.

³⁸⁰ *Ibid.* 18 September 2007, p. 20.

represented a small fraction of Australia's overall migration.³⁸¹ Under the beforementioned skilled migration programme, South Africans only made up 5 percent of the total skilled workers moving to Australia from across the globe.³⁸²

At the beginning of 2008, emigration agencies reported a 400 percent jump in inquiries for applications to move abroad after the various calamities that hit South Africa, including the Eskom power crisis, the global recession and political uncertainty.³⁸³ Within one month in 2008, 338 South Africans passed the citizenship test that enabled them to become Australian citizens.³⁸⁴ In 2008, it was reported that South Africa's Jewish community now sat between 70,000 and 80,000 people, whereas before 1976 there had been more than 120,000 Jewish South Africans, Australia was identified as their number one destination if they chose not to go to Israel.³⁸⁵ This shows a massive decline in the population and that it was no longer growing compared to average population increases in South Africa.

During 2007, a Melbourne-based recruitment agency helped relocate 30 South Africans to Australia throughout the year, in 2008, the agency helped relocate 30 South Africans within the first four months of the year, showing a significant jump in people emigrating.³⁸⁶ In 2008 it was reported that for every one person arriving at the airport, there were three people leaving, whereas in 2006 it had been one person leaving for every one person arriving.³⁸⁷ It was during 2008 that the global recession hit, leaving many without jobs worldwide – this includes both South Africans and Australians, as the unemployment rate grew in both countries.



388

³⁸¹ *The Citizen*, 18 September 2007, p. 20.

³⁸² *Ibid.*

³⁸³ *Weekend Post*, 09 February 2008, p. 1.

³⁸⁴ *The Star*, 11 February 2008, p. 3.

³⁸⁵ *Financial Mail*, 29 February 2008, p. 24.

³⁸⁶ *The Weekender*, 03 May 2008, p. 2.

³⁸⁷ *Business Day*, 29 October 2008, p. 20.

³⁸⁸ *The Citizen*, 18 September 2007, p. 20.

4.2. Emigration to Australia statistics

From 1976 to 1986, 30,000 South Africans emigrated to Australia, averaging at 3,000 South African emigrants a year over ten years.³⁸⁹ In 1992, it was believed that there were approximately 65,000 South Africans now living in Australia, with 38 percent of these expatriates living in New South Wales, 24 percent in Victoria, and 17 percent in Western Australia.³⁹⁰ In 1995, due to the high volume of South Africans living in Australia, Mbeki asked for a register to be compiled in the South African High Commission in Canberra that noted all expatriates and their skills, hoping that they would contribute to the new South Africa, this never happened.³⁹¹ In 1998, it was stated that more South Africans now lived in Australia than Australian aborigines.³⁹²

In 2000, it was reported that approximately 50 percent of South African expatriates lived in New South Wales (about 35,000 people), 20 percent in Victoria (18,000 people or more), followed by 15,000 people in Western Australia and a further 10,000 people in Queensland.³⁹³ The Sydney suburb, St Ives has been dubbed ‘St Ivesfontein,’ a play on the South African city Bloemfontein, as it has a higher concentration of South Africans, with over 70 percent of the pupils in the St Ives Jewish School hailing from South Africa.³⁹⁴ It is estimated in 2006, that 40,000 South Africans lived in Perth and had earned the nicknames: ‘Bloemfontein on the sea’ and ‘Perthfontein.’³⁹⁵

The graph below shows just how different the South African recorded statistics of South Africans emigrating to Australia is compared to the statistics recorded by the Australian government. One can note a large disparity in many of the years recorded.

³⁸⁹ *Sunday Times*, 15 June 1986, p. 7.

³⁹⁰ *Vision*, 30 April 1992, p. 6.

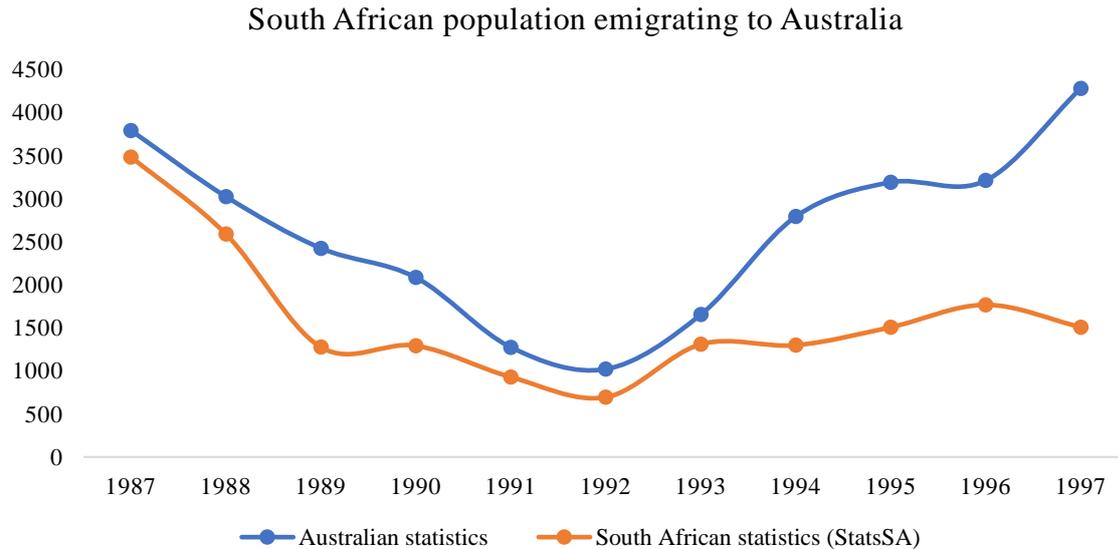
³⁹¹ *The Argus*, 25 April 1995, p. 29.

³⁹² *The Natal Witness*, 28 October 1998, p. 9.

³⁹³ J. van Rooyen: *The New Great Trek: The story of South Africa's white exodus*, p. 142.

³⁹⁴ *Ibid.* p. 143.

³⁹⁵ F. de Vries: *Rigting bedonnered: op die spoor van die Afrikaner post-94*, p. 341.



396

By 1996, 90 percent of South Africans who had arrived in Australia before 1991 had become Australian citizens, this meant that the other 10 percent had most likely left Australia or were still waiting to apply for citizenship.³⁹⁷ Between 1999 and 2000, 6,2 percent of Australia's annual immigrant intake came from South Africa, with an estimated 71,000 South Africans living in Australia during this period.³⁹⁸ In 1999, 63 percent of South African expatriates surveyed in Australia had been living in Australia for more than ten years, showing that a large majority had left before the 1994 elections.³⁹⁹ In 2000, 6,5 percent of all permanent migrants to Australia were from South Africa, making them the third-largest migrant group in Australia.⁴⁰⁰ Most notably, despite their continuous emigration, very little research has been done on South Africans in Australia, presumably because they assimilate to the culture quickly, or as previously mentioned, they return to South Africa for numerous reasons.⁴⁰¹

In 2006, 248,699 African-born people lived in Australia, contributing to 5,6 percent of the overall Australian population, with 104,133 of this population coming from South Africa, making up 41,9 percent of the total African-born Australian population.⁴⁰² From this amount

³⁹⁶ M. Brown, D. Kaplan & J. B. Meyer: "The Brain Drain: An outline of skilled emigration from South Africa." *Africa Insight*, (2007), p. 41.

³⁹⁷ E. Louw & G. Mersham: "Packing for Perth: The Growth of a Southern Africa Diaspora." *Asian and Pacific Migration Journal*, (10), (2), (2001), p. 330.

³⁹⁸ *Ibid.* p. 306.

³⁹⁹ *Sunday Times*, 28 February 1999, p. 21.

⁴⁰⁰ E. Louw & G. Mersham: "Packing for Perth: The Growth of a Southern Africa Diaspora." *Asian and Pacific Migration Journal*, (10), (2), (2001), p. 324.

⁴⁰¹ *Ibid.* p. 306.

⁴⁰² *Saturday Weekend Argus*, 22 November 2008, p. 12.

almost 60 percent had arrived within the past 12 years, which meant almost 63,000 South Africans moved to Australia between 1994 and 2006.⁴⁰³

In 2007, it was estimated that 114,000 South Africans now resided in Australia; however, anecdotal estimates say that 100,000 South Africans live in Perth alone – this number is exaggerated due to it being an overcrowded small city with a large South African immigrant population.⁴⁰⁴ The Australian census takes note of the top ten countries of birth of new arrivals. In the 2001 census, the South African population living in Australia did not feature as they were too small, but by 2016, they were now in the eighth spot out of the ten highest countries for new arrivals in Australia.⁴⁰⁵

There are many Facebook groups about migrating to Australia, where people find out more information on emigration procedures, talk to people that have already emigrated and also plan to meet South African émigrés once in Australia. There are a few groups, like that of ‘South Africans migrating to Australia,’ which has 38,000 members in 2019 and another South African-only group called ‘Migrating to Australia,’ with 3,600 members, created by an emigration agency in order to find and assist clients. Along with this, there is even a Facebook group catered just for people wanting to emigrate with their pets, ‘DOGMA – dogs (and other pets) migrating to Australia,’ where people can ask others the emigration process one needs to follow to bring a pet over and connect with emigration agents for pets. There is even a Facebook group called ‘Aussiekaners,’ – a play on Australia and Afrikaners, which has over 47,000 people who identify as being both Australian and Afrikaans. Along with this, there are also social groups that exist in cities across Australia, like ‘Welcome2Perth for women,’ where South African women in Perth can meet in order to understand their new country as well as even get advice from a South African psychologist who is also a member.⁴⁰⁶ These are just a few of the social groups that exist and can be seen as attempts to keep one’s cultural identity alive.

This is a reminder of just how large the Afrikaner population is in Australia, despite emigration often being viewed as an English-speaking thing. These Facebook pages show the vast number

⁴⁰³ *Saturday Weekend Argus*, 22 November 2008, p. 12.

⁴⁰⁴ *Financial Mail*, 14 December 2007, p. 31.

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https://www.aph.gov.au/About_Parliament/Parliamentary_Departments/Parliamentary_Library/pubs/rp/rp1819/Quick_Guides/PopulationStatistics (Date accessed: 05 June 2019).

⁴⁰⁶ F. de Vries: *Rigting bedonnered: op die spoor van die Afrikaner post-94*, p. 346.

of South Africans wanting to move to Australia and those that already have moved is, and how they have managed to keep their community alive. Often immigrants attempt to cope with losses of loved ones and community by rebuilding their ethnic community networks in their new countries abroad, and this can be seen in Australia via the use of social media.⁴⁰⁷ However, with this in mind, Australia reportedly has one of the highest return rates for expatriates.⁴⁰⁸

4.3. Look, see and decide (LSD)

Many South Africans, before choosing to emigrate, go abroad on ‘look, see and decide’ trips, often known as ‘LSD trips’ where they visit a country before deciding if it is the right choice for them to emigrate to.⁴⁰⁹ Some even go on these trips and do not use their return ticket, preferring to live as illegal immigrants than to return to their country of origin. Most who take these trips already know that they will emigrate, and rather use the trip to see what area they would prefer to live in, and what properties and schools are available. Some even apply for jobs on these LSD trips to see whether it is worthwhile for them to come back. These look, see, decide trips have even been rephrased as ‘look, see, deposit,’ and ‘look, shlep, deposit,’ showing that these trips can be crucial before applying for visas.⁴¹⁰

When moving to Australia, it is reported that each of the main cities is similar to that of South African cities, and this is how people decide which city is best for them to move to. Residents from Kwa-Zulu Natal tend to move to Brisbane and the Gold Coast (Queensland) because of the similar tropical climates; more rural-based South Africans drift to Adelaide for its small-town feel, with both Johannesburgers and Capetonians alike considering Perth, Sydney and Melbourne, as they tend to have a bit more big-city vibrancy like they are used to.⁴¹¹ Sydney has even been described as having the same Johannesburg pace, but with a Cape Town setting.⁴¹²

Before moving, many emigrants consider the next ten years in South Africa, if they do not feel confident about the future, they begin to view their options. Many younger people consider Australia due to its earlier cut off period – one cannot emigrate there after the age of 50, with

⁴⁰⁷ M. C. Marchetti-Mercer: “Is it just about crime? A psychological perspective on South African emigration.” *South African Journal of Psychology*, (42), (2), (2012), p. 245.

⁴⁰⁸ *The Argus*, 24 May 1988, p. 1.

⁴⁰⁹ *Weekend Argus*, 15 January 1994, p. 7.

⁴¹⁰ C. Tatz, P. Arnold & G. Heller: *Worlds Apart: the re-migration of South African Jews*, p. 204.

