

THE DYNAMICS OF UNDOCUMENTED MOZAMBICAN LABOUR MIGRATION TO SOUTH AFRICA

RAMOS CARDOSO MUANAMOHA

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DURBAN, SOUTH AFRICA**

**SUPERVISOR: PROFESSOR BRIJ MAHARAJ
CO-SUPERVISOR: PROFESSOR ELEANOR PRESTON-WHYTE**

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DECLARATION

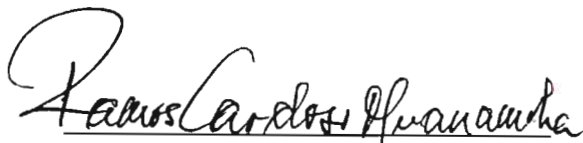
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Dear Sir/Madam

I, Ramos Cardoso Muanamoha, Registration Number 202527163, hereby declare that the Thesis entitled:

“The Dynamics of Undocumented Mozambican Labour Migration to South Africa”

is the result of my own research and has not been submitted in part or full for any degree or to any other University. Where use was made of the work of others, it has been duly acknowledged by means of complete references.



RAMOS CARDOSO MUANAMOHA



DATE

DEDICATION

In Memory of Maria Afonso Mahoho,
My Mother;

To Cardoso Muanamoha,
My Father;

To Nadine Moreno Muanamoha and Nils Moreno Muanamoha,
My Children;

and

To Beatriz Filomena Moreno Muanamoha,
My Wife

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ABSTRACT

Labour migration from Mozambique to South Africa is a historical process in southern African region that dates from the 18th century. However, its formalisation and regulation took place in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, becoming a part of the southern African labour market system. Within this labour market system Mozambique is one of the longstanding suppliers, with relatively consistent numbers of contract migrants for the South African mines.

In the last two decades the number of contract migrant labourers for the mining industry in South Africa has declined. In contrast, there has been an increase in undocumented migrants from Mozambique to South Africa. The aim of this thesis is to analyse the dynamics of undocumented labour migration to South Africa. The undocumented migrants are mostly male youths from rural areas of southern Mozambique who are pushed by poverty and lack of employment conditions. They enter into the South Africa pulled by a demand for cheap unskilled labour, and they work mainly in the agriculture, construction, informal trade and domestic sector. Their aim is to send or carry back home remittances in cash or kind.

However, the presence of undocumented Mozambican immigrants, as well as those from other parts of Southern Africa, has given cause for concern. There is social pressure in South Africa, where in some circles the undocumented migrants are seen as taking jobs from locals, which leads to xenophobic attitudes. The South African government has been forced to adopt restrictive measures, including the repatriation or deportation of undocumented immigrants. Notwithstanding the undocumented migration from Mozambique continues to increase.

Findings from the fieldwork in Mozambique and South Africa, obtained through both quantitative and qualitative approaches, confirmed that the undocumented Mozambican

labour migration to South Africa was a self-sustaining process through social networks, which helped in the process of adjustment and also allowed migrants to make multiple entries into South Africa. The study concludes that stopping undocumented migration requires the creation of job opportunities in migrant sending areas, particularly in the rural areas, so that people can be employed locally, reducing their dependency on migrant labour. In addition, policies are required that encourage migrants to organize in order to be involved productively in development projects of their communities.

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LIST OF ACRONYMS

| | |
|----------|--|
| ABEP | <i>Associação Brasileira de Estudos Populacionais</i> (Brazilian Association for Population Studies) |
| ACT | Action by Churches Together |
| ADAIMOR | <i>Associação de Apoio e Integração dos Moçambicanos Repatriados</i> (Association for Assistance and Integration of Repatriated Mozambicans) |
| AIDS | Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome |
| ANC | African National Congress |
| BI | <i>Bilhete de Identidade</i> (Identity Card) |
| BSR | Business for Social Responsibility |
| CEA | Canadian Economics Association |
| DINAGECA | <i>Direcção Nacional de Geografia e Cadastro</i> (National Directory for Geography and Cadastre) |
| FAIR | Federation for American Immigration Reform |
| FRELIMO | <i>Frente de Libertação de Moçambique</i> (Mozambique's Liberation Front) |
| GCIM | Global Commission on International Migration |
| GDP | Gross Domestic Product |
| HIV | Human Immunodeficiency Virus |
| HSRC | Human Sciences Research Council |
| ID | Identification Document |
| IGU | International Geographical Union |
| IOM | International Organisation for Migration |
| ISS | Institute for Security Studies |
| MWUK | Migration Watch United Kingdom |
| SA | South Africa |
| SADC | Southern African Development Community |
| SAMP | Southern African Migration Project |
| SAPS | South African Police Service |

| | |
|-------|--|
| SARDC | Southern African Research and Documentation Centre |
| SPSS | Statistical Package for the Social Sciences |
| UEM | Universidade Eduardo Mondlane (Eduardo Mondlane University) |
| UKZN | University of KwaZulu-Natal |
| UNDP | United Nations Development Programme |
| UNECA | United Nations Economic Commission for Africa |
| UNFPA | United Nations Fund for Population Activities |
| UNHCR | United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees |
| WGS | World Geodetic System |
| ZEF | <i>Zentrum für Entwicklungsforschung</i> (Center for Development Research) |

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

I'm illegal in South Africa. I escaped into the country through a hole in the fence to find work. It is dangerous to make an escape into South Africa. We have to cross mountains. Sometimes we come face to face with wild animals. But if you are desperate and unemployed this is the only way.¹

1.1 Context of study

Migration is a concept referring to the human being's ability to move from one space to another one. It has been referred to as 'human mobility' by some scholars (e.g. Domenach and Picouet, 1995; Clark, 2002; Claval, 2002; Di Rito, 2002; Ilies *et al.*, 2002; King and Ruiz-Gelices, 2002; Komatsu, 2002; Montanari, 2002a; Pere, 2002; Suli-Zakar *et al.*, 2002). It involves movements of individuals between spaces (generally with different socioeconomic characteristics), crossing an internal or international border for short or medium term or permanent duration, and for diverse reasons: financial, social, residential; environmental; educational; occupational; political; religious; etc. (see Montanari, 2002b:32).

Cross-border movements are a worldwide phenomenon as a consequence of globalisation, which includes, among other aspects, the worldwide liberalization of the movement of goods, services and capital. However, the cross-border migration, particularly in the developing world, has to be seen as a result of increasing economic and social inequalities. There, "migrating is becoming an integral component of family and community strategies to improve the living conditions of those who migrate as well as of

¹ This statement comes from a repatriated Mozambican migrant from South Africa (see SAMP, 2005e).

those who remain” (Balbo and Marconi, 2005:2). According to the BSR Staff (1999-2006:1):

Migrant labour is an issue of growing importance as a number of factors – including growth in international trade, rapid population expansion, higher rates of urbanization, the widening gap between rich and poor, and economic and political oppression – have led many people to seek better economic opportunities elsewhere, either in ... their country or other parts of the world. The International Labour Organization estimates there are roughly 96 million migrant workers and their dependents in the world today; some experts predict that the number will double in the next twenty years.

Montanari (2002a:82) argued that the increase in human mobility in the contemporary world might be linked to the following: (i) differential rates of economic growth in different regions of the world; (ii) the continuing growth of population in developing countries and, consequently, in the wide range of labour that can find no opportunities in its region of origin; (iii) technological innovations, especially in the areas of transport and communication, which enable long distance movements at low cost; (iv) means of mass communication, which have reached the most remote corners of the world and which make it possible to know more fully the economic conditions and the quality of life in other regions; and (v) political and other conflicts that have increased the extent of forced migration.

Van Hear (1994) added another factor that has been exerting pressure on the contemporary international migration: looser exit procedures in the countries of the former Eastern bloc and the consequent enlargement of the ‘pool’ of potential migrants, which are responsible for the new patterns of East-West migration. Further, Massey (2003) observed that by the beginning of the 21st century, international population movements had evolved into five discernable migratory systems – (i) the North American system, (ii) the West European system, (iii) the Asia-Pacific system, (iv) the Persian Gulf system, and (v) the Argentinean system. In addition, the end of apartheid in 1994 contributed to the emergence of a new regional migratory system in Southern Africa or SADC region.

Each one of these systems was characterized by a rough stability of migrant flows across time and space. In general, the flows of people within these systems parallel flows of goods, capital, and information that were partially structured by international politics. Most migrants came from countries characterized by a limited supply of capital, low rates of job creation, and abundant reserves of labour (Massey *et al.*, 1998; Massey, 2003).

In recent times, however, new additional theoretical approaches to the contemporary international migration have emerged, which defend the need to use more complex explanation models in the study of migration that incorporate the role of social networks in migration process, instead of analyses restricted to economic aspects, in which the migrants are like individuals acting disconnected from social relationships. As stated by Sasaki and Assis (2000), the current patterns and new concepts of migration are more interested in the significance of family, friends and common origin in the process. Thus, the contemporary migration would also result from a context of development of social networks, more than just a consequence of economic crises.

In Africa, migration has been associated with the persistence of the economic and social crisis in the continent resulting from poor performance in major productive sectors (such as agriculture, manufacturing and mining) as well as from additional “problems related to energy, external debt, balance of payments, deficits, drought, desertification/soil deterioration, collapse of commodity markets and high interest rates charged on most external loans” (Sembajwe and Makatsjane, 1992:237). Moreover, the poor labour-market conditions in most African countries, worsened by a rapidly growing labour force, have been considered as source of the chronic lack of employment opportunities that influences the emigration (see Adepoju, 1998; De Vletter, 2000; Lundholm *et al.*, 2004).

In southern Africa, South Africa continues, as in the past, to attract migrants from nearly all neighbouring countries. They are moving towards the agricultural sector (along the borderline areas) as well as to the large cities where they can access the informal sector as

well as other low-paying jobs. Historically Mozambique is one of South Africa's neighbouring countries with the highest number of cross-border labour migrants.

In the past, labour migration from Mozambique to South Africa did not constitute any serious problem whether in Mozambique or in South Africa, since this occurred in officially controlled ways. For instance, Crush *et al.* (2000:3-4) explained that in the apartheid era the “bilateral labour treaties between the South African and neighbouring governments” used to be made separately for different provinces in South Africa. These agreements, which were designed for the mining industry, were also used by white farmers.

However, it is believed that in the apartheid era there was also limited illegal labour migration which was simply ignored by the regime. In this respect, Maharaj (2004:3) argues that “the apartheid government subtly encouraged or turned a blind eye to clandestine migration in order to ensure an abundant supply of cheap labour, but was opposed to black migrants applying for citizenship.”

Since the early 1990s Mozambican labour migration to South Africa has been assuming new contours (Crush and Williams, 2001a). It has been reported that the number of Mozambicans employed in the South African mines has fallen by about 16% from 1996 – when Mozambique supplied about 56,000 workers (the peak of post-independence recruitment) – to 2005, when the recruited Mozambican workers were about 46,000 (see SAMP, 2005b; 2006a). Reasons for this decline include: i) the new South African immigration law, which fixes quotas for the number of foreign workers that each company can employ, in an attempt to promote jobs for South African workers; ii) the closure of some gold mines whose reserves were exhausted; iii) the ageing of the Mozambican workforce on the mines, since about 75% of Mozambican miners are 48 years or older, while the retirement age on the mine is 55; and iv) the “catastrophic” levels of mortality from AIDS among Mozambican miners (SAMP, 2005b; 2005e).

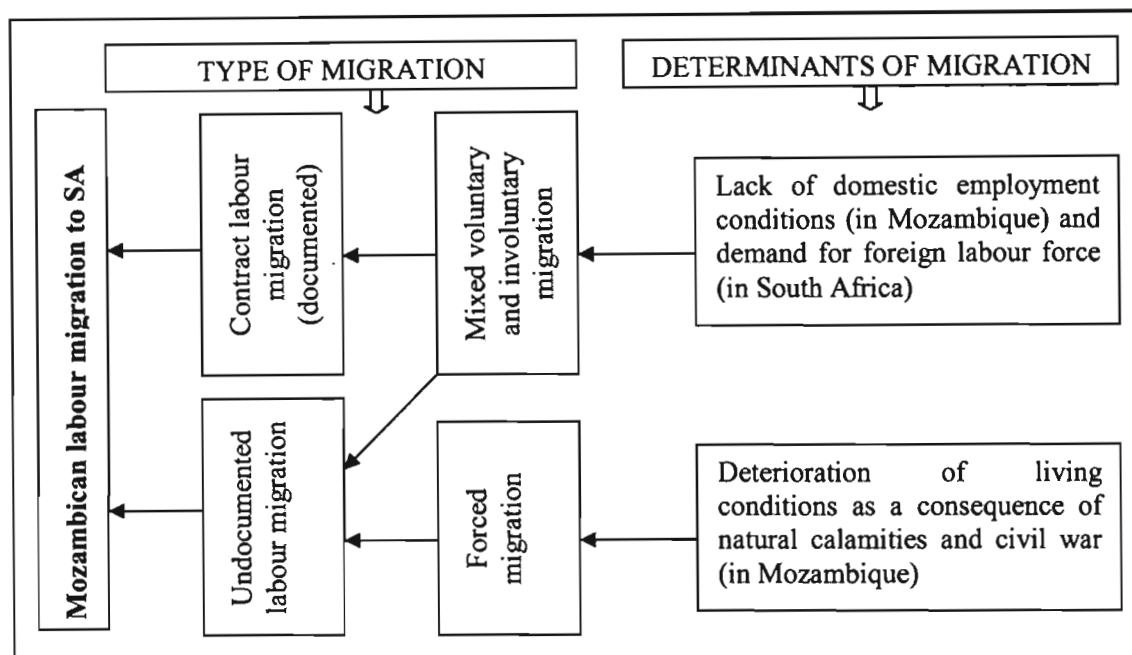
With the establishment of new political and economic relationships between the two countries, the physical borders between them seem to have become more porous for people coming from Mozambique to South Africa. In general, such movements are in response to the difficult living conditions in Mozambique and people are forced to cross borders in search of employment opportunities (see Maharaj, 2002; 2004).

In spite of a decrease² in Mozambican contract labour migration to South Africa (UNECA, 1983:43; SAMP, 2005a; 2005b; 2005e) there was an increase in undocumented labour migration. In 2003, it was estimated that 75,000 Mozambicans were working legally in South Africa, while those who were working illegally only in Mpumalanga and Limpopo provinces were estimated to be more than 145,000 (SAMP, 2003). It must be noted, however, that the real number of undocumented migrants (including the Mozambicans) in South Africa is still unknown. SAMP (2005d), quoting the Global Commission on International Migration (GCIM), has reported an estimated 500,000 undocumented migrants from different countries currently staying in South Africa.

As in the case of contract labourers, most of undocumented migrants come from the southern Mozambique. This reflects a long history of dependence of this region on labour migration earnings, since subsistence agriculture in the area has become less productive over time and local employment opportunities are very limited (De Vletter, 2000). The conditions of joblessness and poverty, sometimes worsened by natural calamities, underpin high rates of migration (see Figure 1.1).

² However, Mozambique still has the highest number of mineworkers in South Africa who total 46,256, accounting for 46% of entire mining workforce from SADC countries (SAMP, 2006c).

Figure 1.1: Typology of Mozambican labour migration to South Africa and its determinants



As Figure 1.1 shows, the determinants of undocumented Mozambican labour migration to South Africa can be divided into two categories. The first category is formed by factors such as lack of jobs that induce people to move voluntarily or involuntarily for employment in order to survive. The second category is formed by factors that force people to abandon their habitual places of residence and to move to other places (such as South Africa). The most common factors in this category are the natural calamities and the civil war in Mozambique (1976-1992). The undocumented labour migration associated with the first group of determinants appears to be the most intensive and systematic; and it seems that it will continue to be so in the future (Taylor and Barlow, 2000:165).

Given its current magnitude, the undocumented Mozambican labour migration to South Africa has given cause for concern for both governments. There is a serious public debate on immigration issues in South Africa, where there is a popular perception that undocumented migrants are taking jobs from locals. This leads to xenophobic attitudes towards non-South African citizens (Minnaar and Hough, 1996; Crush *et al.*, 2000; Crush

and Williams, 2001a; Solomon, 2003; Crush and Pendleton, 2004; Landau, 2004; Maharaj, 2004; McDonald and Jacobs, 2005; SAMP, 2005c; 2006a). The South African government has been forced to adopt measures to restrict the immigration, including the repatriation or deportation of undocumented migrants.

However, some analysts (such as Dolan, 1995; Minnaar *et al.*, 1995) do not see deportation or repatriation as a solution for stopping the undocumented labour migration. Dolan (1995:32) argues that areas from which most Mozambicans originate could not support their sudden return. Also, if they are forced back the economic situation there will almost certainly drive them back to South Africa very quickly. For Minnaar *et al.* (1995), the flows of undocumented migrants can be reduced only through promoting socioeconomic development in the migrants' sending areas, providing them with a good reason for staying at home and minimizing their dependence on migration. Balbo and Marconi (2005:2) concur that in spite of "a widespread strengthening of control measures", the cross-border movements are "a self-sustaining process destined to grow in the future, unless major changes in the distribution of wealth between rich and poor countries are implemented." For them, the issue of cross-border movements has to be handled in terms of how to manage this kind of movements effectively, in order to enhance their positive effects and reduce the negative ones.

Mozambique's development policy and labour migration

Labour migration policy adopted by the new government of Mozambique, soon after the independence in 1975, has been succinctly summarized by Vail and White (1980:399-400) as follows:

...the policy is presented as a catch-all solution. Agriculture is to be the basis of the new economy, and in agriculture the priority will be the development of communal villages and collective farms. These will eventually absorb all the labour currently employed in South African mines. Short-term policy on labour migration is to press for better working conditions in South Africa – to get the ethnically segregated compounds abolished, to permit the workers to form unions and negotiate their contracts, to substitute life-pensions in case of

injury for the present lump-sum compensatory payments, to provide medical care within Mozambique at expense of the mining companies for the victims of industrial diseases and to arrange for retirement pensions and paid holidays. In the long term, however, despite such improvement of conditions, labour migration will be phased out as the communal villages and collective farms are established.

In fact, Covane (2001:53) explained that “when Frelimo came to power in Mozambique, the socialisation of agriculture was among the first of its revolutionary tasks. Frelimo’s economic development plan was based on three main pillars: agriculture was seen as the ‘base’, manufacturing as the ‘dynamising factor’ and heavy industry as the ‘decisive factor’”. Unfortunately this aim could not be achieved, given the political, social and, consequently, economic instability in the country, soon after independence.

However, since the early 1990s – in a context of peace and relative political stability – the debate on ‘population and development’ has aroused more attention in government and civil society sectors. The concept of human development has begun to be understood more and more as the expansion of elementary choices of people, namely to have a long and healthy life, to be educated, and to enjoy a suitable standard of living.

In terms of policy, the government of Mozambique considered the population as having a crucial role in the general strategy of economic and human development, at a national level. The Mozambican government recognised that the demographic trends, among other factors, can aggravate the socio-economic imbalances in the process of development. So, the impact of population trends and dynamics has to be integrated into a complex whole of other factors (social and economic) in the process of development planning. The main objective of the Mozambican government is to promote social development, which can satisfy the essential needs of all Mozambican people, particularly of the most vulnerable social groups (República de Moçambique, 1999).

Taking into account that the character of the current structure of Mozambican economy is based on subsistence agriculture, 80% of the population live in rural areas, about 90% of the population survive mainly from subsistence agriculture, and the active population is

concentrated mainly in the agricultural sector (República de Moçambique, 1999). The development of human capital in rural areas constitutes one of the fundamental elements for the reduction of poverty.

There is a need for making the rural environment more productive, which could include allocation of necessary resources, re-establishing and expanding the net of social services, and, particularly, the small and middle enterprises or businesses in rural areas. This could generate employment for people, and reduce their dependence on labour migration (as in the case of southern Mozambique).

1.2 Purpose of the study

Some studies have reported that the contract labour migration to the mining industry in South Africa has been playing an historically important role in the Mozambican development via the foreign exchange earnings of deferred pay and through productive investment in rural Southern Mozambique (Crush, 1997; De Vletter, 1998; Covane, 2001). The remittances from contract labour migrants have been seen as a major source of income for migrants' households in the southern provinces of Mozambique.

Crush (1997:5) observes that, in Southern Africa, the remittances from migrant workers in South Africa have a major impact on home societies, since “the households with migrant incomes are often much better off than non-migrant households” and the economies of the sending countries “often benefit from this flow of capital”. In the particular case of Mozambique, the compulsory deferred pay compels the migrants to remit 60% of their earnings home, which constitutes a significant proportion of the foreign exchange earnings (Crush, 1997).

