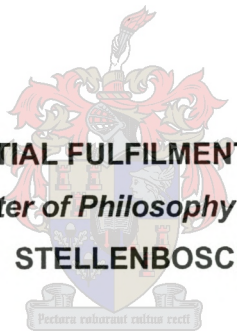
FACTORS UNDERLYING THE DECISION TO MOVE AND CHOICE OF DESTINATION

A CASE STUDY OF AFRICAN IMMIGRANTS IN CAPE TOWN

OLUWOLE OLALEYE



THESIS PRESENTED IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF *Master of Philosophy* AT THE UNIVERSITY OF STELLENBOSCH

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Declaration

I, the undersigned, hereby declare that the work contained in this thesis is my own original work and that I have not previously in its entirety or in part submitted it at any university for a degree.

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Abstract

The migratory flow of Africans to South Africa form the north of Africa was restrained until the early 1990's. Before this period the political ideology of apartheid discriminated against African immigrants, while favouring the migration of people of European descent.

Although numerous studies have drawn attention to the implications of the influx of African immigrants to South Africa and their socio-economic adaptation, not much research has been done on reasons for international migration as provided by the migrant. The demographic and economic implications of African migration not only dominate most of the work in this field, but it even seems to be the only concern of researchers investigating international immigration of Africans.

The study focuses on factors underlying the decision of African immigrants to migrate to South Africa and who choose Cape Town as their place of destination. Data from in-depth interviews are analysed to determine the motivations for migration to Cape Town. Attention is being paid to the circumstances in the migrants' home countries that motivated their decision to emigrate, the role of social networks in providing information regarding the choice of destination and migration routes, the obstacles they encountered, their adaptation in Cape Town and their perceptions of Cape Town as a place of permanent residence.

From the literature review on reasons for migration, is emerges that there are two dominant theoretical approaches (i.e. macro and micro theories) for explaining why international migration begins. The macro theories focus on migration stream, identifying the conditions under which large-scale movements take place and describing the demographic, economic and social characteristics of the migrants in aggregate terms. Micro theories focus on the socio-psychological factors that differentiate migrants from non-migrants, together with theories of motivation, decision-making, satisfaction and identification. Although each theory ultimately seeks to explain the same phenomenon, they employ different concepts, assumptions and frames of reference. The various explanations offered are not necessarily contradictory in nature but are, in fact, a reflection of how social realities

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could be studied and understood from various angles. This study employs an eclectic approach by using insights from both macro and micro levels of analysis.

The study also considers the appropriateness of a qualitative research design in researching specific aspects of migration and employs a qualitative case study method. This method allows for a deeper reflection on the part of the individual on factors responsible for their decision to move. Semi-structured in-depth interviews have been conducted with four African immigrants in the central business district of Cape Town.

The study found that in certain instances the immigrants migrate for different reasons, but under similar circumstances. It emerged from the case material that the same issues sometimes hold different significance for each migrant. One aspect shared by all four immigrants, is that it seems that circumstances in their countries of origin forced them to move and that they did have much of a choice - their lives were threatened. Their relatively high level of training and access to funding most probably assisted them in their move. Those people in not such a favourable position are left behind. The study also found that exchange and free flow of information and social networks directs destination of movement, rather than determine whether migration takes place. However, the information immigrants receive is not always correct and tends not to focus on the negative aspects of immigration.

Once in Cape Town the immigrants felt isolated, experienced prejudice, and suffered hostility and discrimination at the hands of South Africans. It appears that many South Africans do not distinguish between asylum seekers, refugees and economic migrants. The common denominator of their "foreignness" appears to be all that is necessary for many to harbour negative attitudes. Xenophobia not only manifests itself in negative attitudes, but also increasingly in victimisation against the immigrants. Because of these factors and the problems they experience in finding jobs where they can apply their skills, the immigrants indicated that they do not intend staying permanently in South Africa.

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Opsomming

Die migrasie van inwoners van die noorde van Afrika na Suid-Afrika was tot die vroeë 1990s relatief beperk. Voor hierdie tydperk het die politieke ideologie van apartheid gediskrimineer teen inwoners van die res van Afrika, terwyl die migrasie van Europeërs aangemoedig is.

Alhoewel verskeie studies die aandag gevestig het op die sosio-ekonomiese aanpassing en die implikasies van die invloei van immigrante uit Afrika na Suid-Afrika, bestaan daar weinige navorsing oor die redes vir internasionale migrasie soos verskaf deur die migrant self. Die demografiese en ekonomiese implikasies van immigrasie domineer nie slegs die meeste van die werk in hierdie verband nie, maar blyk ook die enigste besorgdheid te wees van navorsers wat die internasionale migrasie van Afrikane bestudeer.

Die studie fokus op onderliggende faktore wat immigrante uit Afrika motiveer om na Suid-Afika te immigreer en Kaapstad as bestemming kies. Data van indiepte onderhoude word ontleed ten einde die motiverings vir migrasie na Kaapstad vas te stel. Aandag word gegee aan die omstandighede in die migrante se lande van oorsprong, die rol van sosiale netwerke in die verskaffing van inligting oor die keuse van 'n bestemming en migrasieroetes, die struikelblokke langs die pad, hulle aanpassing in Kaapstad en hulle persepsies oor Kaapstad as 'n permanente bestemming.

Dit blyk uit die literatuuroorsig oor redes vir migrasie dat daar twee dominante teoretiese benaderings (makro en mikro benaderings) vir die verduideliking van internasionale migrasie bestaan. Die makro benaderings fokus op migrasiestroom en identifiseer die omstandighede waaronder grootskaaalse bewegings plaasvind en beskryf ook die demografiese, ekonomiese en sosiale eienskappe van die migrante in groepsverband. Daar teenoor fokus mikro teorieë op die sosiaal-sielkundige faktore wat migrante van nie-migrante onderskei, tesame met teorieë oor motivering, besluitneming, bevrediging en identifikasie. Alhoewel elke teorie uiteindelik dieselfde verskynsel verduidelik, word verskillende konsepte, aannames en verwysingsraamwerke toegepas. Hierdie studie gebruik 'n eklektiese benadering

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waarin insigte uit beide mikro- en makrovlak ontledings gebruik word.

Die studie oorweeg ook die geskiktheid van 'n kwalitaitiewe navorsingsontwerp vir die bestudering van spesifieke aspekte van migrasie en maak gebruik van 'n kwalitatiewe gevallestudie metode. Die metode fasiliteer 'n dieper refleksie van individue betreffende die faktore wat bygedra het tot hulle besluit om te migreer. Semi-gestruktureerde indiepte onderhoude is met vier immigrante gevoer.

Daar is vasgestel dat immigrante oor verskillende redes migreer, maar onder dieselfde omstandighede. Uit die materiaal van die gevallestudies blyk dit dat dieselfde kwessies partykeer uiteenlopende betekenis vir elke migrant het. Een aspek wat deur al vier immigrante gedeel word, is die feit dat omstandighede in hulle lande van herkoms hulle forseer het om te migreer - hulle lewens is bedreig. Hulle relatiewe hoë opleidingspeil en toegang tot fondse het hulle heel waarskynlik daartoe in staat gestel om te trek. Diegene in 'n minderbevoorregte posise het agtergebly. Die studie bevind ook dat die uitruil en vrye vloei van inligting en sosiale netwerke eerder die plek van bestemming bepaal as om die besluit om te migreer beïnvloed. Dit blyk egter dat die inligting wat immigrante ontvang soms verkeerd is en nie op die negatiewe aspekte van migrasie fokus nie.

Wanneer die immigrante eers in Kaapstad is, voel hulle geïsoleerd, ervaar hulle vooroordeel, vyandigheid en diskriminasie van Suid-Afrikaners. Dit wil ook voorkom asof baie Suid-Afrikaners nie 'n onderskeid tref tussen asielsoekers, vlugtelinge en ekonomiese migrante nie. Net die feit dat hulle vanaf 'n ander Afrika land afkomstig is, maak baie mense negatief teenoor hulle. Xenofobie manifesteer egter nie slegs in negatiewe ingesteldhede nie, maar daar is ook toenemende viktimisasie. Weens hierdie faktore en die probleme wat hulle ondervind om werksgeleenthede te vind waarin hulle hul vaardighede kan toepas, dra daartoe by dat immigrante Suid-Afrika nie as 'n permanente tuiste beskou nie.

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Dedication

To God be the Glory for everything He has done. Most especially for blessing me with a loving, caring, dedicated wife and friend, Maria Le Roux. I thank you for standing by me all the way; for bearing with me; and allowing me to spend most of the time in completing this thesis. To you, Maria, I dedicate this work. Dankie.

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The experience of migrating and deciding on a place of destination is a matter that some of us can identify with. Indeed, the decision to move and choose a destination for many is not taken out of compulsion or from a position of helplessness and the need to escape from a life-threatening environment. As a researcher in the field of migration, I have been privileged on many occasions to interview people and listen to the often painful stories of people whose decision to move was motivated by a web of factors. The choice of destination has been a matter of what is available rather than a choice based on informed decision. I would like to express my thankfulness to many of these people – especially to the African immigrants who volunteered to share their journey with me. The gift of their trust has meant much to me. Their stories echo many of my own experiences. They have challenged me to a deeper exploration of the great potential that lies in the human soul in overcoming adversity, thereby turning life threat into triumph.

The idea to carry out this particular research came from Mr Jan Vorster and Dr Andrienetta Kritzinger. I owe most to you. Thank you for your supervision, for the regular discussions and advice on the various aspects of the work. Also to all the distinguished academics in whose methodology classes I sat, especially to Professor Johann Mouton, the director for the Centre for Interdisciplinary Studies at the University of Stellenbosch, and to all the staff at the Centre for their assistance.

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CHAPTER ONE

MIGRATION AS A CONTEMPORARY PHENOMENON

"If sociologists are interested in more than a generalised statement of how events occur and are not prepared to relegate the quest for "motives" to the limbo of ancient superstition, then those of us interested in understanding the motives for migration are confronted with three alternative approaches. Either we accept the migrants' own statements of motives, or we infer motives from a study of objective structural determinants and then impute these motives to the migrants. The third possibility is that we combine the migrant's subjective account of motives with our own based on objective inference" (Taylor 1969:99).

1. INTRODUCTION

The twentieth century has not only experienced the revolution of information technology but, most significantly, it has seen extensive population movements taking place across state boundaries. Population movement occurs due to a range and combination of factors, including poverty and desperation, or a sense of adventure or calculated risk. People uproot themselves to work and fend for themselves in foreign countries, where they may not have any family relations and may not even speak the local language. Migration often has been viewed as economically motivated. One only needs, for example, to observe that much of the literature on migration concentrates on differences in economic factors among various geographical regions and the role of these factors in motivating migration (e.g. Haldenwang 1996; Barrett 1993; Ogden 1984; White & Woods 1980). Econometric studies such as these most often rely on secondary data sources and, as Shaw (1978:59-60) argues,

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the guiding premise of this approach is that man is economically rational, an economic maximiser, and that he will perceive and evaluate migration on this basis. Given this premise, if significant economic correlates of migration are observed, then, on the basis of objective inference, subjective economic motives are imputed to migrants.

Although this approach may predict the direction and magnitude of migration fairly accurately, it does not explain individual behaviour (Portes & Rumbaut 1990). The critical shortfall of the econometric approach is that it fails to explain why only some people from a certain region move, given that the same external forces affect all. In order to explain personal choices of moving and selection of destination, it is important to collect information from individual migrants.

This chapter constitutes the introductory part of the thesis. It attempts to provide a general overview of how South Africa features in relation to world migration. It begins by defining some key concepts in international migration and the aim and objectives of the study. Furthermore, the changes that have since taken place regarding migration to South Africa are looked at more closely. Related literature on the reasons for migration of African immigrants to South Africa was surveyed in order to locate this research within a broader context. The rationale and orientation to the study constitute the final section of this chapter.

2. DEFINITION OF KEY CONCEPTS IN INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION STUDY

A clear definition of key concepts involved in international migration study constitutes a major step towards a thorough understanding of African immigrants involved in the study. The African immigrants which this study deals with arrived in Cape Town after the first democratic election (1994) from the north of Africa. The study reveals that most of these immigrants are either refugees or asylum seekers. According to the United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR), a refugee is defined as:

a person who, owing to a well founded fear of being persecuted for the reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion,

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is outside the country of his nationality and is unable to or, owing to such fear, unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country (cited in Zolberg 1989:25).

This definition clearly highlights the criteria for giving someone refugee status. A person must have been persecuted and must be outside his country of origin in order to be granted refugee status. On the other hand, a person is regarded as an asylum seeker when his or her refugee status is under consideration. Although international refugee law makes no specific provision for a "right to asylum", such a right is inferred from the concept of *non-refoulment* (non-repatriation), i.e. asylum seekers should not be repatriated to regions where they may be subjected to persecution (Gallagher 1994:429). It is for this reason that most countries, including South Africa, allow asylum seekers to remain within their borders pending the result of refugee application.

3. AIM AND OBJECTIVESOF THE STUDY

The overall aim of the study is to provide a thorough description of the factors underlying the decision of four African immigrants to move to Cape Town, in an effort to add to existing explanations of factors underlying the decision to move and choice of destination.

The objectives of the study are as follows:

A literature overview will be provided in order to identify factors involved in migratory decision, as well as the interplay and linkages between these factors.
A thorough examination of the underlying philosophical presuppositions and critique of the case study method is conducted in order to provide a rationale for the appropriateness for the use of the case study as a methodology and framework for the research.
A thorough description of the migration history of four African immigrants will be provided, focusing on key factors influencing their decision to move to Cape Town.
The role of networks and information (accurate or inaccurate) in decisions to move as well as personal and structural obstacles encountered in the process of migration

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will be investigated.

4. NATURE OF MIGRATORY FLOW

The direction of migration flow during the last four centuries used to be from Europe to America and to Africa, but today migratory flow is from the once-colonised countries of the world to the countries of the colonial masters. It is also significant that more than 50 percent of the global flow of migrants is now between developing countries. According to the estimates made by the Population Division of the United Nations, the total number of international migrants in the world increased from 76 million people in 1965 to 106 million in 1985. These numbers imply that the annual growth rate of international migrants doubled between the periods of 1965 to 1975 and 1975 to 1985, increasing from 1,1 to 2,2 percent. Unfortunately, no data are available from the 1995 censuses yet, but according to the Population Division of the United Nations this accelerated growth rate is likely to have continued into the 1990s (Population Newsletter 1994:24).

The migration history of South Africa closely parallels the international phenomenon of global migration. Traditionally, South Africa has been a popular destination for international migrants, as evidenced by the fact that almost a quarter of the population of South Africa have historical origins in other continents (Rule 1994). The majority of the five million whites have roots in the Netherlands, United Kingdom, Portugal, France or Germany. In addition three million South Africans have a combination of European, African and Asian ancestry. Another one million could possibly trace their descent to immigrants from India (1994:33).

The major flow of African migrants before 1994 (i.e. before democratic rule in South Africa) came mainly from the neighbouring countries of Botswana, Lesotho, Malawi, Mozambique and Swaziland. In 1989 it was estimated that about 380 000 foreign workers (almost exclusively male) from neighbouring countries were registered as employees in South Africa. The majority (80 percent) of these people were employed in the mines. Of the remainder, 3,6 percent were employed on farms, 3,1 percent in domestic related services and 2,4 percent in the manufacturing sector. In addition to

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the registered foreign workers, there were also large numbers of undocumented workers, most of whom worked in agriculture – including an estimated 100 000 farm workers who came from Mozambique (Stalker 1994:236).

The migratory flow of Africans from the north of Africa is a new phenomenon, which began only in the early 1990s. Prior to this period, the political ideology of apartheid prohibited the migration of African people into metropolitan cities of South Africa. The migratory policy under the apartheid system was such that it discriminated against Africans from the north of Africa. The policies only favoured the migration of people of European descent. The movement of Africans from the north of Africa was restricted only to the independent homelands (Bantustans) under the banner of segregation and separate development.

The only statistics helpful in estimating the number of African immigrants in South Africa are the unreliable estimates of the total number of illegal immigrants in the country. This is not to say that all African immigrants are illegal. But researchers generally make an association between the number of illegal immigrants and the number of African immigrants in the country. Expert opinions on the exact number of illegal immigrants in South Africa vary considerably from a conservative estimate of two million to the possibly exaggerated figure of twelve million (Reitzes 1994:7). According to Sadie (1995), the estimate of two million is considered to be an exaggeration. He puts the number of illegal immigrants at 400,000. Preliminary analysis of the Human Sciences Research Council data (cited in Schuttle *et al.* 1997) obtained in December 1994-5 by means of door to door surveys indicated that between five and eight million people are in South Africa illegally. According to this analysis, Gauteng leads with 3,1 million illegal immigrants, followed by KwaZulu-Natal with 1,6 million (Information Update 1995). According to the South African Police Service, one out of every five squatters in the PWV area is allegedly an illegal immigrant (Cilliers 1994:22). In South Africa, the majority of illegal immigrants are generally considered to be Africans, poor people who cannot afford to stay in the formal settlements, relatively unskilled and coming from somewhere in Africa. It is therefore understandable that African immigrants are seen as people living in squatter areas.

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According to Minnaar *et al.* (1995), since the April 1994 election there has been a noticeable increase in the flow of illegal immigrants to South Africa. Cilliers (1994) further notes that between 5 and 8 percent of the South African population are illegal immigrants and that the number of illegal immigrants is increasing by one every ten minutes. African immigrants are said to make up the greatest proportion of those entering South Africa for the purpose of engaging in economic activities without having gone through the appropriate administrative channels (Fontana 1997:7).

Although these figures cannot be trusted to be accurate estimates of the phenomenon (because of the methods employed in arriving at these estimates), we cannot say that there is no substance to these estimates. They reveal clearly the seriousness and urgency of the problem. To deny that a high level of illegal immigration exists, is to ignore the many conflicts and the rising xenophobia created by the influx of African immigrants to South African cities and townships. The influx of African immigrants constitutes a new kind of challenge for the new democracy. We need to begin to understand the different circumstances and the underlying motivating factors for migration, so that appropriate measures and institutions can be established to address the problem.

5. MOTIVATION FOR MIGRATING TO SOUTH AFRICA

Studies show that motivation for migrating to South Africa among African immigrants includes war, destabilisation of many African states, the rule of dictators, human rights violations, political and ethnic persecution, economic concerns as well as environmental facilitating factors which make it easy for them to get into South Africa (Maharaj & Rajkumar 1997:258).

A recent work published by the Institute for Democracy in South Africa (in Rogerson 1997) on African immigrant entrepreneurs and South Africa's small enterprise economy discusses some of these motivating factors. The research shows that the majority of immigrant entrepreneurs cite economic factors as the underlying reason for leaving their home country (Rogerson 1997:7). Among the group of immigrants from countries in the Southern African Development Community (SADC), economic

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factors dominated their decision to move. Immigrants from non-SADC countries give responses that range from war in their home country, to marriage, to looking for a better life, to trying one's luck, to finding a better place for business and to the fact that South Africa had ended its apartheid policies. Non–SADC immigrants also cite political or tribal problems in their list of underlying motivations. Another factor is that South Africa's economy, and the relative strength of the economy and currency when compared to those in the immigrants' countries of origin, is very attractive. Immigrants also cite the proximity of South Africa to their home countries and the readily available means of transport as factors. Others factors cited by immigrants include: they were invited by friends in South Africa, they were attracted by the new democracy, there was a lack of corruption, they wanted to see the South Africa they had heard and read about, and that they wanted to exchange ideas and promote cultural understanding. Fontana (1997:3) also identifies socio-economic and political factors for the recent wave of African immigrants seeking their fortune in South Africa.

In an article published in one of the daily newspapers in Cape Town, the writer notes that most African immigrants are pushed to South Africa because of poverty at home and drawn to the promised land of South Africa by the lure of industry and jobs. He further states that South Africa, with its advanced infrastructure and large cities, is a powerful magnet for the poor of African countries (*Cape Argus* 06-01-1997: 13). This might be true for some African immigrants but there are clearly some exceptions as indicated in the latter part of this study. It is most probably an over-exaggeration based on a lack of understanding and information on the social and economic characteristics of African immigrants in Cape Town, to imply that only poor people of Africa migrate to Cape Town.

Hough (1995:14), on the other hand, identifies environmental and political facilitating factors that make it easy for African immigrants who want to enter South Africa, legally or illegally, to do so. They are:

- long international borders and the fact that South Africa shares borders with a number of other African countries;

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- long coastlines;
- political (and humanitarian) factors seemingly mitigating against the more effective use of electrified fences on the Mozambican and Zimbabwean borders;
- insufficient manpower to patrol the borders more effectively;
- the fact that the South African National Defence Force does not exercise the same powers in "operational areas" adjacent to international boundaries as under the previous dispensation;
- the fact that the police cannot apprehend a greater number of illegal immigrants due to staff shortages;
- the cost of border protection;
- entry procedures not being applied uniformly;
- insufficient statutory measures to prevent immigration;
- the relaxation of certain visa requirements; and
- contradictory views and pronouncements by political leaders.

Other facilitating factors are corruption and fraud in the department of Home Affairs and other Departments, such as Customs and Excise, the increase in forged identity documents, the fact that not all South Africans have official identity documents, and the potential for the abuse of refugee status (Human Rights Watch 1998:4).

Another explanation for the incidence of African immigrants to South Africa has been linked to a variety of independent causes such as civil war, famine, drought and adverse economic conditions. This theory of causes tends to ignore situations where an individual migrant's decision to migrate is not based solely on structural considerations. It needs to be recognised that an individual migrant's ability to rationally consider and choose a place of destination based upon optimum benefit should also be recognised when seeking to answer the question why people migrate and under what conditions they do so.

The research findings of Witherick (1993) can also be applied to the situation in South Africa. He found that people migrate due to some inherently selective features. Given certain conditions and times, some people and groups are more

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likely to migrate than others are. Factors such as age, gender, education and occupation play a major role in determining the propensity to migrate (1993:86). Gender selectivity depends on the level of development in the country or region concerned. Women in more developed countries tend to be disproportionately more involved in short-distance migration, while men are more involved in long-distance migration. Occupational selectivity is less prevalent among professional or white-collar workers in the more developed countries compared to the developing countries, where migration is more prevalent among the professional people.

Studies on migration selectivity suggest that the propensity to migrate is greater among the young adult age group, particularly between school-leaving age and the age of thirty in economically developed and less developed countries. This kind of migration is mostly associated with the search for employment, as well as migration due to marriage. Selectivity studies further suggest that the likelihood of migration can be correlated with demographic factors (Witherick 1993). Selectivity hypotheses, however, fail to explain the interplay between demographic factors and structural and environment factors. They also leave unresolved the question as to how the political, economic or tribal problems affected the individual lives of immigrants in such a way that it necessitated their departure from their country of usual residence.

6. RATIONALE FOR THE STUDY

Although numerous studies have drawn attention to the implications for South Africa of the recent influx of African immigrants, not much research has been done to understand the factors underlying the influx of African immigrants to Cape Town. The economic implications not only dominate all the work done in this field, but it seems to be the only concern of researchers investigating African immigrants. There is a general lack of interest among politicians, law enforcement agents and the public in trying to understand factors underlying the decision to move. While the media have tried to create awareness about African immigrants, it would be unfair to expect the media to present a thorough understanding of this phenomenon. A recent media report claimed that "political correctness and fear of being branded a xenophobe (were) blinding many South Africans to the hard facts when addressing criminal activity perpetrated by people from elsewhere in Africa ... The involvement of West

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Africans, in crime in this country is a reality" (Saturday Star 13-11-1999). The article goes on to list a series of criminal exploits involving West Africans, especially Nigerians. There is no doubt that some of these people are involved and that they have manipulated and abused their status as asylum seekers and refugees. To infer, as the article does, that most West Africans are somehow involved in crime and that South Africans might be holding back for fear of being branded as xenophobes, is somewhat disingenuous. What is required is accurate and balanced reporting. This report clearly fails to place West Africans criminality within the broader context of crime in South Africa and consequently compounds already distorted perceptions about African immigrants.

Many social ills affecting South Africa are blamed on African immigrants. They are generally referred to as illegal and treated as if they are less than human. High levels of crime of various kinds are linked to African immigrants. The Nigerians are linked to drugs, the car theft syndicates are linked to the Zairians and the arms-smuggling syndicates are linked to the Angolans and Mozambicans (Haldenwang 1996:77). The public is provided with monthly updates on how many African immigrants transgress the borders of South Africa, how many SADC citizens are looking for underpaid skilled jobs, and how many Africans are deported who will probably return. Rogerson (1997:6) found that African immigrants are hounded and assaulted by the police and the Department of Home Affairs. In a number of townships local communities have formed vigilante groups to hunt down African immigrants. According to a recent report published jointly by the HSRC and the Institute for Security Studies (ISS) (1997) on undocumented migration and policing/crime in South Africa, it was found that hostile sentiments toward legal and illegal African immigrants are becoming more intense amongst all South Africans, irrespective of race, political party affiliation, language spoken, educational level, work situation or province (Schuttle *et al.* 1997:5-10).

Recent violent behaviour towards African immigrants operating within the Central Business District of Johannesburg highlights only one of these many unpleasant attacks on immigrants. In a recent incident three foreigners – two from Senegal and one from Mozambique – were killed on a train near Pretoria after a mob accused them of stealing jobs from South Africans. Two of the victims were electrocuted by

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the overhead wires when they tried to escape. The third man was run over by an oncoming train after he was pushed out of a window (*Cape Times* 04/09/1998). In Cape Town, African immigrants within the Central Business District are regarded with much suspicion by the media, members of the public and local government officials alike. They are accused of taking away the streets from the locals, bringing prices down below profit margins, trading in counterfeit goods, taking away and sleeping with their wives, called *makwerekwere* (a derogatory term for foreigners), accused of dealing in drugs and not paying taxes. Attempts were made by local interest groups within the informal sector to stop African immigrants from operating businesses in the Cape Town area (Peberdy & Crush 1998:29). Underlying this appears to be the belief held by many South Africans (70% of Indians, 47% of Africans, 33% of coloureds, and 30% of whites) that they are "better" than other Africans (Piers et al 1998:146).

While much research has tended to focus on the economic and social implications of African immigrants for South Africa, very few studies have focused on reasons for migrating as provided by the migrant. The major difficulty with existing "reason for moving" studies is that they

represent post hoc reflections of migrants about their prior behaviour. The methodological inadequacies of this kind of approach for inferring pre-move decision making is obvious. Reason for moving statements may reflect pre-moving motivations, but they may also be rationalised by proxy, as known and verbalised by respondents, for the multiple motives that underlie migration decisions (De Jonge & Fawcett 1981:34-35).

This study attempts to alleviate some of the weaknesses in this kind of approach by employing focusing on the motivations for migration by using a qualitative case study method. This method provides a useful and important strategy for analysing and documenting the factors underlying the decision to move as well as choice of destination by individual migrants. This method adequately allows for a deeper reflection on the part of the individual on factors responsible for their decision to move. The method also gives specific attention to the social phenomenon and factors that can be used to explain the decision of the particular entities. Thus this

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method focuses on the migrant as the subject whose action is a product of social agency and individual decision-making.

7. ORIENTATION OF THE STUDY

The study broadly fits into two theoretical parameters. The first part is located primarily in theories of migration. The study puts a greater emphasis on the micro theory, while the macro theory only serves to provide the context for understanding the migrant's individual action and how the wider social context induced the decision to move. The second part is located within the broader context of a qualitative research paradigm.

Chapter Two constitutes the theoretical part of the study. It begins by presenting the basic definitions and terminology of migration. This chapter traces the development of migration theory and critically analyses the various theoretical approaches explaining why international migration begins. I argue that both macro and micro level of analysis should be used interchangeably in studies of the reasons underlying migration.

This understanding provides the background for the methodology and research design component of the study which is discussed in Chapter Three. In this chapter an attempt is made to clarify the controversy surrounding the term "case" and "case study", which provides the rationale for using case study as a research frame within the broader qualitative scientific paradigm for this study.

The case study frame and the nature of the research question demand that the subject of the inquiry be individuals who are directly involved in migration. Chapter Four then presents the verbatim case studies reports of semi-structured in-depth interviews conducted with four African immigrants. Each case study represents the varying responses to a complex web of social, economic, political and personal situations confronted by the immigrants.

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Finally Chapter five presents the analysis and the findings of the study in a descriptive pattern. Words, concepts, sentences and emerging themes are analysed within the border theoretical framework established in earlier parts of the study.