⁴¹¹ *Sunday Tribune*, 20 June 2004, p. 17.

⁴¹² *The Natal Witness*, 26 October 1998, p. 11.

some visa's cut-off age at 45, unlike in the United Kingdom where the visa cut-off age is 55. Once beginning the application process to move to Australia, one needs to apply for an appropriate visa. All visas are run on a skill-based points system, taking an applicant's English language speaking skills, age group, career path and work experience into account, to name a few that will play a pivotal role.⁴¹³

Emigration is more than just acquiring a visa and stamping your passport; it is a fundamental life decision with many implications, including: taxation, exchange control, medical and educational needs, cultural shock and shipping of personal effects.⁴¹⁴ Many think emigrating is as easy as looking overseas and seeing if one likes the country and its policies, but they do not realise how much effort has to be put in before it can be called their new home. This is often not realised until after the look, see, and decide trip when people start the emigration process and struggle to meet Australia's high immigration requirements.

4.4. Apocalyptic South Africa

Many who choose to move to Australia, come to view it as an 'apocalyptic South Africa'. Australia has been deemed as having 'first-world sophistication and third-world sunshine.'⁴¹⁵ Many South Africans who emigrate have to take a drop in their lifestyles as the cost of living is much higher in Australia than in South Africa. The 2007 South African defence minister, Mosioua Lekota, stated that the only reason Australia is attractive to South Africans is that it is a place where 'white people were still law,' implying that white South Africans who choose to emigrate, want to return to a country that is still governed by white people.⁴¹⁶ He also stated that the aboriginal reserves in Australia were like that of bantustans in apartheid South Africa – something that even the apartheid government critiqued when Australia began their sanctions on South Africa.⁴¹⁷

Australia also has a vast Asian population due to its neighbouring countries and can be seen to be just as culturally diverse as South Africa, albeit without as many official national languages.⁴¹⁸ This is shown as Australia's immigrant population makes up for 28 percent of the total Australian population, comparably higher than South Africa's immigrant population

⁴¹³ *The Star*, 05 February 1999, p. 5.

⁴¹⁴ *The Daily News*, 27 September 1985, p. 12.

⁴¹⁵ *Sunday Times*, 26 January 1997, p. 15.

⁴¹⁶ *The Weekender*, 04 March 2007, p. 1.

⁴¹⁷ *Ibid.*

⁴¹⁸ *The Star*, 27 December 2001, p. 18.

that only makes up 5 percent of the total population figure.⁴¹⁹ This is a shock for many South Africans who move to Australia. Despite now becoming immigrants themselves, they do not expect the immigrant population to be so vast.

It is reported that Australia is not viewed as a neutral place for most South Africans, it is either feared, hated or admired, making it one of South Africa's latest obsessions.⁴²⁰ Feared and hated because it takes one's loved ones away from South Africa, or admired as a safe haven for South Africans who want to leave the country. South Africans have an obsession of trying to define their feelings towards Australia and attempt to make a political stance about the country, whereas Australia does not have the same obsession towards South Africa.⁴²¹ A suggestion was made after seeing a bumper sticker that stated, 'I support South Africa and anyone playing [against] Australia,' that the sticker should be handed out when people renew their car license as it is a common statement in South Africa.⁴²² With so many South Africans choosing to move to Australia, some either view it as a beacon of hope, or hate it for taking away their loved ones.

A South African was quoted after visiting a beach in Perth that she could have been on a beach in Durban, as most of the accents she heard were South African.⁴²³ Some have stated that Sydney's Queen Victoria Mall could be the equivalent to Johannesburg's Hyde Park Mall, as all the South African housewives venture there in their sports cars to meet for coffee after dropping the children off at school.⁴²⁴ This shows that those emigrating now can be seen as affluent and from more middle- to upper-class backgrounds, whereas during the colonial period when people first started migrating, it was often those from poorer backgrounds that chose to move to a new country. This shows how migration patterns have changed within a span of 200 years. However, previously, they were all migrating in search of a better quality of life, something that still rings true today. It is even suggested that Australia is South Africa's best colonisation effort – as the number of South Africans moving there make it seem like they are attempting to take over Australia.⁴²⁵

⁴¹⁹ B. Duffy: *The Perils of Perception: Why we're wrong about Nearly Everything*, p. 97.

⁴²⁰ *The Weekender*, 04 March 2007, p. 1.

⁴²¹ *Ibid.*

⁴²² *Ibid.*

⁴²³ *The Natal Witness*, 28 October 1998, p. 9.

⁴²⁴ *Ibid.* 05 November 1998, p. 11.

⁴²⁵ *The Star*, 26 May 1999, p. 2.

Many South Africans struggle to find work when coming to Australia if they had not already received a job offer before emigrating. Those without job offers find themselves competing against not only Australians but also South Africans and other immigrants. Those that struggle to find work in Australia often believe they swapped social insecurity for financial insecurity, as they struggle to keep afloat in a new country where their money is worth ten times less than what it had been worth in South Africa.⁴²⁶ For example, a human resource manager who moved to Australia, remained unemployed for over a year and found that when companies had to choose between a South African and a local, they most likely chose the local who would not need time to adjust and would fit in better in the workplace.⁴²⁷

Many who move abroad, also talk poorly about the South Africa they have left behind, spreading out-dated and negative stories in order to justify why they left their home country.⁴²⁸ Some lose their loyalty to South Africa once moving abroad in order to fit into their new home and use the negative aspects to remind themselves why they left. South Africans in Australian social clubs often speak badly about their home to justify why they are so grateful to now live in Australia.⁴²⁹ While many still love South Africa, they often depict the country as in flames to foreigners who plan to visit, thereby slow down South African tourism.⁴³⁰ Many families also tend to have disagreements as those who move abroad are seen to no longer care for their ageing parents and other family members. Some are almost viewed as being in competition with those who still remain in South Africa in order to prove that their new Australian lifestyles are better than what they left behind in South Africa.⁴³¹

However, many that have moved to Australia have often stated that it seems behind on the times, with little progress, often stating that Australia is ten years behind most other developed societies.⁴³² This is often pinpointed to their outdated governmental policies, such as immigrant and environmental policies. In 2002, a few negatives were reported about Australia, including: the erosion of free higher education – Australian citizens now have to pay the government back for their tertiary studies, the falling of comprehensive medical care and other social benefits, the lack of environmental policies and a deeply insular policy on refugees, or ‘boat people.’⁴³³

⁴²⁶ *The Natal Witness*, 02 October 1996, p. 9.

⁴²⁷ *Ibid.* 02 December 1998, p. 13.

⁴²⁸ *Saturday Star*, 03 April 1999, p. 4.

⁴²⁹ *Sunday World*, 21 March 1999, p. 11.

⁴³⁰ *Ibid.*

⁴³¹ *The Weekender*, 11 March 2007, p. 5.

⁴³² *The Natal Witness*, 20 November 1998, p. 9.

⁴³³ *Weekly Mail and Guardian*, 13 June 2002, p. 20.

‘Boat people’ refers to Vietnamese people who travelled on unauthorised boats to Australia to seek asylum during the 1970s and 1980s to escape the communist party that had started ruling in their country. South Africans have also been referred to as ‘boat people’ but only because many Australians believe that ‘they arrive and a week later they buy a boat,’ exuding that South African emigrants tend to be wealthy.⁴³⁴ Another statement believes that South Africans buy a boat before they even unpack, showing that South Africans think Australia will grant them their new life of luxury.⁴³⁵ Many South Africans do not feel that these refugees and immigrants are wanted in Australia, despite there being such a high immigrant population in the country.

In a 2018 worldwide climate change ranking, Australia was ranked 25 out of 27 developed countries for their environmental changes – meaning that Australia’s environmental policies were considered old-fashioned as they still included high fossil fuel production and high per capita emissions, placing them directly after the United States of America.⁴³⁶ Along with this, Australia is also behind on more social movements. For example, South Africa legalised same-sex marriage in 2006, making them not only the first African country to do so but also the first country in the Southern hemisphere, while Australia only legalised same-sex marriage in 2017, eleven years after South Africa – a reminder that Australia remains a highly traditional country that is not always in support of all social issues that take place within the country.

Despite being viewed as similar to South Africa, Australia is in actual fact very different – from the way it is portrayed to how émigrés adapt to living there. Many South Africans view Australia to be a developed hub but are often shocked to see that the people and the laws can often be behind the times and that Australians are not always accommodating to new people.

4.5. Cultural climate

Due to a fairer wage system in Australia, doctors could find themselves living next to labourers or garbage collectors, and may even belong to the same golf or social club, a novelty unknown in South Africa due to its large class divisions.⁴³⁷ In 1985, the average doctor in Australia earned R1,172 a week, while a garbage collector earned R920 and a police officer earned R1,020.⁴³⁸ The wage gap is a massive phenomenon in South Africa, and many émigrés are unsure of how to understand the lack of class differences in Australia. It has been a more recent

⁴³⁴ C. Tatz, P. Arnold & G. Heller: *Worlds Apart: the re-migration of South African Jews*, p. 162.

⁴³⁵ *Die Beeld*, 02 November 2002, p. 3.

⁴³⁶ <https://www.smh.com.au/politics/federal/australia-ranks-in-bottom-three-rich-countries-for-environmental-policies-20180918-p504ey.html> (Date accessed: 24 April 2019).

⁴³⁷ *Sunday Times*, 15 June 1986, p. 7.

⁴³⁸ *Ibid.*

concern that many Australian youths are more prepared to ‘live on the dole,’ where the Australian government provides them with an unemployment cheque rather than them finding a job. In 2019, the hourly minimum wage in Australia is AU\$18.93 an hour; in South Africa the minimum hourly rate has just been increased to R20 an hour, the equivalent to about AU\$2 an hour.⁴³⁹ This shows a vast difference in both the South African and Australian economies and the quality of life one can have while earning the minimum wage.

Some South African emigrants feel like out-casts in Australia due to their country of origin, but others feel welcomed as long as they accept Australia fully, and no longer talk about how good things were back home.⁴⁴⁰ In 1986, a major problem arose when families that had emigrated to Australia, found that the men were generally happy in their business environment, but wives and children were not happy in their domestic or school environments, therefore causing internal conflict.⁴⁴¹ There often tends to be more family migration to Australia, as parents think it is safer for their children to grow up in Australia, however, even if the family is unhappy in Australia, they very rarely want to uproot the children again to take them back to South Africa.⁴⁴²

While there are many perceptions about life in Australia, many feel negative towards how Australians interact with one another, for example: many expatriates, for example, felt that Australians only went so far as to welcome them, before withdrawing back into their own private lives and that they lacked a certain warmth that was found in South Africa, which included after-work drinks, social parties and large weddings.⁴⁴³ Some émigrés went as far to blame it on their colonial history – stating that the individual convicts that were shipped to Australia knew nothing about family as they had to leave them behind, and therefore assumed that Australians do not know how to be warm and hospitable.⁴⁴⁴ Some also critiqued that while Australians had more freedom because of the lack of crime, they kept their children on strict schedules so they rarely could go outside and play.⁴⁴⁵ One expatriate stated that they missed the spontaneity of Africans and the instant connection among South Africans.⁴⁴⁶ These

⁴³⁹ <https://www.pwc.com/au/legal/assets/legaltalk/national-minimum-wage-and-award-increase-5-june.pdf> (Date accessed: 03 April 2019) & <https://www.fin24.com/Economy/everything-you-need-to-know-about-the-national-minimum-wage-20190101> (Date accessed: 03 April 2019).

⁴⁴⁰ *Sunday Times*, 15 June 1986, p. 7.

⁴⁴¹ *The Sunday Star*, 10 August 1986, p. 6.

⁴⁴² *Cape Times*, 02 December 2008, p. 6.

⁴⁴³ *Weekend Argus*, 11 July 1992, p. 16.

⁴⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

⁴⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

⁴⁴⁶ *The Natal Witness*, 02 December 1998, p. 13.

statements are all very one-sided and are often given once someone returns to South Africa after not adjusting well to Australia. This shows that, even though South Africa and Australia have similar cultural climates, the two different cultures do not always instantly get along.