According to De Vletter (1998:3) the income of a migrant household “is almost entirely sourced from miner's wages. De Vletter's study found that the average monthly wage was R1,205 and the migrants' households in Mozambique received the main part of these salaries, averaging R11,022 annually. Covane (2001:49-52) describes the returning

miners from South Africa as individuals with relatively more money and who can afford to buy a car, build a modern house, and compete successfully with skilled Mozambicans working within the country.

While there is reliable information about the remittances of contract labour migrants (the miners), the remittances of undocumented migrants and their impact on the households are unknown. However, it is believed that the remittance behaviour of undocumented migrants is likely to be of considerable importance (Crush, 1997). In this context, there is a need to conduct studies on undocumented labour migration in order to identify its economic, social and demographic impacts in the sending communities, so that the positive impacts can be maximized and the negative ones can be minimized as recommended by the 'Programme of Action of the International Conference on Population and Development' (United Nations, 1995).

Therefore, this study is concerned with the dynamics of undocumented Mozambican labour migration to South Africa. It includes, among other aspects, the examination of factors that sustain this migration over the time. It also examines the main characteristics of the people involved in the undocumented labour migration as well as the impacts of this process on the socioeconomic and demographic structure of sending communities/households/families. On the basis of this analysis, the study presents some general recommendations considered essential for policy decisions.

1.3 Aims of the study

The aims of this study are to:

- (i) Analyse the undocumented Mozambican labour migration process to South Africa and the demographic and socioeconomic characteristics of migrants;
- (ii) Assess the demographic and socioeconomic impacts of undocumented Mozambican labour migration to South Africa in the areas of origin; and

- (iii) Identify the main factors that sustain the undocumented Mozambican labour migration to South Africa.

Demographic and socio-economic characteristics of undocumented labour migrants include aspects such as the composition by sex and age, ethnicity, religious affiliation, marital status, literacy, level of schooling, professional qualifications, and employment status. The socioeconomic impacts on migrants comprise those aspects related, for example, to professional qualifications, resource accumulation, creation of own businesses, family formation or dissolution, creation of networks, etc.

In the sending areas, the demographic impacts of migration are related to changes in size and composition by sex and age of migrants' households. The socioeconomic impacts are focused on some aspects of changes in the standard of living and patterns of consumption in the migrants' households: (i) housing (home ownership, including running water and electricity); (ii) standard of living (ownership of modern appliances, electronic products, motor vehicles, tractors, etc.); (iii) ownership of businesses (commercial activities; productive enterprises; employees); (iv) ownership and distribution of farmland among migrants and non-migrants. Another economic impact of migration is the detrimental loss of productive workers in the households. This will be assessed through the observation of the number of absent migrants and the economically active members in the households.

1.4 Key research questions

The key questions to be answered by this study are the following:

- (i) Why and how has undocumented Mozambican labour migration to South Africa been taking place?
- (ii) What are the social and economic impacts of migration to South Africa at individual, household/family, and community level?
- (iii) How do the experiences and support offered in South Africa assist and, possibly, sustain the migration process?

1.5 Research hypotheses

In conformity with the aims and the research questions previously presented, the following hypotheses were advanced:

- (i) Undocumented Mozambican labour migration to South Africa has been difficult to control and is a self-sustaining social process.
- (ii) Social networks sustain migration over the time by making subsequent entry and stay in South Africa easier, cheaper and less risky.

This study was based on fieldwork in selected research sites in southern Mozambique (in the districts of Magude and Chókwè) and South Africa (in the provinces of Gauteng and Mpumalanga). Two different approaches – qualitative and survey interviews – were used for gathering the data during the fieldwork. Qualitative interviews were undertaken in both Mozambican and South African research sites, while the surveys were conducted only in Mozambique (in sample households).

The major problem encountered in this study was related to the difficult process of gathering data from undocumented migrants. In many cases, they were reluctant to reveal information about themselves to strangers, particularly inside South Africa. To overcome this reluctance it was necessary to resort to the influence of community leaders, who dealt with issues related to all Mozambican immigrants in their communities. They facilitated contacts with potential interviewees within their communities.

1.6 Structure of the thesis

The study is divided into eight separate chapters. Following the introduction in chapter 1, the literature review and theoretical framework is presented in chapter 2. Chapter 3 contains a review of the literature on Mozambican migration. Therefore, this chapter,

together with the conceptual framework, provides a basis for an assessment of undocumented Mozambican labour migration to South Africa.

The methodology adopted in this study is explained in chapter 4. This includes the selection of research sites and data gathering methods (sample survey and qualitative interviews); design of data gathering instruments; accomplishment of the fieldwork; data coding, entry and analysis; and the main methodological constraints.

The key findings of the study are analysed in chapters 5, 6, 7 and 8. Chapter 5 focuses on the patterns of undocumented Mozambican labour migration to South Africa. In chapter 6 a detailed analysis of the social basis of undocumented Mozambican labour migration to South Africa is presented. It shows how the migrants' social networks develop and grow over time and how they support migration. The process of migrants' integration in South Africa (socially as well as into labour market) is considered in chapter 7. Chapter 8 analyzes the impact of undocumented Mozambican labour migration to South Africa on demographic and socioeconomic structures of the sending communities, and especially the contribution to the household economy. General conclusions and policy recommendations emanating from the study are presented in chapter 9.

CHAPTER 2

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1 Introduction

Some studies on the current patterns and trends in international migration in regional contexts show that this is linked to the world economic system, in which the unequal development of countries, reduction of barriers to migrant flows between international borders, and differences in wages and job opportunities between countries have been considered as the most important incentives to migrate (see Bean *et al.*, 1987; Canales, 2000). Within this context migration has reached volumes never seen before and has become truly a global phenomenon.

The contemporary features of migration have been associated with the new international division of labour that was consolidated after the World War II. This was accentuated in the beginning of the 1970s with the penetration of capitalist markets into developing economies (see Hudson, 1988:488-489; Gordon, 1995). The fast and growing globalisation of capital was accompanied by an unforeseen and irreversible globalisation of the labour force. This chapter critically assesses the different approaches to the study of migration.

The emergence of different international migratory systems in the world during 1980s (Massey *et al.*, 1998) led to the development of a variety of theoretical models to explain the causes of international migration. Massey *et al.* (1993; 1994; 1998) and Durand and Massey (2003) differentiated two groups of models: the first group is composed of models that explain the motives for the initiation of international migration while the second one comprises those theoretical models that try to explain the reasons for its persistence and perpetuation.

In general, the models included in the first group are considered as classical or economic models of migration, which are described in section 2.2, while those in the second group are regarded as general models that focus on social and cultural dimensions of migration processes and decision-making, and they are discussed in sections 2.3 and 2.4. Section 2.5 focuses on undocumented labour migration in the international context. Some concluding remarks about this chapter are presented in section 2.6.

2.2 Economic models of migration

The economic models of migration have generally considered human migration as being caused by economic circumstances. Malthus, Marx, Durkheim and Max Weber analysed the migration phenomenon as a consequence of the process of capitalist development, which was characterised by industrialization and urbanization (Richmond, 1988). While Malthus “regarded migration as an inevitable consequence of overpopulation” and “saw the great open spaces of the New World as providing a temporary escape from the cycle of poverty and misery which kept death rates high and prevented improvements in living standards for the majority,” Marx “placed the blame for poverty squarely on the greed of capitalist employers who deliberately kept wages down, in order to maximise their profits” (Richmond, 1988:30). Like Marx, Durkheim and Max Weber regarded migration as a consequence of industrialization and development of capitalism which led to a social disintegration.

At the beginning of the twentieth century migration was viewed as a serious problem, given the increasing population mobility from Europe to the New World countries (in particular, to the United States), which was related to the population growth and economic crises in Europe. During the second half of twentieth century, a re-configuration of international migrant flows took place, as a consequence of political and economic changes of the post-War period which produced new migrant flows from Southern Europe, Latin-America, Asia, and Africa to Northern and Western Europe (Massey *et al.*, 1998:4; Sasaki and Assis, 2000).

However, the classical simplistic views about the linkage between overpopulation, poverty, economic stagnation and migration have been condemned by various contemporary theorists who consider the traditional approaches as insufficient to explain the current reality of migration. Sassen (1988), for instance, argued that, by themselves, overpopulation, poverty and economic stagnation would not promote large-scale emigration. It was necessary to identify processes that transformed these conditions into a migration inducing situation. This distinction might carry significant implications for policy (Sassen, 1988).

Among the economic theoretical models that attempt to explain the initiation of international migration include the following: (a) the neoclassical economic theory; (b) the new economic theory; (c) the segmented labour market theory; and (d) the world systems theory (Massey *et al.*, 1993; 1994; 1998; Durand and Massey, 2003).

The neoclassical economic model

‘The neoclassical economic model’, known as a traditional approach, focuses almost exclusively on economic disparities between areas of origin and destination, which are evaluated by rational actors seeking to maximize income. According to this theory, international migration is caused by geographic differences in the supply of and demand for labour (Massey *et al.*, 1993; 1998). Only the labour markets have been regarded as the primary mechanisms by which the international migrant flows are induced and not other kinds of markets (Massey *et al.*, 1998). For the neoclassical theorists (see, e.g., Harris and Todaro, 1970), the migrant has to be regarded as an individual rational actor whose decision to migrate is influenced and determined by a calculation of costs and benefits of his/her movement. He/she migrates if the expected net return from the movement is positive. Therefore, the decision to move was viewed as a function of income differentials.

However, the emphasis on rational actions of migrants by the neoclassical theorists has been widely criticised in the literature of migration. For some critical authors the argument of neoclassical theorists is questionable, since they did not recognise that economic action was socially oriented. In other words, they did not consider that the search for material earnings was linked to the expectations of reciprocity throughout the social interaction within the migrant's group. This means that the migrants were regarded as just individuals, and not as people integrated into social structures which affected their spatial and socioeconomic mobility (Sasaki and Assis, 2000). Massey *et al.* (1998) argued that the migrants did not respond mechanically to wage and employment differentials; they were not homogeneous with respect to tastes and motivations; and the contexts within which they made their decisions were not the same.

Therefore, dissatisfaction with the push-pull framework and neoclassical economic explanations for contemporary migration led to development of new theoretical approaches which are presented in the following sections.

The new economic approach

In 'the new economic approach' the migration has been viewed as a household decision taken to minimize risks to family income and to overcome capital constraints on family production activities (Konseiga, 2006). In this context the decision to migrate is rarely made by individuals acting in their own interests. Rather, migration decision-making often involves entire families as well as wider social structures and networks (Massey, 1990b; Massey *et al.*, 1993; 1994; 1998; Ammassari and Black, 2001; Durand and Massey, 2003).

For the new economic theorists, decisions to migrate have usually been taken by a group of individuals who are socially related to each other, normally a family or household unit, in which they act collectively not only to maximize the expected earnings but also to minimize constraints associated with the labour market. The key argument of this

approach is that people move because of their relative deprivation compared with some reference group (Stark and Wang, 2000). According to Stark and Bloom (1985:173-174):

People engage quite regularly in interpersonal income comparisons within their reference group. These comparisons generate psychic costs or benefits, feelings of relative deprivation or relative satisfaction. A person may migrate from one location to another to change his relative position in the same reference group ... a person who is more relatively deprived can be expected to have a stronger incentive to migrate than a person who is less relatively deprived ... a reference group characterized by more income inequality is likely to generate more relative deprivation and higher propensities to migrate..

In supporting the approach of new economic theorists, Massey *et al.* (1998) contended that families, households, or other culturally defined units of production and consumption were the appropriate units of analysis of migration; a wage differential was not a necessary condition for international migration to occur since the households could reckon with incentives to diversify risks through social networks; international migration and local employment or local production were not mutually exclusive possibilities; and the government policies and economic changes that affected the distribution of income would influence international migration independently of their effects on mean income.

Segmented labour market theory

The ‘segmented labour market theory’ ignores such micro-level decision processes, focusing on forces operating at much higher levels of aggregation. It links immigration to the structural requirements of modern industrial economies (Massey *et al.*, 1993; 1994; 1998; Durand and Massey, 2003).

Gordon (1995:140) defined a segmented labour market as one “within which a number of quite distinct types of labour-market rules obtain for different sub-sets of jobs and workers.” According to Gordon *et al.* (1982:165), the segmentation of labour emerged from a process of reconstitution of the world capitalist economy in the late 1940s and early 1950s which led to the consolidation of new systems of control in the labour

process and structures in labour markets. This resulted in two different categories of labour processes: structured labour processes in a “primary” sector which diverged from labour processes in “secondary” sectors.

Thus, there were two categories of workers responding to different job opportunities in a labour market segmented into two sectors, primary and secondary labour market. The primary labour market, which was represented by larger capitalist firms, required skilled workers and offered high wages, good working conditions, employment stability as well as opportunities for advancement. In contrast, the secondary sector of labour market, usually dominated by smaller firms, attracted unskilled workers and offered low wages and fringe benefits, and poor working conditions. This was also characterized by high labour turnover, little chance of advancement and exploitation of workers and was associated primarily with female teenage migrant workers (Doeringer and Piore, 1971; Gordon *et al.*, 1982). Seasonal employment in agriculture as well as casual labouring jobs in construction, domestic work, and dishwashing in restaurants constituted some examples of secondary jobs.

Labour segmentation has been considered as playing an ever-increasing role in driving migration, given that natives, in an increasing number of developed countries, are unwilling to perform work that is low-wage, low-prestige, seasonal, or physically demanding. Also, it is believed that as the population of the developed countries age, the demand for relatively low-skilled service work associated with the needs of the elderly will continue to rise (O'Neil, 2003).

World systems theory (historical-structural theory)

As in the former model, the ‘world systems theory’ (historical-structural theory) also ignores micro-level decision processes. It sees immigration as a natural consequence of economic globalisation and market penetration across national boundaries (Massey *et al.*, 1993; 1994; 1998; Durand and Massey, 2003). Theorists of the world systems approach argue that the processes linked to the reorganization of the world economy in recent times

resulted in the emergence of a transnational space where the labour flow is just one among others, such as capital, goods, services and information.

Some processes associated with the reorganization of world economy included, for example, the expansion of manufacture and export agriculture in peripheral societies, which was linked to the foreign investment from industrialized nations. In addition, changes in the structure of the labour market and in labour processes, resulting from industrial organization and technological innovations in developing regions, which led to a rupture with the traditional structures of labour and employment (Sassen, 1988; Massey, 1990a). So, within the context of internationalization of production and reorganization of the world economy foreign investment is one of the variables that have to be taken into account for the understanding of international migrant flows (Sassen, 1988).

Massey (1990a) argued that the intrusion of capital into peasant agriculture was extremely destabilising because it was labour saving rather than labour generating, since investments in machines, new crops, improved seeds, insecticides, and irrigation all reduced the number of workers needed to produce a given unit of agricultural output. Consequently, this created a pool of socially and economically displaced people with weakened ties to the land, the community, and traditional ways of life. These displaced rural dwellers provided the source for both internal and international migrants (Massey, 1990a). Although some people displaced by the process of market penetration moved to cities, leading to the urbanization of developing cities, inevitably many were drawn abroad because globalisation created material (transportation and communication) and ideological links (ideological and cultural connections) to the places from where capital originated (Massey *et al.*, 1998).

Therefore, Massey (1990a) concluded that the economic foundations for modern international migration lay not simply in low wages or a lack of economic development in poor countries but in the spread of increasingly capital-intensive economic

development to rapidly growing Third World populations that were linked to the developed world by modern systems of transportation and communication.

The following sections focus on the ‘social capital theory’ and the ‘theory of cumulative causation’ to explain the persistence and perpetuation of international migration.

2.3 Social capital theory

Social capital comprises those aspects of social structure that can be used as resources by the actors to realize their interests (Coleman, 1988; 1990). Amongst various forms of social capital advanced by Coleman (1988; 1990), obligations and expectations among people who are related to each other, and the potential for information that inheres in social relations, appear to be the most relevant in migration process. For instance, some people may migrate or help each other in the process more out of a sense of social obligation than anything else in order to come up to expectations within the group, family or community.

Two facets of social capital identified by Portes and Sensenbrenner (1993) – ‘bounded solidarity’ and ‘enforceable trust’ – can be regarded as being crucial to the migration process. According to Portes and Sensenbrenner (1993:1327), ‘bounded solidarity’ “is limited to members of a particular group who find themselves affected by common events in a particular time and place.” In the case of immigrants, the solidarity arises out of “confrontation with a foreign society with a sense of cultural continuity and autonomous presence” (Portes and Sensenbrenner, 1993:1331). In turn, the concept of ‘enforceable trust’ refers to the social capital that emerges from commonalities in experiences of departure from home country and conditions at arrival in the receiving country, creating bonds among immigrants and giving rise to “a multiplicity of social networks that frequently coalesce into tightly knit ethnic communities” (Portes and Sensenbrenner, 1993:1332).

It has been argued that in addition to economic and human capital, social capital may play a crucial role in decision-making processes of potential migrants, and people gain access to social capital through membership in networks and social institutions (Massey *et al.*, 1998). Therefore, the ‘social capital theory’ of migration focuses on the role of migrant networks (social network theory) and of social institutions (institutional theory) in the persistence and perpetuation of international movement across time and space.

Social network theory

As Massey (1990a:1) observed, the contemporary immigration in developed regions had many social foundations, but the formation of migrant networks was probably the most important:

Networks build into migration process a self-perpetuating momentum that leads to its growth over time, in spite of fluctuating wage differentials, recessions, and increasingly restrictive immigration policies in developed countries.

Massey *et al.* (1998:42) defined migrant networks as “sets of interpersonal ties that connect migrants, former migrants, and non-migrants in origin and destination areas through ties of kinship, friendship, and shared community origin.”

Studies on international migration show that the long-distance migration is associated with risks: personal safety, comfort, income, possibility to satisfy social relations. Where relatives, friends, neighbours and workmates have already good connections with the projected destination, the existence of established interpersonal information networks minimize and dilute the risks. Thus, the potential migrants flow to those areas where they have strong connections with their origin, to the detriment of other available destinations (Sasaki and Assis, 2000).

The key argument of the social network theory of migration is that once the number of migrants reaches a critical threshold, the expansion of networks reduces the costs and

risks of movement, which increases the probability of migration, generating additional movement and expanding the networks, and so the cycle continues (Massey *et al.*, 1993; 1994; 1998; Singer and Massey, 1998; Ammassari and Black, 2001; Durand and Massey, 2003). Therefore, in the social network approach, the migrants have been regarded as rational actors who, in the process of making the decision to move, take into consideration the existence of networks, since “they lower the costs and risks of movement and increase the expected net returns to migration” (Massey *et al.*, 1998:43).

The importance of social networks within the labour market has also been emphasized by Montgomery (1991), who argued that friends and relatives were the most common sources of employment information and that the search for jobs through these channels was inexpensive. In turn, Grieco (1998) observed that migrant networks also served other important functions for individual migrants, such as reducing the disruptions of migration, maintaining links between sending and receiving communities, serving as channels for resources, and influencing the rate of adaptation and assimilation to the destination society.

Grieco (1998) argued that the type of migration influenced the preponderance of strong or weak ties within a migrant network. For instance, “migration based on the movement of individuals, such as labour or refugee migration, would encourage the preponderance of weak ties within social networks” while “migration based on the movement of social units, such as family or chain migration, would encourage the preponderance of strong ties in migrant networks” (Grieco, 1998:706). According to Grieco (1998), migrant networks based on weak ties would encourage more rapid assimilation and integration of members, while networks based on strong ties would encourage social closure and slower assimilation, leading to the development of ethnic communities in the host society.

A further role of social networks in the migration process, according to Sasaki and Assis (2000), lies in the fact that the migrants maintain multiple relationships in the society of the destination as well as in the one of origin, which suggests a transnational dimension

to contemporary migrant flows. Migrants, even at the destination, stay connected with their origin, where they build houses, invested money, create networks, etc.

Institutional theory

It has been argued that once international migration has begun, the barriers that receiving countries erect to keep people out create a lucrative economic niche for agents, smugglers, entrepreneurs and institutions dedicated to promoting international movement for profit, yielding a black market in migration (Massey *et al.*, 1993; 1994; 1998; Durand and Massey, 2003).

The key argument of the institutional theory is that international migration has to be analysed as an articulation of agents with particular interests, who play specific roles within an institutional context and adequately manage a set of rules and regulations with the purpose of increasing the access to resources. That is, organizations, smugglers and private entrepreneurs, interested in making profit, provide the migrants with services whose costs are determined in the black market: illegal border crossing and transportation to the destination; contracts for employment; fake visas and documentations; arranged marriages between immigrants and legal residents or citizens of the destination country; accommodation; etc. On the other hand, humanitarian groups assist migrants in providing them with social services, shelter, and legal orientation in order to get documentation and also protection from the immigration authorities. So, over time, these agents, entrepreneurs and organizations become well-known by immigrants and achieve institutional stability, which constitutes another form of social capital available to the immigrants in order to access the labour markets abroad (Massey *et al.*, 1998; Durand and Massey, 2003).