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CHAPTER TWO

A THEORY OF INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION

1. INTRODUCTION

The movement of people from place to place is not a new phenomenon. It has been said, "the history of mankind is the history of migration" (Bohning 1978 in Salt 1989:1172). Literary accounts of population movements in Africa found in the chronicles of Arab and European travellers, discoverers and adventurers reveal that African people moved around before the colonial era (Simmon 1997:17). These movements were directly linked with trade, land colonisation, drought, epidemic diseases and ethnicity. The slave trade, in which people were shipped across the Atlantic, was a later development in African migration history.

Migration has in recent years generated much interest in various disciplines. Within sociology, efforts have concentrated on the social and political structures of the sending and receiving nations as well as on the processes of social integration and adaptation in new cultures. Demographers have focused on the demographic characteristics of the immigrants such as age and gender, ratios, structure and differential fertility rates of migrant populations, as well as determining the effects of migration on population growth. Economists have concentrated on understanding the effects of migration on the sending and receiving economies (Haldenwang 1996:5).

Sociological research on migration has been noted for being uninformed about developments in general sociological theory (Richmond 1994:47). Sociologists have not been able to explain the scale, direction and composition of population movements that cross state boundaries. This weakness in the sociological inquiry into migratory processes reflects the interconnectedness and the multiplicity of factors that affect the attempts of sociologists to construct a theory that explains this complex phenomenon.

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Price (1969:207) provides some indication of this inability. He identified six areas of difficulty faced by social scientists and sociologists alike in attempting to understand the migratory phenomenon. They are the contextual differences between the migrants and the receiving societies, the conceptual problems with translation of instruments, sampling difficulties, linguistic problems, observation of etiquette and personality characteristics of researchers. These differences mean that there is no single coherent theory of international migration, but a fragmented set of theories that have developed largely in isolation from one another.

The purpose of this chapter is to explicate and integrate the leading contemporary theories of international migration. I begin by clarifying the definition of migration for the purpose of this research and then focus on theories that account for why the movement of people across national boundaries persists. It is not my intention to favour one theory over another, but rather to understand each model on its own terms, while at the same time contrasting the different conceptual frameworks to reveal areas of logical inconsistency and substantial disagreement. This undertaking will provide some basis for interpreting the case study material.

2. DEFINITION OF MIGRATION AND BASIC TERMINOLOGY

The movement of people from place to place sounds simple, but when it comes to defining the concept, the complexity of the ambiguity surrounding what we actually mean by migration makes it a daunting task. The context in which migration research is undertaken – a context that cuts across academic disciplines – leads to a different conceptualisation of migration. Binsbergen and Meilink (1978:10) define migration as "the geographical displacement of people for a considerable time and over a considerable distance". This definition lacks clarity, although the writers do extend the definition to include displacement within sectors of the social field that are structurally different from one another (i.e. urban-rural or rural-urban). Mangalam (cited in Lewis 1982:8), however, refers to migration as a relatively permanent moving of migrants (group of people) from one geographical location to another, preceded by decision-making on the part of the migrants on the basis of a

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hierarchically ordered set of values or valued ends and resulting in change in the international system of migrants. This is a more comprehensive definition, but it still focuses on collective rather than individual behaviour. The kind of migration that is taking place in the twentieth century is not synonymous with collective but rather with individual actions. Decisions to move are not determined by a kind of hierarchical order but on the freedom of the individual, who possesses the rational ability to assess the available destination and choose the optimum combination of wage rates, jobs, security and cost of travel (Stalker 1994:21). According to Philliber and Nam (1984:171) "migrants can be classified in different ways (for example, by distance covered, direction of movements, number of geographic units crossed) ... movement between countries (intersocietal) ... is termed international migration and the participants are called immigrants". Appleyard (1991) identifies six main types of migration found in Southern Africa: temporary or labour migration, clandestine or irregular migration, long-term migration or "transient professionals", permanent migration (the "brain drain"), refugees and return migration. For the purpose of this research the essential character of migration will involve a long-term migration or "transient professionals" – a particular type of migrant who resides lawfully in a foreign country for a period of anything between six months and fifteen years (Labuschagne & Muller, 1993:47-48).

3. TYPOLOGIES OF MIGRATION

Early writers on migration used typologies to classify different kinds of movements of people. Fairchild (1913) distinguished between movements due to invasion, conquest and colonisation from immigration as such. As a result, he was able to classify societies in two ways: "peaceful or war-like" and "low or high-culture society". In this classification, it is the nature of society that influences the kind of migration and consequences that takes place within the society.

Those who followed Fairchild developed two classification criteria for migration. They distinguish between voluntary and involuntary movements as a way of understanding the different kinds of migration and isolating factors, which determined the choice of migration. The voluntary movements included the seasonal, nomadic and other

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temporary movements as well as more permanent migration based on economic interest. The involuntary movements included those people who are forced into slavery or displaced by war or compelled by political pressures to leave (Price 1969).

Following the work of Price closely, Peterson (1958) developed a more elaborate typology of migration. In its first phase, he looked at the relation of "man" to "nature", the state, the norm and other people. In the second phase, he classified the factors that led to migration and linked them to the first. The ecological push was linked to nature, the migratory policy linked to the state, the aspirations linked to norms and what he termed as the "social momentum". Out of these elements he generated different classes of migration, namely the primitive, the forced/impelled, the free and the mass migration. This classification further led to the introduction of another classification, the "conservative" and the "innovating" types of migration, which are based on the consequences of movement. The settlement of a group of people represents conservative migration, since this kind of movement allows for the preservation and the maintenance of the migrants' traditional lifestyle. This contrasts with innovation migration, which involves individuals who take the initiative to "pioneer" situations that subsequently lead to large-scale voluntary movements resulting in urbanisation and processes of social change.

These kinds of typologies are very tempting to the researcher seeking to explain something as complex as migration. Typologies can easily lead to misunderstanding and misinterpretation of a complex social reality such as international migration. Typologies in their character generally present descriptions without necessarily providing explanatory details of the situation. Richmond (1994:48) argues:

> advances in the sociological analysis of developmental processes throw doubt upon the validity of distinguishing evolutionary stages or postulating essential correlation between technology, economic growth, political systems, social institutions and demographic behaviour. To the extent that there are no causal relationships between these variables, they are more complex than such typologies would suggest.

The factors that determine the choice of migration cannot be understood or

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explained by a mere distinction of whether a people's or an individual's movement is voluntary/free-will or involuntary/forced/complied. In going beyond this impasse, Hein (1993) proposed a convergence of these two forms and the differences that depend on the relationships to the state.

4. THEORIES OF MIGRATION

A variety of theoretical approaches have emerged for explaining why international migration begins, but these approaches have not been confined to a single social-scientific domain (Castles & Muller 1993:19). Although each ultimately seeks to explain the same thing, they employ totally different concepts, assumptions and frames of reference. Broadly speaking, these theoretical models fall within two categories, namely, the macro and the micro theories of migration.

Macro theories focus on migration stream, identifying those conditions under which large-scale movements take place and describing the demographic, economic and social characteristics of the migrants in aggregate terms (Richmond 1994:48). The macro theories focus on the adaptation process of immigrants, economic and social integration, assimilation and other related matters. According to this theory and its extensions, international migration, like its internal counterpart, is caused by geographic differences in the supply of and demand for labour (Douglas *et al.* 1993:433).

Micro theory focuses on the socio-psychological factors that differentiate migrants from non-migrants, together with theories of motivation, decision-making, satisfaction and identification. In essence, this level of analysis concerns mainly an individualistic perspective on migration, as opposed to macro-level analysis, which takes a broader societal approach. Individual rational actors decide to migrate because a cost-benefit calculation leads them to expect a positive net return, usually monetary, from movement. People choose to move to where they can be most productive, given their skills. A review of the literature on migration indicates that economic factors cut across all theories as the predominant criterion for determining migration and choice of destination.

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The remaining part of this chapter will concentrate on analysing the macro and micro theoretical models of migration and to develop a theoretical framework for directing the research.

4.1 MACRO THEORIES

The first systematic approach to the study of migration was developed by a nineteenth-century geographer, Ernest Ravenstein, who advocated the formation of statistical laws of migration (cited in Castles & Muller 1993:19). In 1885 he came up with laws of migration based on empirical research. These laws represent early attempts to provide broad generalisations based on the characteristics of migrants, their origins and destinations as well as characteristics of migration streams (in White & Woods 1980: 34). The main elements of Ravenstein's laws of migration are as follows:

- Most migration proceeds step by step.
- Migration increases in volume with the development of industry and commerce.
- The main direction of migration is from agricultural areas to the commercial centres.
- The flow of migrants decreases with distance.
- Each migrant flow has a compensating counter- or return flow.
- Migrants are generally single adults – families rarely migrate out of their country of birth.
- A majority of national migrants are females, whilst males comprise a majority of international migrants.
- Migrants are more likely to have rural than urban origins.
- The major causes of migration are economic factors (White & Woods 1980: 34; Haldenwang 1996:23).

Ravenstein's laws were developed in, and applied to, Victorian Britain and published at a time of rapid industrialisation and massive urban growth (Barrett 1993:150). It should also be noted that some of his generalisations have been contradicted, given

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the variety of industrial, technological and political developments which have taken place in many societies. The advancement of better transportation systems around the world has rendered distances between nations less relevant and urban populations are more migratory than rural populations. Migration proceeds by stages from rural areas to small towns, and then to larger cities and metropolitan areas. But some of Ravenstein's laws remain valid and applicable to current migratory flows. It is still true today that most migrations generate counter-streams and are related to developments in industry, commerce and technology, but the relationship does not necessarily result in simple linear progression. Rather it takes the form of an attenuated S-shaped curve over time. The link between economic development and migration is valid, although economic factors are not the only causes of migration (Barrett 1993:17).

Stouffer (1960) introduced the concept of "intervening opportunities" based upon the movements within geographical boundaries as they relate to mobility and distance. Lee (1969), building on Ravenstein's observation, produced a model of migration that linked positive and negative factors at the area of migration and destination with the decision to migrate, taking into account intervening obstacles and personal factors (Lee 1969:285-286). He suggests four classes of factors underlying the decision to migrate, namely those associated with the place of origin, those associated with the place of destination, intervening obstacles that lie between the place of origin and destination, and a variety of personal factors which moderate these influences (Lee 1969:285). Each individual perceives these attributes or factors differently, depending on personal characteristics such as age, sex, marital status, socio-economic class and education. Some of the attributes of the present location will be regarded positively, encouraging the person to stay, while others will be seen negatively and thus encourage migration. Neutral factors have no bearing on the decision-making process. The same classification of attributes applies to potential destination areas, except that here positive factors encourage and negative factors discourage migration (Lee 1969:286-287).

However, before migration takes place, some intervening obstacles, both real and perceived, need to be overcome. Real obstacles may include distance and the cost of transportation as well as political boundaries, immigration laws and migration

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quotas. Perceived obstacles may include anxiety about whether the person will settle down well in the new location or whether s/he knows all that s/he should about the potential destination. Such obstacles act as a sort of friction, which reduces the likelihood of migration (Lee 1969:288). Lee (1969:290) further relates the volume of migration within a given territory and the composition of its population to fluctuations in the economy and to difficulties in surmounting any intervening obstacles.

Mabogunje (1970:18) developed a systems model to distinguish the interdependence that exists between sending and receiving areas. According to him there are four components in migration movements: economic, social, technological and environmental. He further describes migration as a circular, interdependent and self-modifying or self-regulating system, in which the effect of change in one part can have an effect on the whole system. All systems operate within an economic, social, political and technological environment, which is constantly changing (Mabogunje 1970 in Barrett 1993:151). Although Mabogunje was only interested in rural-to-urban migration, he identifies three elements in the migration system, which can be applied to other types of migration as well. These are:

- the potential migrant who is encouraged to leave the village or home country as a result of stimuli from stresses in the environment;
- control sub-systems or institutional forces that affect the flow of migrants (e.g. the effect of the family and community in restraining or encouraging migrants, occupational and residential opportunities); and
- adjustments that have to take place at both origin and destination following successful migration.

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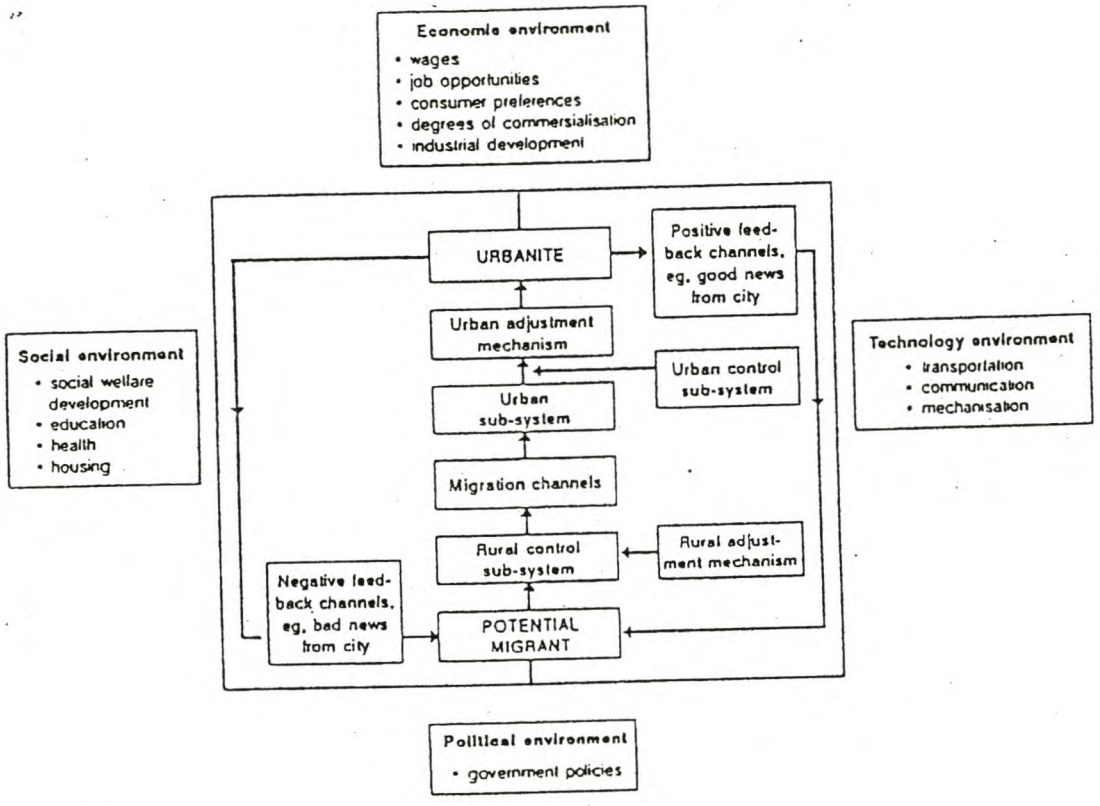

FIGURE 1: A SYSTEMS MODEL OF RURAL-TO-URBAN MIGRATION

(Source: adapted from Barrett, H.R. 1993:152).

Figure 1 is a schematic representation of a systems approach to rural-to-urban migration. It illustrates the nature of control taking place within a systematic interrelationship of rural and urban control systems. We have a rural-urban adjustment mechanism, positive and negative feedback channels, migration channels, and specific stimuli to migration from the economic, social, political and technological environment. Although Mabogunje (1970) gives breadth to the general systems theory framework, he leaves the nature and significance of expectations and their role as a stimulus to migration unresolved (De Jonge & Fawcett 1981:21). Other writers on the topic have proceeded from here to propose and apply a systems

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approach to studying international migration. The basis for this kind of approach lies in the concept of a migration system constituting a group of countries that exchange relatively large numbers of immigrants with each other, as opposed to voluntary free migration between rural-urban settings.

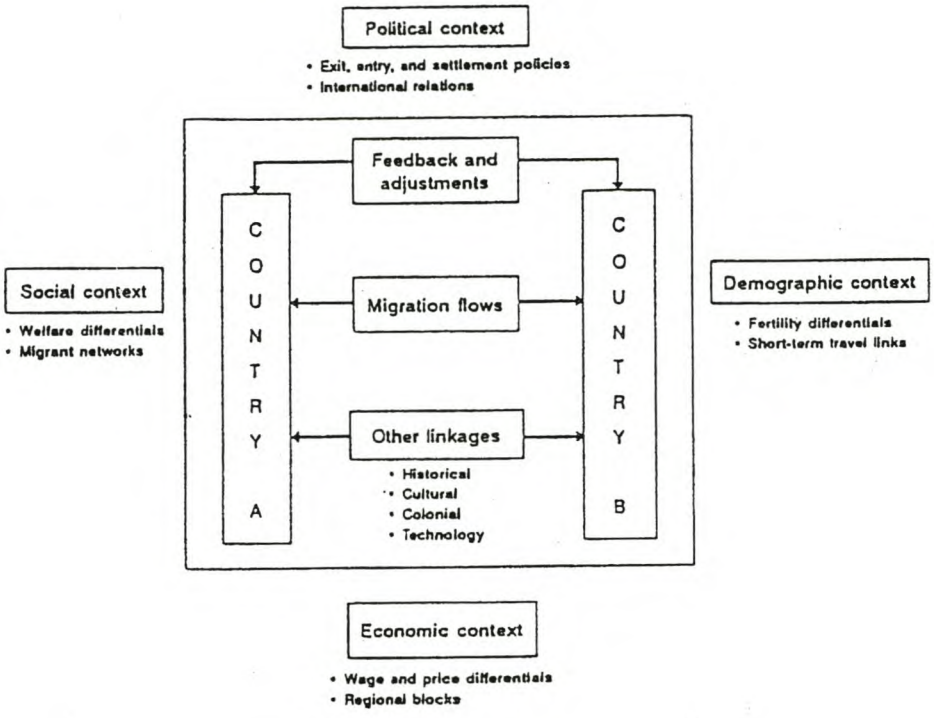

FIGURE 2: A SYSTEMS FRAMEWORK OF INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION

(Source: Kritz, M.M and Zlotnik, H. 1992. Global interactions: Migration systems, processes and policies.)

Figure 2 is a schematic representation of a systems approach to international migration that shows that migration and other flows link countries together in a system. According to Kritz and Zlotnik (1992:3) such flows occur within a national context where policy, economic, technological and social dimensions are constantly changing, partly in response to the feedback and adjustments that stem from the migration flow itself. The movement of people takes place across each country in multiple stages as the number of countries included in the system increases beyond two. The exchange of population within the system would not only be restricted to permanent migrants, migrant workers or refugees, but also to students, military

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personnel, businesspeople and tourists. Countries with higher wages and better welfare conditions would always be at the receiving end of a greater number of migrants, while the sending nations, if they happen to be characterized by lower wages and poorer welfare conditions, may also receive substantial amounts of return flows or even inflow of foreigners in possession of needed skills. Remittances generally flow towards the relatively disadvantaged countries (Kritz & Zlotnik 1992:3-4).

The systems approach successfully illustrates the interlocking series of causes and effects involved in migration. However, according to Castles and Muller (1993), it remains questionable whether the self-modifying nature of the regulatory process and the emphasis on the effect of migration on the areas of origin and destination would be realised, given the nature of the global economy, polity, and social systems which involves much conflict and contradiction in the face of quasi-sovereign states. International migration is like any other international process in that it does not take place between compartmentalised national units but within an overarching system. International migration itself is a product of historical development (Castles & Muller 1993:23). The logic of the theory and the unequal balance of power that exists within the global market raise doubts as to whether systems theory takes into account all the factors influencing migration.

Hoffmann-Nowotny and Joachim (1981:64-83) apply a societal systems theory to generate a general theory of migration, which is based on the relation between power and prestige in a society. This emphasises the importance of structural tensions derived from inequalities and status inconsistencies in the sending country, which generate anomic tendencies (Hoffman-Nowotny & Joachim 1981:68). The tensions may be resolved by immigrating to a country where status aspiration can be attained. They uses the term "under-casting" to describe a process where structural tensions in the sending country are relieved by emigration (migrants who cross international boundaries) but may be transferred instead to the receiving country, which must find ways of integrating the newcomers into society (1981:73-84). In saying this, Hoffmann-Nowotny and Joachim (1981:100) emphasise that:

> a viewpoint rooted in systems theory does not render obsolete the

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> concept of migration as the result of an individual decision-making process in which at one end of a continuum of available decisions defined by the society in question, an individual may opt for migration as one of many possibilities open to him or her, while at the other extreme, migration may be the only course of action he or she has left, when, for example, driven out of his or her home or faced with the threat of genocide.

If the structuralist (macro level theorist) fails to provide an adequate theoretical framework that explains the determinants for migratory decisions and the choice of destination, what then are the controversies that separate the macro-theorist from the micro-theorist? Why is it that many sociologists tend to address first and foremost the cultural and structural factors which make migration more or less probable?

4.2 MICRO THEORIES

The focus of attention among the micro-theorists is on the ability of individuals to make choices even when relatives, friends and other close associates influence such decisions. These theories are based on the assumption that migrants go through rational, consultative decision-making processes before deciding to emigrate.

The push and pull model, a micro theory (Witherick 1993:78) that attempts to explain determinants of migration, is based on this assumption. According to this model, people migrate because of economic benefits. People are pushed to leave their countries of origin due to demographic growth, low living standards, lack of economic and employment opportunities, low wages, the impact of natural disasters such as drought, floods and famine, and political repression, persecution and civil war. Conversely, people are pulled away because of demand for labour, availability of land, good economic opportunities, good social and welfare services, pleasant environment and political freedom. It flows from this model that individuals migrate because of the relative advantage of benefits available at the place of destination in comparison to unattractive and unbeneficial circumstances at the place of origin.

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Castles and Muller (1993:20) argue that this model is essentially individualistic and ahistorical. It emphasises the decision to migrate, based on rational comparison of the relative costs and benefits of remaining in the area of origin or moving to various alternative destinations. Constraining factors, such as governmental restriction on emigrating or immigrating, are either ignored or dealt with as a distortion of the rational market and which should be removed.

According to Borjas (1989:461), the push and pull model reflects the prevalent assumption among the neo-classical economists:

> that individuals search for the country of residence that maximises their well-being ... The search is constrained by the individual's financial resources, by the immigration regulations imposed by competing host countries and by the emigrating regulations of the source country. In the immigration market the various pieces of information are exchanged and the various options are compared. In a sense, competing host countries make "migration offers" from which individuals compare and choose. The information gathered in this marketplace leads many individuals to conclude that it is "profitable" to remain in their birthplace ... Conversely, other individuals conclude that they are better off in some other country. The immigration market non-randomly sorts these individuals across host countries.

Borjas (1989:461) further argues that "this approach leads to a very clear – and empirically testable – categorisation of the types of immigrant flows that arise in a world where individuals search for the best country." On the basis of this theory, one would expect the most disadvantaged people to move from the poorer countries to richer countries, but this is not the case. Portes (1981:280) emphasised that individuals certainly migrate for different reasons, such as to escape hunger or political oppression, to obtain riches and social status or to improve conditions for their children. He claims that there is indeed nothing simpler than assembling all of these motives and presenting them collectively as a theory of migration. However, the problem is that such a "theory" is of little value in explaining why population movements of a given size and direction emerge with predictable regularity.

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Individual aspirations can therefore only explain why certain people choose to act and reflect one part of a larger phenomenon, yet cannot explain the phenomenon itself. According to Hoffmann-Nowotny (1997:107-108), other factors governing currents of migration have their origins in the history of the nations concerned. This can be traced to these countries' colonial past or in more general terms, such cases imply the interplay of structural and cultural elements, the effects of which were not only felt during the colonial period itself, but have continued to affect the post-colonial era too, and to influence patterns of migration up to the present.

According to Borjas, (1989:482) "the contestation that individual migrants who make free choices which not only maximise their well-being but also lead to an equilibrium in the market place is very much removed from history." Zolberg (1989:407) suggests that it is better to analyse labour migration as a movement of workers propelled by the dynamics of the transnational capitalist economy, which simultaneously determines both the "push" and the "pull". It follows from this that migrations are collective phenomena, which should be examined as a sub-system of an increasingly global economic and political system (Castles & Muller 1993:22).

The mere existence of economic disparity between different nations or regions is not sufficient to generate migratory flow. The push and pull model of migratory analysis is an extreme oversimplification of a highly complex process, which only freezes the broad process of migration into a catalogue of migration reasons. It is obvious, that choices of whatever nature can be made only within the framework of available options. This is equally true of choices concerning migration, where opportunities are clearly restricted by factors such as access to work and housing, transportation costs, international legislation, the different immigration policies of states and requirements for various documents such as passports, visas and work permits. The individual's decision to emigrate cannot be separated from the institutional context in which the decision on migration is reached (Cohen 1987:35-36).

The options facing a landless peasant displaced by a policy of land reservation may be anything from unemployment, begging, stealing, starvation, or death as a result of disillusionment. The options facing an ethnically or politically oppressed individual may be to join a dissident army and/or face political imprisonment, indefinite solitary

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confinement, torture or death. In either case, the limited options available involve executing choices. Flight is one of these options. Kunz (1981:50) explains the behaviour of such individuals in terms of what he calls "kinetic models". He differentiates "anticipatory" from "acute" movements and further distinguishes "majority identified", "alienated", "refugees", and "reactive-fate groups" from those with a clearer purpose. The common denominators are a loss of control over one's own life (Kunz 1981:50). He further notes that:

> the borderline between political refugees and those dissatisfied economically can indeed be blurred when displacement occurs in reaction to event. Yet, the magnitude of the decision should be kept in mind, as well as the pressure of the social forces which finally result in the seeking of exile (Kunz 1981:51).

The place utility model is another model of micro theory analysis (Richmond 1994:52). It is a more generalised value-expectancy model that relates goals to expectations in terms of subjective probabilities of achievement. As a cognitive model, it presupposes the availability of adequate information on which to base migratory decisions. Individuals decide to move based on this information, particularly location, in terms of perceived advantages and anticipated satisfaction.

5. THEORY OF REASON

The irresolvable tension between the macro and micro level analysts reveals the kind of relationship that exists between inherent constraints that lie within societal structures and individuals' choices as a central problem in sociological theory. At the centre of this problem lies the fundamental and crucial question of the role human rationality (free will) and agency has against theories that emphasise behavioural determination by forces over which one has little or no control (Sciulli 1986:745).

In highlighting this problem, however, it must be said that numerous attempts have been made to resolve these tensions but to no avail. Karl Marx expressed the nature of the problem in oversimplified form when he wrote, "Men make history, but not in circumstances of their own choosing" (Marx cited in Richmond 1994). Talcott

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Parsons (cited in Sciulli 1986) also attempted to resolve the tension between the structuralist and the voluntarist in his work titled *The Structure of Social Action* (1937), a synthesis of the writings of classical theorists. Sciulli (1986:748) notes the different variations in the use of the term "voluntaristic action" in Parsons's work and in that of his contemporaries. Voluntary action is referred to as:

- the actor's free will or capacity to make choices despite constraints;
- the capacity for self-initiated action, whether or not this capacity is realised;
- the concept of individual autonomy despite the limitations of ideal or material conditions;
- individual autonomy as an unstable element in the social order; and
- the residual normative elements not subsumed under behavioural conditions or material categories.

Parsons (1967 cited in Sciulli 1986) developed a third type of social action, which involves "normative practice" in its reformulated version. This he distinguished from "purposeful rational action towards quantifiable ends from non-rational action directed towards transcendental ends" (i.e. religious practices/rituals). Non-rational action is not in itself ultimate or transcendental. According to Sciulli (1986:748), "voluntaristic action" consists of the qualitative worldly ends as well as the shared symbols and norms which allow actors to simply maintain a shared recognition of these ends.

Giddens (1984:173) distinguishes between two forms of constraint: material and structural constraint. The structural constraint, he argues, originates from the given nature of structural properties that the individual is unable to change and that limit the range of options available. However, Giddens (1984) points out that sources of constraint are also means of enablement: "They open up certain possibilities of action at the same time as they restrict or deny others". Giddens' (1984:174) notion of structuration differs from the static notion of social structure that is completely external to the individual, as opposed to the process by which social structures are created and changed through the exercise of freedom of action. Giddens (1984:4-7) acknowledges the predominance of a psychoanalytical basis that characterises both

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conscious and unconscious determinants of social action. The key elements are unconscious needs for security and trust in relation with others. Practical consciousness and reflective monitoring lead to routinisation and social integration. Unconscious needs increase in silence when these established institutions break down.