4.6. 'Tall poppy syndrome' and tension between parties

'Tall poppy syndrome' is a term used for the competitiveness between Australians and South Africans, many South Africans believe their qualifications and experience in South Africa will allow them to easily find a job in Australia, thereby making them 'tall poppies.'⁴⁴⁷ In reality, many Australian employers disregard their wealth and qualifications, rather pointing at the lack of Australian experience the expatriates now have, which in turn cuts the 'poppies' down.⁴⁴⁸ Many have criticised that despite having 20 years of work experience, it meant nothing to Australian recruiters, who rather choose to view one as new to the industry.⁴⁴⁹ Doctors, teachers and accountants are seen as the lucky ones, as they can occupy the same job level they had back home, however, those in semi-professional careers, like that of: journalists, advertisers, managers, and graphic designers, are usually sent back to the bottom despite their years of South African work experience.⁴⁵⁰

Regardless of where they go, many of the white South African youth feel that they struggle to find jobs as they cannot get the experience in South Africa due to affirmative action and then struggle to find jobs in Australia because of their lack of experience in the country.⁴⁵¹ Those who do have South African work experience are seen as 'big fish in a small pond,' before emigrating, but once moving abroad they become a 'small fish in a big pond,' as they are knocked down in their profession, and are usually supervised by someone younger than them.⁴⁵²

Despite their lack of Australian experience, South Africans are usually positive towards the Australian community, as South Africans are well-educated and perform well in the labour force, they are usually very successful and often have highly paid jobs.⁴⁵³ However, due to the visa requirements and competitiveness to emigrate, Australia usually receives the upper-

⁴⁴⁷ *Sunday Tribune*, 20 June 2004, p. 17.

⁴⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

⁴⁴⁹ *The Natal Witness*, 02 October 1996, p. 9.

⁴⁵⁰ *Ibid.*

⁴⁵¹ *The Sunday Independent*, 12 December 1999, p. 1.

⁴⁵² *The Sowetan*, 11 June 2001, p. 10.

⁴⁵³ E. Louw & G. Mersham: "Packing for Perth: The Growth of a Southern Africa Diaspora." *Asian and Pacific Migration Journal*, (10), (2), (2001), p. 323.

middle-class of educated South Africans, while those who remain in South Africa, as they do not reach the minimum visa requirements to move, often feel trapped in their home country.⁴⁵⁴ It has been proven that most immigrants tend to outperform wherever they end up as they are driven by an urgent need to succeed, and this is shown by ex-South Africans in Australia.⁴⁵⁵

South Africans and Australians have always been very competitive, especially in national sports. Due to their shared British colonial heritage, they both play cricket and rugby, in which a long rivalry stands between them.⁴⁵⁶ While many expatriates do not want to admit regrets or make their move abroad seem like a mistake, they often chastise Australia for being too competitive for their liking.⁴⁵⁷ Some have described the relationship between South Africans and Australians as being very temperamental.⁴⁵⁸

Some say there are almost stereotypical clashes between the two cultures, as Australians view South Africans as ‘pushy and arrogant,’ while South Africans are frustrated by Australians laidback attitude.⁴⁵⁹ South Africans in Australia are viewed as having high success rates, but also having low rates of charity spending, general poor treatment of shop assistants and serving staff, as well as having a ‘born to rule’ attitude.⁴⁶⁰ It has also been published in the *Sydney Morning Herald* that white South Africans ‘are brash and rude, condescending to anyone they perceive as inferior.’⁴⁶¹ It has also been said that South African expatriates should not interact with restaurant staff in Australia as they apparently talk to them like servants.⁴⁶² This is not necessarily true for all South Africans, but it is how some Australians view a few South Africans. While expatriates have responded by saying they would have to drop their standards, by ‘looking at the average house over here and the way in which people live – it seems a bit backward and years behind.’⁴⁶³

⁴⁵⁴ E. Louw & G. Mersham: “Packing for Perth: The Growth of a Southern Africa Diaspora.” *Asian and Pacific Migration Journal*, (10), (2), (2001), p. 324.

⁴⁵⁵ *The Star*, 26 May 1999, p. 2.

⁴⁵⁶ E. Louw & G. Mersham: “Packing for Perth: The Growth of a Southern Africa Diaspora.” *Asian and Pacific Migration Journal*, (10), (2), (2001), p. 326.

⁴⁵⁷ *The Natal Witness*, 02 December 1998, p. 13.

⁴⁵⁸ *Finansies & Tegniek*, 04 June 1993, p. 13.

⁴⁵⁹ *Sunday Times*, 28 February 1999, p. 21.

⁴⁶⁰ *Ibid.* 08 February 2009, p. 7.

⁴⁶¹ J. Forrest, R. Johnston & M. Poulsen: “Middle-class diaspora: recent immigration to Australia from South Africa and Zimbabwe.” *South African Geographical Journal*, (95), (1), (2013), p. 57.

⁴⁶² *Die Beeld*, 02 November 2002, p. 3.

⁴⁶³ J. Forrest, R. Johnston & M. Poulsen: “Middle-class diaspora: recent immigration to Australia from South Africa and Zimbabwe.” *South African Geographical Journal*, (95), (1), (2013), p. 57.

There are no statistics or information on intermarriage between Australians and South Africans to indicate how often it happens as one can assume that South Africans assimilate to Australia culture quickly when in a partnership or marry once they have already received Australian citizenship.

In 1986, there was tension between incoming South Africans and Australians who thought that the new migrants were racists just trying to escape the end of apartheid, with many Australians asking for an immigration committee to be put in place to screen South African migrants in order to prevent 'racists' from entering the country.⁴⁶⁴ While this view may be from a small section of Australians, it shows the tension that had been forming between the ex-South Africans and Australians. In 1987, an Australian senator openly stated that black South Africans should not seek refuge in Australia or bring their insoluble problems of racial strife to Australia.⁴⁶⁵ Showing that Australia only saw South Africans as racists that would bring their racial problems to Australia and pollute their country with their racial policies. On the contrary, many South Africans retaliated by prodding at Australia's own racial policies towards aborigines who were marginalised within Australian society.⁴⁶⁶ Australian racial problems also migrated to other immigrants within the country, especially those of Asian descent, an example of this was a white Australian man shouting at an Asian restaurant owner, stating that he would not be 'ripped off by you people in my own country,' thereby showing that racism exists in Australia.⁴⁶⁷

In 2006, leader of the nationalist Australian One Party, Pauline Hanson, openly stated that she did not want black South Africans who were 'infected with Aids and tuberculosis' to enter Australia in large numbers.⁴⁶⁸ Hanson also stated that black South Africans would never be able to work and were of no benefit to Australia – Hanson's xenophobic outlook gives a small voice to the minority of views in Australia that do exist.⁴⁶⁹ Her statement shows that she did not know the immigration process to Australia, which includes numerous health checks, in which one can easily be rejected for their ill-health, and the fact that it was predominantly white South Africans that chose to move to Australia. This shows that there was tension between Australians and the South African emigrants that chose to move to Australia. Some Australians

⁴⁶⁴ *Sunday Times*, 08 June 1986, p. 3.

⁴⁶⁵ *The Cape Times*, 22 January 1987, p. 5.

⁴⁶⁶ *The Daily News*, 29 April 1988, p. 7.

⁴⁶⁷ *The Weekender*, 04 March 2007, p. 1.

⁴⁶⁸ *Daily News*, 08 December 2006, p. 3.

⁴⁶⁹ *Ibid.*

have even reported that when there is a social issue, like that of a debate over refugees, South Africans are very rarely seen to interact with the topic.⁴⁷⁰

In 2008, it was reported that Australia's highest-earning male and female executives were both South Africans, with each earning more than R200 million a year in Australia.⁴⁷¹ This also announced that other South African expatriates were excelling in their Australian workplaces, such as: media tycoon, Rupert Murdoch becoming Australia's most powerful newspaper editor, Christopher Steytler becoming the president of the Court Appeals in Western Australia and Brian Sherman becoming the top philanthropist in Australia.⁴⁷² This shows that not all ex-South Africans struggle to fit into Australia; some even thrive in their new home. South Africans try to avoid the difficult circumstances in their home country and prove themselves worthy in their new environment, often making them over-achievers abroad.⁴⁷³ It is reported that emigrants are often more work-orientated, have higher achievement and power motivation, with a lower affiliation motivation and family centrality.⁴⁷⁴

Another example is sports players who migrate from South Africa to Australia for various reasons and how they become accepted. An example of this is Kepler Wessels, an Afrikaans cricketer who left South Africa for Australia during the international sports boycott placed on the country in the 1980s. Wessels was often snubbed by the Australians, despite gaining his Australian citizenship, he was often seen as a 'weak South African' that should go back to where he came from rather than help Australia win their cricket matches.⁴⁷⁵ Wessels regularly received abuse about his country of birth, but the South African Afrikaans press were sympathetic towards him and his choices, believing he could never truly lose his South African nationality.⁴⁷⁶ Despite Wessels leaving his country behind for Australia, he was still viewed positively by South Africans. Contrary to this is the rugby player Clyde Rathbone, who decided to emigrate to Australia due to high crime rates in South Africa in the early 2000s. Rathbone openly stated that his loyalties now lay with Australia, and when he returned to South Africa for a tri-nations rugby match, he was openly booed and every mistake he made was cheered

⁴⁷⁰ *Sunday Times*, 08 February 2009, p. 7.

⁴⁷¹ *Ibid.*

⁴⁷² *Ibid.*

⁴⁷³ *Ibid.*

⁴⁷⁴ M. C. Marchetti-Mercer: "Is it just about crime? A psychological perspective on South African emigration." *South African Journal of Psychology*, (42), (2), (2012), p. 244.

⁴⁷⁵ A. Grundlingh: *Potent Pastimes, sport and leisure practice in modern Afrikaner history*, p. 210.

⁴⁷⁶ *Ibid.* pp. 210-211.

for by the South African crowd.⁴⁷⁷ It was perhaps not because Rathbone left the country, but that he chose to speak poorly about South Africa that led to such a negative outburst from the South African citizens.⁴⁷⁸ It is important to note that not all those who emigrate are viewed in the same regard, Wessels and Rathbone show two sides of the same coin, where one is not welcomed into their new home country while the other is disregarded by their old home country. One's attitude to the situation is ultimately what makes the difference when emigrating.

4.7. The cost of emigration

Very few realise just how expensive it is to move abroad; costs, including the flights, medical check-ups, visa applications and other related expenses. Emigration has become a project mostly undertaken by those South Africans from the middle- to upper-class backgrounds who can afford it. Some people hire immigration companies to help them with their visas, an attempt to fast track them by having them completed correctly the first time. Many people also do not realise that in order to move abroad, all of one's belongings either have to be shipped in a container to the destination or it has to be sold, hoping new possessions can be affordably bought overseas. Often some countries do not have the same voltage or plugs, and therefore electrical appliances become almost useless when moved overseas.⁴⁷⁹ Emigrants also need to sell their houses and cars or pay importation taxes and shipping costs in order to take their car with them. Australia has strict quarantine regulations, therefore moving a pet overseas can take a minimum period of six months, and can be quite costly as they have to undergo regular vet check-ups and injections.⁴⁸⁰ With emigration taking a minimum of six months, many also have to wait around before they can start their new life abroad. This also makes Australian employers reluctant to hire before visas are in order. During this waiting period, people often struggle to sell their houses within the allotted time and end up dropping the price once they get their visa so they can leave with extra cash as soon as possible.

Containers are often used to ship household belongings and are frequently used by larger families with bigger houses and more belongings. In 1985, it was estimated that to move an average-sized household from Johannesburg to Sydney would cost around R10,000, a figure

⁴⁷⁷ *Saturday Star*, 21 August 2004, p. 1. & *The Star*, 08 September 2004, p. 12.

⁴⁷⁸ *Ibid.* 08 September 2004, p. 12.

⁴⁷⁹ *Sunday Times*, 26 July 1998, p. 16.

⁴⁸⁰ *Ibid.*

which spikes according to demand and competition.⁴⁸¹ In 2019, this figure now sits at about R50,000 to move a household container. This does not include insurance on the belongings inside the container. One family of three quoted that their entire move pre-2008, including an LSD visit, cost them over R750,000.⁴⁸²

Many also do not realise that, even though they may have been able to afford a four-bedroom house in South Africa, once that money is converted, it can rarely cover a two-bedroom apartment in Australia. One expatriate realised that he had to pay three times the amount for a house that was half the size of what he had owned in South Africa and that the house was not even in a wealthy suburb in Australia.⁴⁸³ Despite this, Australia still has lower bond rates than South Africa, this means that while one may not be able to buy a house one may like, one will be able to pay it off faster than they could have back home.⁴⁸⁴ In 2000, the average bond rate in Australia was 8 percent, whereas the average bond rate in South Africa was 14 percent - a vast difference for homeowners.⁴⁸⁵

Many South Africans have to take a major drop in their standard of living until they can find their feet in Australia; this is often hard for those with families who were used to domestic workers – now an expensive commodity that they cannot afford anymore. In 2000, it was reported for one to as live comfortably in Australia as they had once done in South Africa, one would need to earn approximately AU\$110,000 a year (over half a million rand equivalent).⁴⁸⁶ Financially, South African émigrés in Australia have to pay two or three times as much for a private education and up to three times as much for a restaurant meal – a luxury most middle- to upper-class South Africans enjoy at least once a week.⁴⁸⁷ This excludes the cost of day-care for children in Australia, which is often a remarkable AU\$100 a day. With some South African emigrants stating that while their quality of life has improved by 50 percent in Australia, their lifestyle has gone down by 30 percent as they can no longer afford the same material benefits they once had in South Africa.⁴⁸⁸ Their expectations of a high standard of living has been brought on by high unemployment rates in South Africa, which allowed for work such as petrol attendants, something unheard of in Australia, and a culture shock to most who move to

⁴⁸¹ *Sunday Times*, 20 January 1985, p. 6.