So, as a final remark on social capital theory, it must be stressed that it “accepts the view of international migration as an individual or household decision, but argues that acts of migration at one point in time systematically alter the context within which future

migration decisions are made, greatly increasing the likelihood that later decision-makers will choose to migrate” (Massey *et al.*, 1998:44-45).

2.4 Cumulative causation of migration

The argument in the ‘theory of cumulative causation’ is that once the networks have grown and the migrant-supporting institutions have been developed, international migration sustains itself in ways that make additional movement progressively more likely over time (Massey *et al.*, 1993; 1998; Singer and Massey, 1998; Durand and Massey, 2003).

As noted by Elrick (2005), two aspects differentiate the theory of cumulative causation of migration from other approaches. First, it does not solely focus on micro- or macro-level variables, but includes both economic variables and the social and cultural context in which a migration decision is made. It means that migrants are viewed as rational actors who, however, make their decisions in the context of a specific environment and have to cope with different social, economic, and cultural determinants. Second, the cumulative causation theory “is one of the few which explain not only the migration decision of an individual, but also the perpetuation of international migration, by scrutinising how the migration of individuals changes values, norms and expectations of the sending society” (Elrick, 2005:4).

According to Massey *et al.* (1998) and Durand and Massey (2003), some of variables that affect migration in a cumulative way were the following:

- (i) expansion of networks, which tended to perpetuate the migration flow, since they lowered the risk and expected costs of migration because of availability of detailed information about routes as well as the living and working conditions at the destination;
- (ii) distribution of household income, which was considered as one of the factors that motivated some household members to migrate, given that some families vastly

- increased their income through migration, making families in the lower income group feel relatively deprived, and inducing some of them to migrate;
- (iii) acquisition of land by migrants in the country of origin as an old-age provision, which was not tilled until they returned, a fact that lowered the demand for local farm labour, increasing the pressures for emigration. “But even if they tilled the land, they would be more likely to use modern machinery than hire farm workers,” here increasing “the pressure on the local population to search for work abroad” (Elrick, 2005:5);
 - (iv) culture of migration, which was regarded as a very crucial element in the cumulative causation of international migration, since the labour experience in an advanced industrial economy changed tastes and motivations of migrants, in the sense that “they acquired a concept of social mobility and a taste for consumer goods and styles of life that were difficult to attain through local labour” (Massey *et al.*, 1998:47), which led not only to repeated migration, but induced the non-migrants to migrate as well. In this way, the idea of migrating became “deeply ingrained in the repertoire of people’s behaviour, and values associated with migration became part of the community’s values” (Massey *et al.*, 1998:47);
 - (v) distribution of human capital, which was said to affect the migration in a cumulative fashion, given that sustained migration could lead to a reduction of human capital in sending areas and its accumulation in receiving societies, enhancing the productivity of the latter while lowering that of the former. So, over time, the reinforcement of economic growth of receiving societies with the depletion of human capital in sending countries could exacerbate the stagnation of these countries, thereby increasing conditions favourable for further emigration; and
 - (vi) social labelling was considered to affect migration cumulatively, given that the presence of immigrants in significant numbers in particular niche of employment within receiving societies led these jobs to become culturally labelled as ‘immigrant jobs’ and local workers refused to fill them, which enhanced the structural demand for migrant labour.

As Elrick (2005:5) observed, the theory of cumulative causation had an integral value in the sense that it not only focused on micro- and macro-factors, but also took into account the networks and the opportunity structure.

2.5 Undocumented labour migration in the international context

In recent years the growth in international migration has been accompanied by an increase in undocumented or illegal migration. It has been argued that this increase in illegal migration has occurred in countries that have legal immigration programs (Chiswick, 2001). This is the case of the United States in relation to Mexican labour migration, or even the South African case in respect to labour migration from other southern African countries. The literature on the contemporary international migration has given diverse explanations about this increasing worldwide human mobility across borders, namely a response to immigration restriction and selection policies, demand for cheap labour, globalisation, social networks, human capital, cumulative causation, migrant smuggling and geographical proximity.

(i) *Increase in undocumented labour migration in response to immigration restriction and selection policies*

Some authors see the worldwide increase in undocumented labour migration as being associated with the immigration restriction and selection policies that are currently adopted in most of the traditional receiving countries (Massey *et al.*, 1998; Siddique and Appleyard, 2001). According to these authors, the policies that restrict and select immigration have caused an increase in undocumented immigration, mainly individuals with low qualifications. Clark (2002) argued that strict procedures on applying for work had significant impacts on the nature and extent of illegal flows.

Siddique and Appleyard (2001) contended that when liberal governments set out to protect their countries from large numbers of illegal migrants arriving and claiming their rights, they increased the pressure on persons to use illegal means of entry. For Massey *et*

al. (1998), the imposition of qualitative and quantitative limits on entry created different classes of migrants who ultimately occupied different positions in the socio-economic structure of the receiving society: legal immigrants, undocumented migrants, refugees, asylees, students, trainees, business executives, and ‘temporary’ workers. As countries of destination adjust their policies in response to changing conditions, migrants adjust their strategies and tailor their schemes to fit the prevailing rules and regulations.

(ii) Demand for low cost labour and increasing undocumented labour migration

In opposition to other kinds of illegal migration (for example, refugee and asylee illegal migration), the undocumented labour migration has been seen as motivated purely by economic factors (Martin and Widgren, 1996; Chiswick, 2001; Clark, 2002). The supply and demand for illegal migrant workers are the main reasons for the increase in undocumented migration. The labour requirements, especially low wage labour, create immigration flows. The demand for low cost labour continues to pull low-skilled immigrants to the industrial nations.

(iii) Increase in undocumented labour migration as a consequence of globalization

The intensification of undocumented labour migration from developing to developed nations is assumed to be associated with the process of globalization, a concept used to describe the economic, political, cultural, ideological and technological changes that are sweeping across the nations states. Those changes have taken place fundamentally in the field of communication as well as in the nature of links between countries, in terms of capital flows and social links (for example, links between families living in two different countries).

For Montanari (2002a), globalisation is increasingly important in terms of political change (emergence of international and regional organisations), technological change (in transport and telecommunications) and economic change (in the rise of trans-national

corporations, and the service sector, most evident in the finance industry and trade). These changes have also influenced social and cultural change, and been affected increasingly by global media. In addition, Van Hear (1994) observed that, as consequence of a revolution in global communications, the images of life in the developed world have spread far and wide. This has had major ramifications for all facets of human mobility. There are intense interrelationships between the global and the local, and population mobility constitutes one of the most significant channels through which this is expressed (Montanari, 2002a).

Clark (2002:229) defined globalisation as “the integration of people into world markets, and the increasing inter-connectedness of the world economy and, by extension, the inter-connectedness of world’s population.” In this context, globalization has contributed to the reestablishment of labour force links between the potential migrants in the sending areas and the former migrants in the destination areas. For this reason, the potential migrants choose to move to those places where jobs are more probable, where networks of family and friends exist, and where it is simpler to blend into the already large ethnic pre-existing populations (Clark, 2002).

(iv) Social networks and the intensification of undocumented labour migration

Mitchell (1969:2) defined the concept of ‘social network’ as “a specific set of linkages among a defined set of persons”, which as a whole might be used to interpret the social behaviour of the persons involved. Mayer (1961) used the idea of ‘social network’ to describe the behaviour of different types of migrants and of settled townsmen in the South African town of East London. He found out that the behaviour of people who were members of a ‘close knit’ group of friends or home-community base was likely to be considerably influenced by the wishes and expectations of those friends or home-community as a whole, while those whose acquaintances did not know one another appeared to behave inconsistently from time to time.

Many studies on the contemporary international migration reveal that the probability of occurrence of an undocumented labour migration, particularly from a developing country to an industrialised country, is positively dependent on social networks that link the migrant to the destination and to his home country (Jedlicka, 1978-79; Massey *et al.*, 1987; Massey *et al.*, 1993; 1994; Minnaar *et al.*, 1995; Martin and Widgren, 1996; Minnaar and Hough, 1996; Massey *et al.*, 1998; Singer and Massey, 1998; Moretti, 1999; Portes, 2000; Ammassari and Black, 2001).

Job information from employers, the media, and compatriots; labour recruiters and smugglers; transportation and communications networks; and communities of family and friends are some of the network factors that can encourage undocumented labour migration across borders. It is believed that the network factors function as a link between pull factors (such as foreign workers recruitment to meet labour demands) and push factors (such as unemployment conditions), turning potential into actual migration. The network factors guarantee the free flow of information between origin and destination, allowing the continuance of international migration streams, since “the people best informed about possible opportunities at the destination are most likely to migrate” (Jedlicka, 1978-79:277).

The most important elements of the social networks are friends and family members abroad who can provide credible information about jobs and other opportunities, sometimes financing the trip, and often offering shelter after arrival. Labour brokers, smugglers, employers, and migrant organizations can also fulfil these information and placement functions (Massey *et al.*, 1987; Martin and Widgren, 1996; Massey *et al.*, 1998; Moretti, 1999).

From a study on social life of Black migrant workers in a South African gold mine hostel, McNamara (1980) came to the conclusion that friendship was very important to migrants and assisted them in coping with a new environment which posed a number of threats, real or imaginary. In fact, friends, in addition to the family, have been considered as having great influence on geographical mobility of labour. From an analysis of results

from two studies of migration in Venezuela and India, Levy and Wadycki (1973) concluded that family and friends who had previously migrated from one region to another might have provided information about their present location to persons residing in their former place of residence and might have also provided temporary food and shelter, as well as helping to ease social transition. This has been considered by many scholars as a very common facet in the migration process, given its effect on the moving costs. For instance, Carrington *et al.* (1996:909) observed that the moving costs in the labour migration process decreased with the number of migrants of the same community “already settled in the destination.” So, in this way, the friendship and family ties at the destination have led to an increase of migratory flows.

(v) *Human and social capital and the perpetuation of undocumented labour migration*

In developing a theoretical model to explain which factors favoured the undocumented border crossing in the case of labour migration from Mexico to United States, Singer and Massey (1998) emphasised the importance of general and migration-specific human and social capital. While the human capital consisted of individual traits and characteristics that enhanced performance with respect to some instrumental outcome (for example, crossing the border successfully), a general human capital included performance enhancing knowledge or experience that anyone might possess (such as education or labour market experience). Social capital emanated from interpersonal ties that enabled a person to achieve undocumented entry and stay in the United States (for example, having a parent with U.S. migrant experience). The migration-specific forms of human and social capital were acquired through migration itself (such as valuable information and experience that was useful in avoiding apprehension, knowledge that could be applied to great effect on later trips, new social ties that could lower the risks experienced) (Singer and Massey, 1998).

It is therefore evident that the social capital has been considered as one of the most important factors that enable the perpetuation of international migration. The migrants gain access to social capital through their participation in migrant networks and social

institutions. As referred previously, the migrant networks comprise interpersonal ties connecting migrants, former migrants, and non-migrants in origin and destination areas through ties of kinship, friendship, and shared community of origin. The migrants' participation in social institutions occurs when the migrant-supporting institutions (e.g. private institutions, voluntary humanitarian organisations, entrepreneurs, individuals, firms) provide a range of services to migrants in exchange for fees set on the underground market.

(vi) The increase in undocumented labour migration as a result of cumulative causation

The expansion of networks, the development of a culture of migration, and the social labelling of jobs within receiving countries are some of various factors inducing the cumulative causation of migration (Massey *et al.*, 1993; 1994; 1998). For instance, as a result of expansion of networks, every new migrant reduces the costs and risks of subsequent migration for a set of friends or relatives. "Some of these people are thereby induced to migrate, which further expands the set of people with ties abroad, reducing, in turn, costs for new set of people and causing some of them to migrate, and so on" (Massey *et al.*, 1998:46). The key practical contribution of social networks, according to Portes (2000), is not only that they lower the costs of migration, but that they can sustain the process even when the original incentives disappear or are greatly weakened.

The development of a culture of migration changes values and cultural perceptions in ways that increase the probability of future migration. For example, according to McAllister (1980), some studies came to the conclusion that among southern African migrants and communities, the labour migration had been regarded as part and parcel of initiation into manhood. Therefore, among those communities, the labour migration had been associated with social status change. The social labelling of jobs also contributes to an increase in undocumented labour migration, since once immigrants have been recruited into particular occupations in significant numbers, those jobs become culturally labelled as 'immigrant jobs' and native workers are reluctant to fill them, reinforcing the structural demand for immigrants (Massey *et al.*, 1998).

(vii) Undocumented labour migration as a lucrative affair for migrant smugglers

Some scholars believe that the policies of immigration restriction and selection through the border control have generated a lucrative industry in migrant smuggling. For instance, some studies on the Mexican-United States migration showed that there was strong evidence of a flourishing criminal activity in guiding immigrants across the border (Massey *et al.*, 1987; Massey *et al.*, 1998; Singer and Massey, 1998; Clark, 2002).

(viii) Geographical proximity and undocumented labour migration

It is agreed that most undocumented labour movements across borders are facilitated by geographical proximity between sending and receiving areas. This fact, when associated with such factors as the existence of unregulated borders, or of a corrupt or insensitive government, ends up reinforcing the flows across borders, given the increasing economic opportunities on the other side of border (Clark, 2002).

2.6 Conclusion

In short, the diversity of approaches already presented constitutes an indication that the current trends and patterns of migration processes and decision-making cannot conclusively be explained by focusing only on a single theoretical model. Migration, “as a contingency” of “historically generated social, political and economic structures of both sending and receiving societies ... channelled through social relationships and social roles which impact on individuals and groups” (Boyd, 1989:642), needs multi-level approaches, like the cumulative causation, which provide details of “interconnections among individual behaviour, household strategies, community structures and national political economies” (Elrick, 2005:10).

The presentation of the different theoretical models in this study also aims to find out which approaches could be applied to explain the dynamics of undocumented Mozambican labour migration to South Africa. As it will be shown by the review of some empirical studies on Mozambican labour migration in chapter 3, and also by the data analysis in chapters 5 to 8, every stage of Mozambican migration history appears to conform to some of the theoretical models already presented.

As Elrick (2005:5-6) observed, the social network theory and the theory of cumulative causation are the only approaches that “pay attention to the social environment within which a migration decision is made and explain the difficulties of controlling the migratory flows through policy measures.” Therefore, the two models are discussed with a special emphasis in this study.

CHAPTER 3

REVIEW OF LITERATURE ON MOZAMBICAN MIGRATION

3.1 Introduction

This chapter assesses the research that has been conducted to date on undocumented labour migration, including a general literature on how the social networks of migrants assist their movement. More specifically, the purpose was to review the literature devoted to undocumented labour migration from Mozambique to South Africa. The literature review focused on determining the factors and patterns of the contemporary undocumented labour migration, particularly in the Mozambique-South Africa case.

This chapter is organised as follows: first, it presents a brief historical view of Mozambican labour migration to South Africa, thereby pointing out the conditions of its emergence within international and regional contexts. Second, it highlights some determinants of documented labour migration from Mozambique to South Africa. Finally, the chapter deals with undocumented labour migration. It begins with a summary of some approaches on this kind of migration in the international context and ends with a review of factors leading to undocumented migration in the particular case of Mozambique.

3.2 Brief history of the Mozambican labour migration

It is believed that the undocumented Mozambican labour migration to South Africa began to receive more attention in the 1990s. Before 1990s, the scenery seemed to be different from the current one, since “in colonial and apartheid South Africa, the ‘barbarians’ were kept at bay through a sophisticated and very brutal system of pass laws and immigration legislation which determined who had the right to enter the country” (McDonald, 2000:1). These systems, according to McDonald, did serve to control most of the internal

movement of black South Africans as well as the cross-border movement of Africans from other countries on the continent.

The policies adopted to manage foreign labour migration during the apartheid era were very strict. Zlotnik (2001:251) explained that foreign workers coming mostly from neighbouring countries – Botswana, Lesotho, Malawi and Mozambique – were subject to strict controls related to length of stay, type of work and place of residence. Labour rotation was strictly enforced and transportation to and from South Africa was provided through organised groups so that the return of workers whose contracts had expired could be assured.

Much of this has changed with the end of apartheid and the democratic election of a majority government in 1994: “There are no longer any restrictions on movement within the country and there has been a dramatic increase in cross-border traffic from other African countries into South Africa” (McDonald, 2000:1).

Before an examination of the current undocumented labour migration process is undertaken, a quick overview of the documented Mozambican labour migration to South Africa within the international and regional context is presented.

3.2.1 Documented Mozambican labour migration in the international context

According to its historical nature, the emergence of the contract labour migration to South Africa, from Mozambique as well as from other southern African countries, could be associated with the modern history of international migration and, therefore, inserted into the second period of world migration – the industrial period – which began early in the nineteenth century (Massey *et al.*, 1998). During this period, according to Massey *et al.* (1998), international migration was linked to the economic development of Europe and the spread of colonialism.

The European migrants were crossing the ocean in search of a better life, exchanging an industrializing region intensive in labour for another industrializing region intensive in land (Massey *et al.*, 1998). The southern African migrants were, and are still, leaving countries characterized by a scarcity of capital and jobs, and by an abundance of reserves of labour, going to a nation more intensive in capital, not to settle but to satisfy the demand for a cheaper labour in rapidly growing economy.

This idea is supported by the *Guia do Terceiro Mundo* 1984-1985 (1985) (Guide of the Third World 1984-1985), which argued that until the middle of the 20th century, those who left their country to work in another one, did it mainly for settling. This was the case of African slaves or poor Europeans looking for the 'promised land'. Nowadays, the migrants do not go to another country to settle in the 'empty spaces', but to satisfy the demand for cheaper labour in the developed economies or in those that are in a process of rapid growth, in countries with valuable natural resources, such as oil.

3.2.2 Documented Mozambican labour migration in the regional context

As Zlotnik (2001) observed, in southern Africa, the Republic of South Africa was a major importer of unskilled workers for its coal and gold mines. For Crush (1997; 2000), the highly formalised and regulated contract system to the South African mines was put in place in the period between 1890 and 1920, although the large-scale employment of non-South African labour from the region by the South African mines goes back 150 years, when the migrants from Mozambique, Malawi and Lesotho came on foot to work on the Kimberly diamond mines.

Historically, the documented Mozambican labour migration to South Africa should be understood as part of a regional labour market system (Brochmann, 1985; Crush, 1997; Covane, 2001). Crush (1997) explained that the South African mining industry – in cooperation with the South African State and the British and Portuguese colonial governments – created a regional labour market for mine labour in the late nineteenth and

early twentieth centuries that included most of the countries that now comprise the Southern African Development Community (SADC).

The main characteristics of this southern African regional labour market, according to Crush (1997), are the following: (i) every country in the SADC is a part of this regional labour market for the South African mines; (ii) it is a dynamic entity responsive to changes in political and economic circumstances in source and destination areas; (iii) the organization of mines labour market is highly centralized and selective; (iv) throughout the twentieth century at least 40% of the mine work force was non-South African; today it is around 50%. This means that over the years, hundreds of thousands of male migrants from throughout southern Africa have spent the greater part of their working lives in South Africa.

Within this regional labour market, Crush (1997:3) identified three types of suppliers: (a) “Longstanding suppliers” such as Mozambique, Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland with relatively consistent numbers; (b) “episodic suppliers” such as Malawi and Zimbabwe with fluctuating numbers over time; and (c) “occasional suppliers” such as Zambia, Tanzania and Angola whose labour was once important but no longer so.

Among the longstanding suppliers, Mozambique seems to be the leader. In such countries the South African migrant labour system had its biggest impact and they became most dependent on contract employment. They were, and are, firmly integrated into the regional mine labour market:

National and household economies of these countries have been, and continue to be, heavily dependent on the system of contract labour. For them, withdrawal or expulsion from the system could be potentially disastrous (Crush, 1997:3).

This point of view is reinforced by Covane (2001), who argued that in some of South Africa’s neighbouring countries such as Mozambique, migration is amongst the most important foreign sources of income. In Mozambique the dependence on wage labour

income is dramatically noticeable in the rural economy of the three southern provinces, namely Maputo, Gaza and Inhambane (see also Brochmann, 1985:337).

3.3 Determinants of documented Mozambican labour migration to South Africa

Many factors influenced the labour migration process from Mozambique to South Africa. These include lack of domestic employment; deterioration of rural living conditions; and higher wages in South Africa.