The incorporation of social psychological traditions, social exchange, interactionist theories and ethno methodology into a synthetic model of migration leads Turner (1987) to postulate the notion of hierarchy of needs. According to Turner (1987:20-21) a hierarchy of needs goes beyond the primordial requirements of biological survival. These needs are socially determined and include the need for group inclusion, trust, security, symbolic and material gratification, self-conception, and facticity – the shared understanding of intersubjective and external worlds, which is linked to power and the ability to achieve goals through negotiation and exchange with others. Turner's (1987) model involves complex feedback loops and assumes that failure to achieve these goals leads to diffuse anxiety and strategies to avoid such feelings. One of these strategies may be to emigrate from a situation that continuously fails to satisfy needs.

Richmond (1994:55) provides three implications that follow from this theory of reason for the study of international migration:

- Migration decisions, even those made under conditions of extreme stress, do not differ from other kinds of decisions governing social behaviour;
- The distinction between free and forced, or voluntary and involuntary, is a misleading one, because all human behaviour is constrained. Choices are not limited but are determined by the process of structuration. As much as there are variations in freedom, individual and group autonomy and potency are situationally determined. Under certain conditions, the decision to move may be made after due consideration of all the relevant information, rationally calculated to maximise net advantage, including both material and symbolic rewards. At the other extreme, the decision to move may be made in a state of panic during a crisis that leaves few alternatives but escape from

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intolerable threats. Many of the decisions made by both economic and political migrants are responses to diffuse anxiety by a failure of the social system to provide for the fundamental biological, economic, and societal needs of the individual;

- When societal institutions disintegrate or are weakened to the point that they are unable to provide a substantial section of the population with an adequate sense of group inclusion, trust, and ontological security (i.e. a confidence in the social world and individual's ability to survive in it in terms of age, gender, race, ethnicity, language, nationality, and religion) a migration/refugee situation is created.

The analysis of macro and micro concepts reflects the complexity of the sets of factors and the various interactions which lead to international migration and choice of destination. A simplistic distinction between voluntary and involuntary movements is not an explanation as to why people leave their country and settle in another. The distribution of economic and political powers is paramount to the decision-making process at the individual and collective level. The assumption that individuals move in order to maximise net advantage is a special case rarely found in isolation from decision-making that is influenced by direct coercion, manipulated opinion and value systems, non-rational pursuit of transcendental goals, and normatively-orientated voluntaristic action. Conversely, an absolutely clear distinction between the economic and the socio-political cultural determinants of migratory movement is not a tenable approach. A multivariate approach is necessary. In exceptional cases it might be possible to identify the underlying and precipitating factors as purely economical or political. However, in a world society, states, religious leaders, multinational corporations, self-interest, the world's superpower nations and their suprastate agencies (the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank) are deeply involved in decisions that affect the lives of millions of people. The majority of the population movements are complex responses to the reality of a global society in which ethno-religious, social, economic and political factors are inseparably linked (Castles & Muller 1993:24).

There is no simple solution to the complex phenomenon, and no single factor is sufficient to explain the factors that determine the choice of migration and

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destination. All the factors highlighted above must be combined when trying to understand why people decide against all odds to leave their area of abode for another place.

6. GUIDING THEORY

All the theories examined so far have one aspect in common: they propose to explain why there is a persistence of international migration from different starting points. The various explanations offered are not necessarily contradictory in nature but are, in fact, a reflection of how social realities could be studied and understood from various angles. There is no reason to accept the notion that reality can be conceived and understood from only one standpoint. An individual can decide to migrate on the basis of a purely cost-benefit calculation or a socio-economic context in which structural forces operating at the national and international levels facilitate the decision to move. In my opinion, the better option is to be sceptical of any theory that denies the importance of structural constraints on individual decisions, and also of any theory that denies the importance of individuals at the expense of structural constraints, in explaining why people move.

Theoretically, it is not the objective of the study to make contribution to migration theory by suggesting how the different causal approaches might better be conceptualised and ordered. An eclectic approach will be applied by using insights from both micro and marco levels of analysis. The macro-level analysis acknowledges the world as a global society where structural and cultural characteristics of the global society facilitate the migration of individuals around the world. Such factors include the developmental disparities (i.e. economic, social and demographic) between nations of the global society. This refers to the acknowledgement of the precipitated inequalities that allows structure of the global society to be characterised by "class society" (Hoffman-Nowotny 1997:103). This, Hoffman-Nowotny (1997) argues, makes it possible to speak of an international lower class, an international middle class, and an international upper class. The concept of social strata implies a society, which permits social mobility, which in turn is often linked with geographical mobility. Social mobility may be realised on two

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levels: the individual level and the collective level. At the first level, the individual seeks to improve his/her personal situation through personal effort by immigrating. At the second level, the individual's situation is improved by changes that occur in the collective to which s/he belongs through the successful developmental policies in a particular region or country. The reality of the situation in the developing countries, especially in Africa, is that people no longer have trust and confidence in any form of collective initiatives which would improve their personal circumstances.

It must be said that neither emigrating nor collective actions necessarily improve the personal circumstances of individuals in a world characterised by contradictions and conflicts emerging out of unequal distribution of resources, racism, competing interests, opposing values and internal contradictions. Giddens (1984:193-194) distinguished between existential contradiction and structural contradiction. Existential contradiction refers to human existence in relation to the natural world. It becomes apparent when people are faced with the question of absolute survival that they must make choices that could mean sacrificing their own lives for the sake of others, a common situation in disasters and under oppressive governments. Most important are the structural contradictions prevalent in the newly changing social systems. According to Giddens (1984:196), "the emergence of state-based societies also alters the scope and pace of 'history' by stimulating secondary contradictions. States bring into being, or at least greatly accentuate, social relations across considerable reaches of time and space." The context (i.e. international migration) in which we are operating demands that we understand the world as a global society and acknowledge the significance of our social and economic system and the doctrine of capitalist society upon which the global society is based. The capitalist economic theory postulates the free circulation of goods, capital and labour throughout the world, but when it comes to the movement of labour, goods, capital and developmental linkages, individual countries impose protectionist measures and heavy punishment on perpetrators. This amounts to violation of the liberal doctrine both as an economic and as a political ideology.

It is this understanding that makes Portes *et al.* (cited in Castles & Muller 1993:22-23) state that:

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> the application of macro level analysis presupposes an historical approach based on a concept of global independence, in which, migration processes, do not take place between compartmentalised nation units but within an overarching system, resulting from past historical development.

The macro-structure includes the political economy of the world market, inter-state relationships, and the laws, structures and practices established by the state of sending and receiving countries to facilitate or to prevent migration and to control settlement. The evolution of production, distribution and exchange over the last five centuries – with a tendency towards ever-greater integration of the world economy – has clearly been a major determinant of migration. The role of international relations and of the state of both sending and receiving areas in organising or facilitating movements is also a significant factor (Castles & Muller 1993).

The micro level will focus on the individual decision-making process. At one end of a continuum of available decisions defined by the society in question, an individual may opt for migration as one of many possibilities open to him or her. On the other extreme, migration may be the only course of action left for a person to consider when driven out of his or her home or faced with the threat of war or genocide. This also includes the informal networks developed by the migrants themselves, in order to cope with migration and settlement. Earlier writers referred to this as "chain migration" (Price 1969:108-110). Emphasis will also be put on the role of information and culture capital (knowledge of other countries, capacities of organising travel, finding work and adapting to a new society) in starting and sustaining migratory movements. Informal networks also include psychological adaptation, personal relationships, family and household patterns, friendship and community ties and mutual help in economic and social matters. According to Boyd (1989:639) "an informal network binds migrants and non-migrants together in a complex web of social roles and interpersonal relationships". These kinds of bonds are double-sided: they link migrants with non-migrants in their areas of origin, but also they connect settlers with the receiving populations in relationships of co-operation, competition and conflict (Castles & Muller 1993). The way to understand this kind of network is to see it as dynamic cultural responses, which are the bases of ethnic community formation and the maintenance of family and group ties that transcend national

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boundaries.

The factors underlying a decision to move and choice of destination would not be understood if studies are confined only to the level of theoretical abstractions. This study is broadly located within a qualitative research framework. The main focus of the four case studies in this thesis is on showing how the structural (macro) and individual (micro) factors are interchangeably linked in migration process. Both structural and individual perspectives are illuminating. Individuals make decisions dependent on the structures in which they find themselves. The case study method within macro and micro levels of analysis will illuminate the understanding of factors underlying migration. It will also enable previously unknown factors to be discovered that until now have not been the focus of research into African immigrants' migration to Cape Town. The implication of this methodology for the study will be explored in subsequent chapters.

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CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY AND RESEARCH DESIGN

1. INTRODUCTION

Case study research as a qualitative research design strategy is not a new development. It is a widely adopted approach in conducting research within various disciplines such as medicine, law, education, management, psychology anthropology, social work, sociology, political science, economics and other human science-related fields.

Social scientists use the term case study with relatively little consideration for the possible theories and meta-theories embedded in the term or in the methods that use cases and make conventional forms of analysis possible (Ragin 1992:1). However, there appears to be no general consensus among scholars on what the nature of case study research is and what exactly constitutes case study research.

According to Ragin (1992:8) there are three schools of thought on what constitutes case study research. There are those who believe that cases should be seen as empirical units and those who believe that cases should be seen as theoretical constructs. These latter scholars make a philosophical distinction between realism and nominalism. The realists are those that regard cases as given empirical units or empirically discoverable. They believe that there are cases out there to be discovered by social scientists for inquiry. The nominalists are those who regard cases as theoretical constructs. They believe that cases exist primarily to serve the interest of the investigators, that cases are the consequences of theories or of conventional practice.

On the other hand, there are those who believe that cases should be conceived as general or specific in some way. The critical issue for this group of people is whether cases are specific (for example, the authoritarian personality or the anti-neocolonial revolution) and developed in the course of the research (e.g. through in-depth

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interviews or historical research) or whether cases are general (e.g. individuals, families, cities, firms) and relatively external to the conduct of research. Depending on the area of research, generic units are conventionally treated as cases and case categories are neither found nor derived in the course of research. They exist prior to research and are collectively recognised as valid units by at least a subset of social scientists.

Various attempts to provide a concise definition of a "case" have led to the questioning of the bases of social scientific methodology and numerous aspects of empirical social science. Although the term itself enjoys widespread usage and plays a very central role in social discourse, it still lacks proper conceptualisation. This chapter is divided into two sections. Section one explores the various attempts to come to terms with the meaning of "case", how the quantitative-scientific critique developed and how case study researchers attempted to respond to the critique. Problems related to the general lack of understanding of what constitutes a case study will receive special attention. Section two provides an explication of the research design of this study.

2. CONCEPTUALISING A "CASE"

How a case is conceptualised and studied is one of the biggest obstacles confronting sociologists, because the term "case" is defined in so many different ways. Whichever way it is defined, the conceptualisation of a "case" has a significant impact on the conduct of social research. The problem requires a careful consideration because at the centre of this controversy lies the old debate between qualitative and quantitative paradigms, which I shall be turning to later. Researchers who favour the qualitative paradigm tend to describe an investigation as a case study because it involves research in one setting without necessarily considering what constitutes a case study or giving thought to the fact that there are methodologically decisive differences between case studies and other kinds of studies. Conversely, researchers who favour a quantitative paradigm in many instances use the term "case" and "unit of analysis" (De Vaus 1994:5) interchangeably without considering the problems that might come from conflating data and theoretical categories (Ragin 1992:7-9).

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The word "case" comes from the Latin *casus* meaning "occurrence," which is freely translated as something that falls out, occurs, happens (Easton 1992:1). Stake (1995) refers to case as the object of the research study. Merriam (1988:9) views a case as a methodology, an exploration of a "bounded system" or a case (or multiple cases) over time through detailed, in-depth data collection involving multiple sources of information rich in context. Time and place define this bounded system, and it is the case being studied. Such cases, for example, include a programme, an event, an activity or individuals. Some programmes could entail a multi-site study or a within-site study for a single programme. Multiple sources of information range from direct observation, interviews, audio-visual material, as well as documents and reports. The context of the case might involve situating the case within its setting, which may be a physical setting or the social, historical and/or economic setting of the case. The focus may be on the case which, because of its uniqueness, requires study (intrinsic case study) or it may be on an issue, with the case used instrumentally to illustrate the issue (an instrumental case study) (Stake 1995).

The definition presented above serves to indicate the views of social scientists who regard cases as empirically real and bounded, and which must be identified and established as cases in the course of the research process (Harper 1992:141-2). A researcher, for example, may believe that the "world system" (networks of social interaction and interdependent human societies) consists fundamentally of empirical units for understanding the history of human social organisation and therefore may seek to determine the empirical boundaries of various historical world systems. Contrary to this understanding, there are those who base their case designation on existing definitions present in research literature (Vaughan 1992:175). Cases are seen as empirically real and bounded. This requires the need to verify their existence or establish their empirical boundaries in the course of the research process, because cases are general and conventionally understood. A researcher in this category interested in explaining, for example, contemporary international inequality would accept nation-states (as conventionally defined) as appropriately defined cases for his/her analysis. Also, there are those who see cases as specific theoretical constructs which coalesce in the course of the research. Cases are neither empirical nor given. They are gradually imposed on empirical evidence as

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they take shape in the course of the research (Wieviorka 1992:159). At the start of a research project, it may not be at all clear that a case can or will be discerned. Constructing cases does not entail determining their empirical limits but rather pinpointing and then demonstrating their theoretical significance.

There are also those who see cases as general theoretical constructs, but nevertheless view those constructions as the products of collective scholar work and interaction and therefore as external to any particular research effort (Platt 1992:21). According to Platt (1992), a researcher might conduct research on "industrial societies" recognising that the assignment of empirical cases to this theoretical category is problematic and that the theoretical category itself exists primarily because of collective scholarly interest. In this view, cases are general theoretical constructs that structure ways of seeing social life and doing social science. Invariably, the case of a given study may shift over time as the social scientific community selectively reconstructs the intellectual fashion changes.

The discussion presented so far does not seem to provide a clear definition of what a case is. It seems, however, that there is a general belief among the various proponents that research cannot be carried out in a conceptual vacuum. Whether a case is viewed as given or socially constructed, the empirical world is limitless in its detail, complexity, specificity and uniqueness. The fact remains that almost any everyday social category is problematic (e.g. family, community, social class, church, etc), which testifies to the complexity of the empirical world. Theoretical ideas and principles provide ways to see the empirical world and to structure our description of this world.

3. THE CASE STUDY

The rise of quantitative scientific approach in sociology, emphasising probability statistics and prediction based on falsification criteria (Sayer 1984), has created two basic problems for case study researchers. These problems arise from the "N of 1" problem - that there is only one case and, therefore, objectivity is more difficult to maintain, falsification criteria are more difficult to meet and generalisation is impossible to attain.

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The first problem case study researchers have tried to cope with is the danger of "bias" and its assumed impact on internal validity. Bromley (1986) notes that many critics fear the "investigator effects" of the case study researcher. Becker (1968) likewise attributes "bias" to the possibility that investigators may have "feelings" for the subjects they study. Case study research, since it does not provide experimental controls and therefore is assumed to not allow for "scientific distance", has no built-in corrective against the researcher's possible biases. Critics have also charged that the case study does not accurately measure independent and dependent variables, and that it relies on retrospective (and therefore biased) reports and employs arbitrary interpretations (Runyan 1982). Therefore, the charge is that a case study suffers from lack of rigor and an excess of bias (Yin 1984). There is no assurance of either reliability or internal validity.

The second problem is that the case study does not allow us to generalise findings to other settings (Berger 1983). There is no way to measure external validity. Mitchell (1983) recognised that only probability samples meet the criterion of "representativeness" and, even as a case study advocate, he could not directly counter this critique. This problem has seemed so obvious and intractable that even the critics have spent little trouble elaborating on it.

As a result of these problems, even the advocates have cautioned against using case study research to test causal hypotheses (Runyan 1982), and critics and advocates alike suggest that using the case study for anything more than exploratory purposes is risky (Yin 1984). When we consider that case studies are also relatively more expensive in terms of time and resources (Smith & Robbins 1982), we need to carefully consider the worthiness of our pursuit.

There have been two responses to the critics. One has attempted to meet the internal and external validity problems by making the case study more sophisticated and rigorous. The second has critiqued the critique.

Internal validity deals with the question of how one's findings match the object of investigation. It deals with the question of whether or not the findings capture what is

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really there. Whether the researcher is observing or capturing what she or he wanted to study. External validity deals with the whole issue of knowing whether one's study findings are generalisable beyond the immediate case study. Guba and Lincoln (1981:115) notes that even to discuss the issue, the study must be internally valid, for there is no point asking whether meaningless information has any general applicability. Given the precautionary measures used in the study, the researcher considers the study to be internally valid. Numerous suggestions have been made on how validity could possibly be assessed (see Ratcliffe 1983; Guba & Lincoln 1981). Ratcliffe (1983:149-150) suggests that::

- data do not speak for itself; there is always an interpreter, or a translator;
- one cannot observe or measure a phenomenon or event without changing it, even in physics where reality is no longer considered to be single-faceted;
- numbers, equations and words are all abstract, symbolic representations of reality, but not reality itself.

According to Merriam (1991:167), validity must be assessed in terms of interpreting the investigator's experience rather than in terms of reality itself. Furthermore, Ratcliffe (1983:158) has noted that notions of validity have changed with over time. He states that different notions of what constitutes validity have enjoyed the status of dominant paradigm at different times, in different historical contexts and under different prevailing modes of thought and epistemology. He concludes by saying that there is no universal way of guaranteeing validity; there are only notions of validity. Ratcliffe (1983:158) warns that one should be wary of committing oneself to a particular notion of validity because of the tendency of limiting the range of methods that can be applied to pressing problems.

Those who choose to include greater scientific rigor into the case study have provided a number of strategies to increase the internal validity of case study research. Bromely (1986) advocates "triangulation" (use of multiple methods) to shore up internal validity. Kazdin (1981), in clinical psychological case studies, proposed using continual rather than sporadic data collection, gathering data on the history of the client's condition, and treating the case as a single-case experimental

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design with pre-test, treatment and post-test conditions. Campbell (1975), previously a critic of case studies, argued that the case study need not be based on an "N of 1", since degrees of freedom could be increased by testing the multiple implications of any one theory and comparing it to a test of competing theories. McClintock *et al.* (1979) propose that a single case study could be treated as a cluster of units of analysis in order to overcome the "N of 1" problem. Yin (1984) also argues that an explanatory case study is dependent on an accurate rendition of facts and comparison of alternative explanations and could be considered a whole "experiment". Becker (1968), George (1979) and Platt (1988) advocate case comparison of only a few cases over a single-case study. While many choose their comparison theoretically, Berger (1983) advocates the "case survey" method, which treats a collection of case studies as a sampling population.

The above suggestions highlight a very important issue touching closely on the notion of validity. The issue revolves around the question: what is the nature of the reality to which reference is being made? How is it to be conceived and who should define what reality is? One of the philosophical assumptions underpinning case study research as mentioned in the earlier part of this chapter is that reality, as conceived within this paradigm, is not the same as conceived within the positivist tradition. Reality, according to a qualitative paradigm, is holistic, multidimensional and ever evolving. It is not a single, fixed, objective phenomenon waiting to be observed, discovered and measured by the social scientists. Reality, according to Guba and Lincoln (1985:295), "is a multiple set of mental constructions ... made by humans. Their constructions are in their minds, and they are, in the mind, accessible to the humans who make them". Conversely, judging the validity of a study rests upon the investigator explicitly showing that she or he has represented those multiple constructions adequately, i.e. that the constructions (for the findings and interpretations) arrived at via the inquiry are credible to the constructors of the original multiple realities (Guba and Lincoln 1985:296).

The problem of external validity has been more difficult. Kennedy (1979) argues that the generalisability is not dependent simply on the number of units observed but also on the kind of units observed. Thus, generalisability applies more accurately to similar situations and depends on the use of longitudinal information, a comparison

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of competing explanations and precise description. Without a probability sample drawn from a population, however, there is no "scientific" basis to generalise beyond the case at all, though Platt (1988) argues that we can more confidently generalise if we can show our generalisations apply to a diverse array of cases. This strategy again moves beyond a single case study to case comparison.

These attempts to meet the standards set by quantitative scientific sociology do little more than emphasise the inability of case study research to live up to those standards. While the above strategies certainly help to produce better research, they are unable to refute the belief that research based on cross-sectional probability statistics still produces more valid results. In some cases attempts to divide cases into "units" or to conduct case comparisons, destroy the integrity of the cases by turning them into isolated and unconnected pieces of data (Platt 1988). Case comparison which attempts to preserve the integrity of the cases typically also creates a situation where we have "the accumulation of numerous variables, typically greater in number, by an order of magnitude, than the number of cases being studied, which make traditional statistical techniques irrelevant". (Yin 1982:95). This leaves us worse off than when we started.

The second and more effective response to the scientific critique has come from quantitative science, which shows the gap which case study research fills. There are three basic critiques of the quantitative scientific perspective which highlight the strengths of the case study. Firstly, probability samples and significance tests do not ensure accurate explanation. Secondly, the scientific method does not control for research bias. Thirdly, the survey research preferred by scientific method advocates is not useful for applied questions (Stoecker 1991:91).

The first critique of the quantitative scientific emphasis is that the probability sample and statistical tests ensure neither a valid explanation nor a valid generalisation. Mintzberg (1979) shows that all research involves a creative leap from data to explanation. Mitchell (1983:198) argues further that:

> the inference about the *logical* relationship between the two characteristics is not based upon the representativeness of the sample

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> and therefore upon its typically, but rather upon the plausibility or upon the logicality of the nexus between the two characteristics [emphasis in original].

A variety of explanations can apply to a statistical association, but only careful sensitive research of specific instances that actually show the historical causal process allow us to see which theoretical perspectives provide the best explanation. We know, for example, that parents' income is positively related to the educational attainment of their offspring. We must study the process and content of this relationship in actual families to determine the extent to which this association is due to the transmission of the parental values, or to discrimination by educators, or to other theoretically deduced causes.

Thus, the case study can more effectively analyse causation than quantitative cross-sectional research. Massey (1984:62) argues that, "'General laws' are about causation, not empirical correlation. They are as well if not better established in causal studies of the particular". In single cases we can see variables operating which are lost in cross-sectional quantitative research. Becker (1968) emphasises that what the case study does best is to study process, and process is at the very heart of an explanatory method. Yin (1984:18) asserts that:

> "how" and "why" questions are more explanatory and are likely to lead to the use of case studies, histories, and experiments as the preferred research strategies. This is because such questions deal with operational links needing to be traced over time, rather than mere frequencies or incidence.

"Process" is both historical and idiosyncratic, and statistical analysis is unable to capture either of those qualities. In fact, the source of the case study's strength is its ability to explain the idiosyncrasies which make up the "unexplained variance". For example, the amount of urban development in different cities may be statistically associated with the number of corporate headquarters in those cities. However, in one city the planning process may be dominated by a strong capitalist approach, while in another city capitalists may not play a strong role at all. The strength of the

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case study lies in its ability to show how the theoretical power of capital may be manifested in different ways. Mitchell (1983:203-4) asserts that:

> we should choose our case for its explanatory power rather than for its typicality, in direct opposition to the quantitative-scientific emphasis on representativeness. This is most clearly demonstrated in those instances where the concentration of events is so idiosyncratic as to throw into sharp relief the principles underlying them.

In fact, the non-typical case can assist us as an example of an exception to a generalisation, therefore transforming and making more accurate general theories. Thus Mitchell (1983:207) argues that:

> both the internal and external validity of the case study is dependent on the cogency of the theoretical reasoning rather than on the degree to which the case study can meet quantitative-scientific standards that emphasise representative samples and falsifiability criteria. The case study provides evidence to show how both the rules and its exceptions operate.

This emphasis on explanation is in contrast to, rather than synonymous with, the predictive purpose emphasised by quantitative science advocates and is based on a study of concrete processes and actions which only the case study, with its attention to empirical detail, can provide (Sayer 1984). While we can predict, on the basis of probabilities, that those from wealthy backgrounds have a better chance of becoming wealthy, case studies can show the specific process involved in both the general trend and the exception, and in fact make our predictions more specific. Sayer (1984:220) frames this issue by adapting Harré (1979) distinction between "intensive" and "extensive" research designs. Extensive research, which includes primarily large-scale samples and statistical analysis (the "quantitative-scientific" approach), is most concerned with mapping common patterns and properties are related in a causal way. Intensive research uses primarily qualitative methods for the purpose of causal analysis. The problem with using extensive research for causal analysis is that it focuses on "taxonomic groups" whose members "share similar

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(formal) attributes but which need not actually connect or interact with one another" (Sayer 1984:221). Thus, the interpretation of causal relationships in extensive research is based on statistical association of formal properties. In intensive research these interpretations are based on observable concrete interconnections between actual properties and people within an actual concrete setting.

These arguments literally turn the quantitative-scientific critique on its head. The charge that case studies are good for little more than description applies much more thoroughly to extensive research. Likewise the assertion that extensive research better establishes causation is patently false. The assumption of extensive researchers that their research is more "objective" because it controls against researcher effects and biases is also questionable and provides the basis for the second critique. Sayer (1984) argues that the large-scale highly formalised interview format typical of extensive research does not only control bias, but it introduces bias by not allowing for the fact that the same questions can have vastly differing significance and meaning for different respondents. A more flexible, interactive interviewing procedure allows the researchers to find out how different issues hold different significance for different people.

Feminists directly attack the legitimacy of this ideology of scientific distance. Keller and Grontkowski (1983:190) argue that, "as objectivity is identified with masculine dominance, then the complement of the scientific mind is, of course, Nature – viewed so ubiquitously as female". There is, as a result, a split between the scientific mind and its object, nature, so a reconnection of sorts has been achieved. This 'marriage' of mind and nature is "consummated through reason rather than feeling, and 'observation' rather than 'immediate' sensory of the subject from the object and a separation of knowledge from the unreliability of these senses". (Keller & Grontkowski 1983:191). But rather than an actual separation of knowledge from the senses, all that is achieved is a denial of connectedness. Thus, not only is objectivity not objective, it is denying important information. Laslett and Rapoport (1975) in fact welcome "transference" and "counter-transference" in interviewing as important information about the research process. Glennon (1983) also asserts that positivist (quantitative scientific) social science, with its emphasis on separation and control through quantification, treats the world as linear, neglecting the dialectical process of

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life. According to Glennon (1983:50):

> "subjects" respond to us in idiosyncratic ways and we miss essential and valuable information if we are too "objective" to notice their idiosyncratic responses and our responses in turn. In survey research, with "interviewers" responding to "subjects", and "researchers" responding to "interviewers", the problems multiply.

Within feminist methodological discussions that emphasise the importance of this connectedness there is a concurrent emphasis on advocacy research (Stanley & Wise 1983), which points up the final inadequacy of extensive research. Cross-sectional findings are much less useful for applying interventions in unique situations – the classic "ecology fallacy" (Robinson 1982). For clinical diagnostic purposes it is best to know the idiosyncrasies of the case to prescribe interventions (Runyan 1982). General research obscures specific factors operating in specific situations (Kazdin 1981). While case studies can certainly advance general knowledge, if we truly want our research to have an impact it may be more important for us to develop a theory of the idiosyncratic than a theory of the general. The case study's potential for informing intervention is crucial for any of us concerned with sociology as a progressive, useful science.

4. RETHINKING THE CASE STUDY

The preceding discussion suggests we should continue the pursuit of legitimising and developing case study research. The weaknesses of the extensive research design demand an alternative. The need to have an impact on social problems also directs us to develop research strategies, which focus on specific problems in specific situations by adapting general theories and general findings to those situations.

Given these considerations, how should we rethink case study research? Much of the criticism of the case study has come from a confusion about its definition, its misplaced location in dualistic debates within sociology, and its lack of clarity of purpose.

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The problem of defining the case study concerns the question of whether the case study is a method or a research design. Platt (1988) suggests that one reason for the decline of the case study may have been the result of the methodological issues concerning the difference between "design features" and "methods of data collection". Since the case study had been increasingly portrayed as a method, and yet its practitioners specified no particular data-gathering techniques other than to exempt statistical analysis, the case study fits neither category.

There are also a number of definitions, which go beyond portraying the case study as a mere method. Runyan (1982:443) defines the clinical case study in psychiatry not as a method, but rather "a form for organising and presenting information about a specific person and his or her circumstances which may draw upon a variety of specific techniques of data collection". This definition stops at the description stage, as do many definitions of the case study. Mitchell (1983:191-2) emphasises preserving the unitary character of the social object being studied, and defined the case study as, "a detailed examination of an event (or series of related events) which the analyst believes exhibits (or exhibit) the operation of some identified general theoretical principles". This moves beyond description to emphasise the role of theory. Yin's (1984:23) more comprehensive definition describes the case study as:

> an empirical enquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context; when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident; and in which multiple sources of evidence are used.