⁴⁸² F. de Vries: *Rigting bedonnered: op die spoor van die Afrikaner post-94*, p. 347.

⁴⁸³ *The Natal Witness*, 02 December 1998, p. 13.

⁴⁸⁴ *Financial Mail*, 04 August 2000, p. 70.

⁴⁸⁵ *Ibid.*

⁴⁸⁶ *Ibid.* 14 April 2000, p. 18.

⁴⁸⁷ *The Daily News*, 20 April 1998, p. 10.

⁴⁸⁸ *Sunday Express*, 15 August 1982, p. 4.

Australia and have to pump their petrol themselves.⁴⁸⁹ The middle- to upper-class South Africans who can afford emigration are often seen to have a higher quality of life in South Africa than abroad, but this cannot compare to the safety, services, education and job opportunities that Australia can provide for them.⁴⁹⁰

Emotionally, emigration has been compared to be almost as traumatic as losing a family member, with an adjustment period of three to eight years once one moves to a new country.⁴⁹¹ Even after this period, some ‘still feel like foreigners’ in Australia, seven years later.⁴⁹² Often people leave behind elderly family members such as their parents, as well as long-term caretakers and domestic workers; this aids in making them feel that they are losing their loved ones.⁴⁹³ Those who leave behind family, have to deal with the guilt and sadness associated with this, but those who get left behind also have to cope with it in their own way; therefore no one remains untouched by a decision to emigrate.⁴⁹⁴ Many who move later in life, find it harder to make friends at 50 years old, ultimately isolating themselves to only the close family who moved with them.⁴⁹⁵ One expatriate even stated that it took 30 years for him to finally not have a dream where South Africa featured in the background.⁴⁹⁶

It has been suggested that most immigrant families need at least two years to acclimatise fully to their new home and that some may never fully acclimatise.⁴⁹⁷ However, as technology improves, many feel that the distance between families will not lead to such a strong physical absence as many can now maintain the relationship, although they will still lack the physical contact.⁴⁹⁸ There is also a potential loss of pets, as many grieve having to give up animals to shelters, strangers or friends and family, with many émigrés feeling guilty over having to do this.⁴⁹⁹ It is estimated that the transport costs for a medium-size dog from South Africa to

⁴⁸⁹ *The Star*, 18 December 1986, p. 6.

⁴⁹⁰ F. de Vries: *Rigting bedonnered: op die spoor van die Afrikaner post-94*, p. 341.

⁴⁹¹ *The Natal Witness*, 02 October 1996, p. 9.

⁴⁹² *Ibid.* 02 December 1998, p. 13.

⁴⁹³ *The Weekender*, 03 May 2008, p. 2.

⁴⁹⁴ M. C. Marchetti-Mercer: “Is it just about crime? A psychological perspective on South African emigration.” *South African Journal of Psychology*, (42), (2), (2012), p. 245.

⁴⁹⁵ *The Natal Witness*, 02 December 1998, p. 13.

⁴⁹⁶ *Ibid.*

⁴⁹⁷ *Financial Mail*, 29 January 1999, p. 37.

⁴⁹⁸ M. C. Marchetti-Mercer: “Is it just about crime? A psychological perspective on South African emigration.” *South African Journal of Psychology*, (42), (2), (2012), p. 245.

⁴⁹⁹ *Ibid.*

Australia costs R6,000, although this amount does not include quarantine and livestock tariffs which can amount to over R45,000.⁵⁰⁰

Many South Africans complain about being homesick and try to visit South Africa as often as possible once they have the appropriate funds.⁵⁰¹ Many émigrés suffer from low self-esteem due to the social and emotional loneliness they feel soon after moving abroad, as well as guilt for leaving family members behind.⁵⁰² This can lead to further mental health and physical health issues if not dealt with and this may be why Australia has such a high return rate for South African emigrants. However, it has been studied that South African expatriates often feel less anxiety after moving to Australia, despite feeling that they have been pushed out of their home country, their high anxiety over crime, job security and having to mourn a country often dissipates over time.⁵⁰³

4.8. Diaspora

There is a large South African community in Australia, which is often referred to as a South African diaspora. A diaspora is argued to exist when a nation suffers a traumatic event which leads to a dispersal of its members who still aspire to return to their homeland once things have settled down.⁵⁰⁴ While this term is suitable for those who left South Africa pre-1994 democracy, those who left after 1994 use the term ‘end of an empire’ as their driving force for leaving during the power struggle post-1994.⁵⁰⁵ For example, some migrants are ‘pulled’ by the prospect of a better life in a new country, while some are ‘pushed’ due to unbearable conditions in their home countries, it is these push-pull factors that ultimately determine how they experience their displacement once moving abroad.⁵⁰⁶ Some refuse to acknowledge that the South African community in Australia is diasporic as they could have returned back to South Africa during the post-1994 homecoming phase. Choosing to stay abroad implies they do not miss their homeland as much as they lead one to believe. Those who left pre-1994 are often too settled into their new lifestyles to feel the urge to uproot themselves once again. There are three noted phases of South African emigration to Australia: first the South African Jewish

⁵⁰⁰ *Die Burger*, 15 October 2008, p. 3.

⁵⁰¹ *Sunday Times*, 28 February 1999, p. 21.

⁵⁰² *Business Day*, 22 December 2008, p. 3.

⁵⁰³ *Die Beeld*, 09 October 2008, p. 12.

⁵⁰⁴ E. Louw & G. Mersham: “Packing for Perth: The Growth of a Southern Africa Diaspora.” *Asian and Pacific Migration Journal*, (10), (2), (2001), p. 304.

⁵⁰⁵ *Ibid.*

⁵⁰⁶ *Ibid.* p. 305.

population in the mid-sixties, then the English speakers in the 80's and then the Afrikaners from the mid-nineties.⁵⁰⁷

In 2007, it was estimated that the total global South African diaspora was between 1,5 million and 2 million people, with the majority of them being white South Africans.⁵⁰⁸ From the 1995 South African census to the 2005 census, approximately 800,000 white South Africans between the age of 25 to 35 had left the country, with a higher percentage of them being economically active males.⁵⁰⁹

Many feel that the South African diaspora is also linked to Afrikaners, as the Afrikaans language is not traditionally spoken elsewhere, and therefore those that moved away have to switch to a different dialect and abandon their native tongue in public.⁵¹⁰ They, therefore, are now mourning the loss of their mother tongue, like they would mourn their country, as they could no longer identify with their Afrikaner identity if they wanted to fit in and assimilate. While most Afrikaners are bilingual, when moving abroad they have to abandon Afrikaans in public, and it is up to the Afrikaner parents to sustain the language and teach it to their children, or to completely abandon it, a sacrifice for many Afrikaner parents abroad.⁵¹¹

From 1996, 90 percent of those moving to Australia spoke English at home, but ten years later in 2006, this number decreased to only 80 percent, showing a wider range of South Africans were moving abroad.⁵¹² While many do not feel that they abandoned their Afrikaans cultural identity, once they return for holidays to South Africa they are often viewed as Australian by their community despite if they can fluently speak Afrikaans. Many Afrikaners abroad speak Afrikaans at home with their children but revert to English in social settings. While this does keep their mother tongue alive, it will eventually die out in their home abroad if their children do not pass the language on to their children as some suggest that the Afrikaans language cannot survive outside of South Africa, therefore amounting to the loss of Afrikaner culture, and ultimately identity.⁵¹³

⁵⁰⁷ F. de Vries: *Rigting bedonnered: op die spoor van die Afrikaner post-94*, p. 342.

⁵⁰⁸ *Financial Mail*, 14 December 2007, p. 31.

⁵⁰⁹ *Sunday Argus*, 30 March 2008, p. 8.

⁵¹⁰ E. Louw & G. Mersham: "Packing for Perth: The Growth of a Southern Africa Diaspora." *Asian and Pacific Migration Journal*, (10), (2), (2001), p. 328.

⁵¹¹ *Ibid.*

⁵¹² *Cape Times*, 02 December 2008, p. 6.

⁵¹³ W. Visser: "Afrikaner responses to post-apartheid South Africa: Diaspora and the re-negotiation of a cultural identity." *New Contree*, (54), (2007), pp. 10-11.

A shock to many is that despite reports of a large South African population in Australia, many have assimilated into the Australian culture and have abandoned their ‘South African-ness.’ This, along with the South African population being scattered around Australia, means the community is a lot smaller than one would think. As South Africans are not always seen in a positive light by Australians, they try to lay low until they can assimilate into the culture. Therefore many new South African arrivals feel excluded by those that are South African born. Some no longer want to admit they want to speak Afrikaans, despite having Afrikaans surnames, perhaps out of fear of not fitting in or no longer wanting to identify themselves as South African once they have Australian citizenship.⁵¹⁴

Many who move abroad feel abandoned or discarded by South Africa and feel that their presence is no longer wanted or required. They struggle with various push factors like a lack of job opportunities, affirmative action, crime, corruption, and therefore they feel that the only way to be heard is to leave. Emigration has been compared to a revolutionary act, as no one is longer willing to fight for a country that does not seem to want them, hence making fighting pointless.⁵¹⁵ An exaggeration has even been made that one either emigrates and faces alienation from one’s home country, or stay and allow the ‘shadow of death’ to follow oneself.⁵¹⁶ Although dramatic, this is often how some South Africans feel before they decide to emigrate.

Those who choose to stay in South Africa, often view their decision as: better to hang onto South Africa rather than to have to struggle to start their lives all over again in a new country.⁵¹⁷ Emigration has both positive and negative side effects. It is a time to start anew, but it also a time when one has one’s life completely reset. Many leave South Africa because they no longer feel safe or cannot find work, but have to leave a whole life behind, including their family and belongings. Australia is considered a safer option due to its low crime rates, similar heritage and the fact that many South Africans already live there, but this does not mean that one will fit in once one arrives.

4.9. Conclusion

This chapter focussed on how often Australia became popular for those moving abroad, mentioning how often it competed with the United Kingdom for the top emigration spot, how often the statistics fluctuated and what the general allure of Australia was. It also looked at how

⁵¹⁴ F. de Vries: *Rigting bedonnered: op die spoor van die Afrikaner post-94*, p. 347.

⁵¹⁵ *Ibid.* p. 349.

⁵¹⁶ *Ibid.* p. 352.

⁵¹⁷ *The Natal Witness*, 29 September 2000, p. 7.

the look, see, and decide trips often helped those decide which city to emigrate to and just how many South Africans were living in each city and why. It further looked at the struggles that those who emigrated faced in Australia, such as unemployment and job competitiveness as well as some positives that could happen once they made it in the workforce. The chapter ended on how the cost of emigration could affect one both financially and emotionally, as the South African diaspora grows every day. In order to move abroad, one needs to assimilate and no longer talk about one's home country – a struggle for many South Africans who are not yet ready to embrace a new cultural identity but no longer feel welcome in South Africa.

Chapter Five: 2008: A case study for emigration

This thesis has thus far discussed various waves of emigration from South Africa to Australia, as well as several push and pull factors as to why people choose to emigrate. This chapter focusses specifically on the year 2008 as a case study for emigration. The year 2008 is significant due to the numerous problems that arose in South Africa and how these push factors substantially affected the emigration numbers. The year 2008 was seen as a monumental year in South African history for a number of reasons, including: Eskom power shortages, the start of the great global recession, which ultimately ended the post-apartheid boom in South Africa, and the change in African National Congress presidency from Thabo Mbeki to Jacob Zuma. These are but a few reasons as to why 2008 emigration numbers sky rocketed, as many people saw the state of the country declining.⁵¹⁸ This chapter discusses the individual problems, what happened and why these events occurred and then mention how all of these push factors catered towards what is suggested to be one of the largest emigration waves in South Africa.