3.3.1 Lack of domestic employment conditions and demand for foreign labour force in South Africa

It is argued that despite a history of nationalist critiques of migrant labour to South Africa, and studies of its possible substitution, political and economic conditions in Mozambique in the mid-1970s did not favour any policy of terminating migrant labour:

After 25 June 1975 the government of independent Mozambique, like its Portuguese predecessor, was not in a position to offer alternative employment to migrant workers. On the contrary, Mozambique needed to increase the number of migrants (Covane, 2001:53)

In fact, SAMP (2003) announced recently, through its 'Migration News', the existence of a new labour agreement between Mozambique and South Africa, which was signed by the respective labour ministers. The new agreement did not replace any of the previous labour agreements between the two countries, but established conditions for solving the problems that affect Mozambican workers in South Africa, particularly those in the mining industry and in the agricultural sector. It reflected the concern of both governments to protect the rights of Mozambican workers, particularly in the fields of training and social security, and responded to the desire of South African companies to recruit more Mozambicans. Another concern in the new agreement was to try to find a

solution to the employment of illegal immigrants, as well as to the abuse and repatriation of Mozambicans.

3.3.2 Natural calamities, civil war and deterioration in rural living conditions

Another aspect that contributes to the continuation of labour migration to South Africa over time, even after the independence of Mozambique, is associated with the deterioration of living conditions for the population. For example, the occurrence of floods in the late 1970s and of drought in the early 1980s, combined with the intensification of civil war, led to the degradation of living conditions for the rural population in the southern provinces of Mozambique. Covane (2001) pointed out that under these circumstances, families with members working in South Africa had considerable advantages:

Migrants turned their attention to minimisation of the problems created by the war. They imported galvanised metal sheeting, cement and even maize. Some of the displaced people were now fully dependent on their income from migrancy (Covane, 2001:58-59).

In recent years the documented Mozambican labour migration to South Africa has decreased because of a reduction in recruitment, as a result of the Chamber of Mine's policies of internalisation, stabilisation and mechanisation (Covane, 2001). This fact, associated with the limitations in the agricultural development (because of drought, floods or landmines), led to the deterioration of living conditions of many families, particularly in southern region of Mozambique.

It is important to emphasise that the decline of documented Mozambican labour migration to South Africa in the recent years, mainly that for mines, has been counterbalanced by an increasing undocumented labour migration that is directed essentially to other sectors outside the mining industry.

It is evident that the documented Mozambican labour migration to South Africa has some relationship with the undocumented one. Both occur in the same socio-economic context. The social and economic conditions that motivate them seem to be common. The difference between them resides mainly in how they occur: legally or illegally. The key focus of this thesis is to understand how the undocumented Mozambican labour migration to South Africa has been taking place.

3.3.3 Higher wages in SA and its effects on social and economic differentiations in Mozambican sending areas

Over time, the continuation of documented labour migration has been sustained by additional factors. For example, it is argued that the improvement of salary conditions of migrants in 1970s had motivated more migration. According to Covane (2001:49), “in the mid-1970s migrants saw their wages rising and as consequence developed more ambitious goals ... Those who succeeded in getting job contracts were now more easily able to accumulate and invest their money in ploughs, oxen cars and lorries, and improved brick/block houses than before”. This led to an increase in the degree of social and economic differentiation in the origin areas of migrants, thereby causing a ‘relative deprivation’ of some non-migrant families.

Moreover, Covane (2001) added that in the 1970s the designation *magaiças* for the returning migrant workers was replaced by *madjonidjoni*. The latter group had comparatively more money and as a result could afford to buy a car, to rent a flat and live in town, or build a modern house, and compete with successful skilled Mozambicans working within the country. To be a *madjonidjoni* meant stability and security for the family, especially during times of droughts or floods. Single girls were advised by their families to marry *madjonidjoni* rather than young men who were employed locally, even those who were in relatively skilled and well-paid jobs.

In the particular case of the Mozambican southern province of Gaza, where most of the labour migrants to South Africa come from, there were, according to Covane (2001),

noticeable aspects of socio-economic differentiation, through labour migration. The owners of the means of local transport, restaurants in Xai-Xai – capital of Gaza's province – and kiosks selling all sort of goods came from that *madjonidjoni* group. Some people in that category of migrants did not see agriculture as their main vocation; they exploited new opportunities in trade and other businesses (Covane, 2001).

Furthermore, another effect of the rise in wages was the capacity of young men to make simultaneous bridewealth³ payments for more than one wife. Whereas in the past, two or three job contracts in South Africa were needed to raise the bridewealth for a wife, it had now become possible to do so for more than one wife after only one contract (Covane, 2001).

3.4 Undocumented Mozambican labour migration to South Africa

The undocumented Mozambican labour migration should not be understood as an isolated phenomenon from the documented labour migration. The positive effects of documented labour migration on the economy and living conditions of some households or families, at the community level, have probably influenced many people from other households to migrate. Because it is now difficult to enter into this process in a formal way (through documentation), these people are going to South Africa in an undocumented way, crossing the borders illegally. There is speculation that the undocumented labour migration process may involve far more people than the contract labour migration. Most of the destination places inside South Africa are located in the vicinities of the border. According to IOM estimates, between 10,000 to 80,000 Mozambican farm workers were living in Limpopo, one of the country's richest agricultural areas (SAMP, 2006b).

³ The bridewealth, or marriage payment, is a payment made by the groom or his kin to the kin of the wife in order to ratify marriage. It is a highly developed practice in Africa, as an instrument for the legitimization of a marriage.

The literature review identified two main types of circumstances within which the process of undocumented labour migration from Mozambique to South Africa has been taking place. Firstly, some Mozambicans decide voluntarily to migrate, to get a job and earn money in South Africa, since they cannot find it in their own country. No one personally forces them to migrate, but the circumstances seem to suggest that trying to find a job abroad may provide them with better living conditions than staying at home. Most of the migrants acting in these circumstances want to support their families and also to accumulate some savings. Therefore, their migration is often linked to a plan to return home within a specific time frame. Some worldwide examples of migration under this type of circumstances are given by Demuth (2000). For example, in the Gulf States Philippina women work as house maids or Pakistani men work in the oil fields. Turks, Yugoslavs, Spaniards, Italians and others go to Germany as guest workers. According to Demuth (2000), movement under these circumstances must be called a mixed voluntary and involuntary migration. It is involuntary because the circumstances – lack of jobs and of material living conditions, and need of money for survival – do not allow the potential migrant to remain at his home.

The second type of circumstances within which the undocumented Mozambican labour migration to South Africa has occurred also refers to those circumstances that force people to abandon their habitual places of residence and to move to other places where they can feel free from danger. When such circumstances affect the communities living near the borders, the movement of the most of these people has been cross the borders. For example, the civil war in Mozambique had the effect of forcing people across the border into Mpumalanga (South Africa) (Mather, 2000). Most of these people entered South Africa as refugees (Minnaar and Hough, 1996; Manby, 1997; Reitzes, 1997; De Vletter, 2000); and many of them started looking for jobs and were informally employed as farm workers, changing the original purpose of their entering in South Africa.

The following is a brief review of the published and unpublished research on undocumented Mozambican labour migration to South Africa. Generally, the undocumented labour migration to South Africa has been approached in terms of its

motivation (push-factors) inside of Mozambique and its facilitation (pull-factors) in South Africa.

(i) Poverty and joblessness

The high level of poverty that characterises most of the Mozambican population, particularly in rural areas, aggravated by low productivity in the subsistence agriculture and by chronic incapacity of the Mozambican economy to provide jobs to many people entering the labour market annually, is seen as the main motivation of the current undocumented labour migration to South Africa. In addition to this deplorable state of poverty, it is necessary to also consider the impacts of natural calamities – drought and floods – as well as the recently terminated civil war (De Vletter, 2000; Maharaj, 2002). Many studies indicated that looking for a job was the most important reason for wanting to go to South Africa by the majority of migrants and potential migrants (e.g., Dolan, 1995; Minnaar and Hough, 1996; De Vletter, 2000; Dodson, 2000; Taylor and Barlow, 2000; Crush and Williams, 2001a; De Vletter, 2006).

(ii) Employer demand for short-term and cheaper workforce

In their study on illegal immigration to South Africa, Crush and Williams (2001a) concluded that employer demand was a major factor in moving migrants across the border. It is believed that many of the Mozambican irregular workers can be found in the agricultural sector, and that most of them are employed on many farms in the region along the border with Mozambique. This is so in the case of Mpumalanga lowveld where – at the side of the relatively skilled, documented, and best-paid permanent farm workers – can be found the undocumented, unskilled, seasonal and temporary farm workers. Mather (2000) associated this demand for irregular workers with the increasing competition within global agricultural trade, which had led to the use of more vulnerable workers in an attempt to secure a less militant and cheaper workforce.

According to Mather (2000), the seasonal farm workers are in great demand. Women almost exclusively constituted this category; some of them lived permanently on the farm with their husbands or partners. The seasonal farm workers were young men between the age of 16 (or younger) and 20. They were hired for short-term and temporary tasks that required few skills or that were unpopular among permanent and seasonal employees. This category of farm workers had the lowest wages and was totally constituted by undocumented migrants from Mozambique. Mather (2000:429) observed that this was “an extremely flexible group of workers” who arrived at the farmer’s gate and worked for short periods of time before moving off to jobs on other farms or in towns and cities in South Africa.

(iii) Reputation of Mozambicans as hard workers

One of the reasons that make the easier informal insertion of Mozambicans workers into the South African labour market has to do with their attitudes in relation to work and employers. They are considered as the most obedient and respectful workers. For example, Mather (2000) observed that one of the reasons why Mozambican workers appeared to dominate the farm labour market in the Mpumalanga’s region was their reputation as hard workers. In contrast to local workers, who were said to be lazy and unwilling to work in the fields, the Mozambican farm workers would allegedly accept conditions that were avoided by local workers without complaining. They were said to require less direct supervision and were apparently more trustworthy. However, it is believed that these traits of Mozambicans were due to the vulnerability of their status as undocumented workers.

Mayer (1961) identified similar attitudes among the ‘Red’ migrant workers in East London. He found out that there were certain characteristic attitudes and personality traits of ‘Red’ men, which helped to make them successful employees. For example, the ‘Red’ men on the whole were more willing to discipline themselves to carry on with strenuous and unpleasant jobs, since they had to earn in town in order to feed the family living in the country. As in the case of Mozambicans as well as the ‘Red’ men, such attitudes are

reflecting the survival strategies within the labour market of those whose economy is extremely dependent on wage labour income.

(iv) Social networks

Some studies revealed that other factors that might facilitate the undocumented Mozambican labour immigration in South Africa were related to social networks. Family or tribal connections in South Africa, professional smugglers and the corrupt guards on the borders were some of elements of social networks considered by Minnaar and Hough (1996) as having an influence on the undocumented Mozambican labour migration to South Africa. Some illegal migrants paid professional smugglers to guide or transport them across the border while others relied on the bribing of a border guard. Those who entered South Africa, having family or tribal connections, used these connections to obtain legal South African identity documents (Minnaar and Hough, 1996). Crush and Williams (2001a) believed that many migrants had networks that alerted them to employment opportunities or allowed them to know where and how to obtain employment.

From a study on the lives and times of African migrants and immigrants in post-apartheid South Africa, McDonald *et al.* (2000) concluded that networks played a key role in the migration process of the majority of migrants, particularly of those coming from traditional source countries. The authors found out that among the Mozambican migrants, included in the sample, 73% of them did have place to stay in South Africa before arrival, 74% of them did have at least one member of extended family in South Africa before arrival, and 64% of them did have at least one friend in South Africa before arrival.

However, a comparative study on the migration potential to South Africa from Lesotho, Mozambique and Zimbabwe, conducted by Taylor and Barlow (2000), reveals that Mozambicans who intend to migrate were less inclined to have family in South Africa. For them the decision to migrate was based on more basic needs, and the process would

be initiated and completed with or without the support of family and friends. The study also shows that – in opposition to Lesotho, where the family encouragement in intention to migrate was especially critical – for Mozambicans, the family encouragement was not a deciding factor in migration intention, though it was seen as important.

(v) Geographical proximity and cultural connections

It has been argued that many undocumented Mozambican labour immigrants in South Africa are residents of border villages in Mozambique who cross to work on farms on seasonal basis (Mather, 2000; Crush and Williams, 2001a). Another group of undocumented Mozambican labour migrants, whose status seems to be facilitated by geographical proximity, is constituted by Mozambican ex-refugees living in rural villages close to the Kruger Park and the farming areas (Crush and Williams, 2001a).

The role of cultural connections in the cross-border movements from Mozambique to South Africa has been pointed out, for instance, by Steinberg (2005). He noted that the arrival of Mozambican refugees in the mid-1980s in Gazankulu was the most welcomed among all receptions of refugees from Mozambique in the former homeland territories in South Africa. “Gazankulu ... did not turn away a single refugee ... Gazankulu’s tribal authorities set up reception centres for refugees throughout the territory, providing them with food, blankets, cooking utensils and agricultural equipment. In dozens of villages throughout Gazankulu, land was set aside for refugee settlement” (Steinberg, 2005:4).

This warm reception of Mozambican refugees was, according to Steinberg (2005:4), “an act of ethnic solidarity”, since the Gazankulu was the homeland of the Shangaan nation, and those refugees were Shangaan-speakers as well. Therefore, this example constitutes an indication that the existing cultural links between the Mozambican southern provinces of Gaza and Maputo, and the South African provinces of Limpopo, Mpumalanga and KwaZulu-Natal were encouraging migration into South Africa.

3.5 Conclusion

Most empirical studies have emphasized the (neo) classical view of “push” and “pull” factors with regard to the motivations for migration decision-making. The majority of studies show that migration results from a set of circumstances in Mozambique (push factors), such as unemployment conditions, deterioration of living standards, natural disasters (floods and droughts) and political conflict (civil war), which put pressure on people to move. South Africa is regarded as offering conditions that constitute incentives for immigration (pull factors), such as the demand for cheap unskilled labour and the availability of wage income.

However, it is also important to note that the review of literature revealed that some scholars recognised the presence of social networks for Mozambican labour migration to South Africa, without examining its role for the process of migration decision-making. This is, therefore, the main challenge to this study. The following chapter explains the research methodology adopted in this study.

CHAPTER 4

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

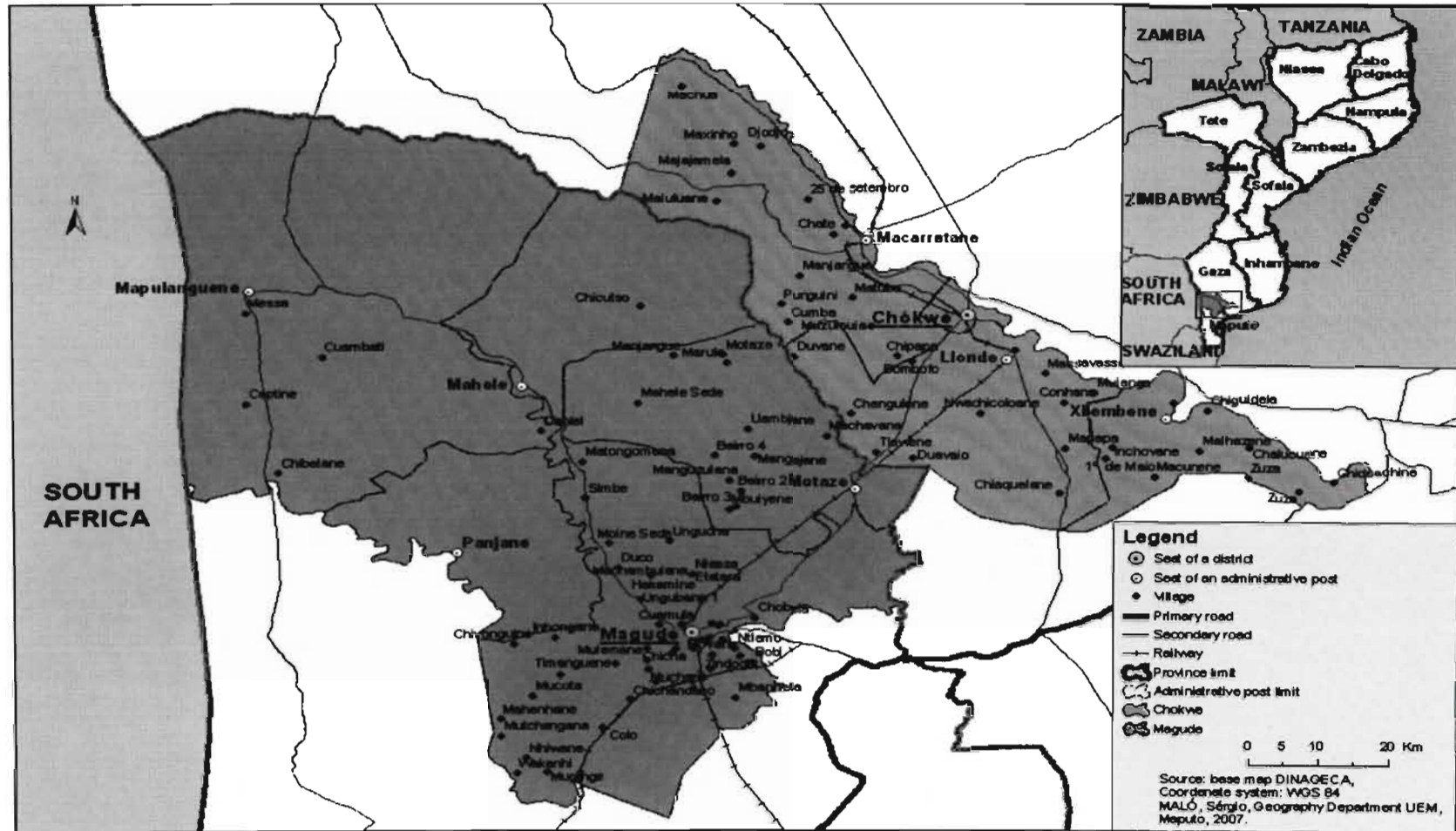
4.1 Introduction

A single source could not provide enough information for a comprehensive understanding of migration as a dynamic social process (Massey *et al.*, 1987; Agozino, 2000). A full understanding of the migratory process requires information that is historically well founded, ethnographically interpreted and quantitatively rigorous. Ethnographic methods were especially effective in capturing the wealth and details of the migrants' social networks; oral interviews complemented with archival work provided the historical dynamics; and the fieldwork provided a more comprehensive understanding of the role that the migration plays in the real life of the community (Massey *et al.*, 1987).

The empirical focus of this study is not exclusively on undocumented labour migrants but also on people that have been dealing, on familial and on professional bases, with undocumented Mozambican labour migrants in South Africa. However, the opinions of undocumented labour migrants form the basis of the evidence, since the research was also concerned with what motivates their behaviour towards undocumented labour migration.

The data for the study came from different sources. In addition to the review of the existing literature on undocumented labour migration, the study drew on a fieldwork with two components: survey interviews and qualitative interviews. The fieldwork took place in four research sites: two in southern Mozambique (Magude and Chókwè districts, in Maputo and Gaza provinces, respectively) and other two in South Africa (Gauteng and Mpumalanga provinces).

Figure 4.1: Research sites in Mozambique



The two selected sites in Mozambique are some of the most important sending areas of labour migrants to South Africa, and were also chosen because of their geographical proximity to South Africa (see Figure 4.1). The selection of Gauteng and Mpumalanga as research sites in South Africa was due to their distinction of being the main destinations of Mozambican migrants according to the results of sample survey in Magude and Chókwè districts. Moreover, the Mpumalanga province, which is located close to Mozambique, is relevant to the study because it employs many undocumented Mozambican migrants, mainly in the agricultural sector. While the fieldwork in Mozambique was essential for getting information from the returned undocumented labour migrants, in South Africa it was crucial for obtaining information from the current migrants.

This chapter explains how the study was designed. First, it provides a description of the research sites, which is then followed by a presentation of sample survey design and the consequent process of survey interviews. Finally, it highlights the procedures used for the qualitative data collection.

4.2 Fieldwork

The fieldwork was accomplished during April-May 2004 (in Mozambique), and July and September 2005 (in South Africa). The fieldwork in South Africa could not be started soon after the first one in Mozambique ended, because of lack of financial means to support the fieldwork costs at that moment. While the fieldwork in Mozambique was based on both qualitative and quantitative interviews with returned undocumented migrants, in South Africa it was based only on qualitative interviews with undocumented Mozambican immigrants.

4.2.1 Research sites

(i) *Magude and Chókwè districts (Mozambique)*

Magude and Chókwè districts belong, respectively, to Maputo and Gaza provinces in southern Mozambique. Magude is located about 170 km north of the Mozambique's capital city of Maputo and Chókwè about 230 km. However, the two districts share a common border. Magude district is the closest to South Africa, through the Mapulanguene (Mozambique)/Skukuza (South Africa) border (Figure 4.1). This border was closed in the eighties because of civil war in Mozambique, but even so the movements across the border from both sides continue. The South Africans used to cross into Mapulanguene in order to get firewood while the Mozambicans enter Skukuza to buy some essential commodities (UNHCR and UNDP, 1997a; 1997b).