The case study need not necessarily be of "contemporary" living, breathing people. The dead past is as amenable to case study research (though often with different techniques) as the living present. McDonald and Walker (1977:181) define a case study as the examination of an instance in action. This definition is congruent with Guba and Lincoln's (1981:371) statement that the purpose of a case study is to reveal the properties of the class to which the instance being studied belongs. Becker (1968:233) defines the purpose of case study in two ways: to arrive at a comprehensive understanding of the groups under study and to develop general

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theoretical statements about regularities in social structure and process.

A case study could further be defined by its special features, although these features and the terminology used to refer to them vary across disciplines. A literature overview suggests that four distinguishing features dominate the essential properties of a qualitative case study. These are: particularistic, descriptive, heuristic and inductive.

"Particularistic" refers to case studies that focus on a particular situation, event, program or phenomenon (Merriam 1991:11). The individual instance becomes very important on its own because of what it reveals about the phenomenon. According to Shaw (1978:2), case studies concentrate attention on the way particular groups of people confront specific problems by taking a holistic view of the situation. Case studies are problem-centred, small-scale and entrepreneurial endeavours.

"Descriptive" refers to the end product of a case study, which is a rich, "thick" description (meaning a complete, literal description) of the phenomenon under study. According to Guba and Lincoln (1981:119), it could also refer to interpreting the meaning of "... demographic and descriptive data in terms of cultural norms and mores, community values, deep-seated attitudes and notions, and the like." Case studies have also been referred to as "holistic," "lifelike," "grounded," and "exploratory," presenting its findings in qualitative form rather than in numerical forms. Wilson (1979:448) writes, "case studies use prose and literary techniques to describe, elicit images, and analyse situations.... They present documentation of events, quotes, samples, and artifacts".

"Heuristic" refers to the inherent ability of case studies to illuminate the reader's understanding of the phenomenon under study. It is accorded the ability to bring about new meanings and extend the reader's experience. Stake (1981:47) argues that case studies enable previously unknown relationships and variables to emerge from investigations, leading to a rethinking of the phenomenon being studied. Insight into how things get to be the way they are can be expected to result from case studies.

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"Inductive" refers to the inductive reasoning dependence of case studies. Case studies enable generalisations, concepts or hypotheses to emerge from an examination of data (data grounded in the content itself). Most of the time in case study research hypotheses end up being subjected to reformulation as the discovery of new relationships, concepts and understanding surface during the process of the study. Stake (1981:35-6) propels this notion further and claims that knowledge generated from the case study is:

- More concrete – case study resonates with our own experience because it is more vivid, concrete and sensory than abstract.

- More contextual – our experiences are rooted in context, as is knowledge in case studies. This knowledge is distinguishable from the abstract, formal knowledge derived from other research designs.

- More developed by reader interpretation – readers bring to a case study their own experience and understanding, which leads to generalisations when new data for the case are added to old data.

Stake (1981:36) considers these generalisations to be part of the knowledge produced by a case study.

I believe we should reserve the term "case study" for those research projects which attempt to explain holistically the dynamics of a certain historical period of a particular event. This integrates Runyan's and Yin's multi-methodological approach, Mitchell's theoretical emphasis and adds a crucial historical component. While we can and should compare cases, the danger is that, if we begin with a comparative focus, we may neglect a design, which maintains the integrity and idiosyncrasies of each case in favour of a design reducing the case to a few comparable variables.

Thus, the case study is not a "method" in the most typical sense, but more a "design feature" (Platt 1988) or even more broadly, a frame determining the boundaries of information gathering. For example, I propose to explain the underlying factors

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motivating the decision of African immigrants to migrate into the city of Cape Town. In this case I would first have to define the period of migration. When did it start? When did it end, or has it ended? Am I concerned only with the immigrants within the central business district limits, or the entire city suburbs? Specifying the structural (level of group) and historical (period of time) boundaries of this frame are crucial for conducting effective case study research, as we shall see in the next section. Within this frame we may survey, interview, observe, participate, read, visit archives, dig through garbage or even count.

The fact that authors appears to assume that the case study is simply a research method, as Becker's (1968) seeming co-definition of case study research with participant observation implies, has led many to place it awkwardly and inaccurately within two dualistic debates. The two dualisms confused in the debate over the case study and its definition are the quantitative-qualitative split and the inductive - deductive split.

On the quantitative-qualitative split, Bryman (1984) argues that quantitative research is no more necessarily linked to positivism than qualitative research is to phenomenology, and showed how participant-observers' emphasis on empirical evidence makes that method as potentially positivist as any quantitative method. Runyan (1982) and Platt (1988) conclude that case study research is neither necessarily phenomenological nor even qualitative. Yin (1984) emphasises that case studies should not be confused with participant observation or ethnography, and can even be quantitative. Becker (1968) noted the important place of “quasi-statistics” in case study research four decades ago, and Burawoy's (1979) factory case study employed relatively sophisticated statistical methods. Recognising the place of statistics in case study research, even statistics based on probability sampling within a community, for example, makes quantitative-scientific critiques of the case study even less relevant. The case study lies beyond the quantitative-qualitative debate and can employ the best of both methods.

The other dualism lies in the inductive-deductive debate, as artificial as the other. We are no more able to walk theory-free into a social situation than we are able to be content with not adding variables as we research. Supposedly theory-free

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inductivism ignores the fact that:

> observation is conceptually mediated [and] that the objects can only be known under a particular description. Deductivism confuses the logical relations among statements ... with the real structures and mechanisms responsible for their occurrence (Sayer 1984:138, 156).

Sociological case study researchers' emphasis on inductivism has probably created some of the worst problems for the field because this emphasis has prevented theoretical elaboration. Much of the recent recasting of the case study has emphasised its usefulness for testing theory (Mitchell 1983), finding negative instances to use in elaborating theory (Runyan 1982) or testing theory in a clinical setting.

The lack of a clear definition and the confusion over the relation of methodology and theory to case study research, are interwoven with confusion over the purpose of case study research. According to Eckstein (1975), there are numerous uses to which case studies can be put. The "configurative-idiographic" case study attempts to explain only the particular case. The "disciplined-configurative" case study also attempts to explain only that case, but uses more general concepts. These two forms are closest to the clinical case study. The "heuristic" case study delves more deeply into a particular problem to better grasp its complexity and suggest possible new theoretical tasks and generalisable principles. The "plausibility probe" uses the case to pilot test hypotheses to determine if full-scale research is warranted. Finally, the "crucial case" study is the careful selection of a case for the purpose of testing theory.

These varying purposes are partly the result of the misplaced critique of extensive researchers. If we are correct that extensive research is less effective in determining causation, the "plausibility probe" is no longer a justifiable purpose. Instead, we employ extensive research to form plausible hypotheses we can test and further specify through case study research, as the general findings of extensive research suggest what to look for in specific situations. If the inductive-deductive debate is a false dualism, then the application of general concepts in the "disciplined-

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configurative" approach and the generation of new theoretical tasks in the "heuristic" approach will always exist together (Stoecker 1991:100). The "configurative-idiographic" approach cannot work without also applying and refining theory. The remaining distinction in determining the purpose of case study research is whether we focus more on elaborating theory or explaining the case.

The extent to which one focuses on elaborating theory or explaining the case is partly determined by our larger purposes, though there is no reason why we cannot effectively do both concurrently. We should not neglect focusing on the case, as long as we are studying living people. The research methods we often employ in contemporary case study research provide a moral obligation to focus enough of our attention on the case to inform those who are living it (Stoecker 1991). The moral obligation results from the nuisance we make of ourselves, and the time we take asking questions and interviewing. We should be able to provide something in return. By employing effective case study method, we also cannot help having an impact on those who live the case, and it requires us to make our impact conscious and helpful. This provides another argument against comparative work, such as the Glaser and Strauss (1987) approach, which advocates choosing and using only cases (and, consequently, only parts of the cases) that assist the goal of theory elaboration.

The role of a case study in informing active intervention has always existed. But too many researchers have been hesitant to risk their reputations and have often confused advocacy with bias. To be fair, case study researchers have also been hesitant because they believed the critics' contention that case study research was unreliable and invalid and we have been unsure of how to build a case study frame on which we could depend.

In the light of this debate this study employs the case study more as a frame for determining the boundaries of information gathering. It seeks to understand the factors underlying the decision of African immigrants to move to Cape Town. The boundary problems come down to the following questions. When did African immigrants start moving to the city of Cape Town? How does one set the limits to the inquiry? What are the rules for inclusion and exclusion? How can the researcher know what is relevant and what is not relevant?

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The researcher sets the boundary for the case study as follows:

- The nature of the research question dictates that the subject of informants be individuals (Yin 1984).
- In this study, the informants of the research are male African immigrants in the business district of Cape Town who are over the age of eighteen years, and involved in business activities within the informal sector.
- As indicated, the study was bounded by time; it seeks to concentrate on immigrants who entered Cape Town after the first democratic election (1994).

The choice of informants is due to the particular features provided by the informants, as well as the accessibility and co-operation of the informants, and the contemporary nature of Sub-Saharan Africans moving into the city of Cape Town. The information for the study was collected from individuals who participated voluntarily in the study.

During the preliminary stage of the fieldwork, thirteen potential informants agreed to volunteer information for the research, but only three eventually participated in the research. It was only at a later stage that the fourth informant agreed to join the project after much persuasion. It would be interesting to conduct a study that focuses on the motivation of the informants to be interviewed for research purposes. In this study, the informants expressed their inherent satisfaction experienced during the process of the interview. The quality and quantity of the information collected probably depend far more on the informants and their willingness to divulge information on different occasions. If being interviewed is in itself a reward, the explanation might be in the interaction that took place during the interview schedules between the researcher and the informants. It is quite evident that the most social activity cannot be explained in terms of ulterior goals, but by self-motivation. Somewhere in the course of socialisation, interaction comes to be natural, spontaneous and essential to the maintenance of psyche.

It was difficult to choose good, typical cases of African immigrant within the central business district of Cape Town. A non-probability sample of four cases was

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undertaken through judgmental (also knows as purposive sampling) technique. The small sample size used in the research is methodologically justifiable (Strauss 1987), as well as influenced by logistical and pragmatic reasons. Careful attention was devoted to studying and selecting the most typical case available through informal encounters and meetings with various African immigrants. It must be noted, however, that a case study does not require large numbers of cases before it can satisfy the criteria of representivity and generalisability criteria. All that is necessary is to examine the phenomenon, select a case of typicality that leans towards those cases which seem to offer an opportunity to learn.

The final section highlights the method of data collection employed in the study. The researcher chooses the semi-structured in-depth interview as an insider – an African immigrant who knows and understands the dynamics of relating with immigrants. The different types of interviews and dynamics of interviewing in the process of gathering data are enumerated, and the choice of semi-structured standardised interview technique for the research was carefully considered.

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6. DATA COLLECTION METHOD

6.1 INTERVIEW

Generally, there are two types of interviews, the structured and the unstructured interview. Both involve an interviewer with a plan for asking questions and a informant whose statements form the content of the interview. The purpose of the study is to inform the researcher on matters of migration. Interviews are classified according to degree of structuring or standardisation (Denzin 1970:123). The structured interview, also known as the schedule-standardised interview, ensures that the wording and order of all questions is the same for all informants. Its purpose is to develop an instrument administrable to all informants. The questions contained in the instrument are made comparable, so that when variations between informants appear, they are attributed to the actual differences in response and not to the instrument.

Firstly, according to Richardson *et al.* (1965:40) the rationale for the schedule-standardised interview is based on the assumption that in any study the informants have a sufficiently common vocabulary so that it is possible to formulate questions which have the same meaning for each of them. Benney and Hughes (1962:137) rightly pointed to the weakness in this assumption:

> ... interviews are of many kinds, some sociologists like them standardised and so formulated that they can be administered to large groups of people. This can be done only among large homogeneous populations not too unlike the investigator himself in culture. Where languages are too diverse, where common values are too few, where the fear of talking to strangers is too great, there the interview based on a standardised questionnaire calling for a few standardised answers may not be applicable. Those who venture into such situations may have to invent new modes.

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Secondly, a standardised interview suggests that it is possible to find a uniform wording for all questions that is equally meaningful to every informant (Denzin 1970:124). As indicated by Benney and Hughes (1962), this assumption is best realised in a homogeneous population. Thirdly, it is assumed that if the meaning of each question is to be identical for each informant, its context must be identical and since all the preceding questions constitute part of the context, the sequence of the questions must be identical (Richardson *et al.* 1965:43). In this study the standardised interview is inadequate for understanding factors involved in the migration process of a heterogeneous group of people, who perceive and relate to their environment differently.

The researcher considered the semi-structured in-depth interview appropriate for the aim of this study. This form of interview allows for identification of broader and specific issues, in which certain types of information are desired from all informants, but the particular phrasing of questions and their order are redefined to fit the characteristics of each informant. This allows for different kinds of variations to be captured, especially for African people who have unique ways of defining and expressing their world. In order to meaningfully understand the world and experience of an African immigrant, it is necessary to approach it from the subjective perspective of the individual.

Secondly, this form of interview gives the researcher the freedom not to have a fixed sequence of questions applicable to all informants. The sequence mostly applied in the interview is determined by the readiness and willingness to take up a topic as it comes up (Richardson *et al.* 1965:51). In this study the researcher felt it necessary, after introducing the purpose of the research and the objectives of the interview, to allow the informants to introduce themselves, which set the stage to explore the categories and dimensions that emerged from the responses. This approach allows the interviewees to raise important issues not contained in the schedule and further questions are asked to all informants concerning factors underlying their decision to move, factors influencing migration, social networks, obstacles encountered in migration, route of migration and adaptation process. These issues are covered in a series of questions, but on many occasions it has been useful to raise the issue of migration and then allow the informant to talk. In the process the informants often

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covered all the relevant issues as well as raised new topics.

The problem of how to ensure quality in an interview remains an unresolved issue in interview practice. There is however a general agreement among writers and practitioners alike that interviewing ought to proceed in four stages:

- the preparation of the schedule by which the interview will be conducted;
- the development of an approach which will minimise the refusal and launch the interview without confusion;
- the questioning and listening – the conservation, spontaneous on one side only;
- the recording of data, during the interview both mechanically and manually (Caplow 1965:167).

In order to enhance the quality of the interview data, the researcher used the following principles of interviewing:

The researcher did not interject his own attitudes or experiences into the conversation or express value judgements. When forced to offer attitudes or experiences as a means of preserving the illusion of conversation, the researcher made an extraordinary effort not to display any reaction which might influence the informant's self-image and the direction of his expression. Since the sequence of questions structures the subject matter, the interview schedules have a minimum number of questions in the simplest form adaptable to the problem. The model of interview employed in this research was to announce the topic to the informants, followed by a series of questions in the form "What about…?"

The response anticipated from the question is often expected to logically complement the question. For example, the question "When did you leave your country for Cape Town?" formally anticipates a numerical answer and will usually involve giving the date of departure. However all interview schedules and questions entail certain unpredictable effects. It was not possible to predict with assurance which questions would work best with a given informant and which would be unintelligible or unproductive. Questions which produce the greatest yield of

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information with the least effort are often serendipitous: they may contain pointed ambiguities phrasing which cannot possibly be recognised in advance or ideas which correspond to something in the subject's world of which the researcher is not even aware.

The researcher at all times displayed an extremely attentive and concentrated attitude towards the informants. Practice in verbatim recall enables the researcher (interviewer) to develop a sensitivity to the words and gestures of the informants. This in itself seemed to have an influence upon the informant's behaviour, sometimes producing a kind of uninhibited communication quite different from the unstructured conversation of ordinary life.

The researcher (interviewer) is much more than just a recording device. The researcher is a well-trained and experienced interviewer. As a social science methodology student, the researcher went through a course in the theory and practice of interviewing. He has been privileged to participate in numerous research projects both as an interviewer and as a fieldwork co-ordinator, responsible for the quality control of the interview data. His work and activities in the church as an associate minister also provides him with great opportunities as an interviewer and a counsellor coupled with his experience and knowledge as an insider (African immigrant) in this community.

Although the qualities possessed by the researcher contributed substantially to the success of the interview process, some problems were experienced during the process. One of the reasons for using this semi-structured in-depth interview was the attributes which the researcher shares with the informant. As an African immigrant who came to Cape Town in 1990, the process gave the researcher opportunity to reflect deeply on reasons for coming to Cape Town and how those reasons have changed. When the researcher left the country of his birth in 1990, it was a decision based purely on need for adventure (travel around the world) and advancement of career. It was envisaged that the move would only be for a short period of time, but now it has become a permanent move. It was a lot easier for the researcher to conduct the interview from a position of an insider, one who understands to some extent and shares some familiarity with the issues involve in migration. The interview

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process gave the researcher the opportunity to critically reflect on often painful experiences and to allow this to be a pointer to the role taken during the interview. It was difficult to listen to the often very sad stories of human tragedies and misery and yet to see the willingness and the desire of the informants to tell you their stories.

Some practical problems were also experienced, such as having to drive some fifty to sixty kilometres at night or during the day to arrive at the destination without finding the informant at home, with no notification prior to arrival that the interview was cancelled. On other occasions, the researcher would arrive at the informant's house only to realise that the room is full of friends, which meant the interview had to be postponed to another agreed date and time.

At the start of the interview, the informants were suspicious of the researcher. Even though they knew the purpose and the nature of the study, they were not prepared for the kind of detail and depth required in the interview. But as the interview proceeded, the interview relationship grew and changed and a more open, trusting and less suspicious relationship was formed. The researcher was no longer viewed as someone with some ulterior motives. The researcher and the informants became friends and got to know each other a little more. The relationship developed and it became clearer what was expected from both parties.

The informants were interviewed in different locations. One informant was interviewed inside a church complex in Cape Town – to get away from noise and distractions. The other three informants were interviewed in their respective homes. The researcher conducted all interviews within the second week after the first contact. During the interview, the researcher endeavoured to be non-argumentative and sensitive to the verbal and non-verbal messages being communicated. This approach is very important for any one wanting to have a successful conversation with African immigrants. African people, especially men, communicate much depth and meaning in what they say in non-verbal gestures. The researcher allowed the individual informants to talk without interruption, while listening and making notes of what was being said. Occasionally, the researcher rephrased and reflected on the what informant he seemed to be expressing, as well as summarised the remarks as a check on understanding and asked for clarification of answers. This allowed for

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depth, detail and further categories to be explored as they emerged from the conversation.

The duration for each interview session ranged from forty-five to sixty minutes. Each informant was interviewed on four different occasions. All interviews were tape-recorded (with the aid of a mini-tape recorder) and then transcribed fully. This was done with the permission of each individual concerned. Patton (1980:246) noted that it was necessary in qualitative interviewing to capture the actual words of the interviewee, there being no substitute for the raw data of actual quotations spoken by an interviewee. The researcher and the supervisor reviewed the notes to identify emerging categories, themes and concepts that deserved further elaboration. The informants were also consulted for checks and inputs on the data collected in order to ensure accurate representation.

The verbatim transcriptions of the audio-taped interviews were reviewed with the informant. This was done to ensure that the words of the informants were accurately presented. It also allowed opportunity for further inputs in the interpretation of the data.

The data collection (interviews) took the researcher approximately two months. Two weeks were required to seek the consent of the respective informants for the interview.

The study supervisors were consulted at various points of the research process for input and comments on the findings as they emerged from the interview.

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7. DATA ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION

The interviews were analysed using content analysis. As a technique, content analysis is used to examine written documents (Marshall & Rossman 1989:98) and to generate descriptive information on written documents. More specifically, the technique was used to devise a coding system for the analysis of the data. Verbatim transcripts were analysed manually. This in essence enabled the researcher to make inferences by objectively and systematically identifying specified characteristics of messages (Marshall & Rossman 1989:89). Both the manifest and the latent contents of the messages gleaned from the data were analysed. According to Berg (1995), the surface structure present in the message and the deep structural meaning conveyed by the message must be considered when interpreting the data. Both content and manifest analysis would be carried out when interpreting the passages of the verbatim transcript (Minichiello *et al.* 1992 in Vusumzi 1997:17).

The steps described below highlight how the verbatim transcripts were analysed:

- Verbatim transcripts of interview are presented.

- Words, concepts, sentences and themes were examined during the process of analysis.

- The interpretation is descriptive in character, such that it establishes empirical linkages between the broader theories set out in the earlier chapters.

The chapter that follows presents the verbatim transcriptions of the semi-structured in-depth interviews conducted with the four immigrants. It highlights the interplay of macro and micro constraints and the way individual immigrants experience and respond to these factors.

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CHAPTER FOUR

THE CASE STUDIES

INTRODUCTION

This chapter presents the verbatim interviews transcribed from audio-tapes. The process entailed more than a one interview, conducted in more than one setting.

The transcription has been partially edited in order to impose some logical order on the presentation and to exclude repetitive information from the interview. No attempt was made by the researcher to change the words of the informants. What appears in the transcripts are the informants' own words, formulations and grammatical expressions. The names of informants that appear in the transcripts are pseudonyms in order to protect the identity of the informants.

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CASE 1: MR MONDIA

1. BACKGROUND

Mr Mondia was born thirty-one years ago in Brazzaville, the capital city of Congo. He belongs to the Bembe ethnic group, the majority ethnic group in Congo. He is the fifth of eleven children. He has never been married and has no children. He arrived in Cape Town in 1996 as an asylum seeker, leaving behind his five brothers, five sisters, mother, father and stepmother.

He holds a bachelor's degree in economic finance. Before coming to Cape Town he had a small business enterprise in Congo which was completely destroyed by the civil war. At the time when the interview was conducted, he was operating a small business in the Cape Town central business district.

The first interview took place on 19 September 1998 inside a church in Cape Town. The informant suggested the venue for its quiet atmosphere, where business activities and friends would not interrupt him.

2. TRANSCRIBED INTERVIEW

2.1 REASON FOR MIGRATION AND CHOICE OF DESTINATION

Researcher: Why did you leave your country to come to Cape Town?
Informant: I came to Cape Town in 1996 because of political and economic situation in my country was very bad. The time was very hard for people to live. When I wrote a letter to a friend in Cape Town, he told me people here are no more under political oppression, everybody is free in South Africa, and that there are a lot of opportunities here in Cape Town. You can study through a scholarship, get a job and have a better life in Cape Town. It was for this reason I decided to leave my country and come to Cape Town. When I arrived here, the information I got from my friend was wrong. I tried to find work but I couldn't find work or a scholarship to continue my

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studies at the university. I decided to do odd jobs before I could finally raise some money to start selling in the city centre. I need to do something to survive here in Cape Town. I don't have any parent, brother, sister to feed me in Cape Town. I need to survive or else I will die. This is the reason why I am doing what I'm doing now. South Africa is a nice country. The situation here is very much better than in my country. In my country there is no peace, all we have there is war. There is peace here in South Africa, if there is no peace. It is difficult to do anything. I thank God now I can live in a peaceful environment away from wars, killings and lawlessness. At least, I can look after myself and do things for myself.

Researcher: Let us talk about your knowledge of Cape Town and how that motivated you to move to Cape Town. What did you know about South Africa before arriving here in Cape Town?

Informant: I know that the people here speak English and I read about the history of the Zulu people when I was at school. I know from listening to news and reading international magazines that South Africa's economy is stronger when compared to any other country in Africa. I know that the country has just gone out of apartheid regime. I know that the level of crime in South Africa is high but now that I am here, I can see that the level of crime in South Africa is not as high as my country. I did not know anything about Cape, only what my friend told me in the letter. My friend's advice coupled with the fact that I know some people in Cape Town made me to consider coming to stay in Cape Town. I think I was fortunate to have some friends around who could show me how things work in Cape Town. My coming to Cape Town would not have been possible without my friends.

Researcher: Knowing that people here in South Africa do not speak French and that you did not understand English, how did that influence your decision to move?

Informant: Yes, I know very well that this might be a problem but knowing also that my friends in Cape Town do not speak or understand English but have managed to survive in Cape Town gave me the courage to continue with my decision to leave my country. I said to myself, if I get to Cape Town, I would have to learn the language in order to survive. That is exactly what I have done. After some weeks in Cape Town I enrolled myself at Cape Town City Language School, where they teach foreigners how to speak and read English language. I have also tried to practice more and

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more with the language in the market. But now you can see I can communicate better and read English very well. I don't have that problem anymore. Thanks to those people who have helped me to master the language.

Researcher: Thinking back to your decision to move to Cape Town, do you think it was the right move?

Informant: Yes, I think it was a right move to leave my country and come to Cape Town. So far I am still alive and I have peace of mind as a result of living in a peaceful environment without the fear of going out during the day or at night in fear of being attacked or killed. Also I can feed myself again without having to depend on my parents to feed me.

Researcher: Comparing your standard of living now with when you were in Congo, would you say that you are better or worse off now?

Informant: Surely, I am better off now that I am in Cape Town. At last I can have my life back again. I am enjoying the opportunity of doing business again. I am enjoying the privilege of living in a normal society where there is respect for law and adequate social and medical facilities. Though I don't have money, at least I can feed myself and hope for the better.

2.2 FACTORS INFLUENCING MIGRATION

Researcher: You said the situation is very bad in Congo. Can you describe to me the nature of the situation in Congo?

Informant: The trouble in Congo started in 1996, after the democratic election. People suddenly became interested in which ethnic group you belong. Those who come from my tribe became the victims of ethnic war. It is so bad that you can't even walk around in the streets. If you try, your life would be taken. My business was completely destroyed and life came to a stand still, nothing was functioning in the country. All that you see on the streets of Brazzaville is rebel soldiers, looting and arresting anybody from the Bembe ethnic group. This completely destroyed the economy, which was previously struggling to survive. There is hardly anything in the economy you can depend on that is not affected by this war. Presently, the situation is still continuing, many are dying and only few people like me can manage to

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escape the situation. It is very difficult out there.

Researcher: You mentioned the ethnic fighting in Congo. In what way did this situation personally affect you or lead you to decide to leave your country?
Informant: There are nine different regions in Congo. I do not have the idea of the exact numbers of the different ethnic groups in Congo. But in 1994 the Bembe group which is my tribe started fighting the Kongo ethnic group and in 1996 the fighting started between the Mboche and the Bembe ethnic groups. I was a victim of the 1994 Bembe - Kongo fighting. On this particular day I was coming from Plateau Desisans (an area in Kongo) on my way from a visit to Wouenze where my parents stays. Some military people arrested me and search my body for identity document but luckily enough I do not have my identity document on me. If they managed to find my identity document, they would have killed me because I belong to Bembe ethnic group. I was very lucky. Most of the time also, I can't go out, not to talk of going to the market or just going to visit a friend. The situation is such that you have to stay home whole day to save your life. You no more become a free person, my life and business was completed affected. As a result, I decided that maybe it might be better to leave my country for another place where there is peace and freedom of activities.

Researcher: What is the state of Congo's economy?
Informant: I must be honest with myself - the economy is completely down. Our economy depends on petroleum and forest wood. It is difficult for the government to satisfy the needs of the people with the revenue it generates from these activities. As a result, it is very difficult. One of the ways people try to live in the situation is to accumulated some money and travel overseas and do something better.

Researcher: How would you describe life for people like you, I mean ordinary people on the street in this economic situation?
Informant: The people in Congo are not so poor. They have something to eat, something to wear, and something to do. The only problem is the modern economic crisis and the democratic situation in Congo. This has made life very hard for people to live. The economy of Congo depends only on the income tax and sales of petroleum and wood. Now, it is difficult for the government to sell at the right price because of the world economic recession affecting petroleum price. This situation

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affected all basic necessities in my country. You see if a government cannot feed its people then there would be a lot of social, economic and political problems in the society. The situation now in Congo is such that older women and younger women are turning in large numbers into prostitution to secure basic necessities of life. The men however, are joining the rebel movements or turn into big time crime syndicates, while those who refused to take this line of action decided to leave the country for the neighbouring countries and beyond. The whole society is in a state of total anarchy.

Researcher: It seems from what you just said that people are leaving the country to escape the situation you have just described.

Informant: Yes that is very true. Before 1996, people did not run away from the country. When people leave the country they do so for business, study, and to visit outside country and return at the end of their stay. But now, people are leaving in large numbers to escape the political, economic and the life-threatening situation in Congo.

Researcher: What happened to you after graduating from the university? Were you able to find work?