5.1. Electricity

While the electricity crisis started in 2007, the crisis really hit home in January 2008 when a series of nation-wide electricity cuts led to the shut-down of mines and many manufacturing plants, resulting in a massive financial loss to the South African economy.⁵¹⁹ What began was a term known as ‘load shedding,’ where planned rolling electricity power cuts started taking place based on a rotating schedule for periods of time where short electricity supply threatened the integrity of the electric grid.⁵²⁰ This meant that for specific timeslots throughout the day, areas throughout South Africans would have their electricity turned off for a minimum of two hours in order to not overload the electricity power grid. However, it should be noted that when the crisis first started, none of these rolling blackouts were planned or notified to the South African public. Instead citizens and businesses alike were both physically and mentally left in the dark while panic ensued, causing emigration numbers to rise out of the fear that the electricity crisis would not end.

When the electricity crisis first hit, the national electricity grid almost crashed, which would have left South Africa with no power for several days. The first day of blackouts which took place on 25 January 2008, has been labelled as ‘Black Friday,’ as both platinum and gold mines

⁵¹⁸ R. W. Johnson: *South Africa's Brave New world: The beloved country since the end of apartheid*, p. 629.

⁵¹⁹ *Ibid.* p. 480.

⁵²⁰ L. McGregor & S. Nuttall: *Load Shedding: Writing on and over the edge of South Africa*, p. 9.

were forced to shut down for five days, food-processing enterprises lost all their stock, and one person even died on the operating table due to the unscheduled blackouts.⁵²¹ Both Eskom, the South African electricity supplier, and the South African government have stated that ‘Black Friday came as a complete shock.’⁵²² Economists began to forecast a drop in the predicted economic growth rate, and a recession as both foreign and domestic capital fled South Africa.⁵²³ Investors not only withdrew from businesses across South Africa but also from Eskom who desperately needed stakeholders’ support in order to buy more coal to end the crisis.⁵²⁴ The shock of load shedding came with no warning, leaving many companies with little time to adjust and unprepared for what would follow, namely: raised electricity tariffs to pay for the new generating capacity, something that would not happen overnight either.⁵²⁵ Investments dropped in South Africa, particularly those in the mining sector as miners could not work if there was no electricity and the industry was also forced to cut electricity consumption when they did have electricity, therefore cutting their production.

Due to Eskom selling off coal reserves and giving short-term contract preference to black-only owned coal producers the country was sent into chaos as Eskom could only supply electricity at a 75 percent capacity.⁵²⁶ The dramatic decline in Eskom’s coal reserves was also due to the purchase of poor quality coal that yielded little energy, and a cold and unusually wet winter that caused a surge in demand for electricity are both reasons that have been used as explanations for the blackouts.⁵²⁷ Many other reasons were given for the load shedding, but ultimately it came down to the ANC government not investing in new generating power stations, rather leaving the growing South African population to use the same electricity grids from apartheid.⁵²⁸ The electricity crisis was the first realisation that the ANC government had not helped South Africa meet the minimum conditions of modernity, despite all of their 1994 promises.⁵²⁹ Other reasons for the power cuts included: Eskom did not increase electricity prices in the early 2000s and therefore did not have money to invest in upkeep of infrastructure

⁵²¹ S. Dagut, A. Bernstein & M. MacGarry: *South Africa’s electricity crisis: How did we get here? And how do we put things right*, p. 1.

⁵²² *Ibid.* p. 17.

⁵²³ R. W. Johnson: *South Africa’s Brave New World: The beloved country since the end of apartheid*, p. 480.

⁵²⁴ S. Dagut, A. Bernstein & M. MacGarry: *South Africa’s electricity crisis: How did we get here? And how do we put things right*, p. 17.

⁵²⁵ A. A. Selassie: “What ails South Africa.” *Finance and Development*, (48), (4), (2011), p. 13.

⁵²⁶ R. W. Johnson: *South Africa’s Brave New World: The beloved country since the end of apartheid*, p. 480.

⁵²⁷ S. Dagut, A. Bernstein & M. MacGarry: *South Africa’s electricity crisis: How did we get here? And how do we put things right*, p. 3.

⁵²⁸ A. A. Selassie: “What ails South Africa.” *Finance and Development*, (48), (4), (2011), p. 13.

⁵²⁹ R. W. Johnson: *South Africa’s Brave New World: The beloved country since the end of apartheid*, p. 629.

and creating new power plants; the private sector was not interested in investing in Eskom; and the supply of coal from Black Economic Empowerment (BEE) approved coal producers was transported incorrectly; and Eskom had no coal reserves should a crisis occur.⁵³⁰ The power-cuts also threatened the 2004 idea that South Africa would be able to hold a successful FIFA World Cup in 2010.

Earlier in 2005, Eskom set to meet an affirmative action target in which they stated that going forward 50 percent of their employees would be black women.⁵³¹ The head of the human resources, Mpho Letlape, stated in 2005 that ‘over the next five years, as it embarks on its R84 billion infrastructure programme, Eskom has to appoint two new staff [members] every working day – and it is adamant that one of them will be a [qualified] black woman.’⁵³² However, this shows just how both Eskom and the government were unaware of the skills shortages South Africa was facing, especially amongst black South African women. This can also be seen to contribute to the Eskom power outages as the company scrambled to find people to work for them while also trying to fulfil affirmative action quotas, despite their being very few qualified black women engineers.⁵³³ Eskom’s decision to use only new BEE approved coal suppliers with limited experience and resources also led to infamous ‘load shedding,’ as these companies could not keep up with the demand, resulting in the country’s economy losing an estimated total of R50 billion within approximately four months.⁵³⁴ Sadly, some of the people who chose to emigrate because of this crisis could have used their expertise to help curb it.

Load shedding lasted until early May 2008, the mining sector experienced a 22 percent drop in output, with one mining company even laying off 5,000 workers, with this the Gross Domestic Profit (GDP) fell to its lowest rate and business confidence in South Africa reached an all-time low that had not been seen since the end of apartheid.⁵³⁵ Many companies lost considerable income and had to occur further expenses to buy additional emergency power just so they could keep their businesses running, while the use of generators also coincided with the major fuel increase.⁵³⁶ Many reasons have been given for the rolling blackouts that South Africa suffered

⁵³⁰ S. Dagut, A. Bernstein & M. MacGarry: *South Africa’s electricity crisis: How did we get here? And how do we put things right*, pp. 4, 9, 16.

⁵³¹ E. T. Gomez & R. R. Premdas: *Affirmative action, ethnicity and conflict*, p. 130.

⁵³² *Ibid.*

⁵³³ *Ibid.*

⁵³⁴ *Ibid.* p. 131.

⁵³⁵ S. Dagut, A. Bernstein & M. MacGarry: *South Africa’s electricity crisis: How did we get here? And how do we put things right*, pp. 1, 3.

⁵³⁶ *Ibid.* p. 15.

throughout 2008, with many pinpointing it down to incompetence that could have been redeemable.⁵³⁷ Either way, the beginning of the Eskom crisis was seen as the number one push factor spurring emigration during this period, overtaking crime, as the rand fell with both the foreign and domestic capital flight and South Africans were left in the dark.⁵³⁸

5.2. Xenophobia

In May 2008, the xenophobic attacks against the millions of Zimbabwean refugees and other African immigrants living in South Africa begun, which cost the lives of over 60 people.⁵³⁹ Zimbabweans were not the only immigrants that were attacked during this period, but Zimbabweans are currently the largest group of immigrants in South Africa and therefore were the most likely to be attacked. It was during this period that the Zimbabwean national elections were taking place, and many Zimbabweans were fleeing the country to escape any possible harm that may happen to them.⁵⁴⁰ These immigrants were blamed for the unemployment rates, HIV/AIDS, sexual attacks and crime.⁵⁴¹ High levels of unemployment and culture clashes led to South Africans feeling threatened, while president Mbeki's only solution to those complaining was that South Africans must learn to live with the Zimbabwean refugees and other African immigrants, despite many South Africans feeling that their government was not sufficiently helping to put an end to the immigrant problem.⁵⁴² Perhaps there was also a level of sympathy from the ANC government towards immigrants, as their countries had once housed those who had been exiled from South Africa during apartheid.

Ultimately, South Africa's immigration control had completely broken down after 2004 when the South African army border control was replaced by a police detachment, a quarter of the size that was needed to control the South African borders, therefore making them overworked, understaffed and easily susceptible to bribes.⁵⁴³ With up to 40 percent unemployment rates in certain careers, especially after the economic drop due to load shedding, mob mentality took over as locals realised they were now fighting immigrants for jobs.⁵⁴⁴

⁵³⁷ J. Gordin: *Zuma: A biography*, p. 264.

⁵³⁸ *The Citizen*, 22 January 2008, p. 3. & R. W. Johnson: *South Africa's Brave New World: The beloved country since the end of apartheid*, p. 480.

⁵³⁹ *Ibid.* p. 604.

⁵⁴⁰ J. Gordin: *Zuma: A biography*, p. 264.

⁵⁴¹ A. Butler: *Contemporary South Africa*, p. 50.

⁵⁴² R. W. Johnson: *South Africa's Brave New World: The beloved country since the end of apartheid*, p. 604.

⁵⁴³ *Ibid.* p. 630.

⁵⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

In the first three months of 2008, two Somalis were found burnt to death, while a campaign of violence started with destroying foreigners' shops and shacks, by March another seven murders had taken place without the media or government giving any exact reason as to why.⁵⁴⁵ It was on 11 May 2008, in the Alexandra Township in Johannesburg that these ongoing xenophobic attacks were brought to light by the media.⁵⁴⁶ There was a lack of political leadership surrounding the attacks, as the ANC shifted the blame onto protesters, and did not accept responsibility for the high unemployment rates which was ultimately seen as one of the main reasons for these attacks.⁵⁴⁷ On 11 May 2008, two men were killed, immigrants were harassed and assaulted, evicted from their homes, while the Alexandra mob looted and destroyed immigrants' property, and a further 60 people were injured.⁵⁴⁸ The following day, 500 police officers were deployed to monitor the situation, however the violence continued, and police fired rubber bullets.⁵⁴⁹ This became a three-week-long campaign of violence in which more than 60 people were horrifically killed, 670 wounded, dozens of women raped and thousands displaced.⁵⁵⁰ By 13 May, the mob was going from house to house searching for immigrants, some of whom had turned themselves in to law enforcement to be deported or were sitting at the police station for safety.⁵⁵¹

The Alexandra Township was not the only area that was affected by these attacks but can perhaps be seen as the catalyst for these attacks that would take place throughout South Africa over the next few weeks. The informal settlement of Diepsloot in Johannesburg was next in the xenophobic attacks when they blockaded the township entrance on 14 May 2008 and began their own reign of violence the next day.⁵⁵² Alexandra and Diepsloot were not the only townships that faced violence. Seventeen other informal settlements in Gauteng and Johannesburg were under attack, while the CBD's also faced their own violence.⁵⁵³ The Western Cape and Kwa-Zulu Natal provinces were the next ones to have the reign of violence

⁵⁴⁵ A. Butler: *Contemporary South Africa*, p. 50.

⁵⁴⁶ R. W. Johnson: *South Africa's Brave New world: The beloved country since the end of apartheid*, pp. 630-631.

⁵⁴⁷ *Ibid.*

⁵⁴⁸ L. B. Landau: *Exorcising the Demons within: Xenophobia, Violence and Statecraft in Contemporary South Africa*, pp. 30-31.

⁵⁴⁹ *Ibid.* p. 31.

⁵⁵⁰ A. Butler: *Contemporary South Africa*, p. 50. & A. A. Durokifa, & E. O. C. Ijeoma: "The post-apartheid xenophobic attacks in South Africa: A reflection on government interferences." *African Population Studies*, (31), (1), (2017), p. 3296.

⁵⁵¹ L. B. Landau: *Exorcising the Demons within: Xenophobia, Violence and Statecraft in Contemporary South Africa*, p. 31.

⁵⁵² *Ibid.* p. 34.

⁵⁵³ *Ibid.* pp. 36-46.

hit them, which then followed through to every other province in South Africa.⁵⁵⁴ It is reported that the xenophobic attacks came as a shock to the ANC government, as they saw no warning before and did not understand why it happened, despite the uprisings being linked to poor local governance and service delivery, high unemployment and the fact that no anti-immigrant platform had emerged before or after the attacks.⁵⁵⁵

By the end of the May 2008 violence, 62 people were dead, 21 of which had been South African citizens, almost 700 injured, 100,000 people were displaced, and more than 1,300 arrests had taken place throughout South Africa.⁵⁵⁶ While this was not the first display of xenophobia in South Africa, this has been the most violent to date.