According to UNHCR and UNDP (1997a; 1997b), in 1997 the population of Magude and Chókwè districts was estimated at about 76,810 and 234,345 inhabitants, respectively. With a land area of 6,960 km² the Magude district is less densely populated than Chókwè district, which occupies 1,864 km². During the civil war, both districts experienced a forced displacement of their populations across internal and external boundaries as well. The number of returned refugees from abroad (South Africa and Swaziland) by the end of 1995 was estimated at 627 and 2,210 people in Magude and Chókwè districts, respectively (UNHCR and UNDP, 1997a; 1997b).

The two districts are considered as offering excellent soil conditions for agriculture, and this is the main activity in these districts. It involves the majority of local families who produce mainly for their subsistence. However, according to UNHCR and UNDP (1997a; 1997b), the area cultivated by the peasant family sector represented only 3.1% and 5% of the total area of Magude and Chókwè districts, respectively. The principal food crops grown by the families are maize, cassava, groundnuts, beans and tomatoes. Sometimes, the family sector also grows some crops for the market, such as maize, rice, onions,

tomatoes, sugar beans and vegetables. The crop production in the family sector depends mainly on the labour of household members.

Generally, the agricultural production in the two districts is low. The harvest production is not sufficient to cover basic needs. Natural disasters, such as floods and droughts have been considered as the main constraints on food crop production. For instance, in 2000 Chókwè and its surroundings were particularly hard-hit by rising flood waters from the Limpopo River, killing several people and leaving many others displaced, apart from destroying infrastructure and devastating crops (see Eliah, 2000). On the other hand, the region is characterized by a low and variable rainfall and high evapotranspiration leading to high agricultural risk in dry land farming areas (Timberlake, 1994). Additional constraints are related to the shortage of tools and labour as well as the lack of rural credit. Households usually resort to other sources of non-agricultural income to satisfy their food security needs. Waged labour, remittances from relatives, seasonal labour, the sale of drinks and firewood, trade, etc., are some of the most important alternative sources of household income. Although the migrant labour has been seen as reducing the level of production, the male emigration to South Africa makes a major contribution to increasing household earnings in the two districts (UNHCR and UNDP, 1997a; 1997b).

(ii) Gauteng and Mpumalanga provinces (South Africa)

Gauteng, whose capital is Johannesburg, is the smallest province in South Africa, with only 1.4% of the land area, but is highly urbanised and in 2001 had a population of 8,837,178, thereby being the second-largest after KwaZulu-Natal. Gauteng is the fastest growing province, experiencing a population growth of over 20% between 1996 and 2001 censuses (Statistics South Africa, 2006a). This has in part been associated with the presence of refugees and illegal immigrants from the rest of Africa, including Mozambique, who flood into the economic hub of Southern Africa seeking a better life (see Lekogo, 2006).

Gauteng has the largest contribution to the economy of South Africa: more than 30% of its gross domestic product (GDP). It contributes heavily in the financial, manufacturing, transport, technology and telecommunications, amongst other sectors (Statistics South Africa, 2006a). Gauteng is mostly located on the Highveld, sharing common borders with Free State in the south, North-West in the west, Limpopo in the north, and Mpumalanga in the east.

Mpumalanga, the second research site in South Africa, constitutes 6.5% of South Africa's land area, and its capital is Nelspruit. It lies in eastern South Africa, north of KwaZulu-Natal and bordering Swaziland and Mozambique. In the north it borders on Limpopo, to the west the Free State, and to the southwest Gauteng (Statistics South Africa, 2006b). Mpumalanga is the only province of South Africa to border two provinces of Mozambique (Maputo and Gaza provinces, in which respectively Magude and Chókwè districts are located). This fact leads to a concentration of many Mozambican immigrants in that province, mainly in the agricultural sector. Moreover, it allows many other Mozambican migrants to use Mpumalanga as a springboard for entering into the South Africa's economic hub, the Gauteng region.

From an economic point of view, manufacturing, mining, agriculture, tourism and forestry are the key sectors of Mpumalanga's economy (Statistics South Africa, 2006b). The agricultural sector in Mpumalanga has been considered as the one with the highest concentration of Mozambican workers, many of them undocumented (Crush *et al.*, 2000; Mather, 2000).

4.2.2 Sample survey (in Magude and Chókwè districts)

As noted by Apap (2000), the quantitative approach to data collection has the advantage of making possible the measuring of reactions of a great number of people to a limited set of questions, thus facilitating comparison and statistical aggregation of the data. In contrast to the qualitative research that increases the understanding of the specific cases and situations studied, the quantitative approach allows or generalization. The survey is

the most common method of collecting quantitative data in social research, wherein the survey questionnaire has been the main measuring instrument.

Since the broad object in this research was to observe and record patterns, which seemed to be accepted or institutionalised among undocumented labour migrants and their home communities in specific fields, quantification was used as a complementary research tool. A sample survey was conducted in the two selected research sites, Magude and Chókwè districts, in Mozambique.

4.2.2.1 Sample design

The sample design for the survey was a multi-stage probabilistic sample of 740 households. This size was judged large enough to provide a sufficient number of cases for analysis. It was also determined by the availability of financial and human resources for the fieldwork. The survey was conceived to produce accurate data on undocumented labour migration to South Africa, for the two districts together.

The unit of observation was the household. A household consisted of one individual or group of individuals, linked by kinship ties or not, living in the same unit of habitation, sharing the basic expenses of provisions and habitation, and having a male or female adult as their chief. The unit of analysis was each member in the household, who ever had experienced an undocumented labour migration to South Africa. The geographical domains of analysis were the two selected districts.

(i) Base for sampling

The base for sampling was a list of primary units and enumeration areas of the selected districts, derived from the data and cartography of the 1997 Mozambique's Population Census. The enumeration area was the smallest spatial unit in the sample design (see Figure 4.1).

In total, there were 100 primary units of sampling; 27 (27%) of them were urban (Table 4.1). One primary unit represented a geographical space with 3 to 5 enumeration areas. According to the 1997 Population Census, the urban enumeration areas were conceived to contain 120 to 150 households, while the rural ones might contain 80 to 100 households. This means that one urban primary unit possessed 360 to 750 households, while the rural one could have only 240 to 500 households.

Table 4.1: Distribution of primary units for sampling by district and stratum

| Province | District | Primary units for sampling | | Total |
|----------|----------|----------------------------|-------|-------|
| | | Urban | Rural | |
| Maputo | Magude | 5 | 16 | 21 |
| Gaza | Chókwè | 22 | 57 | 79 |
| Total | | 27 | 73 | 100 |

The primary units were used in the first sampling stage. In the second stage, the enumeration areas were selected. The frame also contained the number of households and the size of population by primary units and enumeration areas. This information was useful for the allocation and selection of sample.

For the control of errors, the enumeration areas had to cover settled areas, without omissions or duplications. The limits of the enumeration areas had to be clear and easily identifiable in the field. For that, it was necessary to use maps available in the National Institute for Statistics (Mozambique).

(ii) Sample size

The selection of sample size depends on the intended level of confidence and accuracy, among other aspects. Usually, confidence levels of 95% or 90% are considered. However, when errors can have serious consequences, the highest confidence levels are required. This survey used a confidence level of 95%. The accuracy level of intended

estimates was fixed at 15%, meaning that the estimates should not deviate from their real values more than fifteen percent, which is the level of variation coefficient usually used in these kinds of surveys based on population.

It was necessary to determine the minimum sample size within each of the two strata, urban and rural. So, for each selected urban enumeration area a minimum sample size of 20 households was determined, while for each rural one a minimum sample size of 15 households was fixed. It was judged that for a socio-demographic survey like this, the optimal number of households to be selected in each segment as enumeration area varied usually between 8 and 20. This means that the selection of 20 households in each urban enumeration area and 15 households in each rural one was very reasonable.

The minimum sample sizes for urban and rural enumeration areas were fixed taking into account the differences among them in respect to costs of the fieldwork and variation of some characteristics. In general, the costs are higher in the rural areas, while the variation of some characteristics is higher in the urban areas. The Table 4.2 shows the distribution of the sample households among the urban and rural strata by selected districts, according to the 1997 Mozambique's Population Census.

Table 4.2: Distribution of enumeration areas and sample households by selected districts, urban and rural strata

| District | Number of households (1997 census) | | | Number of selected enumeration areas | | | Number of selected households | |
|----------|---------------------------------------|-------|-------|---|-------|-------|-------------------------------------|-------|
| | Urban | Rural | Total | Urban | Rural | Total | Urban | Rural |
| Magude | 2230 | 5586 | 7816 | 4 | 11 | 15 | 80 | 165 |
| Chókwè | 10098 | 25087 | 35185 | 9 | 21 | 30 | 180 | 315 |
| Total | 12328 | 30673 | 43001 | 13 | 32 | 45 | 260 | 480 |

The urban stratum of Chókwè district was represented by 9 enumeration areas (twice bigger than the urban stratum of Magude district) due to the weight of its urban population in the total of the two districts. Altogether 45 enumeration areas were selected for the sample of the two districts, 15 in Magude and 30 in Chókwè (see Appendix 4.2).

The total drawn sample was of 740 households. The number of households to be interviewed varied from 260 for the urban stratum to 480 for rural one.

(iii) Selection of households

To get an updated sample of households within each enumeration area of the sample, the selection of households was based on a recent list of households. There were 3 and 4 households in reserve for each rural and urban enumeration area, respectively. These households in reserve were selected at the same time as the households of the sample. So, 18 and 24 households within each rural and urban enumeration area, respectively, were selected. The selection was random systematic. This means that, from the sampling frame, a starting point was chosen at random, and thereafter at regular intervals. The sampling intervals were determined by dividing the total of households in a selected rural and urban enumeration area by 18 and 24 households, respectively. This procedure ensured that every household in the enumeration area had some chance of being selected.

4.2.2.2 Design of the survey questionnaire

In order to get some standardisation for collection of comparable information from each respondent, a structured questionnaire, consisting mainly of closed questions, was designed. This questionnaire was divided into 3 sections:

- (i) Basic social and demographic characteristics of the household and identification of people with prior experience of undocumented labour migration to South Africa (returned migrants);
- (ii) Data on returned undocumented labour migrants (profile, remittances, labour migration experience); and
- (iii) Socio-economic status of the household (Appendix 4.1).

4.2.2.3 Pilot study

The survey questionnaire was designed in Portuguese during November and December 2003. Before the main fieldwork a pilot study was conducted in one of the research sites, in order to test the effectiveness of data collection instruments, and to familiarize the interviewers with the research tools. It was assumed that a pilot study could reveal weaknesses in the questionnaire, which could be corrected before the main fieldwork. The pilot study was also useful in allocating time and resources for the main fieldwork. In January 2004 the questionnaire was pre-tested, and modified in February. The modification of the questionnaire included a reduction in length and clarification of some questions (with additional explanations) to avoid mistakes on the part of the interviewers.

4.2.2.4 Survey interviews

The limitation of financial resources led to a reduction of the number of interviewers initially intended, from six to two. Consequently, the duration of fieldwork was longer than expected. The survey interviews were conducted by the two interviewers, supervised by the researcher.

The interviewers were carefully selected on the basis of their accumulated fieldwork experience in previous surveys. For instance, they had some experience in conducting survey interviews for the Population Studies Centre (at Eduardo Mondlane University) and the National Institute for Statistics (in Mozambique). They were previously trained on how to deal with the survey questionnaire and with interviewees.

Initially, the interviewers took much time in completing the questionnaires. But, with familiarity and experience they worked faster. Likewise, the initial questionnaires had to be carefully examined by the author, since they were more susceptible to errors on the part of interviewers. The researcher was available and accessible to the fieldworkers, and he checked the questionnaires at end of each day's work. In all, the survey interviews covered 745 households (five more than expected).

Constraints on the survey interviews

Some difficulties in the process of conducting the survey interviews were related to the long distances between the selected enumeration areas, mainly in the rural areas (more than 150 km, in some cases). Because of this, much time was spent travelling, since the roads were hardly accessible.

Also, it is necessary to point out that some aspects of the political and social organization of the selected communities contributed to the extended duration of the fieldwork. Before the fieldwork approval had to be obtained from the local political and governmental authorities (in the district, administrative post, and locality). Thereafter these authorities informed the community leaders in the selected enumeration areas to co-operate in the study.

However, it is important to note that, without these previous contacts with the local authorities and community leaders, it would have not been possible to conduct the interviews. Many people in the research sites were reluctant to co-operate. This was because they were tired of being interviewed and they do not see the results of such surveys. On the other hand, some people avoided being interviewed as much as possible, since they associated the survey with the activities of political parties. This fact was because the survey coincided with the year of an electoral campaign in Mozambique.

Another concern was the reduced number of interviewed migrant household members (returned undocumented labour migrants). When the survey was conducted (during the months of April and May 2004) many migrants were still in South Africa. It became evident that returned migrants in the research sites should be interviewed during the months of December and January, when they were at home for Christmas and the annual vacation.

4.2.2.5 Data coding and database construction

The process of data coding was done by the researcher. After coding, the data were entered into computer using the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS). Following the data entry, another process of data cleaning took place, which consisted in checking for errors and doing a set of logical checks for internal consistency.

The database was organised into three sets according to the structure of the survey questionnaire. The first set contained basic social and demographic data on 4645 persons enumerated in 745 sample households. The second one was about the information on returned undocumented labour migrants enumerated in sample households. The third set contained information on the socio-economic status of the 745 sample households.

Finally, it is important to note that the 745 sample households represented about 2% of the total of households of the two districts together. A little more than three fifths of the sample households had some experience of migration to South Africa whether documented or not. Nearly 42% of the sample households had at least one economically active household member away in South Africa at the time of survey. In fact, there were 509 people (about 11%) of the sample population away in South Africa, almost all of them in the economically active age group 15-64. In addition, there were 107 undocumented migrants who had returned from South Africa and were present in the sample households during the survey.

4.2.3 Qualitative data collection

It has been argued that the qualitative methods permit researchers to study selected issues in depth and detail, particularly to understand the historical movement of social relations (Agozino, 2000; Apap, 2000). Qualitative methods can produce a wealth of detailed information from a much smaller number of people and cases, and increase the understanding of the specific situations.

Therefore, these methods were used to get detailed information not only from undocumented labour migrants themselves, but also from individuals, organisations and professionals dealing with issues concerning undocumented labour migrants. Their information was considered relevant in the research, taking into account that they might care for all the undocumented migrants and, therefore, could be expected to deal with the different problems that were known to them.

The qualitative methods used in this study consisted of in-depth interviews, life migration histories and direct observation. The selection of informants for qualitative interviews was based on purposive or judgmental sampling method (Babbie and Mouton, 2001). Given their complexity, the qualitative interviews were conducted exclusively by the researcher. All (37) life migration histories and (22) in-depth interviews from all research sites were recorded during the fieldwork and subsequently transcribed. They were analysed according to themes of the study. The life migration histories and extracts from interviews presented in this study are real, as well as the places where they took place. However, the names of the participants are fictitious.

4.2.3.1 Qualitative interviews in Magude and Chókwè districts

Life migration histories

Most of the migrants approached for life migration histories had been identified during the survey interviews in the sample households. They were asked a series of detailed questions about their experiences in South Africa, focusing on economic and social contacts, occupational mobility and resource accumulation in that country. The life migration histories were structured in a way similar to what Breckner (2000) called 'biographical interviews', an approach of collecting qualitative data in social research using biographies. According to Breckner, biographies resulted from communicative processes, in the social scientific context mainly from an interaction between an

interviewee and an interviewer, and were constructed and presented in the form of a telling of events and developments in someone's life to another person.

In-depth interviews

Furthermore, in Mozambique, ten in-depth interviews were conducted with some key informants, such as community leaders, District Administrators, District Directors of Labour, border officers, representatives of Department of Migratory Labour (in the Ministry of Labour), and labour migrants recruiting agency. In-depth interviews were based mostly on open-ended and semi-structured questions, which could vary according to the area of interest of the interviewee.

4.2.3.2 Qualitative interviews in Gauteng and Mpumalanga

Life migration histories

The interviews in South Africa provided an opportunity for each immigrant to present a brief story of his/her movement from Mozambique to South Africa, from the first trip to the last one. Each interviewed immigrant was asked to talk about his/her life experience before migration, during the migration process, and after entering into South Africa. Special emphasis was given to some aspects related to socioeconomic conditions at home before migration, social contacts during the migration process and after the entering into South Africa, achievements, and perspectives relating to varied experiences.

In Gauteng, fifteen life migration histories were gathered from some migrants living in Tembisa, Soweto, Bakkersdal, and Johannesburg. These were areas with high concentrations of Mozambican immigrants as confirmed by the Consulate of Mozambique in Johannesburg. The researcher carried out all interviews. In order to get some assistance from the local communities for contacts with the potential interviewees, a credential letter from the School of Development Studies indicated that the researcher

was a Ph.D. student at University of KwaZulu-Natal. This letter was presented to the Consulate General of Mozambique in Johannesburg, which in its turn facilitated contacts with leaders of Mozambican communities in Tembisa, Soweto, Bekkersdal, and Johannesburg.

Once the contacts with the community leaders had been established, a schedule of visits was set up, according to the time availability of each community leader and the potential interviewees. Nearly all visits took place during weekends, when the community leaders and a considerable number of potential interviewees were at home.

The community leaders were aware that the main aim of the visit was to talk with the undocumented Mozambican immigrants in their communities in order to understand their difficulties and consequently to suggest how living conditions in South Africa could be improved. Many undocumented Mozambican citizens welcomed this message. When the researcher arrived in each community there were some undocumented immigrants waiting to be interviewed.

Since the researcher was not familiar with the Gauteng region, on each visit he was accompanied by a member of the staff of Mozambican Consulate in Johannesburg, who guided him to the different communities. It was necessary to rent a car for the fieldwork in order to make shorter the distances between the visited communities.

For security reasons, the potential interviewees were brought together to a single venue that was suggested by the community leader. However, the interviews with the undocumented migrants took place on an one-to-one basis in order to guarantee confidence. According to community leaders, an attempt at interviewing the people in their own residences would not be successful, because of possible suspicion that the researcher was linked to the police.

In Mpumalanga, ten life migration histories were obtained from Mozambican immigrants working in the 'Nova Sun' farm, around the Nkomazi area, and some other Mozambicans

employed in other service sectors in Nelspruit. As in the case of Gauteng, the researcher approached the Consulate of Mozambique in Nelspruit for assistance with fieldwork.

The contacts with Mozambican farm workers had been made through the head of the Mozambican Labour Department in Nelspruit. He was the only person who could easily be in touch with the farmers, since he was responsible for labour affairs of the Mozambican government in Mpumalanga and Limpopo provinces. Any contact with the farm workers had to be approved by the farmers and it had to be requested in advance, at least one week earlier. In addition, the farm workers could be contacted only at weekends, when they were away from their work. Thus, the researcher had to wait for almost one week to get contacts with the Mozambican workers in the 'Nova Sun' farm, whose employer was the only farmer who responded to the request of the Mozambican Labour Department in Nelspruit. The 'Nova Sun' farm is located around the Nkomazi area, very close to the Komatipoort border. Mr Petrous was the head of all Mozambican workers in the 'Nova Sun' farm, and he facilitated contacts with interviewed migrants.

In-depth interviews

Altogether, eleven in-depth interviews took place in South Africa. Some were conducted with the leaders of visited communities in Gauteng. Other interviews took place with some officials of the Mozambican Consulate in Johannesburg, as well as in the Mozambican Consulate in Nelspruit. Also, very useful key informants in Mpumalanga were the Sub-delegate of the Mozambican Labour Department in Nelspruit, Mr Petrous in the 'Nova Sun' farm, and Mr Nico (fieldwork guide).

4.2.3.3 Qualitative data limitations

In Mozambique, time and financial constraints led to a reduction in number of qualitative interviews. In addition, linguistic barriers between the researcher and the potential interviewees, particularly the migrants, resulted in a small number of life migration

histories. The local language was Shangaan. So an attempt was made to interview only migrants who could speak Portuguese, which was not easy.

As in the case of Mozambique, most of interviewed migrants in South Africa were men. Only few women were available to be interviewed. There were two reasons for this imbalance: firstly, men constituted the majority of Mozambican immigrants in South Africa; and secondly, most of women used to stay with their relatives, usually men. According to the African custom the women are not allowed to deal with outside affairs, unless they are living without men. Indeed, three of four interviewed women were widowed.

As a result of the limited financial resources it was not possible to observe every detail of social life of each one of the interviewed immigrants. However, it was possible to get detailed information from each immigrant about his/her migration experience.

Notwithstanding these constraints, the fieldwork in South Africa as well as in Mozambique yielded enough data for the analysis. The following chapters present the study findings, which start with the patterns of undocumented Mozambican labour migration to South Africa in chapter five.