Informant: When I finished my degree in Congo, I did not find work easily. The government in 1994 decided to close all doors to employment in the government sector, which is the only sector of the economy creating jobs for the people. So I decided to do my own business. I used to travel to the village to buy some shirts and sell in the city. I made a lot of money from this business; then I decided to start selling fish in the restaurant, working together with some of my friends. I later left the business for my friends and decided to go alone and do something different on my own. I then started going to Zaire to sell rice and other basic foodstuff. I also decided to change and went back to the village to buy some basic foodstuff to sell in town, which was the business I did before leaving the country for Cape Town.

Researcher: The money you used for travelling out of the country, did you get it from your business?

Informant: Not at all, remember I said my business was completely destroyed by the war. I had nothing left from the business. The money I used for the trip came from

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the sales I made from my personal belongings and the rest came from my government scholarship. In my final year at the university, the government gave me a scholarship but being a business-minded person, I decided not to use the money towards my studies but to save it in the bank for an interest, which is what I did. When the time was right for the travel, I took out the money and use it for the journey.

Researcher: It seems from what you just said that your decision to move to Cape Town was not an emergency move.

Informant: I have been planning to move for a long time. But when life was threatened to the point of death and my business was completely destroyed - that made me to finally decide on leaving the country. It took me two years to make the final decision.

Researcher: Where did you first hear about Cape Town?

Informant: I know nothing about Cape Town directly but about South Africa in general. I read about South Africa in my high school history class. The focus was more on the political and the general socio-economic conditions of the black people, but nothing about the economic opportunities in South Africa. But when I was planning the movement out of the country, I started taking interest in international affairs more seriously. On one particular incident, I was watching a television documentary on the nature of South Africa's economy as it compares to Congo's economy. The analyst in the documentary made a point that the difference between South Africa and Congo economies lies in the relative strength of South Africa's currency. In that period one South Africa Rand was equivalent to fifty-franc CFA, which suggested to me that the economy is much stronger and better than Congo's economy. This arose my interest in wanting to know about the country from people who knows something about the country.

Researcher: Apart from your friend's influence on your decision to leave Congo for Cape Town, who else influenced your decision to move? I am thinking specifically of your parents and other close relatives. Did anybody influence your decision to move in any way?

Informant: When it was time for me to leave the country I did not inform any of my

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family members or parents. Nobody knew about my plans, apart from my friends. It was important that I keep every thing very confidential to myself for safety reason.

Researcher: When did your parents know that you were in Cape Town?
Informant: My parents only knew when they received the letter I wrote from Cape Town.

Researcher: What was their response?
Informant: Unfortunately I have not been able to hear from them but I think by now they would have made peace with the fact that I am gone and safe in Cape Town.

2.3 SOCIAL NETWORKS

Researcher: You said before you came to Cape Town that you wrote your friend a letter. How many friends did you have in Cape Town before you arrived here?
Informant: I had three friends in Cape Town before arriving here. If I am right, I think they arrived here in the middle of 1995. Presently, two of this guys left Cape Town last year; one is now in Holland, the other one is in Canada. The only one left is here in Cape Town, doing security work.

Researcher: What was the nature of the letter you wrote to your friend in Cape Town?
Informant: I wanted to know from him what was the general situation in Cape Town, what is happening general in South Africa, what kind of work and study opportunities are available should I do decide to come to Cape Town.

Researcher: I don't think I understand what you mean by the general situation in Cape Town. Can you please explain to me what you mean?
Informant: I am referring to life in Cape Town, whether life is expensive or cheap and the possibility of living in Cape Town. Most importantly, I wanted to know if I could enter the country easily and be able to secure refugee status. I wanted to know the possibility of finding work easily in Cape Town. How much I would spend for renting one room? How much I would earn per month if I get work? Whether or not I would be able to stay in the city or the township and be accepted by the people.

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Researcher: The response you got from your friend in Cape Town, in what way did it influence your decision to move to Cape Town?
Informant: The response I got back from my friend helped me a lot in my final decision to come to Cape Town. It gave me hope and something to look forward to in Cape Town. I was happy that when I knew that there is peace in South Africa that I would be able to seek for asylum as a refugee and be able to find work. I was happy to know that at last I will be in a society where there is law and order and not anarchy.

2.4 PERSONAL AND STRUCTURAL OBSTACLES IN MIGRATION

Researcher: Apart from a transport problem, what other problems did you encounter on the road? Did you have any visa problems coming to South Africa, and where did you obtain the visa to enter South Africa?
Informant: The major problem I faced is language problem. In Congo we only speak French not English or any of the Southern African languages. Not being able to speak English gave some fears in expressing myself to the truck drivers but at the port of entry, I was very fortunate to find one of the immigration officers who speaks French. Congo's passport is visa free to South Africa, which mean that I do not have to apply for a visa before leaving my country. I was given the permit to enter South Africa at the border post.

Researcher: How did you manage to convince the immigration officer to let you into South Africa?
Informant: When we arrived at the border I was given a form to complete which I did, with the help of the immigration officer who helped to translate the form into French. The application went very smoothly and I was given the permission to enter South Africa.

2.5 MIGRATION ROUTE

Researcher: Another thing that interests me is the route you took to Cape Town. Which route did you follow to Cape Town?

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Informant: When I left Congo, I bought a flight ticket to Namibia. On our way to Namibia the plane stopped for a day in Angola before proceeding to Namibia the following day. I stayed in Namibia for seven days and travelled by truck from Namibia to Cape Town. The journey from Namibia to Cape Town took us only one day.

Researcher: You stayed in Namibia for seven days. How did you manage to survive? What made you move again from Namibia to Cape Town? Do you know people in Namibia?

Informant: In Namibia I don't know anybody. I only followed the instruction given to me by my friends. I stayed with some Congolese people in Namibia those seven days. They told me that Namibia is not a good place to be because I would never find work in Namibia. They also advised me to go to Cape Town and they helped in negotiating with the truck drivers for a lift to Cape Town. I spent my whole time in Namibia trying to organise my travel to Cape Town. When I left Congo, it wasn't my intention to stay in Namibia but to use Namibia as a passage to Cape Town. Staying in Namibia for seven days was due to transport problem. It is not easy to find a truck wanting to take passenger. You have to beg the drivers and pay them some amount of money for them to give you a lift to Cape Town. In my case I only paid the driver R200 for the trip to Cape Town.

Researcher: These people you stayed with, did you know them? Are they in anyway related to you or are they your friends?

Informant: They are not my friends or relatives. My friend in Cape Town gave me their house address and contact number in Namibia. I met them the first time when I arrived in Namibia. But now, I can say we are friends. They helped me a lot in Namibia; I stayed with them free without any charges.

Researcher: I got the idea from what you have just said that your friends provided the information of the route and how to survive on the road?

Informant: Yes, you are right. There is no way I could have discovered this route on my own without somebody telling me. It requires the experience of someone who knows the routes to direct someone elsewhere. For example, how to find a truck going to Cape Town in Namibia. He explained to me that the cheapest route to follow

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is Angola - Namibia route.

2.6 SETTLEMENT IN CAPE TOWN

Researcher: When you arrived in Cape Town, where did you stay and how did you find out about this place?

Informant: Just before I left Namibia, I contacted my friend in Cape Town through the telephone to arrange where he will be coming to fetch me. He told me I should wait for him at Epping market. I stayed with him for one month before I got a place of my own in Guguletu for R50 per month. I stayed in Guguletu for seven months, before moving to Belhar for another two months, then to Woodstock where I am staying presently.

Researcher: How would you describe your attempt to settle in Cape Town?

Informant: I can tell you it has not been easy. The problem is you cannot go back, because of the terrible situation at home. It is a stupid idea to think of going back because it has been difficult to settle in Cape Town. There are many people back in Congo who want to be out of the country but now I am fortunate to be out of the country - then I want to go back because it has been difficult settling down.

Researcher: What are some of the problems you experienced in this process?

Informant: The greatest problem I encountered in Cape Town is acceptance by most of the people. Only a few people accepted me as their friend. The reaction I got from those who rejected, I think is a normal reaction to someone you don't know. Those who accepted you do so because they want to make business out of me. Give you a place to stay so that they can get money from you. There is this particular woman who approached me to offer me a place to stay, gave me food, and taught me few words in English and Xhosa. The most painful thing for me is when people see you and say that you have come to take their jobs and steal their money. When I first arrived in Cape Town, the first job I got was with a construction company. The foreman made me to do the hardest job no one can do for R3.60 per hour. When I complained, he said I was too lazy and cannot do the work. He reported me to the site manager and I was asked not to come to work the following day.

Presently, it is very difficult for me to get work in Cape Town. Even though I have a

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permanent residence, I still don't find work. If you go apply for work, the first thing they would ask you is your identity document. Some people in Cape Town don't know about our permit. I think the government should do something to inform the people about our permit.

Researcher: Do you have a girlfriend in Cape Town?
Informant: No, I do not have any girlfriend in Cape Town and in Congo. You see as a Christian, I do not believe it is right to be living together with a woman before marriage even though you're going to get married to the woman. I am going to stay single until I know that I can properly feed myself before thinking of an extra mouth.

Researcher: What kind of status do you hold in Cape Town? I mean do you have a permanent residence or asylum seeker's permit?
Informant: Now I have the refugee status in South Africa. I am one of the few Africa refugees in Cape Town.

Researcher: Is it easy to get refugee status in Cape Town?
Informant: I don't think so because not all the people that apply for refugee status got it. I think they take into consideration the situation in your country and the merit of your case as an individual before being granted the status.

2.7 FUTURE IN CAPE TOWN

Researcher: What can you tell me about your future in Cape Town?
Informant: Only God knows the future. But from a human perspective, it is very difficult to see a future in Cape Town and South Africa as a whole. Cape Town I think is not a place for foreigners who are black. It is only for the white people in general. Whenever you apply for anything, for example, jobs or flats to rent, you can be assured you would not be given. In this way it is difficult to know your future. Hope next year I would be applying to Cape Technikon to study finance but I still don't know if I would be admitted because at this very moment I have not been informed of the result of my application. So I don't know what the future holds.

Researcher: Do you still keep in contact with your family back in Congo?

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Informant: Presently it is very difficult to communicate with the family back home in Congo. There is no effective communication service system to Congo; not even the DHL is delivering mails in Congo. Since I came to Cape Town I have only written two letters home and that was in 1996 when I first came to Cape Town.

Researcher: Do you send money to your family in Congo?
Informant: I will so much want to send money home but I just cannot afford it. I only have enough to pay my bills and feed myself. Nothing is even left to save, not to talk of sending money to my family.

Researcher: Do you think you would move from Cape Town to somewhere else, or do you now consider Cape Town as your new home?
Informant: Cape Town is not my home. One day I would go back to my country, my family needs me back in Congo. I will go back home when there is peace between the warring ethnic groups. But I would not leave Cape Town for anywhere else. If I leave Cape Town to other country, it will be for business - to buy something and go back, not staying for longer period of time.

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CASE 2: MR BENDEL

1. BACKGROUND

Mr Bendel came to Cape Town in February 1996 from Warri, a petroleum town in South Western Nigeria, as an asylum seeker. He is thirty-two years old, has never been married and has no children.

Mr Bendel holds a national diploma in sales and management studies from the Institute of Journalism and Management Studies in Nigeria. He worked as a sales representative with a firm that later closed down due to the crisis in Nigeria. He is involved in marketing and selling of various products in the central business area of Cape Town.

The first interview took place on 31 October 1998 in Mr Bendel's house, where he lives with his girlfriend some thirty kilometres outside Cape Town.

2. TRANSCRIBED DATA

2.1 REASON FOR MIGRATION AND CHOICE OF DESTINATION

Researcher: Thank you very much for making yourself available for this interview. As a way of introduction, can you please tell me about yourself and what made you leave your country for Cape Town?

Informant: I came from Nigeria to Cape Town in February 1996. Since then I have been in the country facing a lot of problems in a new environment. Most of the problems are basically related to the basic necessity of life, which include opportunity to earn money and earn good living. What actually happened to effect my movement to Cape Town was the political crisis in Nigeria, which had taken a lot of lives and social privileges of Nigerian people. Also the situation continues unabated. It is important therefore that the need for a human being to continue to live cannot be disturbed by any factor. Hence the movement from Nigeria to South Africa.

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Researcher: At what point in time did you start thinking about leaving Nigeria?

Informant: As I was in Nigeria working, with the position I was holding with the company and my standard of living as at that time, I never thought of leaving the country. However, when things degenerated beyond my view, the interest to move became an important issue. Then the second part of it, where can you go now in order to enjoy social benefit compared to the one I enjoy in my country of origin? Hence the decision to relocate to South Africa and seek not only the social security but also political stability and economic well being. When life became nothing for the people fighting for various rights: shooting, killing, vandalism became the order of the day. That defiles the purpose for which a nation exists, which is governance. The most important and first priority of government is to ensure stability, protection of the people, property and maintaining law and order in a particular community. But because of the nature of politics, those issues become of scarce commodity. This on its own is enough to raise fear and doubt and a lot of uncertainty, which subsequently generate various decisions, among which, is the decision to look for a peaceful environment.

Researcher: Is the move to Cape Town the first move of its kind you have ever made?

Informant: I have always being moving from one place to the other. Even within the borders of my country. This movement is necessitated for various reasons. Firstly, for change of geographical environment in relation to weather effect. Secondly, in order to achieve a specific social and economic status. Thirdly, to broaden my knowledge about various kind of people and hence I have lived and worked in various part of Nigeria including Lagos and the Northern Nigeria and I studied in the middle western Nigeria. I have travelled also to the eastern Nigeria in order to know the culture of those people, so as to compare those culture with my own culture and see what I can learn to help my thinking, my daily activities and my future development.

Researcher: Which countries have you been to before arriving in Cape Town?

Informant: Yes, actually I have stayed in other countries. Before coming to South

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Africa, I was in Malawi, for two weeks, during this time I was able to experience life in Malawi country. In general, life in Malawi is nothing to compare with Nigeria. The fact is, every nation has its own uniqueness and importance. Malawi for example has a very diverse culture, which is well blended into the society to form a good democratic structure. On the other hand, South Africa has a different culture that forms the democratic structure. So I have stayed in Malawi before coming to South Africa - Cape Town.

2.2 FACTORS INFLUENCING MIGRATION

Researcher: What are the things that helped you in your decision to move?

Informant: The basic motivational factors that helped my decision to leave the country are: Firstly, freedom of movement, which I have to exercise. Secondly, the need to secure my life as a person. Thirdly, the need for a relative economic improvement or economic security or socio-economic factor, that would help me stay in this world and feel part of the world. Rather than subject myself to an environment that is full of anarchy and chaos. This anarchy demotivated me to the highest degree, which subsequently generate a positive motive and the need to sought comfort and peace in a different environment.

Researcher: You talked about exercising freedom. What do you mean by this statement? Please clarify it to me.

Informant: When I talk about freedom of movement, I mean exactly that. Any place at any time you find yourself and there is no relative comfort. The decision therefore to take is moving away from that place or you continue to stay in that place. Man (human being) by nature is made to move from one place to the other. So when there is a famine in one place, you should move from that place. If there is disturbance, chaos and threat in one environment, threat to life, you should move from that place. Hence human beings are naturally mobile. So this freedom cannot be inhibited by any factor whatsoever. In as much as the movement would satisfy the needed peace and comfort you wanted. And as far as the movement would make you happy. That is exactly what I am talking about when I mentioned freedom of movement.

Researcher: You also mentioned security of life, what do you mean by this?

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Informant: Security of life is a vital issue in everyday activities. When you go about your normal daily routine, extra care and caution must be exercised in order to keep one alive. However, there are a lot of unforeseen contingencies or unavoidable that can affect or disrupt one's activities or even take life away. In everything, whether decision or action one is doing, one must be very sensitive to security matters. This in effect stand for the fact that somebody cannot see where there is danger looming around and continue to perpetuate itself in that environment. Also one cannot see or sense danger within its vicinity and then continue to remain in that vicinity. There is always the tendency to run away from death in situation of anarchy, where the security of the people is not an issue on the agenda of the government, which was the case in Nigeria.

Researcher: Talking about security, was there a situation in which your security was threatened in Nigeria that led to your decision to leave the country?

Informant: Yes, I considered my security at stake because the government loses control over the Nigerian people, which resulted in the people taking laws into their hands. The victim of these actions is not targeted to any person in particular, even if it was targeted to any person, those people who carried out the actions always hit the wrong people in most of the cases. In Nigeria, there is the concept of "mob" when people use indicting statement to control people or instigate people into doing what is against an established code of conduct, which took life and damaged the property. Whenever mob actions took place, it is always very difficult to control. So when I am talking about security in relation to myself, I would be looking at myself as somebody who would be going out on a daily basis, performing my legitimate business function, increasing the degree of risk that I am taking as far as security is concerned because a lot of instances has happened when I travelled to different market in performing my sales job only to meet or only to reach the place and discover there is riot in that environment. Such times you will be in an environment - then a riot would broke out. People were killed, shot at indiscriminately from different angles.

Researcher: You talked about the political crisis in Nigeria, the lives that have been lost and a loss of social privileges. Can you tell me in what way did this affect your decision to leave your country?

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Informant: You see, the beginning of the political crisis was actually not very serious. People actually do not read any meaning into the crisis in Nigeria. They did not even see that it would take a long time to end, also they do not even consider that it would be so severe on security and social issues. But as the situation persists, other variables in the economy became highly affected. This affected all the activities of Nigeria's economy in a lot of instances. There was no petrol for several months and years, the salaries of workers were not paid, companies closed down and I was even redundant for a number of months before my company finally closed down. If situation continues like this, and the end, the incarceration of the presume winner of the June 12 election and the subsequent policies of the military government and the vision of the military government do not foresee a terminal end to the problem. The earlier you decided to leave the situation and environment, the better it is, because the actors of these crisis themselves have left the country, leaving the innocent to suffer the decision of their actions. So, I am one of the few privileged who have been able to leave the country. This influenced my decision in a number of ways: firstly, the situation was continuing unending. Secondly, the situation was getting worse. Thirdly, the effect of the situation was very harsh on my existence. How would I continue to enjoy and improve my condition of living? The only way is to leave the environment. If I must leave, what should I do in where I am going to and what should I do on the other side? I decided that I should go to a place with relative peace. Would you enjoy a peace of mind or there is existence of peace in a nearest environment? Why do you have to remain in an environment that is not peaceful? These whole questions were asked and the answer is the movement from such environment that is not peaceful to a more peaceful environment.

Researcher: You said that the situation was 'unending', can you please elaborate on this.

Informant: The life of a man cannot be put to a stop for even one minute by any factor whatsoever. Let us take water, shelter, food, clothing and electricity as the basic necessities of life, which should not be stopped at anytime at all, even for one day, maximum. So should there be a situation that there is a seizing of these privileges, for one day or longer, that situation will tend to be unending situation because the human body is very weak to resisting the absence of these basic necessity of life. How long can a plant live without water? How long can a human

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being survive without food? Should a human being consider the end of the crisis to match with death? So if that is not the answer, the life span of the Nigeria political crisis is approximately five years, 1993-1998 even it is extending to 1999, and we are looking after the transition program what would still happen with the politician. What Nigeria want is peace guarantee by social, economic, and political security not otherwise.

Researcher: Did you consider any other possible place of destination apart from Cape Town?

Informant: Yes, I did consider a lot of options and what are the things to be considered in these options. Firstly, is the issue your country has refused to address. Now if the country you intend to move to hasn't got the potential to address the issues, then that option would not be too viable. Therefore, options like the European countries which does have relative economic stability, economic development, improved standard of living and stable government were one of the top options. However, when it is not too easy to move to those countries because of artificial barriers which include immigration requirements. Then the possibility or the decision to move to South Africa became a second option and all effort to diffuse or meet the requirement of moving to South Africa was critically examined before the movement was effective.

Researcher: You said that you critically examined the options between South Africa and European countries that had economic as well as political stability. What exactly made Cape Town your choice of destination?

Informant: In this region of Africa, South Africa is one of the emerging market and the features of emerging market is high level of social amenities, economic stability, and political stability. This does not equal the socio-economic factors with the European countries but this provides a better alternative to those offered in the Africa. Hence South Africa became a very good option. If I have to move from Nigeria at all because a lot of West African countries and other African countries are poverty countries and there is no point going to places with similar crisis or similar situation from the one you are coming from - there are no peace, no improvement in terms of social provision. If they are, they are not sufficient. This place, South Africa, in a better position to be considered when making the relocation decision.

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Researcher: Where did you first hear about Cape Town?

Informant: When you are thinking of international travel, you focus your attention more on international matters. During this process I devoted myself to reading books, journals, magazine and studying the world map. Mostly I was reading the world map on a daily basis, as well as listening to the world news on British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) and the local television news. So as to establish areas where there are no political crisis and economic recession but areas where there is economic boom. I was looking for information that would be relevant for the purpose of my movement because once there is crisis then there would be discomfort in all area of ramification. This is what I want to avoid. In order to successfully do this; the information must be genuine and authentic. If not, I might end up a bigger problem. If the information were genuine and authentic, then I would be able to forecast the successfulness of the trip.

Researcher: Where did you get the information on Cape Town?

Informant: In the case of Cape Town, I looked at the map to see where I can get to at a particular time and how much money I have at that time to get there and what obstacles would I face on the way. As well as the possibilities of getting through all the obstacles of immigration law before finally deciding on the move. It was after arriving in the Southern African region that I got to know more about South Africa. I learnt that Johannesburg is the financial capital of South Africa, Cape Town is the political capital and Pretoria is the administrative capital of South Africa. I also got to know more about the general situation in the country, the level of crime and the kind of people that live in each of these regions. I knew that the level of crime in Johannesburg was more at that time than in Cape Town.

2.3 SOCIAL NETWORKS

Researcher: Did you have any friends, family members or relatives in Cape Town before your arrival in Cape Town?

Informant: Yes I do. I have a brother in Cape Town. He arrived here in 1994. He presently lives with his wife (South African) and two daughters in Maitland (in Cape

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Town).

Researcher: You mentioned the need for freedom of movement, security and the improvement of your economic status as the basic motivational factor for leaving Nigeria. Is there any way in which your brother in Cape Town contributed to your final decision to come to Cape Town?
Informant: Yes, in a lot of ways. I remembered after many unsuccessful attempts to secure visa to Europe, I then wrote him a letter in Cape Town and he advised me to consider coming to Cape Town instead of wasting my time trying to get into Europe. I took to his advice and decided to come down to Cape Town.

Researcher: Is your brother the only person that influenced your choice of Cape Town?
Informant: Yes, my brother was a great influence in me coming here, without him it would have been impossible to come to Cape Town. He provided all the necessary support for me to come here.

Researcher: What kind of support did he give you?
Informant: He provided part of the money used in the journey, as well as some valuable information on the passage to South Africa.

Researcher: In what way did your parents influence your decision to move?
Informant: As an adult, I take my decision on my own without consulting my parent. When the time was right for me to leave, I went to my parent in the village to inform them about my journey.

Researcher: How did your parents react when you informed them about your decision to leave Nigeria?
Informant: They were very happy for me because it was their wish that I should also go outside Nigeria to a place where there is peace, stability and opportunities for a better life.

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2.4 PERSONAL AND STRUCTURAL OBSTACLES IN MIGRATION

Researcher: What were the obstacles you experienced in the process of migration?
Informant: One of the major problems I experienced is that of a family problem. Family problem in the sense that I had to think so much of what would happen to rest of my family going to be left behind. What would happen to the environment that I am going to miss so dearly? What would happen in particular to the problems of the country? The other problem is the constant anticipation of what would happen to me at the other end. My thought became so preoccupied with things like: would I be accepted where I am going, would I face more problems than what is present in my country. A lot of these thoughts are the earlier obstacle, which I had to face in the initial stage of making the decision to leave the country.

Researcher: What else can you tell me about those obstacles experienced on the road to Cape Town?
Informant: In my situation in particular, I cannot say I experienced much problem apart from the fact that I was not able to acquire a direct visa from Nigeria to Cape Town on a political ground. This accounted for the reason why I had to travel by air to Malawi, a visa free country for holders of Nigerian passport. When I arrived in Malawi I managed to obtain a visa to Mozambique. I then travelled from Malawi by road to Mozambique and from Mozambique I travelled by road to Swaziland and from Swaziland I travelled by road to Johannesburg and finally by train to Cape Town from Johannesburg. When I arrived in Cape Town I was taken to the custom building in Foreshore to declare myself as an asylum seeker from Nigeria. Without much effort I was issued a renewable permit as an asylum seeker in Cape Town.

Researcher: How did you manage to cross relatively smoothly from one country to the other before finally arriving in Cape Town?
Informant: I must confess it is not an easy task. But the information my brother gave me coupled with my knowledge of international geography and migration requirement made the passages easy. On many occasions, I managed to cross without having to go through the usual procedure of visa application.

Researcher: Can you please tell me exactly how you managed to do this without

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encountering difficulties?

Informant: There are people in Mozambique and Swaziland who assist people in applying for the visa and in transporting people from Mozambique to Swaziland and from Swaziland to Johannesburg. This is done at a very relatively cheap price, without you having to deal personally with the immigration authority.

Researcher: How did you manage to establish contact with these people?

Informant: Before I left Nigeria, my brother gave me the address and some details about this person. Please do not ask me how my brother got in contact with this person because I have no idea and I never bothered asking him about the person.

Researcher: Everything looks relatively easy the way you explain it, but was there no moment when you became afraid of possible danger on the road?

Informant: Yes, there are moments of fears. The fear of being attacked and killed along the road, the fear of falling into the hands of terrorist, the fear of been arrested and been sent to the prison. But on the other hand, I was so desperate to leave my country that nothing apart from death would stop me from arriving at my final destination.

2.5 MIGRATION ROUTE

Researcher: Now let us talk about the route you followed to Cape Town. How did you manage to establish this route?

Informant: My knowledge of international geography and migration requirement in many African countries and information received from my brother made this route the best option to Cape Town. The trip started out from Lagos, Nigeria by air to Malawi. This was quite easy because there was no visa restrictions for Nigerians travelling to Malawi. I stayed only two weeks in Malawi in a hotel, processing the visa to Mozambique. The journey continues from Mozambique to Swaziland by road where I stayed for four weeks in a hotel. I then travelled again by road to Johannesburg from Swaziland and by train to Cape Town from Johannesburg.

Researcher: Can you please tell me how you managed to survive throughout this process? I mean, did you try to look for work in these countries?

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Informant: When I arrived in Malawi I did not bother to look for work because it was not my intention to stay and work in the country. My intention was to use Malawi as a transit point to Mozambique. The same applies to Mozambique. I was merely living on the pocket I had on me. It was only when I arrived in Swaziland that I tried to look for some work in order to reinforce my pocket before I continue on the journey. But due to the immigration requirements, I was unable to get work. Instead I requested for assistance from my brother in Cape Town. It was this money that I used to organise the remaining travel from Swaziland to Johannesburg. When I arrived in Johannesburg, I stayed three days with some of my brother's friends before leaving for Cape Town by train.

Researcher: Is this the reason why you stayed for four weeks in Swaziland?
Informant: Yes, when I arrived in Swaziland from Mozambique I only had few money left in my pocket to live on, without any money left to process my visa and continue my journey to Cape Town. At a point I thought I would not make it to my final destination if I decide to do nothing about my condition. So I decided to look for work but I was unable to find any work. It was the help I got from my brother and some fellow Nigerians in Swaziland that finally made it possible for me to arrive in Cape Town. If not for this help, it would have been impossible for me to make down to Cape Town.

Researcher: Apart from money problems, what other problems did you encounter on the road?
Informant: There is no major problem that I can complain about apart from the money problem. The movement itself was very smooth without any physical interruption.

2.6 SETTLEMENT IN CAPE TOWN

Researcher: When you first arrived in Cape Town, where did you stay and how did you manage to find the place?
Informant: As I said earlier, I had a brother in Cape Town who took care of me when I arrived in Cape Town. I stayed with him for many months before finally moving out to share a flat with a friend in Salt River. So finding a place to stay in the initial stage

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was not a problem because of my brother.

Researcher: When you arrived in Cape Town, what kind of effort did you make in trying to find a job?
Informant: I made quite a few attempts but I could find no work. I wrote many applications to several companies through the employment agencies and responded to numerous newspaper advertisements but nothing came along my way. As a result I decided to create my own source of income by using my marketing knowledge to sell goods in the informal trading sector.

Researcher: What, in your opinion, is the reason for not getting a job in Cape Town?
Informant: The major problem for not getting work in Cape Town is not in my opinion related with my nationality. It is more a matter of my residential status in the country. Meeting all necessary requirement of a lot of position and not being given the opportunity to take the job by the employers because of my status as an asylum seeker.