This section briefly mentioned the beginning of the xenophobic violence that lasted three weeks May in 2008 and uprooted many. While the attacks mainly took place in informal settlements, they often closed down roads, disrupted businesses and created an uproar in the neighbouring communities. Many businesses suffered as workers could not get to work or were displaced, and many homeowners with immigrant home workers felt personally under attack. Xenophobia effected emigration and tourism as the eyes of the world sat on South Africa, while the government and police struggled to control the violence. Xenophobia completely disrupted the South African tourism industry as many felt unwelcome and under attack in South Africa, a worrying outlook to have before the 2010 FIFA World Cup.⁵⁵⁷ Emigration numbers rose as many feared that the xenophobic attacks would happen again, and completely disrupt the economy and one's livelihood or that the violence would spread into the suburbs or become racially motivated. While this did not happen, the discourse surrounding the events was enough to add pressure onto those considering emigrating.

5.3. The ANC and Jacob Zuma

By late December 2007, it was known that Jacob Zuma would be taking Thabo Mbeki's place in the ANC as its new party president when he won 60 percent of the vote at the ANC Polokwane Conference, with the party delivering a vote of no confidence in Mbeki.⁵⁵⁸ Jacob

⁵⁵⁴ L. B. Landau: *Exorcising the Demons within: Xenophobia, Violence and Statecraft in Contemporary South Africa*, pp. 46-51.

⁵⁵⁵ *Ibid.* pp. 61-62.

⁵⁵⁶ J. Gordin: *Zuma: A biography*, p. 264. & L. B. Landau: *Exorcising the Demons within: Xenophobia, Violence and Statecraft in Contemporary South Africa*, p. 26.

⁵⁵⁷ *The Daily News*, 30 April 2008, p. 12.

⁵⁵⁸ R. W. Johnson: *South Africa's Brave New World: The beloved country since the end of apartheid*, pp. 554, 561-562.

Zuma was officially chosen as the ANC party president on 18 December 2007, when he received 2,329 votes in his favour, while Mbeki only received 1,505 votes in his attempt to run for the third time.⁵⁵⁹ This was a major change in the ANC, as the party which previously was founded on the educated black middle-class started allowing more of the uneducated working-class, like that of Zuma, into governmental positions. While Mbeki had a master's degree in Economics, Zuma tended to avoid conversations about economics and was seen as one of the 'big mouths' from the ANC Youth League.⁵⁶⁰

It was only ten days after Zuma became the new ANC president, when he was (re-)charged with corruption, fraud, racketeering, money-laundering and tax evasion, however it became apparent that Zuma would not face trial until after he became president of South Africa, which would then allow him to avoid the trial for another ten years.⁵⁶¹ As it stood, Zuma could only officially become the next South African president following the next national general elections in 2009, for 2008 he was only labelled as the new ANC president.⁵⁶²

On 20 September 2008, President Mbeki was 'recalled from his presidency' allowing for Kgalema Motlanthe to become the interim president until the next general elections.⁵⁶³ Along with Mbeki, Trevor Manuel, the South African Finance Minister, and several other cabinet members resigned on 23 September 2008, causing upheaval for the South African markets.⁵⁶⁴ Manuel was brought back on 25 September, but the damage was already done as the economy took a dip, which was also exaggerated by the disruption that an interim president may bring.⁵⁶⁵

While there are many views on Zuma's rise to leadership and what would come after his presidency in 2009, Zuma was popular at the grassroots level. As the first Zulu president, the largest ethnic group in South Africa, a lot of South African Zulu's saw it as their 'time now,' instead of letting another Xhosa or white South African rule again.⁵⁶⁶ Those coming from different cultures often viewed Zuma's practising of Zulu culture as 'primitive' rather than traditional, and for this he was often looked down on. For the upper- to middle-class South Africans who were deciding on emigration, Zuma was just another push factor that would

⁵⁵⁹ J. Gordin: *Zuma: A biography*, p. 239.

⁵⁶⁰ *Ibid.* p. 295.

⁵⁶¹ *Ibid.* pp. 256, 261.

⁵⁶² *Ibid.* p. 255.

⁵⁶³ A. A. Durokifa, & E. O. C. Ijeoma: "The post-apartheid xenophobic attacks in South Africa: A reflection on government interferences." *African Population Studies*, (31), (1), (2017), pp. 283, 286.

⁵⁶⁴ R. W. Johnson: *South Africa's Brave New World: The beloved country since the end of apartheid*, p. 637.

⁵⁶⁵ *Ibid.*

⁵⁶⁶ *Ibid.* p. 638.

disrupt their content lifestyles with his atavistic worldviews. The end of the Mbeki-era ended in late 2008, while the Jacob Zuma era began and would remain a push factor for emigration for another nine years.

5.4. The Great Recession of 2008

The global recession hit South Africa during a crucial election time. Unemployment soared, and negative growth was predicted for 2009.⁵⁶⁷ Due to world markets crashing because of the Great Recession in October 2008, the rand slumped to an all-time low.⁵⁶⁸ Globally, the Great Recession had already begun to start in December 2007 and lasted until June 2009, with 2008 taking the brunt of the hit. By the fourth quarter of 2008, the South African economy was in a recession that led to massive job losses to the labour market, which already had an average of 25 percent unemployment rates.⁵⁶⁹ During 2008 and 2009, South Africa lost close to a million jobs, plummeting unemployment levels by a further 9 percent.⁵⁷⁰ While the recession was felt globally, it hit South Africa in the export trade, which made up for almost half of the country's economy, showing just how easily South Africa could be swayed by ruptures in the global economy.⁵⁷¹ Exports such as gold, iron ore, manganese, textiles and agriculture exports and manufacturing processes came to a standstill, while China began to dominate the manufacturing export trade across the globe due to its lower prices.⁵⁷²

Along with the recession came rising fuel prices and inflation. The inflation rate now soared above the South African Reserve Banks inflation target rate of 3 to 6 percent, resulting in the Reserve Bank raising the interest rates by another 5 percent, ultimately stagnating any economic growth in South Africa.⁵⁷³

The graph below indicates just how the global recession affected South Africa's real GDP. This graph can also be studied when looking at waves of emigration, for example, there is a significant dip in 1998, which is when many people left after the 'glow' of post-apartheid democracy in South Africa started to fade. In 2002 and 2004, one can see positive growth as

⁵⁶⁷ R. W. Johnson: *South Africa's Brave New World: The beloved country since the end of apartheid*, p. 650.

⁵⁶⁸ J. Gordin: *Zuma: A biography*, p. 263.

⁵⁶⁹ R. Leung, M. Stampini & D. Vencatachellum: "Does human capital protect workers against exogenous shocks? Evidence from the panel data on South Africa during the 2008-2009 crisis." *South African Journal of Economics*, (82), (1), (2014), p. 99.

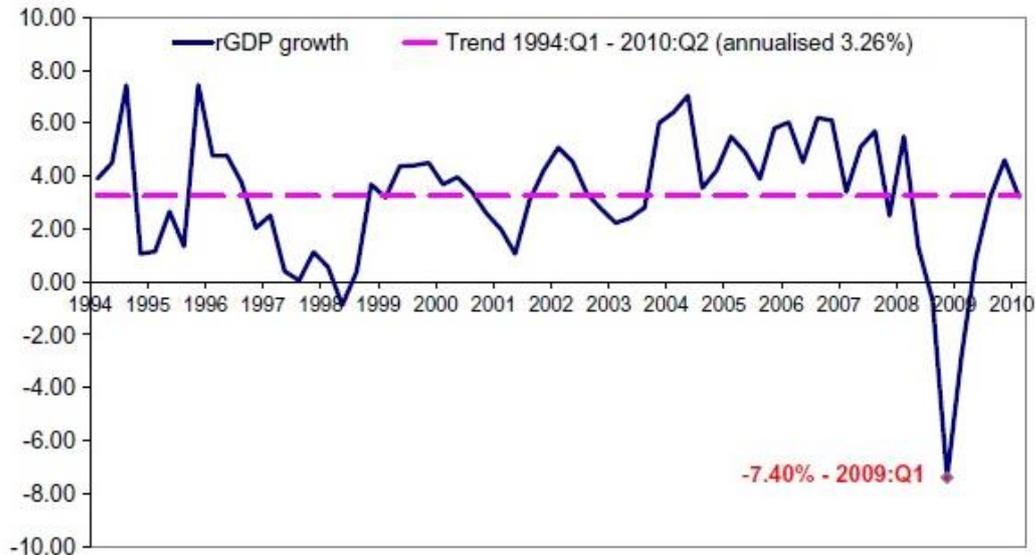
⁵⁷⁰ J. Hofmeyer (ed.): *Vision or Vacuum? Governing the South African Economy: 2010 Transformation Audit*, p. xi.

⁵⁷¹ A. A. Selassie: "What ails South Africa." *Finance and Development*, (48), (4), (2011), p. 13. & J. Hofmeyer (ed.): *Vision or Vacuum? Governing the South African Economy: 2010 Transformation Audit*, p. xi.

⁵⁷² D. Foster: *After Mandela: The struggle for freedom in post-apartheid South Africa*, p. 427.

⁵⁷³ A. A. Selassie: "What ails South Africa." *Finance and Development*, (48), (4), (2011), p. 13.

these years both had high figures of expatriates returning to South Africa. Finally, one can see how load shedding started an economic dip, which was exaggerated by the Great Recession and lasted until 2010 when South Africa held the FIFA soccer world cup, and the South African economy was able to bounce back.



574

5.5. Other push factors:

The government-owned airline, South African Airways (SAA), also caused much controversy during 2008. SAA was a drain on public expenses as they found themselves in debt, mainly due to corruption. They had used R2.8 billion from taxpayers in 2007 to bail them out of their debts, and in 2008 they requested another R3 billion from an already crumbling economy.⁵⁷⁵

In 2008, the online store, Amazon.com also announced they would no longer send packages to South Africa due to the rampant theft in its post offices, South Africa was the only country in Africa to receive this ban.⁵⁷⁶ The post offices are government-run, showing another loss of faith in the South African government as they could not even control theft and corruption.

By 2007, many strikes had already started to drive the rising food prices. This was also affected by the collapse of the Zimbabwean agricultural production, which, as previously mentioned, led to millions of refugee Zimbabweans coming over to South Africa.⁵⁷⁷ Zimbabwe also caused

⁵⁷⁴ R. Leung, M. Stampini & D. Vencatachellum: "Does human capital protect workers against exogenous shocks? Evidence from the panel data on South Africa during the 2008-2009 crisis." *South African Journal of Economics*, (82), (1), (2014), p. 99.

⁵⁷⁵ R. W. Johnson: *South Africa's Brave New World: The beloved country since the end of apartheid*, p. 632.

⁵⁷⁶ *Ibid.*

⁵⁷⁷ *Ibid.* pp. 600-601.

a stir during this time as they held their presidential elections in March 2008, which led to Robert Mugabe starting his fifth term as Zimbabwean president, resulting in many trying to escape yet another reign of terror under his leadership.

Land reform in South Africa, while behind on schedule, had already given away 4 percent of commercial farming land in South Africa, which meant a 4 percent loss of production, as this commercial farmland was turned into private land, crops were destroyed or the land was no longer used for commercial farming – land reform would return from 2016 onwards, once again skyrocketing emigration rates.⁵⁷⁸ While land reform at this stage was not a significant problem or worry for many, its effects would be later seen. For the first time in South African food history, it became a net food importer because of land reform, as once large productive farms had now become barren, or turned into subsistence areas.⁵⁷⁹ A large number of farm workers' jobs were being lost, food was becoming too expensive for the poor, and the loss of agricultural exports was creating a deficit of 10 percent on the country's GDP.⁵⁸⁰

The uncertainty of the future in the Scorpions, the Directorate of Special Operations in South Africa, which was an independent multidisciplinary agency that investigated and prosecuted white-collar organised crime, money laundering and corruption. Their disbanding led many South Africans to lose their faith in the South African government.⁵⁸¹ As there was now no longer an impartial agency that was investigating government fraud, something that would be abused by the Gupta family from 2015 onwards.

During 2008, unemployment rates skyrocketed and there was very little delivery in the public service, not because of a lack of money but because of a lack of useful programmes.⁵⁸² By 2006 to 2007, large numbers of ANC ruled municipalities were in an almost permanent state of unrest over the complete failure of service delivery.⁵⁸³ While the government budget allocated for the work to be done, there was no one with sufficient education or experience to do the work, and this was seen in administrative posts in the government, which often remained unfulfilled because of affirmative action and the lack of sufficient basic education programmes.⁵⁸⁴ Along with this, there was a shortage of engineering and other skills needed within municipalities,

⁵⁷⁸ R. W. Johnson: *South Africa's Brave New World: The beloved country since the end of apartheid*, p. 601.

⁵⁷⁹ *Ibid.* p. 632.

⁵⁸⁰ *Ibid.*

⁵⁸¹ *The Weekend Post*, 09 February 2008, p. 1.

⁵⁸² E. T. Gomez & R. R. Premdas: *Affirmative action, ethnicity and conflict*, p. 131.