CHAPTER 5

PATTERNS OF UNDOCUMENTED MOZAMBICAN LABOUR MIGRATION TO SOUTH AFRICA

5.1 Introduction

This chapter focuses on current patterns of undocumented Mozambican labour migration to South Africa. Using survey data gathered from two districts of southern Mozambique, as well as qualitative information obtained from all research sites, it presents a snapshot of migration processes from 1980 to 2004. Also, demographic and socioeconomic profiles of undocumented Mozambican labour migrants are presented in this chapter. The chapter starts with an examination of extent of migration in the Mozambican research sites. Then it shows the trends and causes of migration, and the composition of migrants by sex and age. Finally, it presents a socio-economic profile of undocumented migrants.

5.2 Extent of migration

Table 5.1 presents the *de jure* count of members of sample households in Magude and Chókwè districts, classified by sex and age. In terms of age, three age groups have been considered (0-14, 15-64, 65 years and over), taking into account the limits of productive power within a population (see Thompson and Lewis, 1965:91; Domenach and Picouet, 1995:81). So, it has been assumed that age 15 is the approximate lower limit of productive power and that age 64 is near the top limit in the studied population. The population groups under 15 and over 64 have been considered as economically dependent, while the age group 15-64 has been regarded as economically active part of the population. Henceforth, the population within this last group will be called working-age population.

A brief reading of data in Table 5.1 on the *de jure* count of members of sample households at the time of survey (May 2004) reveals that the greatest number of those who were away in South Africa was among the working-age household members. From a total of 4645 household members in the sample, 10.9% were away in South Africa when the survey was conducted, nearly all of them in the working-age group 15-64.

In terms of gender, data from both districts showed that migrating to South Africa was more common among the working-age men than women. In Magude district, there were around 30% of working-age males of the sample that had already moved to South Africa, compared to only 5.3% of working-age females. This scenario was also observed in Chókwè district, where the household members who were away in South Africa at the time of fieldwork represented 34% and 3.3% of working-age males and females, respectively.

Table 5.1: The *de jure* count of members of sample households at the time of fieldwork

| Age (years) | <i>De jure</i> count | District and sex | | | | Total |
|---------------------------------------|-------------------------|------------------|---------|--------|---------|-------|
| | | Magude | | Chókwè | | |
| | | Males | Females | Males | Females | |
| 0-14 | Present (%) | 22.8 | 23.1 | 26.0 | 27.4 | 25.5 |
| | Away within country (%) | 12.0 | 11.3 | 13.7 | 12.0 | 12.5 |
| | Away in SA (%) | 0.5 | 0.5 | 0.6 | 0.5 | 0.5 |
| 15-64 | Present (%) | 21.2 | 38.9 | 17.1 | 36.6 | 28.4 |
| | Away within country (%) | 21.5 | 19.1 | 20.7 | 18.4 | 19.7 |
| | Away in SA (%) | 18.0 | 3.3 | 19.7 | 2.0 | 10.3 |
| 65+ | Present (%) | 2.8 | 3.4 | 1.4 | 2.1 | 2.2 |
| | Away within country (%) | 1.1 | 0.4 | 0.6 | 1.0 | 0.8 |
| | Away in SA (%) | 0.1 | -- | 0.2 | -- | 0.1 |
| | Total (%) | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |
| Total of members of sample households | | 702 | 796 | 1507 | 1640 | 4645 |

Table 5.2 shows the population aged 15 and over in the sample, who were present in the households at time of survey, classified by the experience of having ever been to South

Africa. Here, all individuals with experience of migrating to South Africa, who were present in the households at the time of survey, will be regarded as returned migrants.⁴

It is evident from Table 5.2 that emigration is a common phenomenon, particularly among working-age males, in both districts. In each district, about sixty percent of males aged 15 and over, who were present in the households at time of survey, had some experience of migrating to South Africa. Females with such experience in Magude and Chókwè district represented only 14% and 6.2%, respectively, of all women aged 15 and over, who were present in the households at the time of survey.

Table 5.2: Experience of migrating to South Africa

| Age (years) | Experience of having ever been to South Africa | District and sex | | | | Total |
|--|--|------------------|---------|--------|---------|-------|
| | | Magude | | Chókwè | | |
| | | Males | Females | Males | Females | |
| 15-64 | Some (%) | 51.2 | 13.4 | 52.7 | 6.0 | 22.3 |
| | None (%) | 37.5 | 78.6 | 39.8 | 88.5 | 70.6 |
| 65+ | Some (%) | 10.1 | 0.6 | 6.5 | 0.2 | 2.7 |
| | None (%) | 1.2 | 7.4 | 1.0 | 5.3 | 4.4 |
| Total (%) | | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |
| Number of males and females aged 15 and over, present in the sample households | | | | | | |
| | | 168 | 337 | 279 | 636 | 1420 |

⁴ In a study on migration in four Mexican communities, Massey *et al.* (1987) used the concept of “inactive migrants” to designate those migrants who had already returned to the study areas at the time of fieldwork.

Table 5.3: Males and females aged 15 and over by legal status on their last trip to South Africa

| Legal status | Year of last trip | District and sex | | | | Total |
|---|-------------------|------------------|---------|--------|---------|-------|
| | | Magude | | Chókwè | | |
| | | Males | Females | Males | Females | |
| Documented | Before 1980 (%) | 21.4 | 2.1 | 24.9 | 0.0 | 18.1 |
| | 1980-1984 (%) | 4.8 | 0.0 | 2.4 | 2.6 | 2.8 |
| | 1985-1989 (%) | 2.9 | 2.1 | 1.2 | 0.0 | 1.7 |
| | 1990-1994 (%) | 2.9 | 0.0 | 2.4 | 0.0 | 2.0 |
| | 1995-1999 (%) | 13.6 | 2.1 | 9.1 | 18.0 | 10.4 |
| | 2000-2004 (%) | 11.6 | 6.4 | 9.7 | 25.6 | 11.6 |
| Undocumented | Before 1980 (%) | 2.9 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.8 |
| | 1980-1984 (%) | 0.0 | 4.3 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.6 |
| | 1985-1989 (%) | 4.9 | 17.0 | 0.6 | 0.0 | 4.0 |
| | 1990-1994 (%) | 4.9 | 23.4 | 4.2 | 5.1 | 7.1 |
| | 1995-1999 (%) | 8.7 | 10.7 | 10.9 | 15.4 | 10.7 |
| | 2000-2004 (%) | 21.4 | 31.9 | 34.6 | 33.3 | 30.2 |
| | Total (%) | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |
| | Mean year | 1990 | 1994 | 1992 | 1999 | 1992 |
| | Median year | 1996 | 1995 | 1998 | 2000 | 1998 |
| Number of males and females aged 15 and over with experience of migrating to South Africa | | 103 | 47 | 165 | 39 | 354 |

As the Table 5.3 shows, in most of cases the migration experience was relatively recent. In general, 1998 was the median year of the last trips to South Africa within the reference period 1980-2004. Fifty percent of the working-age men from Magude district had made their last trips to South Africa between 1996 and 2004, and a similar proportion from Chókwè district made the last trips between 1998 and 2004. At least half of the working-age women from Chókwè district visited South Africa between 2000 and 2004, and also a similar proportion from Magude district had made the last trips between 1995 and 2004.

It is also important to note that in both districts, most of the working-age males used to spend a great part of their economically active years in South Africa. More than half of economically active men in each district had been to South Africa five times or more. This means that the men were at home only for short periods. In contrast, the majority of

working-age women with experience of migrating to South Africa, in both districts, had been there only once. This may be an indication that the purposes of migration among women might be to a certain extent different from those among men. In effect, an examination of causes of migration (in the next section) shows that most of the women had migrated to join up with their families or because of the civil war in Mozambique.

Nevertheless, there are no remarkable differences between men and women with regard to the length of stay in South Africa during their first trip.⁵ Most of the men and women stayed in South Africa for one year or more on their first trip. The long period of stay in South Africa may be associated with the length of time that is necessary to deal with all affairs related to job attainment and establishing a base, particularly among the men.

In terms of when the first trip was made, there are some differences between men and women, and the age groups as well. More than half of men aged 15 and over in the Magude district had left for South Africa for the first time before 1980. The majority of men from Chókwè had made the first trip relatively late, as from mid-1980s (see Table 5.4). The median years in Table 5.4 show that 50% of men from the Magude district had made their first trips from 1976, while half of the men from the Chókwè district had left from 1986. This difference might be related to the fact that the Magude district is located much closer to South Africa than Chókwè district. Before the civil war intensified in southern Mozambique in the mid-1980s, there was a border post in Magude district that allowed many citizens from this district to enter South Africa easily and legally through Mapulanguene / Skukuza border.

⁵ The reference to first trip is made in order to capture any person who might have started as an undocumented migrant but become documented on the subsequent trips to South Africa.

Table 5.4: Males and females aged 15 and over by legal status on their first trip to South Africa

| South Africa | | | | | | |
|---|--------------------|------------------|---------|--------|---------|-------|
| Legal status | Year of first trip | District and sex | | | | Total |
| | | Magude | | Chókwè | | |
| | | Males | Females | Males | Females | |
| Documented | Before 1980 (%) | 48.5 | 4.3 | 42.4 | 5.1 | 35.0 |
| | 1980-1984 (%) | 1.0 | -- | 1.2 | 2.6 | 1.1 |
| | 1985-1989 (%) | 1.9 | 2.1 | 3.0 | -- | 2.3 |
| | 1990-1994 (%) | 1.9 | 2.1 | 0.6 | 7.7 | 2.0 |
| | 1995-1999 (%) | 3.0 | 4.3 | 1.2 | 25.6 | 4.8 |
| | 2000-2004 (%) | 1.0 | -- | 1.2 | 5.1 | 1.4 |
| Undocumented | Before 1980 (%) | 5.8 | 2.1 | -- | -- | 2.0 |
| | 1980-1984 (%) | 5.8 | 2.1 | 1.8 | -- | 2.8 |
| | 1985-1989 (%) | 13.6 | 29.8 | 6.7 | 2.6 | 11.3 |
| | 1990-1994 (%) | 8.7 | 19.1 | 16.4 | 7.7 | 13.6 |
| | 1995-1999 (%) | 5.8 | 12.8 | 18.2 | 12.8 | 13.3 |
| | 2000-2004 (%) | 3.0 | 21.3 | 7.3 | 30.8 | 10.4 |
| Total (%) | | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |
| Mean year | | 1976 | 1991 | 1981 | 1995 | 1982 |
| Median year | | 1976 | 1991 | 1986 | 1998 | 1988 |
| Number of males and females aged 15 and over with experience of migrating to South Africa | | | | | | |
| | | 103 | 47 | 165 | 39 | 354 |

However, it is important to note that about 87% of men aged 65 and over in both districts had migrated for the first time before 1980, and were probably linked to contract labour migration. This is supported by the fact that most of them had left with some documentation (Table 5.4). It must be noted that the majority of those who left after 1980 went without any documentation, since most of them were trying to escape from the civil war.

Table 5.4 reveals that the majority of women aged 15 and over, who had ever been to South Africa at the time of survey in the two districts, made their first trip later than men. Interestingly, a significant proportion of women also moved without documentation. Fifty percent of women from Magude district had left for the first time in 1991, while half of the women from the Chókwè district had made their first trips as from 1998 (Table 5.4).

This suggests that the involvement of women in the process of migration to South Africa is to some extent a recent phenomenon, which may be associated with conjectural factors, which will be discussed in the next section.

5.3 Trends and causes of undocumented migration

The forgoing section revealed that more than half of males and females aged 15 and over, who had ever been to South Africa at the time of survey, had made their first trip without any documentation. Also, it became clear that nearly all who left undocumented on their first trips had started to migrate since 1980. This section analyses the migration processes of these people between 1980 and 2004.

Table 5.5 examines the evolution and main causes of undocumented migration to South Africa from the two selected Mozambican districts of Magude and Chókwè in the course of 1980-2004. It has data on working-age men and women (between 15 and 64 years old), enumerated in the households' sample, who had left undocumented on their first trip to South Africa during the period 1980-2004. They were present in the households at the time of survey and were therefore considered as returned migrants.

The data in Table 5.5 show an increase in the intensity of undocumented migration to South Africa as from the mid-eighties, particularly from the Magude district, the closest research site to South Africa. Also, it can be noted that from this period onwards, the process of undocumented migration has increasingly involved females as well. This fact is very noticeable in Magude district, where the number of working-age females (39) that left undocumented on their first trip to South Africa, during the reference period, is almost similar to the number of males (42).

Table 5.5: Males and females aged 15-64 who had left undocumented on their first trip to South Africa and reasons for leaving

| Year of first trip | Reasons for leaving | District and sex | | | | Total |
|--|----------------------------|------------------|---------|--------|---------|-------|
| | | Magude | | Chókwè | | |
| | | Males | Females | Males | Females | |
| Before 1980 | Looking for job (%) | 9.5 | -- | -- | -- | 2.2 |
| | Joining up with family (%) | -- | 2.5 | -- | -- | 0.6 |
| 1980-1984 | Looking for job (%) | 4.8 | -- | 3.6 | -- | 2.7 |
| | Civil war (%) | 9.5 | 2.6 | -- | -- | 2.7 |
| 1985-1989 | Looking for job (%) | 11.9 | -- | 13.3 | -- | 8.7 |
| | Joining up with family (%) | 4.8 | 12.8 | -- | 5.0 | 4.4 |
| | Civil war (%) | 16.7 | 20.5 | -- | -- | 8.2 |
| | Other (%) | -- | 2.6 | -- | -- | 0.5 |
| 1990-1994 | Looking for job (%) | 11.9 | -- | 31.3 | 5.0 | 17.4 |
| | Joining up with family (%) | -- | 2.6 | 1.2 | 5.0 | 1.6 |
| | Civil war (%) | 9.5 | 20.5 | -- | 5.0 | 7.1 |
| 1995-1999 | Looking for job (%) | 14.3 | -- | 33.7 | 5.0 | 19.0 |
| | Joining up with family (%) | -- | 10.2 | 2.4 | 20.0 | 5.4 |
| | Other (%) | -- | 2.6 | -- | -- | 0.5 |
| 2000-2004 | Looking for job (%) | 7.1 | 2.6 | 13.3 | -- | 8.2 |
| | Joining up with family (%) | -- | 17.9 | 1.2 | 55.0 | 10.3 |
| | Other (%) | -- | 2.6 | -- | -- | 0.5 |
| | Total (%) | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |
| Mean year | | 1988 | 1992 | 1994 | 1998 | 1993 |
| Median year | | 1988 | 1991 | 1995 | 2000 | 1993 |
| Number of males and females aged 15-64 who had left undocumented to SA on their first trip | | | | | | |
| | | 42 | 39 | 83 | 20 | 184 |

Another salient aspect in Table 5.5 has to do with the motivations for migrating. In both research sites, the main motivation for migrating to South Africa among the working-age males is the search for employment. However, one can observe that as from 1980s up to early 1990s, the civil war in Mozambique appears as an additional reason for leaving to South Africa, particularly in Magude district, by males as well as by females. This can be explained by the fact that Magude is located closer to South Africa than the Chókwè district, which obviously facilitated the cross-border movements during the civil war. This was referred to by the Administrator of Magude district in the following way:

There are cases of border crossing through Mapulanguene⁶, since this area is bound to Kruger Park. A considerable part of the population from that area moved to the other side of border, Skukuza, during the civil war. This population is still living there. It means there are many people in Mapulanguene who have relatives living on the South African side of border (Interview with Administrator of Magude district on May 26, 2004).

In addition to the civil war, the need to join relatives, who had already crossed the border, was another reason for moving to South Africa among the working-age males and females that had left undocumented on their first trip to South Africa during 1980-2004. Also, this kind of motivation was more evident among the women than men in both districts.

Moreover, it is important to observe that the data in Table 5.5 show some differences between the two districts with regard to the rise of migration within the reference period. While in Magude district the migration had increased from the 1980s, in the Chókwè district it increased from the 1990s. Fifty percent of working-age males from the Magude district had started to migrate from 1988, while the half of the males from the Chókwè district had begun from 1995 (see median years of first trip in Table 5.4). In the mid-eighties a significant proportion of economically active males from some areas of southern Mozambique, located along the border between Mozambique and South Africa, had been forced to migrate not just because of the search for employment, but also because of the civil war that had reached its culmination in that region. This was obviously the situation of working-age males observed in the Magude district during the 1980s. In the Chókwè district, this was not so close to South Africa as the Magude district, the migration of working-age males had raised as from nineties, since this was almost exclusively motivated by the need for getting job opportunities, which might be expected by migrants in consequence of the end of apartheid era in South Africa in the beginning of the 1990s.

⁶ Mapulanguene is a locality that belongs to Magude district. It is localized close to the South African Kruger National Park.

In the Magude district, the women represented 48% of all migrants that had left without documents on their first trip to South Africa, in the period 1980-2004; in Chókwè district they represented only 19.4%. As already noted, this may be an effect of close proximity (of the Magude district) or relative remoteness (of the Chókwè district) to South Africa. This is relevant in the context of one of the Ravenstein's laws of migration that there is a predominance of women among the short-distance migrants (see Ravenstein, 1889; Lee, 1966; Elizaga and Macisco Jr., 1975).

Two causes of migration became more salient in Chókwè district: looking for jobs (mainly men – 76.7%) and joining up with family (mainly women – 16.5%). In turn, the Magude district highlights three causes of migration: looking for jobs (mainly men – 30.9%), civil war (women and men – 21% and 18.5%, respectively) and joining up with family (mainly women – 22.2%).

Generally, it can be argued that the female migration for jobs from the two districts within the reference period has occurred on a much smaller scale than male migration. Most of working-age women who had left undocumented on their first trip to South Africa in the course of 1980-2004 did not go there to seek employment. They had gone there because of the civil war or to join up with their relatives, probably husbands, who might have already crossed the border for jobs. It is important to note that 61% of all women that had left undocumented on their first trip to South Africa during the reference period were married.

Thus, the data in Table 5.5 lead to the conclusion that the undocumented migration from the two districts during 1980-2004 had been motivated mainly by the need to get jobs in South Africa – among the working-age males – and joining up with family, among the working-age females. However, the effect of civil war in southern Mozambique in the course of 1980s and early 1990s contributed to the intensification of undocumented migration of both males and females from Magude district, during this period. In the Chókwè district, the increase in undocumented migration was more noticeable from

1990s, caused mostly by the need to get jobs in South Africa (among males) and joining up with family (among females).

In fact, the review of literature in chapter 3 has revealed that the rise in undocumented Mozambican migration to South Africa began in the eighties as a consequence of the civil war in Mozambique. At that time many Mozambicans, mainly those living close to the border, entered into South Africa as refugees. This is, for example, the case of “shangana refugees from the extreme western part of Mozambique” who “started migrating with their families to the Gazankulu national state in the north-eastern Transvaal at the end of 1984” and whose “migration reached a peak in mid-1985 when more than 300 people per week crossed the international boundary to South Africa” (Malan and Shilubane, 1986:2). Once in South Africa, many of refugees were informally employed, mainly in the agricultural sector along the border (see also Steinberg, 2005).

On the other hand, it is believed that the border farmers’ increasing demand for cheap, temporary and seasonal labour needs might have contributed to the spread of undocumented labour migration from the neighbouring countries to South Africa from the nineties. So, it seems probable that the observed increase in undocumented migration among the working-age males, particularly from the Chókwè district (Table 5.5), in the 1990s, might be linked to this process.

Crush *et al.* (2000:4) have identified three border areas where foreign migrants from neighbouring countries are known to be present in even greater numbers: Mpumalanga (mainly Mozambicans), the Northern Province (Zimbabweans) and the eastern Free State (Basotho). However, it must be noted that, after a certain period of stay in the border farms, many migrants tend to continue with their trips towards urban areas.

This fact has been supported by qualitative interviews during the fieldwork in Gauteng with some Mozambican migrants, who affirmed that they had been working in South African farms, close to the Mozambican border, before they came to Gauteng. Crush *et al.* (2000:6) have reported that in the Northern Province and Mpumalanga, “the farms

also straddle major migration and transportation routes to the south and west” so that “many migrants simply use the farms as a ‘refuelling station’ before moving on to their primary urban destination” (Crush *et al.*, 2000:6).

5.4 Demographic profile of undocumented labour migrants

The demographic background of migrants is also important in the identification of migration patterns. This section is centred on the analysis of demographic characteristics of undocumented Mozambican labour migrants to South Africa. The analysis is based on survey data referring to working-age males and females who had left undocumented on their first trips to South Africa in order to get jobs (see Table 5.5), as well as on qualitative data gathered from interviews with current undocumented Mozambican migrants in South Africa.

5.4.1 Sex and age composition of undocumented labour migrants

The survey identified 107 working-age people who had left undocumented to seek employment in South Africa. They represented 58.2% of all working-age males and females of the sample who had gone there without documents for various reasons (see Table 5.5). From this group, only three women had left undocumented with the aim of getting jobs.