Researcher: The problem of not being able to find a suitable job, does this have anything to do with your status as an asylum seeker in Cape Town?
Informant: The problem has nothing to do with my status as an asylum seeker because some asylum seekers manage to find work in government establishments and reputable companies. The problem is more of government's attitude towards African immigrants and my area of speciality. There is a misconception that African immigrants are illegal who are not supposed to take South Africans' work. I think this is just a mere generalisation, which do not apply to many African immigrants. Most African immigrants are either asylum seekers or refugees, according to this status, you are not an illegal immigrant or prohibited person who is not to take up an employment. It is clearly stated on the permit that you are allowed to work and study. On the other hand if my area of speciality is not so much in demand in the work place. If my field is a unique area in which the demand for labour is high with small supply of labour, I think I should have been able to find work in Cape Town.

Researcher: Did you at any point consider going outside Cape Town to another part of South Africa to find job, since you were not able to find work in Cape Town?

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Informant: Yes, I did consider that option in the beginning of my stay in Cape Town, but the news you hear about the other parts of the country in relation to crime, violence, and high unemployment rate discouraged me form pursuing the option. So I decided to rather stay in Cape Town and try to survive through small business.

Researcher: I think I should ask you at this point about your business and how you managed to get the money to start the business.
Informant: My brother who lives in Cape Town gave me R2000.00 (two thousand Rand) for starting clothing business in Cape Town city centre.

Researcher: Approximately how much do you make out of the business every month, and how much and how often do you manage to send money to your family?
Informant: In general it varies between anything from eight hundred to one thousand five hundred Rand depending on the nature of sales for the month. Business is generally bad these days. I am only working to pay wages and keep myself busy and to feed and clothe myself without any opportunity for savings or sending money home for my family. In the beginning when the business was doing well I did manage to send money but it was never on a monthly basis. It was only twice in that year which was the only time I have ever send some money to my family.

Researcher: Looking back on your decision to come to Cape Town, would you describe it as a bad decision or as a good decision?
Informant: Yes, to some degree, I would say it is a good decision because what is actually more important is that I am still alive and well until now. Maybe if I am in Nigeria I should have been dead. Whether there is money or no money, the standard of living is still high. On the other hand, the possibility of living the same life, like that which I lived in Nigeria is very slim because of the host country's policies on immigrants. So that made the option to be very critical and to be unacceptable because if it had been the first option - Europe, the policies of these countries is a little bit better. They make budgets which cater for immigrants such as those people coming from problem countries which has political crisis and a lot of violence. Other people who moved to those countries enjoyed those amenities, which are not offered by South African government.

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Researcher: So are you saying that if you compare your standard of living in Cape Town now with that in Nigeria, that you are better off?

Informant: It is true to say that there is no place like home. In Nigeria, I have all the privileges as a Nigerian such as gaining employment in area of speciality. Given that privilege, I was able to hold good positions in many companies as well as the opportunity to work in a stimulating environment which is the essence of life. You have to live for something. But here in South Africa, they said that the skill you have is not required. If that skill is not required but you are expected to survive. OK, if you have to survive here, you just have to look for your own way of survival. How do you do that? Is by working, at the same time, the government disallowing you from taking that work. So from this point therefore, I would say that I am better off in Nigeria than in South Africa. There is nothing actually I needed in Nigeria that I cannot get. Apart from the fact that the political situation turns around adversely affected a normal situation and makes it unbearable for man to accept.

2.7 FUTURE IN CAPE TOWN

Researcher: You said in the earlier part of the interview that there is no place like home. Are you implying by this statement that Cape Town is not a permanent home? If not, how do you view your stay in Cape Town?

Informant: We are looking at the factors and the variables, which surrounds the movement from one place to the other. If this variable were natural, then I would say that, at any point in time, in any place, that is my home. But now, the situation is different, the introduction of policies, artificial barriers which differentiate you the moment you arrive at a place. If I were to be received as an African in Cape Town then maybe I would have regarded Cape Town as a home, a permanent home. But now, it is not a permanent home the way it is expressed. So if my home country become peaceful and the stakeholders in the crisis comes together and resolve their differences, it would afford me more happiness to go back because there I would not have all the problems of being seen as alien and an immigrant. I would be regarded as a citizen. If I call myself a citizen of South Africa, that would not be official, that would contradict the policy of the government. There is no point making a story out of that situation. Cape Town is not my home.

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Researcher: This is the second time you are referring to artificial barriers. Can you please clarify exactly what you mean by this and how it relates to you?

Informant: I am trying to look at human beings as the first class animal. Although animals in the bush still have a lot of barriers. However, the barriers of human beings, created by fellow human beings are far numerous. These barriers are not natural to the cause of human existence. When we look back to the beginning of this world, Adam and Eve were the only people living in the Garden of Eden. Somehow, they were given the right to eat everything in the garden except the evil fruit. So which means in the whole of that community of Adam and Eve the barrier was just one. But now, artificial barriers, I look at them as those barriers that are so dynamics in the course of regulating the movement, such that it inhibit the ability of people to take decision that will enhance their happiness, this is artificial barriers. When I look at natural barriers, it is the inability of you as a human being to undertake a particular course of action either because you have leprosy, sick, physically, impaired, and the likes. But now if you can walk and have the ability to take decisions that will give you happiness and that would not affect your fellow human beings, why is it that you're not allowed to take such decisions? I look at artificial barriers as a serious factor that is affecting the free movement of people, the free will to think and to act.

Researcher: Do you see a future for yourself in Cape Town?

Informant: Future? No, there is no future for me in Cape Town or in South Africa. I have tried so much to look for work but all efforts were in vain. The business is not doing well any longer and there is constant threat from the local people to evict us from the central business area. If this happens only God knows what I would be doing. On the other hand, the policies of the government continue to be hostile towards people like me (*African immigrants*). Presently, many of my fellow countrymen and women are been asked to leave Cape Town. The South African government is of the opinion that the situation in Nigeria is back to normal and there is no need for Nigerians to be seeking asylum in South Africa.

Researcher: Let us say that the Department of Home Affairs decided that you should leave the country, would you go back to Nigeria?

Informant: Ultimately I would have to go back to Nigeria, but presently I do not think

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the time is right for me to go back to Nigeria. My life would be in great danger if I should go back to Nigeria because the military government is still controlling the affairs of the nation. If I were asked to leave the country I would try to find my way to any European country and stay for some years until the situation in Nigeria resume to normal.

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CASE 3: MR KENYA

1. BACKGROUND

Mr Kenya is thirty years old, has never married, and has no children. He arrived in South Africa in 1995 as an asylum seeker. He is a member of the Kikuyu tribe in the inland part of Kenya. He came out of a polygamous family with his father having two wives. He is the third child of the second wife. His father has twelve children, seven from the first wife and five from the second wife. He has five brothers and six sisters, all of whom still live in Kenya.

He holds a bachelors degree in forestry from the University of Kenya. Before coming to South Africa, he taught biology and chemistry in a high school in Kenya for two years. When the interview was conducted, he was operating a curio/craft business.

The first interview took place on 19 August 1998, in the heart of Cape Town, where he has his business.

2.TRANSCRIBED INTERVIEW

2.1 REASON FOR MIGRATION AND CHOICE OF DESTINATION

Researcher: What motivated your decision to come to Cape Town?
Informant: The push factor. Not economic but political. You find that in Kenya everything is done based on the tribe you belong. During the earlier 60's and 70's in Kenya things were done on merit. During the time of Arab Moi (President of Kenya) in 1978 things started changing. Oppression of people who opposed the system started. People fighting for freedom against the dictatorship of Moi were put in jail and killed, and especially the people who fight for freedom were arrested and end up in the jail because of democracy.
Moving to South Africa (Cape Town) - a young country that can provide a free space. In Tanzania, people were refused, arrested and send back to Kenya. Those involve in politics tries to move as far as the money can take you. The fact that you move on

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political grounds, still you look for opportunities to work to keep yourself together. There is this idea that being a new country that there is still opportunity, since the people don't have the experience and knowledge. This creates the notion that you can get an opportunity once you are there but all these are just speculation because you never think things would be like this. Legally you are all staying here but your dreams become destroyed and ultimately suffer staying in the refugee camp in Hanover Park. Try to look for scholarship, which is not really available, which led me to the informal sector where I'm doing buying and selling.

Now you have that freedom, which you want by running away from political oppression, I mean political, I'm free but my mind is now become tied up because you have expertise but cannot make use of it. People are afraid of you because they saw you as a threat. They fear competition that you are better off than they do. When you applied for work, they say to you, you don't have an ID, that you don't have the experience even though that is not true. At work interviews people are so much afraid of you because they see you as a big threat coming to take their jobs because you are better qualified than they do. This fear makes people not to give you the jobs even though they got the jobs due to lack of people. They see you as threat. That a black is going to take over and they are going to lose.

Researcher: You talk about money taking you as far as possible. What do you really mean by this?
Informant: Somebody who runs away from the country because of politics is not organised, has no time, finance, visas so that he can go to country of choice. By 'far' I mean the country I choose.

Researcher: Would you say that is Cape Town?
Informant: Tanzania, Zambia, Namibia and then Cape Town. This makes it the longest point money can take me. I have enough money to go beyond all these countries. I mean Tanzania, Zambia and Namibia.

Researcher: Was your move to Cape Town an emergency move or a well-planned move?
Informant: The decision to move was emergency, it was planned in less than one

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month. It was a crisis period; everything was done in a rush. Some of my friends and family members had to be running up and down to organise my travelling document, and put the money together so that I can leave as quick as possible.

Researcher: What was the nature of the crisis? I mean what actually happened that led to your final decision to move?

Informant: One of the opposition party members was killed for having some missionaries from Uganda recruiting youths to overthrow the government. As a result many youth activists and some of my friends were arrested and send to eight to ten years' imprisonment. So my family and friends became very afraid because of my political involvement as the youth secretary for the opposition party. Previous, I had been arrested but not directly related with the youth. So when this happened, I knew there is no more time to waste than to find a way to leave the country.

Researcher: Can you tell me, what specifically attracted you to Cape Town as opposed to any other town or city in South Africa?

Informant: There is nothing specific, it was just a matter of fate. It just happened that way. It is a matter of natural occurrence.

2.2 FACTORS INFLUENCING MIGRATION

Researcher: You speak about being pushed away from the country because of politics. What exactly do you mean by this?

Informant: I was the general secretary of the youth wing of a political party which highlight my political involvement. I was well known and the government makes their object of attack the people who are actively involve in the organisation. They believe that if they can cut the head then the people underground will remain silent, then the outside countries would then think that everything is peaceful.

Researcher: You talked about belonging to the Kikuyu tribe, did this in any way contributed to your reason for leaving your country?

Informant: Being a member of Kikuyu tribe does not necessarily motivate my decision to move but when you seriously look into it, my tribe also came into the picture. People in my country are divided along ethnic grounds. Political parties were

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formed along tribal marks. For example the Kikuyu is the majority tribe that rule from the 1960's to the late 1970's. Then the Luya, Lulo, Masai and Kilaijin who make up the minority tribes in my country. These minority tribes took over the rule of government in the last 1970's without experience and much education. Merits system of reward was replaced with ethnicity. People were given position in government not because of what they can do or know but because of the tribe or ethnic group they belong to. Everything turns into dictatorship. The opposition were not in politics, they completely banned until 1992, when the ban was lifted and opposition parties were formed. Still the ruling party did not give room for the opposition party in government. This tribal politics brought about oppression that resulted in people fleeing for their lives. At home after graduating from the university, even before graduation someone from the minority tribe would already be having job. If you from the Kikuyu tribe like myself go for an interview, they would not give you the job because you are from the majority group. For example, when I went for the army recruitment my name was shortlisted with some other guys from tribe. But when the official list came out, our names did not appear. We were told that the minister's decision overrules any decision with regards to who is finally selected. This invoke in you anger and willingness to fight. There is no democracy. Everything is done according to your tribe and whom you know in government.

Researcher: You use the words democracy and freedom. Can you clarify exactly what exactly you mean?

Informant: I mean for justice to prevail in the society. For jobs to be given to people on merits not along ethnic or tribal lines. We want economic ruling to be made according to how it should be. Political opposition is given freedom to operate. People are able to express their views and to be heard.

Researcher: Now let us talk about those who influenced your decision to move.

Informant: My relatives and my parents. They said that it would be better for me if I can leave the country go down South than to go to prison. They were also threatened. They said it would be better if you're not here because the police come and harass them so it will also be good if you're not here. Custody in Kenya, police also disturb and give families trouble - thinking that there is some paper and messages you're giving.

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Researcher: Let us talk about your knowledge of Cape Town. Where did you gather information about the city?

Informant: I did not know anything specific about the town. I only know about the general political situation in the country. I know that the country was once under apartheid government and oppression. I know that the country had just gained independence and freedom. This I learnt about through geography and current affairs on the radio and television. Nobody told me about this place.

2.3 PERSONAL AND STRUCTURAL OBSTACLES IN MIGRATION

Researcher: Moving to a place you did not know, didn't this create any fear in you?

Informant: Definitely, there is fear involved. You are afraid of not knowing where you are going, you don't know anybody there, you don't know anything about the standard of living, you don't know whether your money would be sufficient to sustain you before you get job, you don't know whether there are organisation who can help you when you are stranded, you don't know whether the people are hostile. These are the kind of fears that goes through your mind in the process of moving.

Researcher: As you moved from one place to the other and finally arrived in Cape Town, what kind of fear was going through your mind on the road?

Informant: Firstly, the amount of money you have, created fears in me. I don't know whether the money I have, would be able to sustain me to where I am going. I also fear of being attacked on the road because I have not been to the place before, I don't know anything about the whereabouts of the route. The possibility of facing hostility of people on the road also created fears in my mind. You know your destination, you have something in mind but you have never been there, so you are just travelling to find your way. You fear whether there is going to be some high expenditure on the road that you might not be able to meet. You fear not being able to get as far as possible and you become stacked on the road. You also fear being arrested because you have not been out of your country to know what happens in other countries, whether you are going to be arrested by the police for anything.

Researcher: Despite all these fears going through your mind, what gave you the inspiration to continue the journey?

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Informant: Despite the fact that you are afraid, there is a push in you. The fact that you are pushed away from home due to the political factors I mentioned to you earlier. Since you are not able to be there, you rather then take the risk of going out instead of remaining in the country. So you just push on and you keep on thinking what would happen when you are there. The push factor makes you to go further rather than turn back. It encourages and motivates you to go on.

2.4 MIGRATION ROUTE

Researcher: Why did you follow a route through Tanzania and Zambia to Cape Town?
Informant: If you look at Africa, you cannot go towards the North, neither can you go to Uganda and Zaire. Tanzania, Zambia down South is the only option because of the relative peace in this region.

Researcher: Can you please tell me more about your experiences on the road to Cape Town, the difficulties you experienced and how you overcame them?
Informant: I only experienced problem between Zambia and Namibia. Kenya passport is visa free in many African countries. Sometimes I have to sleep on the road because there are no transport. In Zambia, the roads are very rough and no sufficient taxis. I do not encounter language problem because I can speak English and Swahili, which are the two languages, use in the Southern African region. I had no visa problem. In Namibia I experience some language problems with Afrikaans. I tried to get work but there is no work. Generally, people are friendly and not as discriminatory as some South Africans.

Researcher: I want to know more about the route you took to Cape Town. How long did you consider staying in these countries? How did you manage to survive in these countries? Do you know people in these countries?
Informant: From Kenya, I travelled by train non-stop for two days to Tanzania. Then straight to Zambia on the same train. So from Kenya to Zambia it was just one trip all the way. I did not stop along the road. I did not stay in Zambia, I merely used Zambia as a passage to Namibia. But the people are very friendly and welcoming in Zambia. The police in Zambia only want you to bribe them, they will show you the direction. I

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didn't face any problem. The passage was easy. In Namibia, I phone around and try to look for work but everywhere you go they ask you for work permit or permanent residence. So it was difficult. There is no odd jobs, only professional jobs but for you to get it, you have to go through all the bureaucratic process of Home Affairs and personnel agencies.

Researcher: Do you feel that Kenya's passport being visa-free to many African countries, including South Africa, made it easier for you to take this route?
Informant: In my case, I think this is a factor. If you are going to look for a visa, the embassy requires so many documents from somebody running away for political reason. The Kenyan government doesn't want people to leave the country on political grounds because they want to tell the world that there is a democratic system in the country. Kenya passport being visa free to South Africa means that I don't have to apply for visa which makes my decision to move easier.

Researcher: Can you tell me more about why you said that Namibians are not as discriminatory as most South Africans?
Informant: Although life is more expensive in Namibia than South Africa, the few blacks and coloureds I met do not have the notion of foreigner coming to take their jobs. They are always welcoming and wanting to know more about where you are coming from. Maybe because it is a small country with few foreigners as compared to South Africa with a lot of foreigners and more black people are unemployed. The white people in most cases are very understanding, they also realise that we are going to present them more competition, which is the reason why we were left alone without being given the necessary recognition which we deserve.

Researcher: How did you find out that you have to take this route to arrive in Cape Town?
Informant: When travelling and the travel is not a joy drive, you keep on asking people from one point to the other. If you travelling like this for the first time, you go by asking not by network. It is the ability to communicate your need to people you meet on the road that helps in the situation. Most of the time if you communicate in language people can understand, they would help you most of the time.

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2.5 SETTLEMENT IN CAPE TOWN

Researcher: Let us talk about your first experience in Cape Town. What happened to you? Where did you find a place to stay? What effort did you make in getting work and formal documents in Cape Town?

Informant: When I arrived in Cape Town everything was very silent all over. I was very afraid because back at home you heard about crime in South Africa and everybody carrying guns and knife on the street. My greatest fear was fear of being attacked on the street. There was fear of not knowing where you are going to stay. So that day I ended up walking around the town to find where to stay. Through the help of some guys I meet, I was taken to a refugee camp in Hanover Park. There I stayed for three months, from there I moved to the Catholic covenant, where I stayed for four months. It was from this place I was able to raise money to start a business after many attempts to find a job without success. I later moved to Langa, where I rented a backyard house for two hundred Rand a month, from there I was able to save some money and move closer to the city. I then got a room to rent in Observatory where I paid three hundred and fifty Rand a month. Again I moved away from here to Sea Point where I am staying presently.

Researcher: What about getting legal documents?

Informant: When I went to the Home Affairs, I met a immigration officer who wanted me to offer him a bribe, so that he can issue me with a refugee status of people coming from a war-torn countries like Somalia and Burundi but I refused because I wanted to maintain Kenya status. I later went to a senior immigration and explained my case to him and after a long interrogation, he agreed to issue me a Kenya status.

Researcher: You said you stayed in the refugee camp in Hanover Park. Let's talk about your experiences in the camp. Where did you hear about this place? How did you finally end up where you are now?

Informant: Ha, Ha, Ha, this is the worst experience of my life. The place called the refugee camp was a warehouse. So much so that the kind of material used for the construction was asbestos. We are sleeping on dirty, old carpet. The place was very congested. Most of the people we are living with have no education. So they didn't have any kind of hygiene. They didn't care. The kind of food we are eating is only a

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meal per day - mostly it's a loaf of bread and some soup. You also find that the kind of water we are using was cold water and it is in winter. I ended up being sick and freezing. Some kind of small animals bit you up. It was also a Muslim camp and I was a Christian, we faced a lot of bad words, although they welcome some of us who are Christian. If you really look at it, we were not welcome. We stayed there because we have no other options. I mean there is no where else to go when I arrived in Cape Town from Namibia. Also when it is raining, they don't expect you to stay indoors. You're expected to go out there and look for job in the rain. You're not supposed to stay inside the building. You're supposed to stay outside there and come in the evening. Sometimes, the people taking care of us, I mean the leaders, don't want to open the doors for us to come inside. You have to bribe them to allow you in. Some of these people doing all these are young boys, local, using bad words and mistreating you. Talking things like you leave your country because there is no food, even though the kind of food they give us is not what you can talk about. It is just a sort of snack of low quality. Most of the food that came there stinks. They are foods that cannot be sold in the shops. It is food that the customers cannot buy because they have overstayed or expired. So it was hectic and hell. Even though the jobs we got are work involving construction and we were lowly paid. We walked like slaves. Most of the people we work for, come for you there in the camp and those people (builders) are those funding the project, they pay for the electricity and everything there. So they come and take you to work with very little money. Also the person taking care of the camp is getting some money from you because he claims that he is suffering. So you suppose to get very little money and the other goes to his pocket. I can say that it was not even a refugee camp. It was a slavery kind of a thing.

Researcher: You mentioned a “free space” and your dreams being destroyed and the suffering in the refugee camp in Hanover park. Can you please tell me more?
Informant: They are two-folded. Firstly, the kind of freedom whereby you don't have hostility, despite the fact that you have the hostility of the government being hostile to you, there is also the hostility of the people, they don't welcome you, they hate you and make life difficult for you in a way. Though you are not being taken to jail but most of the time, you feel your life is being threatened in a way the dream of having a free space is also destroyed.

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The second phase is that you are here now and in this new country, people are not that educated so you hope to get a job, but you end up not getting job due to fear of competition. When I left my country I was expecting the best, that you will be free and be able to use your skill but not you are able to use those skills. This is what I mean when I said that my dreams are ultimately destroyed. I mean the frustration of not being able to use my skill in the area of my chosen profession. What I have now done is to try to sell in order to earn a living as a way of comforting myself. The fact that what you know is not what you are doing, makes you stressful in a new environment.

My dream is to improve my standard of living, be financially sufficient and have a good job, set up a good family, which I have not been able to achieve. Presently, it looks as if I'm worse off as compared to when I was in my country. In my country, I was able to rent a flat on my own, pay the rents, and still have some saving even though it's not that much as a secondary school teacher. But here in Cape Town I cannot even afford to pay a flat rent on my own. That the reason why three of us decided to share the rent. Even getting a flat is not very easy you have to look for one of your local friends to apply on your behalf because the agents don't want to give us foreigners flats. They complain we don't have identity numbers and jobs, despite the fact that most of us have our own businesses and can afford to pay. This is very sad.

Researcher: Thank you very much for these valuable insights into your experience at the camp. Now let us change the topic and talk about how you consider your stay in Cape Town. Do you see Cape Town as a permanent home or just a temporary place of residence?

Informant: Presently, Cape Town is not a home. It is a transition zone, while I am waiting for things to be all right at home and I will go back. You see the kind of experience that you get from the locals is that you are coming to take everything that belongs to them -- jobs, money and business. They look at you as if you are seeking from them. A lot of the locals harass you. If you go to the white they look at you as a competitor, a black person who is not supposed to be in his vicinity. It is a kind of rejection. They think you are taking from them. Most white people I come in contact

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with are racist; they look at you and say, "you blacks." So it is not a place you can live and say, "I am comfortable to live in this place and make it my home." It is just a place I can call a resting ground, waiting to go home when things are better to start a new life. I am just staying here temporarily without intention of permanent residency.

Researcher: Do you still keep contact with the families and friends that you left behind?
Informant: Yes, I do. I write letters or phone every two to three months and I try to send my family some money at least once a year.

Researcher: More or less how much did you sent them last year?
Informant: I think less than four hundred American dollars.

Researcher: You said your parents influenced and helped in organising your movement away from the country. How did your parents feel about the fact that they may not see you for a very long time?
Informant: In case of my father, he wasn't very much worried. All he wanted me to do is to communicate while I am there. But my mother was very afraid. She feared that I might not come back again. She feared I might die on the road, suffer and not get to my destination. She feared I might not be able to get to my destination and end up coming back home. All I tried to do was to tell her the other side of the story, that people end making fortune and she should not be afraid.

2.6 FUTURE IN CAPE TOWN

Researcher: What about your future in Cape Town? What in Cape Town will make you move again?
Informant: The future doesn't look bright. Presently we are experiencing problems with the council and the locals who do not want us to sell anymore in this place. There are no formal employment possibilities in the future either. The future as it stand is difficult to predict. And to survive you need food but always the government is trying to deny us the means to survive. Now, the immigration is refusing to renew our permits and things are really getting difficult. The government is hostile towards African immigrants. They don't cater for us. Whenever we try to do something they

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come and throw you away. Where do they want you to end up? But as long as I remain in Cape Town, I will continue to do my business in the city centre.

Researcher: Are you going to move again?

Informant: Things are very difficult, to the point that you cannot even sustain yourself any longer. No jobs, no trading, all it means is doom. Maybe you would find yourself going back home. Home is still always the best, but before taking that decision, I would like to consider other alternatives.

Researcher: Do you have any particular place in mind?

Informant: Presently, I don't have any place in mind but I would allow the time and situation to dictate.

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CASE 4: MR BUCMI

1. BACKGROUND

Mr Pierre Bucmi was born thirty-six years ago in Burundi. He is married with two children. He arrived in Cape Town as an asylum seeker in 1998. During 1993 his family fled from Burundi to the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), where they stayed in a refugee camp. In 1996, when the fighting between Mobutu and Kabila started, one of his children and his parents were killed, but his other two children and his wife survived. He fled the DRC and escaped to Zambia. He migrated via Namibia to South Africa and left his wife and children behind in Zambia.

Bucmi holds a diploma in accounting and worked for a construction firm for a period of three years before the war began. The beginning of the war saw the closure and the repatriation of the construction firm back to Belgium and the subsequent retrenchment of all workers. At present he operates a curio business in Cape Town at a flea market.

This first interview was conducted in Bucmi's rented apartment in Maitland, a suburb of Cape Town on 6 April 2000.

2.TRANSCRIBED INTERVIEW

2.1 REASON FOR MIGRATION AND CHOICE OF DESTINATION

Researcher: Thank you for this opportunity to talk to you. I would like to start by asking you, why you came from Burundi to Cape Town?
Informant: The war in Burundi motivated me to leave for Cape Town. Many people were killed including my father, mother, brothers, sisters and child. Everything was completely broken down. I decided that I needed a place where I could be safe and also prepare for the future of my children and myself. This is the reason why I decided to leave the country for Cape Town.

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Researcher: What exactly happened?

Informant: Burundi comprise of three major ethnic groups: Hutus, Tutsis and Tua. In 1993, an election took place and a Hutu was elected as the president of the country but after three months of his reign, the Tutsis army killed him. This started the war. Many people were killed and many others fled the country to various places in search for safety. Since 1965 to this present day, only the Tutsis dominate the affairs of the country. When the democratically elected president was killed, the Hutus say this as an attack and further attempts by the Tutsis-dominated army and to sideline the Hutus from the national political affairs. We (Hutus) wanted to be part of everything in the country and share in what belongs to all of us. We are all Burundians. No one tribe can exercise absolute power over the other. The war started because the Tutsis refuse to share power with the Hutus. As a result, we Hutus were killed and driven out of our houses. Our house in the capital city where the democratic activities was very strong was completely destroyed in fire. People were killed and others managed to escape to DRC and Tanzania.

Researcher: Were you personally involved in politics?

Informant: Before the war started, I was involved in political education. My job entails educating people about the election process. This includes travelling to the rural areas where the political parties were allowed to conduct political activities. I was also chosen as a representative for the youth in the political party. This made me a target for the army.

Researcher: How would you describe your experience of the war in your country?

Informant: Very bad, personally, the war destroyed everything I have and aspire to in life. My parents were killed, my brothers and sisters were killed, my child was killed. I was separated from my wife and children, house destroyed, left without work and nothing to look after my family and myself. Life in exile is also a struggle. I am an accountant but now, I am not practising as one. My goal as an accountant has stopped. Everything stopped. It is painful seeing everything around you been destroyed by the military tanks and all you can do is to run for your life without been able to even defend those things. I felt very much alone during this period. I have no family members to advise me because they are all dead. Whenever there is a

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problem in the family, we normally unite together to face the problem but now I am alone. Also, I am separated from my wife and children, I am very lonely without them around. They are back in Burundi and there is no possibility of bringing them here. I cannot go back to Burundi now until the war is over.

Researcher: Surely your experience of war is painful, but can you tell me what went through your mind?

Informant: I was not in the military or in association with the military during this time. But what my eyes saw and what we went through broke my heart. I saw people been killed in my presence. On one particular occasion, I witness a pregnant women been killed in the most brutal way. They cut open the stomach with a knife (panka) and cut the baby into piece and left the mother to die in pain. My eyes saw many horrific things that left me with no option but to find way to escape this kind of inhumane society. It is too painful to even start to describe to you. I think it is better not to talk about. These were very difficult and painful times.

Researcher: What else did you experience?

Informant: Economically nothing was active. The country was put under sanction by the Organisation for African Unity and the United Nations. The government was not able to import and export goods and other materials for the people. Roads and other infrastructure were completely destroyed. Everything was broken down, people were out of work, and it became very difficult to find food to eat and even clean water to drink. It was total chaos.