⁵⁸³ R. W. Johnson: *South Africa's Brave New world: The beloved country since the end of apartheid*, p. 589.

⁵⁸⁴ E. T. Gomez & R. R. Premdas: *Affirmative action, ethnicity and conflict*, p. 131.

which resulted in the collapse of local government services in smaller towns, causing sewerage in the streets, no electricity or telephones due to cable theft, disintegrating roads, refuse not being collected and unsafe and erratic tap water.⁵⁸⁵ This was accredited to inexperienced and uneducated people getting jobs they were not fit to do in order to meet a government quota, while those who could do the work remained unemployed or moved to where their work was needed, often abroad. The lack of service delivery often occurred in poorer communities and usually did not affect those contemplating emigration. It was the negative headlines and general upheaval towards the lack of service delivery that created another rhetoric for those considering emigration and fed into emigration discourse as it was used as another excuse to leave the country despite if it had any real effect on those emigrating.

As of 2007, only 80 percent of houses in South Africa had electricity for lighting, and only 60 percent had the ability to flush a toilet in their home – meaning they needed to have both running water and a toilet facility.⁵⁸⁶ This goes hand in hand with poor service delivery, as many South Africans remained without proper housing, electricity and plumbing. This did not necessarily affect those who chose to emigrate, as they were usually from a wealthier class but serves as a reminder that South Africa is still a developing country, and this is a reason why people choose to emigrate.

In 2006, a subsidy scheme for the motor industry development that was used to promote large scale motor manufacture in South Africa was cancelled, with it ending four years earlier in 2008.⁵⁸⁷ This led to Ford moving the production of their new Fiesta car model from South Africa, resulting in a loss of R2 billion in investments and thousands of jobs, they were not the only vehicle manufacturers to leave South Africa but caused the most damage.⁵⁸⁸

At the beginning of 2008, South Africa also faced a water contamination crisis, due to the lack of upgrades to water management facilities, pollution and poor management of dams, sewerage works and treatment plants. An example of this was the Western Cape Government Department of Agriculture that only had two inspectors to cover the whole province to make sure that farmers were following set laws with regards to water usage and pollution.⁵⁸⁹ In 2007, the

⁵⁸⁵ E. T. Gomez & R. R. Premdas: *Affirmative action, ethnicity and conflict*, p. 132.

⁵⁸⁶ J. Hofmeyer (ed.): *Vision or Vacuum? Governing the South African Economy: 2010 Transformation Audit*, p. 108.

⁵⁸⁷ R. W. Johnson: *South Africa's Brave New world: The beloved country since the end of apartheid*, p. 460

⁵⁸⁸ *Ibid.* p. 461.

⁵⁸⁹ <https://www.environment.co.za/environmental-issues-news/south-africas-looming-water-crisis.html> (Date accessed: 28 May 2019).

Minister of Water Affairs and Forestry reported that out of 160 dams that were inspected, 54 percent of them complied with modern safety standards, showing just how few dams were actually operational in South Africa.⁵⁹⁰ Secondly, most South African sewerage systems, like the Eskom grids, were outdated with some being up to fifty years old and in need of maintenance, while very little has been done to maintain and grow infrastructure in the water department.⁵⁹¹ The lack of safe drinking water led to outbreaks of water-borne diseases like typhoid in 2008. The poor funding and infrastructure would come back again in 2017, when a nationwide drought slowly began across the country with little government interference and funding, creating another emigration panic.

5.6. Emigration and 2008

After the Eskom crisis that began in January 2008, consulting agencies reported a dramatic increase in applications to Australia, where applications had doubled those of the previous year.⁵⁹² Four Corners Emigration Company reported that when their offices opened on 2 January 2008, it was like ‘a dam had burst,’ and that clients were no longer asking for help to move to a specific country but rather asking for help to get them out of South Africa.⁵⁹³ It was even reported that while crime remained a major push factor, Eskom had now overtaken it. This was accompanied by a general concern after what came of the Polokwane ANC meeting which had appointed Zuma the new ANC president.⁵⁹⁴ Along with these push factors, followed the collapse of essential services, the weakened rand, salaries not improving with the new inflation rates, Zuma awaiting trial and a water contamination crisis – which all led to a high increase in people querying and attempting to emigrate.⁵⁹⁵ Emigration agencies who usually signed five small to medium business owners over a quarter period, were now signing emigration papers for five business owners within a month in early 2008.⁵⁹⁶

While many emigration consulting agencies were seeing a rush to move abroad, those working for Homecoming Revolution still felt that there was hope despite all the new fears that were arising, perhaps an attempt to make more expatriates want to return to South Africa during a

⁵⁹⁰ <https://www.environment.co.za/environmental-issues-news/south-africas-looming-water-crisis.html> (Date accessed: 28 May 2019).

⁵⁹¹ *Ibid.*

⁵⁹² *The Citizen*, 22 January 2008, p. 3.

⁵⁹³ *Ibid.*

⁵⁹⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵⁹⁵ *The Weekend Post*, 09 February 2008, p. 1.

⁵⁹⁶ *Ibid.*

dark period.⁵⁹⁷ While those who were keeping tally of those coming back to South Africa, tried to remind many that emigration is a natural phenomenon and that South Africa is not an exception to this phenomenon.⁵⁹⁸ Despite this, not everyone wanted to emigrate with some South Africans reporting that ‘not everyone can emigrate, I’ve got roots here,’ – a reminder that South Africans do remain loyal to their home country even during the tough times.⁵⁹⁹ By the end of 2008, once the global recession had hit its peak, many abroad lost their jobs and had started to trickle back to South Africa where they had families to support them.

With the huge mine shutdowns and job losses, it is understandable that many who worked in the mining industry attempted to move abroad as soon as possible, especially to Australia’s safer mining industry.⁶⁰⁰ South African mining also faced a skills shortage, with the first reason being accredited to the HIV/AIDS epidemic and the second factor being emigration, as Ernst and Young estimated that one-third of South Africa’s engineering graduates have emigrated.⁶⁰¹

By February 2008, there was one household container coming back to South Africa for every three containers that were leaving, with a sign of increase expected, a comparative rise from 2007 when it was at a ratio of one container coming back for every one that left South Africa.⁶⁰² With this, many emigration assistance companies also reported a high rise in applications, stating that many South Africans ‘who were not considering emigration six months ago are now applying to emigrate,’ showing how easily some change their minds about emigration.⁶⁰³ By March, various emigration agents were reporting that inquiries about leaving South Africa had either multiplied five-fold, trebled or at least doubled since 2007.⁶⁰⁴

The Australian High Commission reported that between 2006 and 2007, more than 5,000 South Africans had applied to emigrate to Australia.⁶⁰⁵ It is important to remember that by this stage the South African Department of Home Affairs was no longer keeping a record of emigration statistics. This means statistics of those emigrating had to come from emigration agents and the Australian government. While more South Africans were applying to Australia, Australia had also increased their overall migrant intake. In 2007 to 2008, they accepted 158,630

⁵⁹⁷ *The Weekend Post*, 09 February 2008, p. 1.

⁵⁹⁸ *Financial Mail*, 25 April 2008, p. 12.

⁵⁹⁹ *Witness*, 06 March 2008, p. 11.

⁶⁰⁰ *The Star*, 11 February 2008, p. 3.

⁶⁰¹ *Business Day*, 16 October 2008, p. 15.

⁶⁰² *The Star*, 11 February 2008, p. 3.

⁶⁰³ *Weekend Post*, 09 February 2008, p. 1.

⁶⁰⁴ *Sunday Times*, 30 March 2008, p. 1.

⁶⁰⁵ *Sunday Tribune*, 30 March 2008, p. 4.

migrants, in 2008 to 2009, they accepted 171,138 migrants, this number slightly decreased in 2009 to 2010 to 168,623 migrants.⁶⁰⁶

An Australian recruiter openly stated in April 2008 that seven out of the ten doctors she recruited to Australia within the past year, came from South Africa.⁶⁰⁷ A relocation specialist in Australia stated that she had helped 30 South Africans relocate to Australia during 2007, within the first four months of 2008, she had already helped 30 South Africans.⁶⁰⁸ In April 2008, an expo by Australian employers and recruitment companies – Opportunities Australia – was held in both Johannesburg and Cape Town, with each event attracting 7,000 South Africans who were curious to see if they could find work in Australia.⁶⁰⁹ Many South Africans felt rushed to emigrate due to Zuma's appointment and the power shortages which coincided and therefore felt they needed to have a back-up plan.⁶¹⁰ In 2009, it was reported that the overseas-born population made up for 27, 2 percent of the workforce in Australia.⁶¹¹

By May 2008, realtors had seen a 15 to 20 percent increase in the number of people trying to sell their houses before emigrating, however, some of the sellers failed to leave due to not receiving visas or pricing their houses too high in order to cover their emigration costs.⁶¹² While the 2008 emigration wave was not different from any of the other previous emigration waves, many realtors noted that people considering emigration had become more open and vocal about their dissatisfaction with South Africa. Previously, those selling their houses to emigrate did not mention it in fear that it would negatively affect their price, however, this changed in 2008 due to a sense of urgency where many felt they needed to leave the country as soon as possible.⁶¹³ During this time, there was also a drop in housing prices by almost 10 to 15 percent, something that would only exaggerate as the Great Recession continued.⁶¹⁴ In the fourth quarter of 2007, the First National Bank residential property barometer indicated that 9 percent of sellers were looking to emigrate, in the first quarter of 2008, this number had jumped to 12

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https://www.aph.gov.au/About_Parliament/Parliamentary_Departments/Parliamentary_Library/pubs/rp/rp1617/Quick_Guides/MigrationStatistics (Date accessed: 29 May 2019).

⁶⁰⁷ *The Weekender*, 19 April 2008, p. 2.

⁶⁰⁸ *Ibid.* 03 May 2008, p. 2.

⁶⁰⁹ *Financial Mail*, 25 April 2008, p. 47.

⁶¹⁰ *Ibid.*

⁶¹¹ J. Higley, J. Nieuwenhuysen, & S. Neerup (ed.): *Immigration and the financial crisis*, p. 49.

⁶¹² *The Weekender*, 03 May 2008, p. 2.

⁶¹³ *Ibid.*

⁶¹⁴ *Ibid.*

percent.⁶¹⁵ By the third quarter of 2008, 26 percent of Kwa-Zulu Natal real estate agents cited emigration for their clients as the reason for selling, while 19 percent of respondents from Johannesburg and 21 percent of respondents for Pretoria all cited emigration as their reason for selling their properties.⁶¹⁶

In an interview with 600 respondents across South Africa in May 2008, 20 percent of South Africans said they are planning or seriously considering emigrating, with the option being most popular between young and middle-aged South Africans (18 to 44 years old).⁶¹⁷ One-third of the respondents surveyed stated that they knew someone who emigrated from South Africa within the past five years.⁶¹⁸

By July, the recession was starting to hit South Africa as some emigrants left the country without selling their houses, while others lowered their prices dramatically.⁶¹⁹ In July 2008, Seeff, a South African realtor, had 31,000 properties listed for sale on their websites across the country – a sudden increase from the 22,000 properties they had listed in July 2007.⁶²⁰ By October 2008, almost 90 percent of properties had been sold for less than their asking price, showing a dramatic decrease in the economy and an increase in emigration as people rushed to leave South Africa.⁶²¹ While Pentravel, an airlines booking company reported an increase of 30 percent in tickets travelling to Australia, this increase was catered for both one-way tickets and those going on the look, see and decide visits.⁶²² A pet relocation company had seen a 70 percent surge in business within the first six months of 2008, while also processing 30 to 40 quotes a day for animal emigration.⁶²³

Emigration started to affect South African businesses too, as many employees cited emigration for leaving, with one emigrant even saying they were leaving their employer because the company did not 'have a branch in Australia.'⁶²⁴ Because of the ongoing issues in South Africa, many valuable staff lost morale and rather looked abroad for better options than remaining loyal to their current company. The turnover of executives in South Africa increased from 10,5

⁶¹⁵ *The Weekender*, 03 May 2008, p. 2.

⁶¹⁶ *Witness*, 15 October 2008, p. 8.

⁶¹⁷ *The Star*, 22 May 2008, p. 5.

⁶¹⁸ *Ibid.*

⁶¹⁹ *Business Day*, 09 July 2008, p. 15.

⁶²⁰ *Ibid.*

⁶²¹ *Witness*, 15 October 2008, p. 8.

⁶²² *Business Day*, 24 July 2008, p. 1.