This finding is reinforced by the statement from a border-guard officer, in Ressano Garcia border post, who at the time of fieldwork was responsible for reception of deported migrants from South Africa. On the basis of data at his disposal, he reported that the number of females involved in undocumented migration was relatively smaller than that of males:

During the first semester of 2004, we got a total of 20 364 repatriated migrants from South Africa. Only 843 of them were women. Most of the women do not go there to look for job. They go there to meet their

husbands, those who succeed in getting jobs (Interview with border-guard officer in Ressano Garcia border post, on September 08, 2004).

Although the survey data shows weak female participation in the migratory process for labour in South Africa, the qualitative data gathered from the South African research sites (Gauteng and Mpumalanga) suggest that the presence of women among the undocumented Mozambican labour migrants in those areas was somewhat more noticeable. In fact, according to interviews and observations during the fieldwork, it became clear that in all visited Mozambican migrant communities there were also undocumented females, in a considerable number, who were engaged in the informal sector (buying and reselling any kind of essential commodities) or working in the farm.

Some of the women had entered undocumented into South Africa on their first trip in order to join their relatives. But, once in the country, they started involving themselves in informal activities (in urban areas) or doing farm work (in rural areas). The job seems to be a consequence of being in the right place at the right time. This was, for instance, the case of Hortência, a Mozambican migrant woman from the outskirts of Maputo city. She came undocumented to South Africa in 1985 when she was 21 years old, in order to join her husband Marcos, who was working there for long time as a miner. Some time later, after her arrival in Johannesburg, Hortência got employed as housemaid in a neighbouring residence that belonged to a Portuguese. At the time of fieldwork, Hortência had given up her first job, as maid, and started her own business of buying and reselling raw vegetables, meat and fish in a market-stall in Soweto (Interview with Hortência in Johannesburg, on July 18, 2005).

Another example is Angelina, who came undocumented to Tembisa (South Africa) in 1989 from Chókwè district (Mozambique) when she was 23 years old. Angelina had come to Tembisa in order to join her uncle Sevene, a Mozambican businessman who was living there for many years. Once in Tembisa, Angelina stayed with her uncle Sevene who later gave her some money to start her own business. So, she began to buy and sell vegetables (tomatoes, potatoes, carrot, cabbage, lettuce, etc.) and, therefore, to generate her own income (Interview with Angelina in Tembisa, on July 19, 2005).

Clara, from Magude district, is another Mozambican woman who entered into South Africa as an undocumented migrant. She arrived for the first time in 1994 when she was 26 years old. She came because her husband had called her to join him. Clara's husband had come first, undocumented as well, and was working as farm worker in the 'Nova Sun' farm, in the Nkomazi area (Mpumalanga). After Clara joined her husband she also got employed in the same farm (Interview with Clara in the 'Nova Sun' farm, on September 25, 2005).

These three cases illustrate one of the most common ways in which Mozambican women become involved in undocumented labour migration to South Africa. It is interesting to note that although only three females in the sample explicitly mentioned job as motive for their move, all had relatives or friends in the destination at time of their departure, and two of them had left with relatives or friends as well.

Table 5.6 shows the age composition of undocumented labour migrants at time of their first trip to South Africa. One can observe that on their first trip the most of migrants were in the younger working-age groups between fifteen and twenty-four years, and their mean age was only 20, in both Mozambican research sites.

Table 5.6: Age distribution of undocumented labour migrants at the time of their first trip to South Africa

| Age on the first trip (years) | District | | Total |
|--|----------|--------|-------|
| | Magude | Chókwè | |
| 15-19 (%) | 57.7 | 51.8 | 53.2 |
| 20-24 (%) | 23.1 | 38.3 | 34.6 |
| 25-29 (%) | 11.6 | 6.2 | 7.5 |
| 30-34 (%) | 3.8 | 2.5 | 2.8 |
| 35-39 (%) | 3.8 | 1.2 | 1.9 |
| Total (%) | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |
| Mean age | 20.3 | 20.4 | 20.4 |
| Number of undocumented labour migrants | 26 | 81 | 107 |

Age-selective migration also seemed evident from the qualitative fieldwork in Gauteng and Mpumalanga as well as in the Mozambican research sites. Similar to the survey findings, the qualitative data shows that the most of interviewees were in the age group 15-24 years when they made their first trip to South Africa.

In fact, Crush *et al.* (2000) found that in the Mpumalanga lowveld there was a category of farm workers, known as temporary workers, which comprised predominantly of undocumented migrants from Mozambique. They were “almost exclusively young men between the age of 16 (or younger) and 20”, who were “hired for specific short-term tasks” that required few skills (Crush *et al.*, 2000:18)

5.4.2 Marital status and household position of undocumented labour migrants

This section focuses on the family situation of undocumented Mozambican labour migrants. Table 5.7 gives the marital status of undocumented labour migrants at the time of their first trip to South Africa. Consistent with the prevalence of very young people among undocumented labour migrants from the Mozambican research sites, most of them (80.4%) were unmarried at the time of their first trip to South Africa. Those who were married were mostly 20 years and older. This pattern was evident in both Magude and Chókwè.

Table 5.7: Marital status of undocumented labour migrants at the time of their first trip to South Africa

| Marital status | District | | Total |
|--|----------|--------|-------|
| | Magude | Chókwè | |
| Single (%) | 80.8 | 80.3 | 80.4 |
| Married (%) | 19.2 | 18.5 | 18.7 |
| Divorced (%) | -- | 1.2 | 0.9 |
| Total (%) | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |
| Number of undocumented labour migrants | 26 | 81 | 107 |

The qualitative data also reflected the predominance of unmarried young people amongst undocumented Mozambican labour migrants. A little more than 60% of the interviewees were not married when they came for the first time to South Africa.

However, it is important to stress that it was difficult to identify a clear pattern in terms of marital status among female labour migrants, since they comprised such a small proportion in the survey sample and in qualitative interviews. But there was an indication that the presence of never married women among the undocumented labour migrants might be low. All (six) women included in the qualitative interviews were married or divorced at the time of their first trip to South Africa.

The degree of motivation for migration to South Africa among Mozambican women depends in part on a set of social obligations that they have within the family. Married women, whose husbands have already migrated, are particularly prone to move in order to join their partners. Divorced or separated women usually have under their responsibility small children who need to be fed, brought up and educated. So, such women may be more highly motivated to migrate when compared with those without such social obligations (as it is the case of young single women). For instance, Maria, a female returned migrant from South Africa (interviewed in Magude district in January 2004) revealed that she had been forced to migrate because of lack of financial and material resources to invest in the maintenance and education of her children, given that she was divorced:

It was at that time of war... Because of war, I left Magude and went to Maputo-city. In Maputo I began to suffer. There, I was depending only on the support from my father. My father had given support to me and my children, since I was divorced. My father was not having enough energy to support us, because he was a small peasant and his farm was not producing enough for our maintenance. In addition, my brothers, their spouses and children were living with us in the same household. Even for sleeping we had to suffer. Because of these living conditions, I was forced to leave to South Africa in search of job. There I found a job and noted that I could buy goods for selling and getting money for my children. So, I started to do it. After a certain time and many movements to South Africa, buying and selling goods, I managed to

build this house that God gave me. Thanks to South Africa I got everything that I have in this house. Now I am able to bring up and educate my children (Interview with Maria in the Magude district, on January 23, 2004).

Another issue is the situation of migrants in the household hierarchy. The majority (79.5%) of undocumented labour migrants of the sample were sons in the households when they left for the first time to South Africa (Table 5.8). Also, qualitative interviews revealed that majority of interviewed migrants had moved as sons of households on their first trip. This is consistent with the fact that the most of migrants were young and single at time of their first trip.

Table 5.8: Household position of undocumented labour migrants at the time of their first trip to South Africa

| Household position | District | | Total |
|--|----------|--------|-------|
| | Magude | Chókwè | |
| Head (%) | 15.4 | 17.3 | 16.8 |
| Son/daughter (%) | 76.9 | 80.2 | 79.5 |
| Other relative (%) | 7.7 | 2.5 | 3.7 |
| Total (%) | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |
| Number of undocumented labour migrants | 26 | 81 | 107 |

However, it is also important to note that the presence of household heads among undocumented labour migrants was also evident. Almost 17% of undocumented labour migrants of the sample were household heads when they went to South Africa for the first time. From qualitative interviews we identified six cases of migrants who started moving as household heads.

5.5 Socioeconomic profile of undocumented labour migrants

In this section the socioeconomic characteristics of undocumented Mozambican labour migrants at the moment of leaving to South Africa are analysed. The socioeconomic

variables that have been used in the analysis are education and occupation. Table 5.9 highlights the educational level among the undocumented labour migrants at the time of their first trip to South Africa.

The education level of undocumented labour migrants from both study areas is very low. About 30% of all migrants were completely illiterate when they left for South Africa for the first time (Table 5.9). More than fifty percent of them did not complete the primary school phase (seven years of school), according to the Mozambican formal education system. The average years of school completed among all migrants is only 3, indicating a very low education level. There were only very slight differences in the two districts. In Magude, the median years of school completed is 4, which means that one half of migrants from that district had less than 4 years of schooling when they moved for the first time. A similar proportion of migrants from the Chókwè district had less than 3 years of school completed (see median school years completed in Table 5.9).

Table 5.9: Education level among undocumented labour migrants at the time of first trip to South Africa

| Years of school completed | District | | Total |
|--|----------|--------|-------|
| | Magude | Chókwè | |
| No school years completed (%) | 30.8 | 29.6 | 29.9 |
| 1 to 4 years (%) | 30.8 | 48.2 | 43.9 |
| 5 years (%) | 15.4 | 11.1 | 12.2 |
| 6 to 7 years (%) | 19.2 | 9.9 | 12.1 |
| 8 to 10 years (%) | 3.8 | 1.2 | 1.9 |
| Total (%) | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |
| Mean school years completed | 3.4 | 2.9 | 3.0 |
| Median school years completed | 4.0 | 3.0 | 3.0 |
| Number of undocumented labour migrants | 26 | 81 | 107 |

Table 5.10 shows the shows the level of education among non-migrants aged 15-64 years. A comparison of education level of migrants with that one of non-migrants reveals that there are no significant differences between the two groups. However, the proportion

of people who were illiterate among non-migrants is relatively higher than among migrants (see Table 5.10).

Table 5.10: Education among working-age non-migrants (2004)

| Years of school completed | District | | Total |
|------------------------------------|----------|--------|-------|
| | Magude | Chókwè | |
| No school years completed (%) | 38.1 | 48.5 | 45.1 |
| 1 to 4 years (%) | 30.5 | 34.9 | 33.4 |
| 5 years (%) | 11.0 | 11.0 | 11.0 |
| 6 to 7 years (%) | 9.1 | 3.7 | 5.5 |
| 8 to 10 years (%) | 11.3 | 1.9 | 5.0 |
| Total (%) | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |
| Mean school years completed | 3.2 | 2.2 | 2.5 |
| Median school years completed | 3.0 | 2.0 | 3.0 |
| Number of working-age non-migrants | 328 | 674 | 1002 |

In general, the pattern of education among the migrants seems to be almost the same as that which prevails in the population of their areas of origin. The data suggest that the undocumented labour migrants from the two Mozambican research sites were mostly illiterate or have completed only the initial years of primary school. Therefore, with regard to education, there does not seem to be there a noticeable selectivity of labour migrants from the two study areas. However, the qualitative data indicated that some migrants who had secondary. Many of them were students and come from urban environments, mainly from Maputo city and capital cities of southern provinces of Gaza and Inhambane (Xai-Xai and Inhambane cities).

The occupational background of undocumented labour migrants is considered in Table 5.11. The majority of migrants from the study areas had considered themselves as individuals without any productive occupation when they left for the first time to South Africa. However, taking into account the kind of their occupation at the time of fieldwork, the survey data show that a little more than 50% of all migrants in Magude and Chókwè district had become peasants. This suggests that these migrants might have

returned home probably because of an unsuccessful labour experience in South Africa. Once at home, the only way that they could guarantee their survival was their devotion to subsistence agriculture.

Table 5.11: Occupation of undocumented labour migrants

| Occupation group | Undocumented labour migrants | | | | | |
|--|------------------------------|--------|-------|---------------------------------|--------|-------|
| | At the time of first trip | | | At the time of fieldwork (2004) | | |
| | District | | Total | District | | Total |
| | Magude | Chókwè | | Magude | Chókwè | |
| No occupation (%) | 57.7 | 80.3 | 74.8 | 26.9 | 28.4 | 28.0 |
| Peasants (%) | 7.7 | 7.4 | 7.5 | 50.0 | 53.1 | 52.4 |
| Service workers (%) | 15.4 | 7.4 | 9.4 | 11.5 | 14.8 | 14.0 |
| Public servants (%) | 3.8 | -- | 0.9 | -- | -- | -- |
| Domestic servants (%) | -- | -- | -- | 3.9 | 1.2 | 1.9 |
| Informal sellers (%) | -- | 1.2 | 0.9 | 3.9 | 2.5 | 2.8 |
| Students (%) | 15.4 | 3.7 | 6.5 | 3.9 | -- | 0.9 |
| Total (%) | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |
| Number of undocumented labour migrants | 26 | 81 | 107 | 26 | 81 | 107 |

On the other hand, this fact is also an indication that many migrants from the sample might not have considered subsistence farming as a form of occupation before their first labour migration experience in South Africa. Only after their return from South Africa they realized that they could also be occupied as peasants, since most of the non-migrant people from the same age group and education level within the community were doing similar work (see Table 5.12).

Table 5.12: Occupation among working-age non-migrants (2004)

| Occupation group | District | | Total |
|------------------------------------|----------|--------|-------|
| | Magude | Chókwè | |
| No occupation (%) | 4.6 | 3.0 | 3.5 |
| Peasants (%) | 50.6 | 61.6 | 58.0 |
| Service workers (%) | 4.3 | 3.4 | 3.7 |
| Public servants (%) | 2.7 | 1.0 | 1.6 |
| Domestic servants (%) | 14.6 | 15.1 | 15.0 |
| Informal sellers (%) | 0.6 | 2.1 | 1.6 |
| Students (%) | 22.6 | 13.8 | 16.6 |
| Total (%) | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |
| Number of working-age non-migrants | 328 | 674 | 1002 |

5.6 Conclusion

To conclude, it is evident that the undocumented labour migration from Magude and Chókwè districts involves mostly people from rural settings, where the predominant economic activity is subsistence agriculture. Many young working-age people from these settings seem to be reluctant to devote themselves to this kind of activity, since it, for the most part, does not generate enough income to meet their basic needs. For this reason, they usually consider themselves as individuals without occupation, even while being involved in some agricultural activities. As result, they end up constituting the majority of undocumented labour migrants to South Africa.

In contrast, a study on labour migration to South Africa, De Vletter (2000:54) came to the conclusion that “the bulk of resident Mozambicans” that had been to South Africa in the past were “relatively well-educated with employment and other responsibilities at home.” This picture differs to some extent from that one of undocumented labour migrants from the research sites. The reason for this is that the De Vletter’s study took into consideration also the documented migrants, who constituted the majority of all migrants

in the sample. In addition, a considerable part of migrants of the De Vletter's sample were from urban areas.

Therefore, it seems that the degree of selectivity of migrants, from the educational and occupational points of view, may be dependent on their legal migration status (whether they are documented or undocumented) and on their area of origin (whether they come from rural or urban areas). In fact, in some studies on migration it has been argued that migrants from socio-economically under-developed areas are generally less selective (see Munoz *et al.*, 1974).

The following chapter presents an analysis of the social basis of undocumented Mozambican labour migration to South Africa. It shows how the migration is socially organized from the sending communities up to receiving areas.

CHAPTER 6

SOCIAL NETWORKS AND UNDOCUMENTED MOZAMBICAN LABOUR MIGRATION TO SOUTH AFRICA

No car can go ahead without fuel... Nearly all people who decide to leave their homes in order to get job in South Africa may know someone here that can guide them. Those who come here without knowing anybody end up having many problems in the process. Some of them end up giving up their intention of staying here for some time looking for job. Others end up being deported...⁷

6.1 Introduction

The statement above has been taken from an interview held with an undocumented Mozambican labour migrant in Tembisa, on July 2005. Similar statements were made during the survey and qualitative interviews by many other undocumented labour migrants, who had links with people living in South Africa or in Mozambique prior to migrating, or to people they had met in the course of the migration process, whose influence or support was crucial for making the decision to migrate, as well as for the accomplishment of successful entry, the establishment of a business, or the attainment of jobs in South Africa.

In addition, the review of literature has also revealed the existence of the influence of social networks on undocumented Mozambican labour migration to South Africa (see Minnaar and Hough, 1996; McDonald *et al.*, 2000; Crush and Williams, 2001a). It has been argued that there are various social actors involved in this process. Besides the links of migrants with individuals (relatives, friends or acquaintances) who have already

⁷ This statement comes from Manuel, an undocumented Mozambican labour migrant, interviewed in Tembisa on July 19, 2005.

migrated or experienced a labour migration, it has been also argued that there are other agents (such as professional smugglers and corrupt guards on the borders) who facilitate and sustain illegal border-crossing.

Based on both qualitative and survey data, the current chapter highlights the main kinds of social networks that support undocumented Mozambican labour migration to South Africa. It analyses the mechanisms through which these networks facilitate, support, and sustain this migration over time.

6.2 Migrant networks

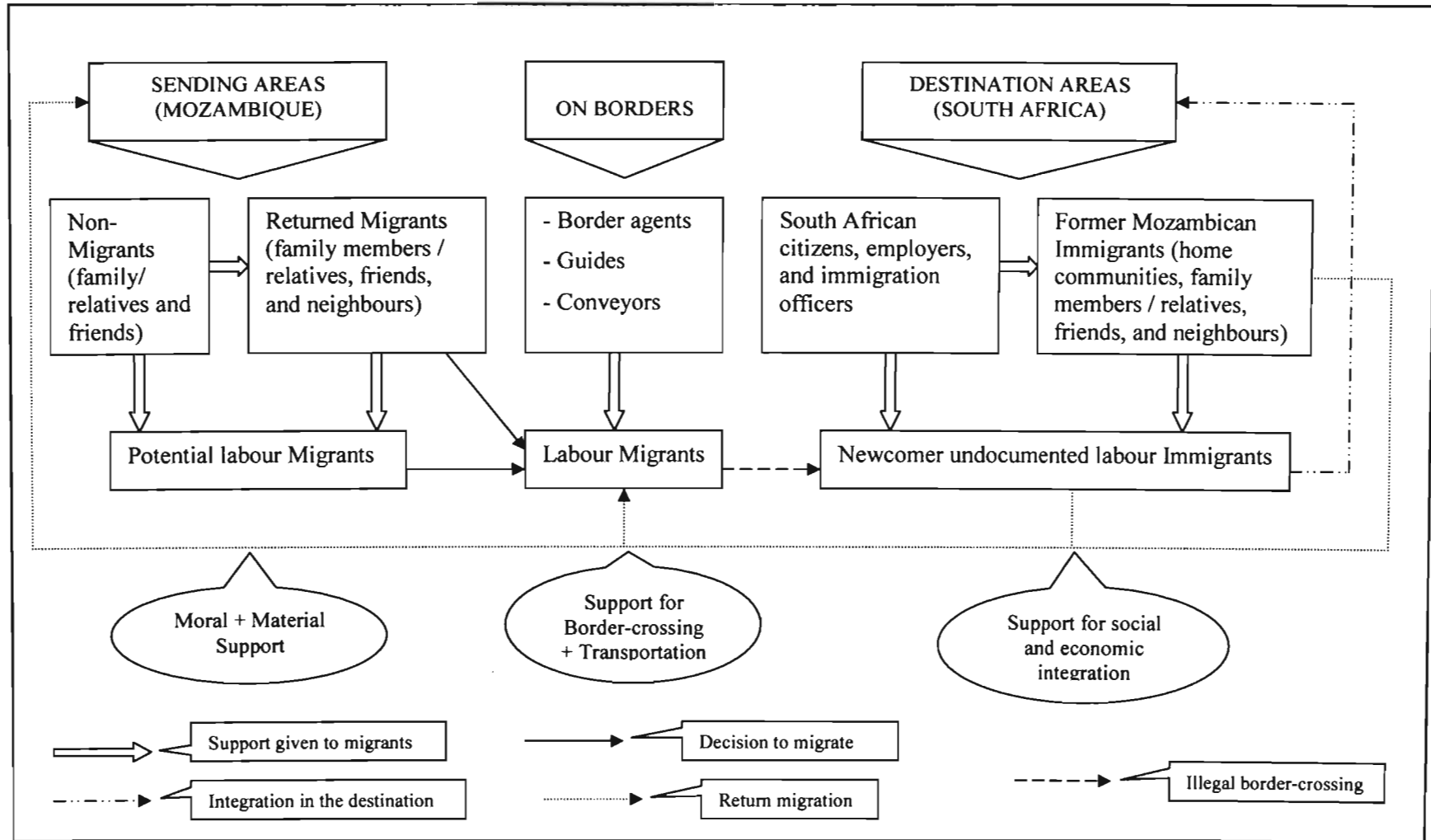
Migrant networks have been considered as the links between residents in a community of origin and individuals living in another place, or with individuals who have migrated before, regardless of their current residence. Also, it has been argued that migrant networks increase the propensity of certain individuals to migrate to a specific destination, since they facilitate the movement by reducing the associated risks (Massey *et al.*, 1987; Boyd, 1989; Curran and Saguy, 2001; Fusco, 2001; Curran and Fuentes, 2003; HispanicPRWire, 2003).