Researcher: How would you describe your life during this time?

Informant: Life was very painful. It was a difficult time. You cannot do anything. You don't even feel yourself. You think that you can be killed anytime. You cannot do business because everywhere you turn, you hear gun shoots and bomb explosions. You see people crying every time and people dying due to lack of food and housing.

Researcher: What did this mean to you?

Informant: To have a painful life is frustrating. There was no help. Of course, if you don't resist in war and you are not part of the military, it means you are prepared to die. But I think everybody is afraid to die, the war created unhappiness and discomfort which left me with no option but to flee.

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Researcher: How was life in Burundi before the war and how did it change?
Informant: Before the war, life in Burundi was very nice because there was no problem. There was food, people had jobs, and the environment was clean. Everybody was happy with the country but when the war started, everybody was completely destroyed. People were no longer going to farm. Some cattle were sold to other countries, some were killed and others died due to famine. The atmosphere became very tense and all you see around you is victims of war, people crying and running up and down for their lives. There was no food, no accommodation because houses were destroyed by the army, no medicine and no importation or exportation.

2.2 FACTORS INFLUENCING MIGRATION

Researcher: Apart from the war, is there anything that contributed to your decision to move?
Informant: Of course, you know, I was also looking for opportunity before the war to continue my education and also to look for a better life future and be someone in life and find a place where I can use my brain and qualification.

Researcher: Did your education partly made it easier for you to make the decision to move?
Informant: I don't think so. Unfortunately, I am educated but one thing I know is that Burundians who are not educated are also here in South Africa and other parts of Africa. My education only created in me hope and assurance that I would be able to better myself if I have the opportunity to leave my country. All I can say to you, is that this hope is till very much alive. I know that my opportunity would come one day.

Researcher: What about your friends, in what way did they contribute to your decision to move?
Informant: None of my friends in Burundi contributed to my decision to move directly. But those people I met after leaving Burundi to DRC and in Zambia and Namibia played a significant part in my decision and final arrival in Cape Town.

Researcher: In what way did they influence or contribute to your decision to move?

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Informant: In the first place, the idea of coming to Cape Town came to me when I was in DRC. I never knew when we left Burundi as a family, that I would be coming to Cape Town. You see, after my parents, brothers and sisters died, it became clear to me that DRC is no longer a safe place. The camp was destroyed by war and we were scattered once again as a family. It was after this event that I decided exploring the idea of another place. So a friend I met in DRC suggested that Cape Town might just be the place because people are saying that life is very much better since the new government in South Africa.

Researcher: Did your friends offer you help of any kind apart from suggesting you coming to Cape Town. I am thinking about things like giving you money, information about the route, where to sleep on the road, securing travelling documents and the like?

Informant: Not money but information about the route, especially from Namibia to Cape Town and in getting travelling documents.

Researcher: What kind of information did they give you regarding travelling documents?

Informant: I am afraid, I don't think I can tell you anything about the travelling document, apart from to say to you that without their assistance, it would have been impossible for me to be in Cape Town.

Researcher: The fact that your friends assisted you to travel to South Africa, did this make your journey pain-free, without any obstacles?

Informant: No! No! No! There were many problems and obstacles along the road, but what was pushing me to leave is stronger than the obstacles I encountered on the road. The moment I started the journey, there was no going back. Firstly there is nothing to go back to. I said to myself, it is better to die on the road than to go back to Burundi and be killed in the hand of the rebel soldiers.

Researcher: Why is dying on the road better for you than dying in Burundi?

Informant: I know for sure that if I should go back to Burundi, that I would be killed because once I was arrested in Burundi by the armies but escape at gunpoint. They tried to re-arrest me, fire gunshot but I managed by God's help to escape. I know

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what is to be tied to a tree and be left to die. I saw those captured by the army been shot in my presence. Children been innocently killed and old people been shot for no reason. For me, there is no reason to go back to a place where there is no life. Where life is nothing and reason for living is completed destroyed. I considered dying on the road more dignifying than dying in the hands of merciless people who have no respect for life.

Researcher: You said you have nothing to go back to, what about your wife and children?

Informant: At the time, I do not know that my wife and children was still alive. I thought they were also killed in DRC. I only found out about their whereabouts after arriving in Cape Town. Even though I knew, the state of my mind was such, that nothing made living in Burundi a worthy option. All I want, was a peaceful place where I can continue my life without been faced with the horrors of war.

Researcher: Are you keeping contact with your family?

Informant: Yes, I try my best to keep contact but as I wanted because the mailing system to Burundi is not efficient. When you write letters, you don't know whether or not the letter gets there because you never receive replies. Even when it get there, it take months before you can receive the reply.

Researcher: Have you tried any other forms of communication, like fax, telephone, telegraphy or email?

Informant: Yes, only the telephone, even this is very expensive and not convenient. Whenever I phoned, I can only give a message to the people with the phone to give to my wife because my wife doesn't have a telephone at home.

Researcher: This brings me to the next question, do you ever sent money to your family? If you do, how often?

Informant: I don't want to sound as if I don't want you to know my personal business but the business is not really mine. I only live on commission from the business, which is not much and after you pay your house rent and buy food nothing is left to buy clothes or save. But since I arrived in Cape Town, I have only sent a total of R1400 on two occasions through union transfer.

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Researcher: Have you tried to establish whether or not it would be possible to bring your family to Cape Town?
Informant: I haven't tried because I don't have the money and the means to get them the necessary travelling document. Even if I have the means, I don't think I want them to come here in South Africa, may be somewhere else.

Researcher: Why not here? Are you saying that you won't advise someone to come to Cape Town?
Informant: You see most of the things you hear about Cape Town and South Africa is not true. It is true now that there is a new government and peace in South Africa. But it is also true that life for ordinary people in Cape Town, here I mean the black people who live in the township is very difficult and dangerous, especially for women and children. There is very high unemployment in Cape Town. As a foreigner, it is even more difficult, people from other African countries are not welcome. They don't treat us very nice, they call us all kinds of names and abuse us in language we don't understand, and they even kill us because they know that nobody is going to fight for us. Even when it comes to getting work, the locals are given the first opportunity. Please don't misunderstand me, I am not against this, but the people should also give us opportunity to better our lives. Also life is very expensive here. If you don't have a job, you would end up sleeping on the street. If I know of anybody wanting to come to Cape Town, I wouldn't tell them not to come but I would advise them on the situation here and what to expect, especially, I would tell them that Cape Town is completely different from Europe.

Researcher: Did you ever try looking for a job in Cape Town and to your opinion, why didn't you find a job?
Informant: I tried in the beginning when I first arrived in Cape Town, but I soon realised that there is no chance for me getting work. I was never invited for one interview, so I cannot say that I know definitely why not.

Researcher: Do you have a South African identity document or any other legal document that ensures your stay in South Africa?
Informant: Not a South African ID, but I have a refugee permit renewable every six

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months at the Home Affairs.

Researcher: Let us assume for a moment that there is no war in Burundi, would you still like to leave Burundi?

Informant: Personally, if there is no war, I don't think I would have moved because I love my country too much. If the war is over, I must go back and rebuild the country. Also, as the last child in the family, it is expected and important for me to see that the name of the family continues and not perish. I suppose to visit some countries in order to see what they are doing and what is going on there. I mean like a tourist, go overseas and travel around Africa to learn and co-operate with other people, especially, the youth, as well as to explore business opportunities.

Researcher: Apart from escaping the war in Burundi, did you benefited in any other way by being in Cape Town?

Informant: I still feel lonely because I am in a new country with different culture, behaviour and attitudes from my country. Our presence as people from other African countries makes the people think that we are here to take their jobs and take their houses. That is why in this new community, I am not feeling totally well. There is something wrong socially. The people think, maybe I have come to take money, jobs or women. This is not true. I came here because there is war in my country and if the war ends tomorrow, I would be happy to go back.

Researcher: You talked about not feeling well, what exactly are you referring to?

Informant: I am an accountant, and presently, I am only helping a friend to sell curios in the city. Since I finished school in 1987, until now, I am not making use of what I learnt. I feel very angry not using my training and expertise only to find myself economically inactive. I am also not learning anything new which could be of help to my country and myself when I go back. I am not feeling good about myself, which is a big problem for me.

Researcher: Where did you first hear about Cape Town?

Informant: I heard about Cape Town from Burundi. I was told that here is just like Europe. When I was in DRC as an asylum seeker, I also heard from fellow refugees in DRC now in South Africa that they are living a good life. This created in me the

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desire to come down here and seek a better future. But when I arrived here, everything I heard about South Africa was not true.

Researcher: What exactly did they tell you about Cape Town that was not true?
Informant: I was told it is very easy to go to school, get scholarship and easy to find work. But when I arrived here, it was contrary to the fact. Now I am not at school because of lack of sponsorship and I am not working because there is no job. This means that people outside South Africa talk about what is not right. I decided to come here based on the information I got from the people. The people also told me that the United Nations is providing assistance for refugees in South Africa, which is not true. Since I arrived in Cape Town, no United Nations agency has offered any assistance. I have been here now for more than a year. Until now, I have not been granted interview in order to be granted refugee status. There are asylum seekers here who have been here for more than four years without been granted interviews or given full refugee status, which means that the United Nations have nothing for refugees in Cape Town.

Researcher: Who are these people that gave you the information about Cape Town and do you know where they got this information?
Informant: They are my friends. I think that they also get the information from other Burundians who are here in South Africa. Also, if you see the goods imported from South Africa, indeed you would think it's exactly Europe, with the hope that you can go there and have a better life, which is not true.

Researcher: Why did you choose Cape Town?
Informant: I choose Cape Town because of the impression created in me by the various remarks I heard about Cape Town from friends.

Researcher: If there is an opportunity for you to move again, would you move?
Informant: I am ready to move anytime, even if there is peace is my country. I must go back because I am losing time. I am not working, I am not going to school, which means I am wasting time. I am getting older not younger, I must move again and try somewhere else.

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Researcher: If you do not see any future here, what lies in the future for you?
Informant: For me, it is to be at school. After finishing my education, it is to work and feel you are somebody, making a difference to life of people. If you are not going to school, then I must be working and putting money in the saving. If I have money in the saving, it means there is money to help me in future. This would help my wife and children as well. This is the future I am talking about.

Researcher: Despite the fact that your life in Cape Town is not what you expected it would be, how does your life now compare to when you were still in Burundi?
Informant: It is still better than when I was in Burundi because here in Cape Town, I am not living in terror and fear of war. You cannot compare this place with a place where there is war. Here, I have peace and freedom. I can work and go to school - the problem is to start. If I have assistance, I can go to school. If I get work, I can do it. In my country, I cannot do anything because everything is broken down.

2.3 MIGRATION ROUTE

Researcher: Let us talk about the route you took to Cape Town and how you managed to establish the route.
Informant: The route from Burundi to DRC is very small. DRC is our neighbouring country, which is less than seven kilometres from Bujumbura border. It is a very easy distance to walk, we mostly walk to the border and back. Even sometimes we go to market in DRC and return to Burundi in the evening. But from DRC to Zambia, I took a taxi but there are also trucks, which transport goods if you do not have the money for taxi. The drivers of the truck are always very understanding of the problem in the country since 1996. I took the taxi, which left me before the border because we cannot pass through the border, we have to swim through the water. At the border are people whose job is to cross people over. All it cost is a few of Burundian francs to show you where to pass in the water and send over to the refugee camp in Uvira. The cost from Bujumbura is about 300 Burundians francs and another 150 francs for the people doing the crossing.

Researcher: How did you manage to acquire the travelling document for the DRC?
Informant: During this time, nobody asked you for travelling document because it

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was war and everybody was trying to escape the war to DRC. You don't need a travelling document, all you need is some money.

Researcher: Is this not expensive?
Informant: Yes it is expensive and not everybody can afford the money. Those who have money are given the first opportunity to cross. They take those without money only when there is nobody with money wanting to cross.

Researcher: How did you manage to raise the money?
Informant: After the company I was working for closed down, the workers were paid certain amount of money depending on their years of service, when I got my money, I decided to save some of the money and use some for business. As a result, I was able to raise some money but this money only took me to DRC.

Researcher: Where did you get the rest of the money?
Informant: During my stay in the refugee camps, I used to sell blankets and foodstuff in the towns, from these activities, I was able at different times to get some money to continue my journey.

Researcher: How long did you stay in the DRC and why did you leave the DRC for Zambia?
Informant: We arrived as a family; my parents, wife, children and some of my brothers and sisters in DRC in 1993 and stayed there until 1996, which made it three years in the refugee camp in Uvira. I left DRC when the war started in 1996, but my family was not able to make it down to Zambia because they were killed in the process.

Researcher: Your family died in the DRC but you managed to escape, were you not together with your family in the camp?
Informant: When the rebels arrived at the Uvira refugee camp, I was four hundred kilometres away from the camp on my selling trip to the town. I was still in town when I heard that the rebels had attacked the camp, so I did not returned back to the camp because it has been destroyed. I only heard days after that my family managed to escape from the camp but were killed by a marine ship at Lake Tanganyika when

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they were trying to escape. Until now, I don't really know what happens to them but I am sure they are no longer alive.

Researcher: Spending three years in a refugee camp must have been difficult, how did you manage to sustain yourself and the family?
Informant: I was surviving through the small business activities I was doing in the camp and around the camp, plus we were been assisted by the United Nations with food and medicines but this food only last for a few days, thereafter you will have to look after yourself. This situation makes it necessary to get other activities going in order to survive.

Researcher: Now let us look at your journey to Zambia from the DRC: how did you find out about the route? What means of transport did you use? Did you have friends or relatives in Zambia? Who assisted you in getting to Zambia? Where and how did you manage to obtain travelling documents?
Informant: The route from DRC to Zambia is known by everybody, it is very easy to find all you need is a permit from the camp managers to allow you to travel to the border. When you arrived at the border normally at night you can easily buy your way through at the border post, this is normally done with the help of the truck drivers with little money. In many cases if you are running away from the life in the camp you normally don't use any travelling document. In relation to friends, I don't have any friend in Zambia. The people I know in Zambia were some of my country people I met at the camp.

Researcher: How long did you stay in Zambia and why did you leave?
Informant: I stayed in Zambia for only two months in Kamora refugee camp. The camp is operated by a non-governmental agency, courtesy of the Zambian home affairs. After two weeks in the camp, we were moved to Maeba refugee camp, which is about nine hundred kilometres away from Lusaka. I saw that there was no life because I was hoping that I could continue my education but the situation in the camp was no better than life at Uvira camp in DRC. I was hoping that I would be able to go to the university or find work but only food assistance from the camp authority. At this stage, I was tired of just surviving on food aid without working or studying. I hated life in refugee camp but I had no option, so I stayed there until such a time

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that, I was able to get assistance to continue the journey

Researcher: Now let us talk about your journey from Zambia to Namibia.
Informant: After staying two months in Zambia, I decided that I should continue my journey to South Africa. But without a travelling document or passport the possibility looks bleak. While in Zambia, I managed to get a Tanzania travel document, which is visa free to Namibia. I travelled on the train for twelve hours to the border between Zambia and Namibia, which cost k10 500 (approximately R70). At the border I entered a kind of a ferry to cross over to Namibia. The document was stamped by the Zambian authority and by the Namibian authority at entry. There after, I destroyed the document and sought refugee in Osile refugee camp for two months.

Researcher: During these two months in Namibia, what did you do?
Informant: In the beginning I was trying to secure employment but I was not successful in securing one job. This is a big problem generally for refugees in Namibia, we are not allowed to work. Even though you have a qualification, which other Namibians do not have and you manage to find work, you are mandated according to the law of that country you are required to train at least one Namibian to do your job. In this kind of society your job is never secured. The insufficient assistance given to refugees in the camp makes living in Namibia very difficult. As a result, I then started selling food in the camp, where I was able to raise some money to come down to Cape Town.

Researcher: Then you moved from Namibia to South Africa; how did you do it?
Informant: This is a big problem because you need a visa, passport or any kind of travelling document that would enable you to pass through the border. So, I approached the camp's administrator for the travelling document, which he refused. He said I am already in a refugee camp and there is no need for me to go to another camp in South Africa. So, I decided to approach a Catholic Priest who usually visits the camp for help. I showed him my study papers that allows me to go to Belgium for studies, and I pleaded with him to take me only to the border of Namibia. Eventually, he agreed and the following day we drove to the border in the evening because evening is the only time you can cross the border without document. When we arrived at the border, he dropped me and went away. That was the last time I saw

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the priest.

Researcher: Then, what happened next?

Informant: I walked straight to a petrol station, where I met a young man from the eastern part of Namibia, I told him my problem and that I need to cross the border into Namibia. He took me to another man, who can help me. When the man saw me, he told me he would help me only if I am prepared to pay him some amount of money. At this time, I was only having R120, so I told him that if I should give him all the money that I would be left without any money to eat. He then asked for R70, which I gave him. He showed me where to swim in order to avoid crocodiles in the Orange River. After I had crossed the river, he turned back and said, you are now in Springbok, South Africa, you must go ahead. I then came across a very big fence. At this point, I thought to myself there is no going back because there is nothing to go back to. As I continued, I saw some people smoking cigarette but I didn't know who they are. When I approached a little bit closer, I then realised it was the military guys patrolling the border. One of the soldiers got up and moved a little bit away from the rest of the group to make a fire but the fire did not come up very well. During this time, I was lying in the bush watching what was going to happen. I tried again to go around the fence but this time from a different side, I then saw water coming from underneath the fence. The water had created space under the fence for someone to crawl through. I then crawl under the fence, leaving behind my bag, that contain all my clothes. By this time it was already very dark in the night, which made it easy to go through the fence. When I entered inside, I saw the military but they did not see me, so I crawl like a snake through the darkness and passed through without been caught by the military.

Researcher: What did you do next, after getting past the fence?

Informant: I walked about 20 kilometres on foot, this was after five hours from the time the priest dropped me off at the border without food to eat or water to drink. I left the Orange River without drinking water because it was already dark in the night and I was afraid of deadly creatures because I have been warned already about the creatures. After 20 kilometres on foot, I was very tired and completely exhausted between the mountains and everywhere you turned you see a fence. In the morning, I tried to look for a lift but all the cars drove pass me without offering any assistance.

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On the second day, in the afternoon, I found a truck from South Africa going to Namibia which stopped gracefully. I showed him the small money I had left on me, but he thought I was going to Namibia. I was so thirsty and all that I wanted from the truck driver is just some water to drink. Luckily enough, he gave me a little bit water to drink, but I had a big problem drinking the water because my throat was so dry and I struggled to get the water down into my stomach. It took me about thirty minutes to take a few drops of water. I then continued my walk for another hour, this time around, I stopped some trucks going into the mountains to take some stone for building. I asked them if they could give me a lift to Cape Town. They said; they are not going to Cape Town but that I should stand on the other side of the road and stop each and every truck and just show them the money. They said that trucks may not want to stop where I am standing because the point is general the high point for those who hijack trucks and kill truck drivers. After some minutes, a truck driver from Namibia stopped and asked, what is going on. I tried to explain to him but unfortunately, my voice was gone. He seems to understand what has happened to me, he took the small money and gave me a lift. We arrived at a town I cannot remember the name, he bought a cool drink but I could not drink. He assisted me to drink a little bit and finally we arrived in Cape Town at about 02H00. He left me at the hospital in Bellville and told me to ask the security of the hospital for a place to sleep.

2.4 ARRIVAL, SETTLEMENT IN CAPE TOWN

Researcher: And?

Informant: I went to the security man on duty, explained myself to him, he later agreed to offer me a place to sleep at the back of the hospital on a bench. The following morning the security man woke me up and told me to go down to the city and see may be I would be able to find somebody from my country. He showed me the city and explained how to get to the city without telling the city is far. I set off and decided to walk down to Town, and finally I arrived in Town very tired, but I was happy that I finally arrived in Town. This turned out to be, the beginning of another journey. The journey of finding somebody to help me with a place to sleep, food to eat and water to drink because I had no money on me when I arrived and I know nobody in Cape Town.

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Researcher: What did you do and how did you manage to find a place to sleep?
Informant: I arrived in the city looking like somebody coming out of the mud, luckily, I approached a black guy at the train station, unfortunately he was not able to speak English, only Portuguese. He showed me the church and I went inside, sat and waited for the service to be over. After the service, I went to the preacher, explained my problems but he struggled to understand me, so he went and called two Congolese members of the church to speak to me in French. I explained my problems to them and they told the pastor that I was looking for a place to sleep. But the guys volunteer to take care of me, so they took me to the city centre to look for somebody from Burundi, but we didn't find anyone. We only find another Congolese who took me to Guguletu where I stayed only one night. The following morning, he took me to the home affairs, where I was interviewed and sent to the Catholic Welfare Development (CWD) in Guguletu. The CWD gave me a three months welfare assistance and accommodation.

Researcher: Did you ever look for work during this time at the CWD or did you depend only on the assistance provided by the CWD?
Informant: During the first one week, I was only depending on the welfare, but after sometime, I said to myself that, I need to help myself. As a result, I went around looking for work. The first job I got was loading and offloading a truck in Epping. Even though the work I found was contrary to my experience and qualification but I gave thanks to God because it is part of life to do things contrary to your education. I am happy.

Researcher: If you consider your decision to move to Cape Town, would you say life is what you expected it to be now that you are here?
Informant: You know what, I am very happy on the one hand that I am still alive and that God kept me through difficult situations. I know many who died in the wars and many who died in the process of crossing the orange river and those I was told died due to hunger and starvation on the road to Cape Town but I am still alive. What I can say is this, now, I know that most of the things I heard about Cape Town before coming here is not true. Although the place is like Europe, there is serious unemployment, refugees are not adequately assisted here, life is very expensive, life for refugees is difficult because some South African always think we are bad people,

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here to steal and take their jobs and women, sadly enough, the government is not doing anything to make our things better. But there is peace in Cape Town, there is no war and you can do your own business if you have the money without problem. I am hopeful that life would be better.

Researcher: Since you arrived in Cape Town, have you ever lived in any other part of the country?
Informant: No, I have always been living in Cape Town because there is no reason to live somewhere. If you listen and watch the news on the radio and television you would realise that everywhere is the same. More importantly, I love Cape Town and the nice friends I have in Cape Town.

Researcher: Your friends in Cape Town, are they only from Burundi?
Informant: Some of my friends are South Africans, Burundians, Congolese, Angolans and Nigerians.

Researcher: Your South African friends, are they Blacks, Coloureds, Indian or White.
Informant: They are mostly Coloureds and Blacks.

Researcher: Let say you have the opportunity, would you move again?
Informant: Definitely, I would like to move again. If you look at my situation presently, it is not what it suppose to be. If the war ends today in my country, I would like to go back, I love my country. But there is no hope that this would happen very soon. Otherwise, if my sister can sponsor me to Canada, I know that life would be better for me there. I would be able to find a better job and continue my studies and also provide for my wife and children back at home.

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CHAPTER FIVE

FINDINGS AND ANALYSIS

1. INTRODUCTION

The overall aim of this research is to uncover the factors underlying the decision to move to another country and the choice of destination. In order to achieve this aim, in-depth interviews were conducted with four African immigrants in Cape Town. The experiences of the immigrants were documented in the thesis. The interviews were semi-structured and focused on specific aspects of the migratory process. These aspects include: reasons for migration and choice of destination, factors influencing migration, migration route, settlement in the new destination, as well as informants' perception of their future in new destination (Cape Town).

In this chapter the information from the in-depth interviews will be analysed within the broader conceptual framework developed in the earlier part of this thesis. The texts are analysed along the following broad categories: demographic details, reason for migration and choice of destination, other factors related to the decision to move and settlement in Cape Town.

It is important, from a methodological point of view, to reiterate the advice of Brown (cited in Minichiello *et al.* 1992:291) to qualitative researchers. He warns:

> ... the qualitative researcher [sic] cannot rest content with a restatement of the facts, say, about a birth weight, age of the mother, parity, complications and so on. He must go on to consider their likely meaning to those involved and for this the relevance of the wider social context must be considered. Concern with meaning ultimately reflects a commitment to explore the significance of a happening or situation in

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terms of the lives as a whole of those involved.

Although it will be problematic to view the experiences of the four African immigrants as representing the experiences of the majority of immigrants in Cape Town, their stories most probably reflect a web of complex realities not only faced by themselves but also by other African immigrants to South Africa.

2. DEMOGRAPHICAL DETAILS

According to Witherick (1993: 86), under certain conditions and at certain times, certain people or groups of people are more likely to migrate than others. The propensity to migrate is induced by factors such as age, gender, education and occupation. Studies show that the propensity to migrate is greatest among the young adult age groups. This kind of migration is said to be generally associated with the search for employment as well as the need to form a family (White & Woods 1980:14).

In the case of this research, the ages of the informants ranged from 30 to 36 years and it appears as if the search for securing an income is also an important motivating factor. This probably serves to indicate that those who are supposed to be the engine of the nation's development and growth are now on the move. This means that the prospects for development for these countries is not as imminent as some would like to believe. Those skilled citizens who are supposed to be the force that drives forward new ideas and development are most probably not in their countries.

All four informants are male and only one is married with two surviving children. Although the selection of these informants for the case studies is a matter of convenience, it is most probably not a coincidence that they are all male. A study conducted on immigrant entrepreneurs and South Africa's small enterprise economy shows that the number of males dominated females in a number of foreign-owned businesses (Rogerson 1997:10). This study also draws attention to the large proportion of male African immigrants in Cape Town central business district. The male immigrants are more visible than their female counterparts.

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The influx of young, male African immigrants to South Africa (Rogerson 1997; Haldenwang 1996) is probably an indication of how the structure of the population at the place of origin is changing. The youngest and the most active members of the population are leaving behind older and more conservative persons who are impervious to new ideas and innovations. The loss of these young men through migration means a great loss of key human resources and capital investment. The four immigrants are relatively highly qualified individuals. Mondia holds a bachelor's degree in economics. Kenya is a forestry graduate. He taught biology and chemistry in a high school in his country of origin before coming to Cape Town. Bendel holds a national diploma in sales and management studies. He worked for numerous firms in Nigeria as a sales consultant before leaving for Cape Town. Bucmi holds a national diploma in accounting, with three years working experience as an accountant with a construction firm before the war began *(see case study for more details)*.

The relatively high levels of literacy and education amongst these immigrants seem to correspond to the findings of the South African Migration Project's study conducted among the informal traders in Johannesburg (1997:1), namely that 90% of African immigrants within the informal sector of the Johannesburg business district had some secondary education, 40% had a formal education, while over two-thirds had some university experience. In spite of their relatively high level of education, it seems that two factors affect their success in securing a job. The first is their status as "asylum seekers"; there is a reluctance on part of the South African government to formalise their status as refugees. The second is a lack of demand in their area of expertise.

The following statement by Bendel supports the above assertions: "The problem is more of a government's attitude towards African immigrants and my area of speciality. There is a misconception that African immigrants are illegal ... If my field is a unique area in which the demand for labour is high, with small supply of labour, I think, I should have been able to find work in Cape Town." Also highlighting the same sentiment, Mondia stated that "some people ... don't know about our permit [*asylum seekers' permit allows for holders of the permit to remain in the country and seek employment pending the time when application is considered*]... the government should do something to inform the people". In Kenya's situation, the

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problem of not securing suitable work has to do with the lack of an identity document, fear of competition, lack of experience and racism. The following comment seems to support this: "[P]eople are afraid of you because they see you as a threat. They fear competition ... You don't have ID (identity document), that you don't have the experience ... That a black is going to take over..." According to Bucmi, "I was never invited for an interview, so I cannot say that I know definitely why not". It is evident that the resentment and competition between some African immigrants and South Africans might be based on the relatively high levels of education and resources among some members of this constituency that can shed light on the issue of xenophobia.

The sentiments conveyed by the informants are probably an indication of how African immigrants are perceived by the public and the media. It is evident that negatives attitudes towards African immigrants do not discriminate between those who are legal or illegal migrants and those who are asylum seekers or refugees. According to the South African Aliens Control Act No. 96 (1991), an illegal immigrant is one who:

- enters the Republic of South Africa at a place other than a port of entry;
- remains in the RSA without a valid residence permit;
- acts in contravention of his/her residence permit;
- remains in the RSA after the expiry of his/her residence permit;
- is prohibited from entering the RSA; or
- becomes a prohibited person whilst in RSA.