⁶²³ *Ibid.*

⁶²⁴ *Sunday Times*, 31 August 2008, p. 9.

percent in 2007, to 13,5 percent in 2008, with 15 percent of those leaving citing emigration as their main cause for leaving, and Australia taking the top position for executives to emigrate to, replacing the United Kingdom.⁶²⁵ South African companies came up with new tactics to try and retain their staff, such as introducing performance bonuses, long-term incentives, training and development and career planning, as well as general salary increases.⁶²⁶ This shows that emigration was becoming so detrimental to South African privately-owned companies that they had to introduce new incentives to keep their current staff in the company and in the country.

Figures from 2009, suggest that at least 20,000 South Africans have migrated to Australia since 2006 and that there was a 50 percent increase in migrations in 2008 due to what was happening in the country.⁶²⁷ However, just like every country around the globe, Australia was also hit by the global recession and they had to slash their immigrant intake in 2009 as their unemployment rate hit 6,5 percent, this is still nothing compared to South Africa's unemployment rate of 25,5 percent during the same period.⁶²⁸ The rise of the unemployment rate led to Australia reducing their skilled migrant intake by 14,000 people in 2009.⁶²⁹

It is estimated that between 2008 and 2009 that Australia accepted 11,966 South Africans as permanent residents.⁶³⁰ While many have stated that 2008 was the biggest year of emigration, due to poor recordings from the South African side, it is difficult to get a correct figure to establish just how many left. It is reported that in the 2008-2009 year that 232,598 people arrived permanently in Australia, with only 4 percent of them coming from South Africa, this amounts to just over 9,300 South African emigrants, not including the other 657,124 people that arrived in Australia on student, working holiday, temporary or work-sponsored visas.⁶³¹ Unfortunately, the South African statistics have very little documented after the year 2005, and therefore all figures supplied cannot be verified. The only figures provided by Statistics South Africa in 2008 gave an overall arrival of 1,764,971 South Africans by aeroplane, while 1,800,211 South Africans departed, showing a net loss of 35,240 South Africans. These figures count those both arriving and departing on holiday, for work or study trips and those

⁶²⁵ *Business Day*, 03 September 2008, p. 1.

⁶²⁶ *Ibid.*

⁶²⁷ *Sunday Times*, 08 February 2009, p. 7.

⁶²⁸ *The Times*, 25 March 2009, p. 18.

⁶²⁹ *Saturday Star*, 21 March 2009, p. 16.

⁶³⁰ *Business Day*, 06 August 2010, p. 1.

⁶³¹ *Sunday Tribune*, 04 October 2009, p. 21.

emigrating, and therefore is not reliable enough to speculate how many South Africans really emigrated or were just out of the country for other reasons.⁶³²

Australia records showed a net overseas migration of 298,000 people in the financial year of 2008-2009, with a majority of these arriving on temporary visas.⁶³³ In the financial year of 2007-2008, Australia reported that there was a net overseas migration of 12,455 South Africans, as well as a temporary net overseas migration of 7,815 South Africans.⁶³⁴ Australian statistics have reported that 2008 was the highest ever year of population growth for the country, with the annual growth rate reaching 2,2 percent, with 67 percent of this coming from net overseas migration.⁶³⁵

The 2006 Australian census showed the top ten countries of birth for the overseas population. South Africa was placed tenth with a mass population of 104,128 people by 2016, South Africa ranked eighth place with an overall population of 162,450, showing a growth of over 58,000 people in ten years.⁶³⁶ With the 2006 census statistics in mind, the estimated South African population in Australia by the end of 2008 was supposedly 136,201, showing an arrival of over 30,000 South Africans within a two year period.⁶³⁷ However, the unofficial statistics of the Australian Department of Immigration and Citizenship showed that only 5,166 South Africans had arrived in Australia by mid-2008, with only 3,996 in 2007, therefore making the Australian statistics unreliable as well.⁶³⁸

5.7. Conclusion

Decisions to emigrate are often made because of push and pull factors. This chapter explained the various push factors that aided emigration in 2008. This thesis has shown that emigration is usually a well thought out plan, while this chapter has emphasised that this may not always be the case. Exact figures of emigration for 2008 cannot be given; there is an emphasis on the

⁶³² Statistics South Africa, 2009 statistics, pp. 4.4, 4.7.

<http://www.statssa.gov.za/publications/SASStatistics/SASStatistics2009.pdf> (Date accessed: 05 June 2019).

⁶³³ Australian Bureau of Statistics: Migration: 29 July 2010, p. 7.

[https://www.ausstats.abs.gov.au/Ausstats/subscriber.nsf/0/3A3EB923A8CBB55CCA25776E001762A6/\\$File/34120_2008-09.pdf](https://www.ausstats.abs.gov.au/Ausstats/subscriber.nsf/0/3A3EB923A8CBB55CCA25776E001762A6/$File/34120_2008-09.pdf) (Date accessed: 05 June 2019).

⁶³⁴ *Ibid.* p. 33.

⁶³⁵ https://www.aph.gov.au/About_Parliament/Parliamentary_Departments/Parliamentary_Library/pubs/Briefing_Book45p/MigrationFlows (Date accessed: 05 June 2019).

⁶³⁶ https://www.aph.gov.au/About_Parliament/Parliamentary_Departments/Parliamentary_Library/pubs/BN/1011/MigrationPopulation (Date accessed: 05 June 2019) & https://www.aph.gov.au/About_Parliament/Parliamentary_Departments/Parliamentary_Library/pubs/rp/rp1819/Quick_Guides/PopulationStatistics (Date accessed: 05 June 2019).

⁶³⁷ G. Hugo.: "Migration between Africa and Australia: A demographic perspective." *Australian Human Rights Commission*, (2009), p. 20.

⁶³⁸ *Ibid.* p. 33.

fact that the emigration numbers rose dramatically because of what was happening in the country. This chapter has focussed on the various push factors that happened in South Africa in 2008, which were seen as pull factors to emigrate anywhere abroad rather than remain in the country. The year 2008 saw load shedding, a dramatic decline in the South African economy, a loss of faith in government due to presidency changes, xenophobic attacks and more government corruption. While ranking how detrimental these factors were often depended on the emigrant, these factors increased emigration as South African citizens became unhappy like never before in their home country, making them less picky in where they chose to emigrate to, and rather opting to leave at any cost than stay in a country where they no longer saw a future. This chapter has also emphasised just how emigration rhetoric can alter one's decision to move abroad. One may not be affected by half the things mentioned in this chapter, but they can be seen to reflect negatively on South Africa and become valid reasons to emigrate.

Concluding remarks

This thesis has researched South African emigration to Australia from 1976 to 2008, attempting to understand when it happened, why it happened and what the overall effects of emigration were. It has uncovered various reasons as to why people leave, during what period of time they left and how this affected them and those they left behind in South Africa. It has also tried to understand the effects of those who leave and how they play a role in South Africa, with an emphasis on the brain drain.

The first chapter provided information on when emigration from South Africa most commonly occurred and why it occurred, often relating the rise of emigration to political transitions taking place within the country during each emigration wave. The overview of emigration set out to provide a basis on which the proceeding chapters could shadow and reference. It followed a chronological breakdown of events that either sparked or slowed down emigration from South Africa. It then emphasised major political, social or economic factors that affected emigration, providing statistical evidence to show the effect during each wave and attributing it to several main factors. For example, there was a rise in emigration in 1985 due to the ongoing political unrest in South Africa, while there was a decline in emigration in 2002 as the country reached a period of positive plateau. The connotative term, the ‘chicken run’ was discussed to gain a further understanding of how those who emigrate were often viewed in South Africa. The difference between emigration and immigration statistics and how they often correlated with one another was explored, while also expanding on how migration has changed in the past two centuries, from colonisation to ‘moving for opportunities.’

The second chapter emphasised what the brain drain is and how it affectes South Africa. The brain drain goes hand in hand with emigration, as those who are more educated often receive more opportunities to move and work abroad. These opportunities usually come with a variety of luxuries that one may not receive back home and can be considered driving factors. This chapter also looked at who is classified as a part of the brain drain, what occupations tend to emigrate the most, when they choose to emigrate and why. This was discussed in a chronological order to understand how over time certain career paths were more likely to emigrate, while also discussing what South African businesses have done in an attempt to slow down emigration rates. Both the first and second chapter have tied in how detrimental affirmative action is to the white South African community, who often decide to take their expertise elsewhere rather than struggle to find work in South Africa. This chapter also

attempted to show how harmful the brain drain is to the South African economy and illustrated how very little has been done to put an end to the brain drain.

The third chapter focussed on the push and pull factors that make South Africans want to leave and move abroad, specifically to Australia. Push factors, like that of crime, political unrest, the lack of job opportunities and a decline in the state of living were given as reasons for their unhappiness in their country which in turn made them more willing to move abroad in order to maintain or better their current way of life. Pull factors are positive influences that attract those looking to emigrate to a specific country. As Australia has a long waiting period for visas, each potential emigrant should be willing to wait extended periods of time for a chance to move to Australia. The pull factors for South Africans to move to Australia are often the similar culture and climate, better education, healthcare, safety and its stable, traditional government. This chapter provided a main focus on crime and how it was a constant push factor for many to leave South Africa. However, many thought the grass would be greener abroad and this was not always the case. This chapter broke down all the negative push factors in South Africa and explained in detail how they can become exaggerated to such an extent that people no longer had hope in the country, rather choosing to emigrate than remain in South Africa. It also showed how often these push factors could become rhetoric and exaggerated in everyday life by those looking to leave.

The fourth chapter specifically focussed on Australia, with an emphasis on the statistics of South Africans emigrating to Australia and its waves of popularity over the years. Australia often rivalled the United Kingdom for the number one spot for South Africans to emigrate to. Often those who have a British passport or access to an ancestral visa are more likely to move abroad to the United Kingdom. However, very few South Africans have any direct relation to Australia, therefore making Australia the top choice for those who are willing to go through the long emigration process. It explains how people often think Australia has a similar cultural climate to South Africa, and therefore believe it would be an easy adjustment for a family. This proved to not always be the case as emigration has been viewed to have varying effects on expatriates, which in turn has created a new South African diaspora. South Africans who emigrate also did not realise the job competition they would face or how Australians would treat them, with many struggling to adjust to what some have deemed as unfriendliness from Australians. While undertaking the emigration process many South Africans did not realise how expensive the process was or what emotional toll it could have on a person. They rather chose to see Australia as the light at the end of the tunnel until they got there and felt a loss of

community, family and personal belongings. This chapter set to highlight connotations and experiences about Australia that are not often published, and to show how South Africans often perceived Australia once they had moved across.

The final chapter focussed on how the year 2008 was a historical year for both South Africa and emigration. This chapter ultimately broke down various push factors, including: electricity power cuts, change in ANC presidency, xenophobic attacks, the global Great Recession and various other facts which all arose in 2008 and could have pushed one towards emigration more than ever before. Most notable, these push factors also coincided with the other push factors that were previously mentioned in chapter three, meaning the reasons for South Africans to emigrate were only exaggerated. However, as stated in chapter five, there are no emigration statistics from the South African government, as they stopped keeping track of emigration statistics after 2004, and while there are numerous reports of increased emigration, no substantial figures can be provided for how many South Africans emigrated to Australia during this period because of the new push factors. This chapter serves as a reminder that emigration statistics are necessary in order to understand the brain drain and globalisation, as well as to understand just how detrimental push and pull factors are for emigration. This chapter intended to emphasise how important push factors are when one considers emigration and recounts how certain events in 2008 made deciding to emigrate that much easier for South Africans.

While migration is nothing new, this thesis looked at how emigration has become a modern affiliation. Like most migratory patterns, people become tired of their country, or run out of opportunities and then choose to move, often bringing their culture with them. However, emigration has begun to change, as people now often assimilate into their new countries rather than choosing to stand out, and now choose to move to developed countries where they do not need to assist in developing the country, only in maintaining it. This has created a major change from previous migratory patterns where the focus was more on developing a country and making a cultural impact, whereas now the trend is to want to blend in to gain a sense of normalcy, rather than making a unique mark. However, it is often those who want to blend in who over excel, a point made in chapter four, as many South Africans tended to overachieve in their new home, while those who could not often returned to South Africa after several years.

This thesis has explained the waves of emigration, the rate at which people emigrate from South Africa and why they chose to emigrate to Australia. It examined how those who emigrated were often labelled as a part of the brain drain, what the term the 'brain drain' really means and

how it has its own South African context. It explained the push and pull factors that South Africans encounter while considering emigration and what lay ahead for them once they chose to emigrate to Australia. This thesis explained what makes Australia so gravitating for South Africans and how this has led to a South African diaspora. A final case study was done on the year 2008 in South Africa to understand how detrimental push and pull factors were to those deciding to emigrate and how little was done by the South African government to keep educated South Africans in the country. In essence, this thesis tried to understand the dynamics of South African emigration to Australia.

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