Although the CASE survey found that almost two third (64%) of South Africans claimed they knew the difference between refugees and illegal migrants, a significant minority (with 50% of rural respondents) did not. Just under half (43%) did not think that people fleeing war or persecution in other countries should have a right to enter South Africa. Such attitudes are not necessarily based on a lack of education or the vulnerable socio-economic status of the respondents, as those opposed to this right increased with higher levels of education (45% with post-matric) and higher income levels (52% with monthly household income of over R7000) (Piers et al 1998:12). It appears, therefore, that South Africans simply associate refugees and asylum

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seeker with the broader phenomenon of illegal migrancy. A significant minority (22%) of South Africans, for example, also appear to support the restriction of movement for legally documented foreigners (Piers et al 1998:12). These attitudes are reflected by experiences and concerns expressed by the immigrants documented in this study.

3. REASONS FOR MIGRATION AND CHOICE OF DESTINATION

The various theories of migration determinants differ according to discipline, invoking different sociological, economic and geographical theories. The salience of various factors depends on whether the theorist has employed micro or macro theories of migration in studying the phenomenon. In this study, a broader theoretical perspective that includes both the micro and macro theories has been used to explore migratory determinants. As indicated earlier no single theoretical framework can be expected to unearth all the determinants of migratory process. Surface as well as deep structural meaning conveyed in the interviews are analysed and interpreted in order to highlight the factors underlying the decisions of African immigrants to move to Cape Town. This multiple perspective reflects the complexity of the set a factors and various interactions that lead to the migration of the African immigrants and choice of destination.

The critical question raised by the experiences of African immigrants, as documented in the case studies, is whether the decision to migrate by the respective immigrants could be said to have been motivated by the "push-pull" factors. If we accept that these individuals do not voluntarily migrate without some provocation, then it becomes important to examine the reason for moving. It can be a futile exercise to only base a consideration of the reason for migration on calculations of advantages and disadvantages in places of origin and potential places of destination. Predictions like these are only possible if the knowledge of potential places of destination exists prior to movement. As evident from the interview, most of the informants had no first-hand information or reliable knowledge of the situation at the place of destination. Even with knowledge at hand, one cannot predict migration will take place, until the various migration constraints have also been examined. The role of information will be explored further in the latter part of the analyses.

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From the interviews it seems that multiple factors are responsible for the decision by African immigrants to migrate to Cape Town. These include: political and economic factors, the need for security and choice of destination.

3.1 POLITICAL FACTORS

Virtually all the informants mentioned political instability as one of the major factors contributing to them leaving their countries. Bucmi left his country as result of ethnic war that later spilled over into the neighbouring country. Mondia comes from a war-torn part of Africa, namely Congo. The civil war that started in 1994 led to his decision to leave Congo for Cape Town in 1996, when he was arrested at gunpoint for identification. In his words: "...if they managed to find my identity document, they would have killed me because I belong to Bembe ethnic group". In the case of Kenya, the deciding factor in his decision to leave his country unprepared came after several attacks on him from members of the political opposition party. Many of his friends and close associates were killed or sent to jail for anything between eight to ten years for their opposition role to the government of the day. As a youth secretary for the opposition political party, he was very much at the political forefront which made his family members the object of the government's attack. He finally decided to leave when he survived the last plot on his life. In his words: "...I knew there is no more time to waste than to find a way to leave the country." Bendel, however, finally decided to leave his country when he lost hope for a better political settlement. He said: "... when the situation [*i.e. political instability*] continues unabated, it is therefore important that the need for a human being to continue to live ... Hence the movement from Nigeria to South Africa." Bucmi left Burundi with his family in 1993 when the war between Hutus and Tutsis began. They fled to the DRC where they stayed in a refugee camp until an attack on their camp in 1996. The decision to leave finally came when everything he aspired to in life was completely destroyed. He said, "... My parents were killed, my brothers and sisters were killed, my child was killed, I was separated from my wife and children, my house destroyed. I was left without work and nothing to look after myself ... Life in exile was a struggle."

One way of understanding the precipitating factors making migration a desirable

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option in the face of political adversary is offered by Oucho (1998: 105). Inter-ethnic conflicts are factors deeply rooted in cultural discrimination and colonial history. Ethnic conflict and discrimination are all products of past historical developments (Castel & Muller 193:23). A study of ethnic conflict attributes the problem to two sets of factors: predisposing factors such as cultural pluralism and lack of overarching values and common beliefs of the separate ethnic groups and triggering-igniting factors such as colonial manipulation, subsequent democratic politics, rivalry over resource allocation and imported political institutions adopted at independence (Premdas 1995). Thus rivalries over resource allocation (specifically agricultural land in Kenya and Congo and mineral rights in Nigeria), remain an issue. Imported political institutions set in motion revolutions in Kenya, Congo and Nigeria.

The experiences of the four immigrants in their countries of origin can be attributed to predisposing factors which constitute the basis of ethnic conflict in all four countries represented by the informants. The triggering-igniting factors play a more subtle role in these countries. The history of colonisation provides overwhelming evidence of how manipulation of more stubborn people through punitive expeditions or denial of basic social services, laid firm foundations for conflict-in-waiting, a time bomb that exploded when colonial administrations gave way to independent governments (Oucho 1998:106). This partly explains the problem of ethnic separation by the British in Kenya and Nigeria, as well as by the French and Belgians in Congo and Burundi respectively. In Nigeria, for example, the British created a governing class by establishing indirect rule in kingdoms (i.e. the Yoruba, the Hausa kingdom, and the Ibo kingdom), as a way of managing the affairs of the kingdoms. At independence, the three kingdoms were amalgamated to form what is known as Nigeria today, which subsequently led to power struggles and plunged the country into civil war between 1966 and 1970. This paved the way for the military to establish its reign over the affairs of Nigeria. Ethnic and religious groups as well as other classes were pitted against each other, tearing the country apart. The informants from the four countries identified both predisposing and triggering-igniting factors. It is these underlying factors that have generated considerable regional displacement of persons and asylum seekers in Africa.

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3.2 ECONOMIC FACTORS

The economic factor has been widely regarded as a migration determinant, more so than any other factor. Support for this is evident in the volumes of literature on migration which deal with differences in economic factors among various geographical regions and the role of these factors in initiating migration (see Maharaj &. Rajkumar 1997). This kind of research is based on objective inference at the expense of subjective economic motives. As highlighted in Chapter Two, econometric studies based purely on secondary data may have the ability to predict the magnitude and direction of migration. They do not, however, have the capacity to explain individual behaviour. Based on information from the interviews, economic factors are cited as one of the important reasons underlying their decision to move, but it is not necessarily the prime reason for moving. Mondia (case 1) describes the economic situation as “very bad”. The government is increasingly finding it difficult to satisfy the various needs of the people based on the revenue generated from the sales of wood and petroleum. Emigrating has become one of the many strategies used by the people to survive the harsh economic realities in Congo. Other strategies include either entering into prostitution in the case of women or joining the rebel movements or turning to crime in the case of men. Mondia described his situation in these words: "...when life was threatened to the point of death and my business was completely destroyed that made me to finally decide on leaving the country".

Although Kenya did not consider his underlying factor for leaving his country as economical (see case study), a deeper analysis of the text shows that both economic and political considerations are closely interrelated factors for leaving the country. His mentioning of the fact that South Africa's new political dispensation and economic environment are acting as pull factors ("may provide opportunity") is an indication that economic considerations are closely linked to political reasons which are push factors for leaving the country. The case of Kenya is that of an individual opting for migration as the only possible option open to him in the face of adversity. Bendel stated that the need for a relative economic improvement in his situation led him decide to leave instead of continuing to be subjected to an environment of “anarchy and chaos” (see case study 3). Although the reason for Bucmi leaving the

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DRC for Zambia was war, it became clear after the third move that the reason had shifted from the original reason. The last three moves were clearly an attempt on the part of Bucmi to pursue the desire he had before the war: "...[to] look for a place for a better life ...to find a place where I can use my brains and qualifications". This account supports the notion put forward by Kunz (1981:51) which states that there is a borderline difference between political refugees and those dissatisfied economically. He warns, however, that the magnitude of the decision should be kept in mind as well as the pressure of the social forces which finally result in seeking exile.

3.3 NEED FOR SECURITY

High on the list of factors underlying the reason for moving for all the informants is the need for security. Various words were used to capture this sentiment, including words and concepts such as freedom, peace, peaceful environment, free space, need to be alive and the need for comfort and stability. According to Mondia (see case study), he had lost his freedom to move because restrictions which meant that he had to remain at home. Living in a “peaceful environment” (Cape Town) has given him the opportunity to be alive and have peace of mind without fear of going out during the day or at night and be attacked or killed. Bendel (see case study) was faced with a life lived under an increasing degree of risk as far as security is concerned. In many instances, when conducting his business, angry mobs would take the law into their own hands, killing people and destroying property without the government being able to bring the situation under control. He said that "it was necessary to move in order to satisfy the need for peace and security". Kenya wants an environment where social justice prevails and freedom is allowed for opposite opinions to be heard without victimisation or fear of arrest. Bucmi's need for security became intensified when all that mattered to him in life was completely destroyed: "the war destroyed everything I had and aspired to in life. My parents were killed, my brothers and sisters were killed, my child was killed. I was separated from my wife and children, my house destroyed... I decided that I needed a place where I could be safe ... a peaceful place where I can continue my life without being faced with the horrors of war".

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The need for security reveals a far deeper need than the narrow view that focuses on economics and politics. This probably indicates the extent to which, in critical situations, individual survival undermines social values, including those which normally express humane responses. This highlights both conscious and unconscious determinants of social action. According to Giddens (1984:4-7), key elements of social action are unconscious needs for security and trust in relations with others. The unconscious needs increase in salience when these established institutions break down. The decision to migrate by these informants shows a socially determined action, whereby the need for group inclusion, trust in the socio-political and economic system and ability to achieve material gratification have been broken.

In order to satisfy these desires, a strategy was developed to avoid a sense of hopelessness and helplessness. One of these strategies was to discontinue staying in a situation that persistently fails to satisfy needs. It seems that the choices faced by these people are not unlimited, but are determined by the process of structuration.

The migratory accounts show that the decision to move was made in a panic state during a crisis that leaves few alternatives but escape from persistent threat. According to Kenya, his decision to leave his country was an emergency decision made when the threats to his life and the lives of his family became intensified by the government due to his political activities as member of the opposition youth league. In the case of Bucmi and Mondia migration was the only option to escape the political, economic, social and life-threatening situations in their respective countries.

The decision clearly reveals a response to diffuse anxiety generated by a failure of the social system to provide for the fundamental biological, economic and social needs of the individual. One obvious question is: what would have happened if these social institutions did not disintegrate or weaken to the point of becoming unable to provide a substantial proportion of the population with an adequate sense of security and stability? Evidence suggests that the informants would have chosen to remain in their countries of birth permanently.

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3.4 CHOICE OF DESTINATION: WHY CHOOSE CAPE TOWN?

Part of the migration process involves choosing a potential destination. The reasons why a person chooses one location over others provide some additional insight into his/her perception of his/her situation before moving and what s/he hopes to achieve or gain by emigrating. The interviews reveal that the decision of informants to come to Cape Town was often based on lack of knowledge of the new society (Cape Town) and uncertainty about the norms and institutions in Cape Town. On the other hand, some informants used already established networks, while other informants were faced with a fairly complicated decision-making problem. They lack to a larger extent, the means and facilities – knowledge of the new society, appropriate procedures for finding a job and housing, and the knowledge necessary to solve such a problem.

The migration linkages established between the place of origin and destination not only create channels for further movement of people, but also function as an important channel of information flow. This is tied up closely with Boyd's (1989:639) suggestion that the emphasis should also be placed on the role of information and culture capital (knowledge of other countries) in starting and sustaining migratory movement.

The data show that one of the most important factors responsible for the movement of the informants to Cape Town was their perceptions about the conditions in the country, which was facilitated by the exchange and free flow of information. According to Mondia, "... from listening to news and reading international magazine... on one particular incidence, I was watching a television documentary on the nature of South Africa's economy as it compares to Congo's economy... this arose my interest..." Kenya states: "I learnt through geography and current affairs on the radio and television". Bendel said, "I devoted myself to reading books, journals, magazines and studying the world map on a daily basis, as well as listening to the world news on British Broadcasting Corporation and the local television news". As long as people are able to access information and are able to access opportunities and the social, political, economic and existential quest remain unsatisfied, the desire to migrate will persist.

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Related to this is the fact that many of the immigrants (informants included) are relatively qualified and trained people, able to afford the means to embark on international travel. The end of apartheid and free flow of information via the Internet and satellite television are resulting in a rapid expansion of knowledge in the continent. This increase in information flow (accurate or inaccurate) is acting as a catalyst, stimulating movement of people into the country; when they are settled, the new environment (Cape Town) becomes the source of communication back to the place of origin. Communication with friends and relatives is usually a very important source of information because it involves people that can be trusted. Thus the role information plays becomes a crucial factor in understanding the factors underlying the decision of African immigrants to move to Cape Town.

The participants' reasons for choosing Cape Town (as opposed to elsewhere) were revealing and serve to prove the point that migratory decisions, like any other decision taken under conditions of extreme stress, do not differ from those governing social behaviour. Mondia choose Cape Town because of the already established network of friends in Cape Town. His decision to move to Cape Town was carefully planned. The network of friends provided him with all the necessary information needed in the process of making the decision between other destinations. He said: "... it gave me hope and something to look forward to in Cape Town". Kenya said that he really had no choice: "... it was just a matter of fate. It just happened that way. It is a matter of natural occurrence". He had no time, money or visa to go to a country of choice. The most important factor in his choice of destination was money. The money he had could only take him as far as Cape Town. Bendel's choice of Cape Town was motivated by a host of factors such as relaxed immigration requirements for entry into the region, a stable economy, strong emerging economies within the region, a high level of social stability, political stability and a family network. Bucmi choose Cape Town because of a favourable impression created by friends and by imported goods from South Africa. This, he said, created a hope for a better life in Cape Town.

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3.4.1 MIGRATION ROUTE

The important aspect that came out in this account is that the location of friends or relatives was important in the choice of destination, although it did not appear to be of great significance in actually making the decision to migrate. It does, however, indicate that having contacts influences choice of destination rather than determines whether migration takes place. The migration route followed to Cape Town by the informants shows this more evidently. Mondia (see case study) left Congo on the basis of information given to him by a friend. He flew to Namibia on a visa-free passport, but had to stay in Namibia for seven days due to transport difficulties. Finally, he got a truck from Namibia for the cost of R200. He said "there is no way I could have discovered this route on my own without somebody telling me. It requires the experience of someone who knows the routes to direct someone ... how to find a truck going to Cape Town in Namibia".

Bendel was unable to acquire a direct visa from Nigeria to Cape Town due to political reasons. As a Nigerian citizen, he was allowed to travel to Malawi without having to apply for a visa prior to departure. In his own account: "... the information my brother gave me coupled with my knowledge of international geography and migration requirements made the passages easy". The information he was given included contact details of migration agents in Mozambique and Swaziland whose job it was to arrange for visa and transport into Johannesburg. He travelled via Swaziland from Mozambique to Johannesburg without going through the usual procedure of visa application. On arrival in Cape Town from Johannesburg by train, he was taken to the Foreshore (Cape Town) where he was issued a renewable permit as asylum seeker.

Kenya followed a route over Tanzania, Zambia and Namibia on a visa-free Tanzanian passport. This made it easier for him to decide to come to Cape Town. Knowledge of the route was established by asking people from one point to the other until he finally arrived in Cape Town. He had no prior knowledge or information about the route to Cape Town: "If you are travelling like this (running away from persecution) for the first time, you go by asking, not by network. It is the ability to communicate your need to people you meet on the road that helps you in the

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situation".

Bucmi established the migration route to Cape Town through the help of friends and migration agents, strategically located at different transit points. When the whole family left Burundi, they walked approximately twenty kilometres to DRC. After three years in a refugee camp in the DRC, war broke out and this led to the second migration to Zambia. Movement to Zambia requires no visa, only money to pay for the transport. The route to Zambia from the DRC is a well-known route that needed no introduction. He acquired a Tanzanian travel document to enter Namibia from Zambia, where he stayed for a period of two months before managing to establish the necessary linkages that made it possible for him to enter Cape Town via Springbok from Namibia (see case study).

4. OTHER RELATED FACTORS

4.1 SOCIAL NETWORKS

Authorities responsible for keeping track of population trends in South Africa have warned that the numbers of African immigrants entering South Africa without legal documentation is increasing at an alarming rate. This is partly due to the new political dispensation and the need to escape poor economic and political conditions being experienced in many African countries. The intention of many immigrants is to stay permanently in South Africa.

The evidence shows that movements were facilitated by following the well-trodden paths of relatives and friends, as well as the beaconing service of well-positioned contacts en route. The informants moved on the basis of information provided by friends or relatives, helped by a range of contacts along the route leading to Cape Town. Mondia referred to the fact that he had friends in Cape Town prior to his arrival. They provided him with all the necessary information about the route and the general conditions in Cape Town. His questions were: "...whether life is expensive or cheap ... in Cape Town... if I would be able to secure refugee status.... The possibility of finding work... [the] cost of renting one room... How much I would earn if I get work". He noted that, "the response I got from my friend helped me a lot in my

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final decision to come to Cape Town". Bendel's brother who arrived in Cape Town two years before him provided all the needed support for him to come down. Bendel says: "he [his brother] provided part of the money used in the journey, as well as some valuable information on the passage to South Africa". This clearly shows that at least some of the informants have a range of contacts in Cape Town. Consequently, it is these networks that link up the places of origin with those of destination (i.e. Cape Town), thus playing a key role in generating and sustaining the flow between them. Social networks are playing an important role in creating a self-perpetuating dynamism of migration flow into Cape Town, which probably might continue long after the original political, economic and "the need for security" reasons have disappeared.

The importance of these networks lies partly in the nature of African society. African communities are tightly knit. Whenever a person migrates, every individual that knows him or her acquires "social capital" in the form of a contact at the mover's destination. The networks established by earlier waves of movers act as channels through which later movements to those destinations are channelled with certainty. In many instances previous waves of movers not only supplied valuable information and encouragement to facilitate the move of others, but also paid for the cost of relocation. At the place of destination social networks provide valuable assistance in the adjustment process, especially by securing housing and employment for the newly arrived migrants. The fundamental role of networks, argues Hugo (1998:142), is to reduce the risk associated with migration, thereby facilitating and perpetuating the waves of human movement. Once created, networks change the environment in which subsequent relocations take place.

It is important not to characterise networks as purely social, since they involve more than blood and friendship ties. In some contexts networks involve not only migrants, their relatives, friends and employers, but also other actors involved in the migration process. Thus networks encompass a variety of intermediaries, including agents, recruiters, lawyers, travel agents and transport operators, all working to facilitate the movement of immigrants. In the case of Mondia, he flew from Congo to Namibia, where he stopped for seven days to process travelling documents to Cape Town. He travelled by road in a truck to Cape Town. The person who organised the trip from

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Namibia is an agent. He said: "...my friends in Cape Town gave me their [the agents] address and contact number". Kenya migrated through Tanzania, Zambia and Namibia to Cape Town. In Namibia he stayed with people [agents] for three weeks trying to look for work before continuing to Cape Town on a visa-free Kenyan passport. Bendel, upon leaving Nigeria, was unable to obtain a visa to South Africa, so he travelled to Malawi, a visa-free destination for holders of a Nigerian passport. It was in Malawi that he managed to obtain a visa to Mozambique, Swaziland and South Africa. He stated: "There are people in Mozambique and Swaziland who assist people in applying for the visa and in transporting people from Mozambique to Swaziland, and from Swaziland to Johannesburg. This is done at a relatively cheap price, without you having to deal personally with the immigration authority". This evidence illustrates the complexity of networks of intermediaries that make migration possible, networks that are highly institutionalised in Africa. In Mozambique and Swaziland, a complex network of underground travel agents, transport operators and immigration officials is known to expedite the entry of people into South Africa.

Networks have the capacity to sustain population movement independently of social, political, economic or psychological conditions prevailing at origin and destination. This is partly because networks operate largely outside the arena of influence of policy makers, so their impact on migration is often beyond their control. However, there is much about the functioning of networks that is not yet known, particularly with reference to those networks that are no longer capable of eliciting new flows of immigrants.

5.SETTLEMENT IN CAPE TOWN

Entry into Cape Town involves integration on the part of the immigrants into the new environment. Richardson (cited in Shuval 1963:127) suggests a first stage of integration, which he refers to as "isolation". The immigrants during this phase may resist the new society's norms and possibly their former beliefs and attitudes are intensified. He explains this behaviour in terms of the marginal position of the immigrants, who are physically in one country but emotionally elsewhere. This pattern, according to Shuval (1963), is characterised by a resistance to change and

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a certain aloofness from the resident population and its culture and values.

The evidence from the interviews suggests that all the informants experienced isolation from their new environment. Mondia remarked that "the greatest problem I encountered in Cape Town is acceptance by most of the people. Only a few people accepted me as a friend... The most painful thing for me is when people see you and say that you have come to take their jobs and steal their money". Bendel experienced isolation mostly in the process of finding suitable employment in Cape Town. This is related to the government's hostile attitude toward African immigrants and the misconception that African immigrants are illegal immigrants who are not supposed to be working. Kenya describes the beginning of integration as hectic and hell. He experienced hostility and hatred from people, even though he was physically incarcerated most of the time, his life was threatened so much that the dream of having “a free space” was also destroyed. He remarks: "... you have to look for one of your local friends to apply on your behalf because the agents don't want to give us foreigners flats". Bucmi describes the process of integration as often very difficult because people from other African countries are not welcome: "They don't treat us very nice, they call us all kinds of names and abuse us in a language we don't understand... they even kill us because they know that nobody is going to fight for us". He also describes loneliness as a consequence of cultural differences with the new environment.

The various accounts of non-integration expressed by the informants probably indicate that informants have been victims of prejudice and have suffered hostility and discrimination. This reveals prejudicial attitudes of patterns of rejection and the delay of rapid assimilation of African immigrants. It also reveals a misconception on the part of informants. There is a perception that on arrival at the place of destination they (informants) would be received with open arms; instead, to their surprise, they found that the new environment displays an unwilling attitude which sometimes culminate in xenophobic behaviour.

This partly explains the view shared by all the informants about their feelings of their future in Cape Town. All the informants expressed a highly pessimistic view about their future in Cape Town. Mondia finds it difficult to see a future in Cape Town

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because he hopes to leave Cape Town one day and go back to his country, which he considers as his permanent home. He said: "I will go back home when there is peace between the warring ethnic parties". Bendel expressed similar sentiments in these words: "... there is no future for me in Cape Town or South Africa ... it is not a permanent home... if my home country becomes peaceful and the stakeholders in the crisis come together and resolve their differences, it would afford me more happiness to go back because there I would not have all the problems of being an alien and an immigrant... Cape Town is a transition zone... a place in waiting..." According to Kenya, "... the future is difficult to predict ... But as long as I remain in Cape Town, I will continue to run my business in the city centre... Home is the best, but before taking that decision, I would have to consider other alternatives". Bucmi states: "Definitely, I would like to move again. If I look at the situation presently, it is not what it suppose to be. If the war ends today in my country, I would like to go back, I love my country. But there is no hope that this would happen very soon".

Although public opinion in Cape Town suggests that African immigrants are here to stay permanently, these interviews reveal that informants view Cape Town as a temporary place of residence. Marginalisation and lack of job (in terms of qualification) seems to represent underlying factors that can motivate the move back to place of origin in future.

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6. CONCLUSION

This research has endeavoured to demonstrate the underlying factors responsible for the movement of African immigrants from other countries into Cape Town. It is argued that those who migrate fall mainly into the following broad categories: young people, men, highly educated and skilled individuals, victims of adverse ethnic war and political instability and oppression, and those in search of security. However, this generalisation still needs to be researched as too few immigrants were included in this study to establish a trend.

Furthermore, the analysis of the determinants of international migration has identified a number of factors that underlie the decision of immigrants to move and to choose a destination. These include political factors, economic factors, the need for security, social networks and access to information.

The interviews for the study were collected from four African immigrants whose experiences illustrate the importance of the social context in which individual decisions were taken. The information gleaned from the interviews took into account the dynamic nature of the migration process, showing how reasons for migration change over time. This approach further provided detail on the individuals involved in moving, as a result contributing to the debate on and advancing the knowledge of international migration. The important findings of the study are as follows:

- Contrary to the general perception, it seems that at least some African immigrants turn out to be mainly people with relatively high levels of education and resources, who still wind up selling on the streets. This has major implications for the relationship between xenophobia and competition between native-born South Africans and African immigrants. Some members of immigrant population are competing with local informal entrepreneurs from a position of much greater capacity and resources, which can partially explain why South Africans are often resentful towards African immigrants.
- The immigrants' decisions to migrate are not always purely motivated by "push – pull" factors. Prior to arriving in South Africa (Cape Town), the

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immigrants had partial knowledge of the situation in the country. Even with the partial knowledge about the destination, migration was often fraught with obstacles and constraints.

- The experiences of the immigrants in their home countries are heavily influenced by predisposing factors that constitute the basis for ethnic conflict. Inter-ethnic conflict, deeply rooted in cultural discrimination and colonial history, provide evidence of how manipulation of people through denial of essential social services, laid firm foundations for the conflicts that have generated considerable regional displacement of persons and contributed to the number of asylum seekers in Africa.
- Immigrants cite economic factors as one of the important reasons underlying their decision to move, but it is not necessarily the prime reason for moving. Nonetheless, migration is often seen, amongst a range of factors as a response to harsh economic realities in their countries.
- The need for security expressed by the immigrants reveals a much more existential perspective than the narrow view of economics and politics as the dominant reasons for African immigrants moving to South Africa. The case material reveals the extent to which the decision to move is not based on cost-calculated benefit, but on the need to escape from persistent life threats.
- The decision to move to Cape Town was not solely based on what the immigrants hoped to gain specifically in Cape Town, but rather on the immigrants' general perceptions about the social, economic and political conditions in South Africa. The movement to Cape Town was facilitated by the exchange and free flow of information and social networks in Cape Town and en-route to Cape Town. The location of friends and other contacts play an important role in making the decision to move to Cape Town, i.e., having contacts direct the destination of movement, rather than determining whether migration takes place. However, it also seems that the information did not include the negative aspects of staying in South Africa.
- The immigrants felt isolated, experienced prejudice, and suffered hostility and discrimination at the hands of South Africans. As indicated in the study, it appears that many South Africans do not distinguish between asylum seekers, refugees and economic migrants. The common denominator of their

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> "foreignness" appears to be all that is necessary for many to harbour negative attitudes. Xenophobia not only manifests itself in negative attitudes, but also increasingly in victimisation against the immigrants. Somewhat ironically, the immigrants are relatively highly qualified people, yet one finds such people eking out a living on the streets. Although the immigrants do not intend to stay permanently in South Africa, many of these skills could be seen as assets and that immigrants can also make an important contribution during their stay.

The case study method employed, however, does illuminate the dynamic and situational factors underlying the migration process that have been neglected in research focusing on African immigrants. Conversely, it has led to rethinking the underlying factors responsible for the decision to move and choose Cape Town as a place of destination. In arriving at these conclusions, it should be considered that this study has certain limitations. One set of limitations is related to sampling difficulties, which seem to be a major obstacle in immigration-related research. In this instance, there was no official register of African immigrants in Cape Town in order to select a representative sample or to make any claims regarding place of origin, rate of migration etc. This is partly the result of the relatively high rate of mobility among African immigrants, a great degree of fear and suspicion and/or the perception that social scientists are agents of the state involved in orchestrating the deportation of African immigrants. It is therefore not possible to make generalisations to the population of African population as a whole. Although the study has tried to explain and demonstrate the idiosyncrasies involved in migration processes, it does, however, fail to extend the case material. Consequently, it is not possible to prove and generalise to the parent population. This is something to strive for, but given the budget limitations and the scope of the study, it was impossible to achieve.

Although this study has contributed to the debate and knowledge of international migration to South Africa from the north of Africa, there is a need for future research into whether or not prospective immigrants with local networks are given full information on local hostility. The case material provides some indication that social networks based in Cape Town are providing colourful information to contacts who may be persuaded to come, probably in order to gain new network members and to increase the social resources of the information providers themselves. The possibility

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exists that some of the information sent home might be deceptive and even in self-interest of the information-providing network members.

It is also important for future research to look into the functioning of networks, specifically with reference to networks in Cape Town that are no longer capable of eliciting new flows of immigrants and how networks formed by African immigrants are sustaining population movement of African immigrants into Cape Town. This would permit analysis that is independent of social, political, economic and psychological conditions prevailing at the place of origin and destination.

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