Curran and Fuentes (2003:290) discussed the following mechanisms through which social networks facilitate the migration of a given individual:

- (i) contacts with former migrants who give information to the potential migrants about the destination;
- (ii) reduction of transportation and travelling costs by sharing of information between current and former migrants on routes and the safest and cheapest modes of crossing the border;
- (iii) reduction of “assimilation shock”, as the newcomers arrive in an environment where their language is spoken;
- (iv) increase of the expected benefits of migration, as the contacts with the former migrants help the newcomers in the job search process; and
- (v) reduction of living expenses, since the newcomers get financial assistance on their arrival from the former migrants.

The fieldwork data reveal that the social networks in undocumented Mozambican labour migration to South Africa are mostly based on bonds between potential migrants and people who have already migrated or experienced a labour migration (relatives, friends, neighbours) as well as links between migrants and other social actors on the borders (border agents, smugglers, conveyors) and in South Africa (former immigrants, South African facilitators). Figure 6.1 highlights the main forces that sustain and support the continuity of undocumented Mozambican labour migration to South Africa.

Figure 6.1: Forces sustaining support and continuity of undocumented Mozambican labour migration to South Africa



According to Figure 6.1, there are various factors sustaining support and continuity of undocumented Mozambican labour migration process to South Africa. These factors are operating at three different levels: in the migrants' sending areas, on borders, and in the migrants' destination areas.

At the level of sending areas one will find, on the one side, a number of forces constituted by family⁸ and/or relatives⁹ who provide some moral and financial support for potential and returned migrants. On the other hand, the returned migrants themselves form another force that assists the potential migrants with information and guidance.

On the borders the migrants have been assisted mainly by three distinct forces. This includes immigration agents, who facilitate the passage of undocumented migrants through the border in favour of bribes; smugglers/guides that show the illegal ways of entering South Africa along the border; and conveyors, who help the migrants with transport from the border to the preferred destinations in South Africa.

In the destination areas there are two sets of forces assisting migrants. The first one is constituted by some South African citizens, who usually support the migrants in the process of getting legal documents and helping with integration in receiving communities; employers that shelter and protect the undocumented migrants because they provide cheap labour; and some immigration officers, who have facilitated the process of getting fraudulent South African documentation by undocumented migrants through bribery. A second set of forces is formed by former Mozambican immigrants in the destination areas, who, in general, are family members/relatives, friends or neighbours of the new immigrants. The former immigrants are always the first ones who assist the newcomers on their arrival with accommodation and food as well as helping in the process of getting jobs and documentation in South Africa.

⁸ The term 'family' denotes a set of persons who are genealogically close to the migrant such as parents, brothers and sisters, or spouse and children.

⁹ The word 'relatives' is applied for those people who are not members of the migrant's immediate family, for example, uncles, aunts, brothers and sisters-in-law, cousins, nephews, nieces, etc.

The support that migrants receive from sending areas and also from the former immigrants in destination areas is based on three kinds of “social bond”¹⁰: kinship, friendship and neighbourhood relationships. On the borders the interactions between migrants and the other social actors at this level have occurred within in a context of anonymous relationships that are built on the basis of mutual convenience. It is also the kind of relationships that occur between migrants and some South African citizens, employers and immigration officers in the destination areas. The following sections analyse how these different social bonds assist and sustain the process of undocumented Mozambican labour migration.

6.2.1 Kinship connections

The kinship connections include ties that migrants maintain with some family members or relatives throughout the migration process. In the home communities as well as in the destination areas the migrants have relied on interpersonal ties that bind them to other family members or relatives through affection and social obligation. The fieldwork data indicates that the kinship ties have been very important in supporting the migrants’ decision to move as well as for their adaptation in the new destination.

Indeed, the ‘kin-reliance’ has been considered by some scholars as one of the adaptive strategies of migrants, mainly in urban context (see Bott, 1957; Epstein, 1969b; Allan, 1979; Graves and Graves, 1980; Lamphere *et al.*, 1980; Massey *et al.*, 1987). According to Graves and Graves (1980:198) the ‘kin-reliance’ has the advantage of providing “a wide circle of people with different skills and access to a variety of resources.” The larger the number of relatives with access to a variety of resources, the more effective is the migrants’ adaptation. From a study on kin networks and family strategies, focused on the

¹⁰ The concept of “social bond” has been defined by Schensul *et al.* (1999:11) as “the type of relationship between ego and other members” of a network. “Egos” are the “focal individuals” of the network (Schensul *et al.*, 1999:5), therefore the migrants, in this case.

migration of Portuguese families to New England, Lamphere *et al.* (1980:221) maintained that members of a kin network were used “to solve instrumental problems such as arranging an immigration visa, finding housing, locating employment, and arranging child care.”

Kinship bonds as sources of material support and means of getting job

The survey results from Magude and Chókwè districts (Tables 6.1-6.5) show that the majority of undocumented labour migrants relied on kinship ties in the area of origin as well as in the destination during their first trip to South Africa. In effect, about half of the migrants from the total sample got financial support for travelling from their family/relatives at home (Table 6.1). About four-fifths of the migrants had at least a family member or relative in the destination area when they had left home for the first time (Table 6.2). Moreover, 25.2% of migrants left on their first trip in the company of a family member or relative who had already experienced labour migration to South Africa (Table 6.3). A little more than two-thirds of the migrants got assistance for sustenance and accommodation from the family/relatives for the period since their arrival in South Africa and until they obtained their first jobs (Table 6.4). Also, the majority (63.5%) of migrants received help in obtaining their first job in South Africa from family members or relatives (Table 6.5). Therefore, it is evident that kinship is one of the main factors in the success of undocumented Mozambican labour migration to South Africa.

Table 6.1: Sources of financial support for travelling to South Africa on first trip

| Source of financial support | District | | Total |
|-----------------------------|----------|--------|-------|
| | Magude | Chókwè | |
| Family/Relatives (%) | 69.2 | 42.0 | 48.6 |
| Friends (%) | 3.9 | 3.7 | 3.7 |
| Own resources (%) | 26.9 | 54.3 | 47.7 |
| Total (%) | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |
| Number of migrants | 26 | 81 | 107 |

Table 6.2: Whom migrants knew at the destination on first trip to South Africa

| Whom migrants knew | District | | Total |
|----------------------|----------|--------|-------|
| | Magude | Chókwè | |
| Family/Relatives (%) | 65.4 | 85.2 | 80.4 |
| Friends (%) | 30.8 | 11.1 | 15.9 |
| Nobody (%) | 3.8 | 3.7 | 3.7 |
| Total (%) | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |
| Number of migrants | 26 | 81 | 107 |

Table 6.3: Whom migrants left with on first trip to South Africa

| Whom the migrants left with | District | | Total |
|-----------------------------|----------|--------|-------|
| | Magude | Chókwè | |
| Family/Relatives (%) | 19.2 | 27.2 | 25.2 |
| Friends (%) | 65.4 | 55.5 | 58.0 |
| Alone (%) | 15.4 | 17.3 | 16.8 |
| Total (%) | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |
| Number of migrants | 26 | 81 | 107 |

Table 6.4: Who provided assistance for sustenance and accommodation in South Africa for the first time

| Who provided assistance | District | | Total |
|-------------------------|----------|--------|-------|
| | Magude | Chókwè | |
| Family/Relatives (%) | 53.9 | 75.3 | 70.1 |
| Friends (%) | 34.6 | 14.8 | 19.6 |
| Nobody (%) | 11.5 | 9.9 | 10.3 |
| Total (%) | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |
| Number of migrants | 26 | 81 | 107 |

Table 6.5: Who provided help to obtain first job on the first trip to South Africa

| Who provided help in obtaining first job | District | | Total |
|--|----------|--------|-------|
| | Magude | Chókwè | |
| Family/Relatives (%) | 57.7 | 65.4 | 63.5 |
| Friends (%) | 23.1 | 9.9 | 13.1 |
| Self (%) | 19.2 | 18.5 | 18.7 |
| Never got job (%) | -- | 6.2 | 4.7 |
| Total (%) | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |
| Number of migrants | 26 | 81 | 107 |

Kinship ties have been useful in the migration process, mainly as sources of financial help or channels of material assistance for migrants. Also, the reliance on kin is the preferred strategy for obtaining a job among the newcomer undocumented Mozambican migrants in South Africa. But, for the purpose of guidance throughout the migration process, particularly from the areas of origin to the destination, the migrants seem to rely far more on friendship bonds (Table 6.3). In this regard the experience of Manuel (interviewed in Tembisa in July 2005) is relevant.

Manuel is one of the undocumented immigrants within the Mozambican community of Tembisa. He arrived in Tembisa in 1994 when he was 24 years old. At that time he was unmarried. His schooling level was the sixth class. Before he moved to South Africa, Manuel was living with his parents and three sisters in Maputo city.

Manuel decided to leave Maputo city because he had to get job in order to be able to sustain himself and his family, since the cost of living was increasing daily. Manuel entered South Africa with two friends who had grown up with him. Tembisa was familiar to them because they had been working there previously. Manuel had to pay a fare for one of them. All of them had no legal undocuments. They crossed the Ressano Garcia / Komatipoort border by day, since the two friends knew this route well. After they arrived in Komatipoort area, they took a taxi at 7 am and arrived in Tembisa at 8 pm. Manuel's oldest brother, Samuel, was living and working as bricklayer in Tembisa.

After his arrival in Tembisa, Manuel went straight to meet his brother. The presence of his brother Samuel in South Africa had also encouraged him to come into the country. Samuel was married to a South African woman. Since his residence did not have space enough to accommodate Manuel, Samuel contacted his friend Eurico for help. Eurico provided accommodation for Manuel. Samuel bought a bed and linen for his brother. Manuel stayed with Eurico for two weeks when he moved to the place where he was staying up to the time of the interview (Interview with Manuel in Tembisa, on July 19, 2005).

This case study demonstrates that Manuel used his friendship channels in order to get support for the journey from the home community to the destination. Once in the destination, Manuel relied on a kinship bond with his oldest brother Samuel, who was already there, to obtain the assistance with sustenance and accommodation, until he got his first job. Samuel used his friendship links to assist him. Pedro, interviewed in Soweto in 2005, provided us with another case that reveals that the friendship and kinship channels play distinct functions in undocumented Mozambican labour migration to South Africa.

Pedro is a Mozambican from Manhiça district (in Maputo province), who had been living in Soweto since 1979, when he arrived for the first time in South Africa as an undocumented labour migrant. At that time he was 21 years old, married, and his schooling level was the sixth class. He had given up his job as a primary school teacher at

home, since the salary was not enough and the family living conditions were deteriorating.

Pedro did not know how to cross the border illegally, so he entered into South Africa with a friend who knew the route. After they had crossed the Ressano Garcia / Komatipoort border they went straight to the outskirts of Nelspruit, where they got employed as herdsmen. They worked there for one week and then decided to proceed on their trip towards Soweto, where Pedro's cousin, Francisco, was living.

Once in Soweto, Pedro went to stay with his cousin Francisco. Before Pedro started to earn money, he was supported by Francisco who sold second hand clothes in the miners' hostels around Gauteng. Although he did not earn much in this way, he used it to help them to survive. Pedro stayed for six months with Francisco. When interviewed, Pedro was owner of a business for car repairs and spray painting in Soweto (Interview with Pedro in Soweto, on July 16, 2005).

The cases of Manuel and Pedro reveal that friendship ties are useful for the migrants mainly in coping with the world around them (guidance), while the kinship bonds have been used specially as sources of material assistance for migrants, particularly for the newcomers in the destination. Also, it has been already shown from the survey data (Table 6.5) that kinship connections are very helpful to assist the newcomers in getting their first job in South Africa. This will be illustrated with reference to the experiences of Luis, Joaquim, and Rodrigues.

Luís is a returned undocumented labour migrant from South Africa, interviewed in Magude district in 2004. He had left to South Africa for the first time in 1999 and returned home in 2002. At that time Luís was 17 years old, unmarried, and had completed the eighth class. He had been invited to go to South Africa by his cousin who was living

and working in Tembisa for many years. Luís explained that his cousin had a small shop and needed his help:

When my cousin came here for holidays, he invited me to go with him to Tembisa, because he needed my help in his shop. I would be selling in that shop... When we arrived in Tembisa, I stayed by my cousin... I took three months without starting, since I had first to get adapted to the new environment. I had first to learn how to deal with the South African currency. I had never seen the Rand. Then, I started selling diverse goods: beer, wine, refreshments, flour, eggs, etc... (Interview with Luís in Magude district, on April 28, 2004).

Joaquim, from Chibuto district (Gaza province), interviewed in Tembisa in 2005, entered into South Africa for the first time in 2003 when he was 19 years old. His schooling level was the fourth class. Joaquim came to South Africa with his uncle Fernando who had been working as barber in Johannesburg before and was also an undocumented migrant. Once in Johannesburg, Joaquim got his first job as a bricklayer's assistant, which had been provided by an acquaintance of uncle Fernando from the church. After three weeks in that job, Joaquim left to Bekkersdal where his brother-in-law Artur was staying. Artur helped Joaquim to find a job in a kiosk where he worked as seller (Interview with Joaquim in Tembisa, on July 19, 2005).

Rodrigues, who had been forced to return as a deportee from South Africa at the time of fieldwork in Magude district, left illegally for the first time in 1995 when he was 18 years old. His schooling level at that time was the sixth class. Rodrigues had been invited to leave to South Africa by his cousin, Júlio, who was living in Tembisa and had returned to the Magude district for holiday. Rodrigues explained that his cousin Júlio had promised him a job in Tembisa:

My cousin, who came here for holidays, invited me to go there with him. He told me that there was a job for me. I should go there to work with him as bricklayer. He was working there as bricklayer. When he went back there he took me. I didn't have any passport. He had got one. We couldn't pass through the border post, because of my situation. So, we had to use another way, jumping the border fence. Once in Tembisa, I had to stay by my cousin. After four months I got

employed in the workplace of my cousin. I went to work with him as a bricklayer's assistant. I stayed in that job until 1998 when I was deported (Interview with Rodrigues in Magude district, on May 07, 2004)

These three case studies show three different ways in which the newly arrived undocumented Mozambican immigrants in South Africa obtained their first jobs through kinship bonds. Some migrants entered South Africa with the purpose of being employed by family members or relatives who were living there and had already established themselves in business. This was, for example, the case of Luís. In other situations, the family members or relatives who were established in the destination asked their influential acquaintances within the community for help in finding jobs for their newcomer kindred. For instance, Joaquim got his first job in this way. Other newcomer immigrants usually got employed in the same places where their family members or relatives in the destination were working, like the case of Rodrigues. This means that these family members or relatives have played a mediating role between their employers and the newcomer kinsmen. Family and relatives also provided other forms of support for migrants.

Other forms of support through the kinship bonds in migrants' sending communities

The findings from the qualitative interviews show that in the sending communities the migrants have counted on their family/relatives to also get other forms of support. For instance, among the female migrants who were already single mothers at the time of leaving to South Africa, the most common concern was that they had to get someone who could take care of their children throughout their absence. In these circumstances, the migrants' parents have been always very helpful to their daughters, since they have felt obliged to assume the responsibility for looking after their grandchildren. This has been illustrated by two case studies from female undocumented labour migrants, Maria and Angelina, interviewed in 2003 and 2005 in Magude district (Mozambique) and Tembisa (South Africa), respectively.

Maria left for the first time to South Africa in 1992 when she was 27 years old. Her schooling level was the sixth class. At that time she had four small children and was separated from her husband. Also, because of the war, she had given up her job as alphabetizer¹¹ for adults, in Magude district, and she and her four children were living with her parents on the outskirts of Maputo city. Maria reported that her main concern when deciding to leave to South Africa was that she did not know who would look after her children. Fortunately, Maria got help from her mother, as she explained in her own words:

I met a female friend in Maputo city, with whom I used to talk about my suffering. That friend used to buy goods from South Africa and sell them in Mozambique. She told me that her life was getting better thanks to her movements to South Africa. Before she started to travel to South Africa, her situation was similar to mine. Now she was feeling much better, because she had succeeded in getting a passport. I told her that I was not able to travel to South Africa like her; because of my children. I asked her what I could do with my children, since I wanted too to travel to South Africa. She advised me to leave the children with my mother. So, I asked my mother for help to take care of my children (Interview with Maria in Magude district, on January 23, 2004).

Angelina, who at the time of the interview (July 2005) was living in Tembisa and selling vegetables in a market nicknamed '*Xipamanine*¹²' (close to the Mozambican community), arrived in South Africa in 1995 when she was 29 years old, and had the sixth class as her schooling level. She is from Chókwè district. Before she came to South Africa she was unemployed since 1989 when the *Rádio Kahil de Xilembene*¹³ was closed. She had been working there as an announcer from 1981 to 1989. Angelina was divorced in 1991, and was living by her parents until she decided to move to South Africa. While she was staying with her parents she had also the responsibility to take care of them,

¹¹ Maria used to teach adult illiterate people to read and write.

¹² *Xipamanine* is a very popular and crowded market in Maputo city, where one can buy almost anything for a very low price.

¹³ The *Rádio Kahil de Xilembene* was a radio linked to the agrarian enterprises in Chókwè district. It aimed to provide the farmers, agricultural workers and peasants with necessary information for the development of their agricultural activities. The broadcasting was done in the local language. This radio was closed in 1989 when agrarian enterprises were closed because of a drought.

since she was the oldest daughter in the family. She used to buy and re-sell essential commodities to get some income for the household. She left her children with her parents when she moved for the first time to South Africa.

Angelina had to send her income in South Africa to her mother¹⁴ and children in Xilembene (Chókwè district):

Even being in South Africa I have to take care of my mother and children at home. I use to send to them about one thousand and eight hundred Rand every three months. Also, they receive from me some essential commodities for consumption. Therefore, their survival depends very much on me (Interview with Angelina in Tembisa, on July 19, 2005).

In fact, this is one of the most important features of kin-reliance. As noted by Epstein (1969b:98), “the recognition of ties of kinship involves also recognition of reciprocal responsibilities, obligations and privileges.” In other words, “if you want to count on your family in times of need, they in turn must be able to count on you” (Graves and Graves, 1980:198).

Bonds with kin have also been very important to the migrants’ affairs at home. In general, the migrants have relied on some family members or relatives who remain behind to take care of their properties/projects when they are absent. To some extent, this has to be considered as a kind of social division of labour within the family circle. The most active family members migrate to South Africa in order to earn money, while the highly competent family members or relatives left behind have the task of using this money correctly for the purposes already defined by the migrants. In many cases, the fathers, brothers or wives left behind have been the most trusted kin by migrants to be the managers of their properties/projects.

¹⁴ Angelina’s father died after she came to South Africa.

For example, after Manuel established himself in business in Tembisa, he decided to improve the living conditions of his family at home in Mozambique. So, he managed to convince his wife Anita to remain at home to support this project. While Manuel was busy with the business in Tembisa, Anita had the task of dealing with the correct usage of the income to support their projects at home. In order to do this Anita had to get a Mozambican passport, which allowed her to enter South Africa to collect her husband's income. At the time of the interview with Manuel (in July 2005), Anita had gone home with some money in order to buy building material for the construction of their house.

Another example is that of Mr Vuma, a successful businessman in Tembisa (interviewed in July 2005), who returned home, where he began to develop agricultural activity and raise cattle. He subsequently became a big farmer and cattle breeder in his motherland. Some time later he left all this agricultural business under the care of his brother and returned to Tembisa. Another Mozambican migrant, Petrous, interviewed in September 2005 in the 'Nova Sun' farm (Mpumalanga), reported that he was able to build and furnish a big house at home, which he left under the care of his father. He also bought a fishing-boat that was being used by his father as the main means of generating income for the family.

Chain migration process

The kinship connections in the destination, through which newcomer immigrants obtain assistance (mainly with sustenance and accommodation, and in looking for job), have to be considered as one of the most important factors sustaining the undocumented Mozambican labour migration to South Africa over time. The former immigrants have increased their circle of family members or relatives in the destination by sponsoring the newcomers, which leads to a process of chain migration. The presence of former immigrants in the destination attracts others from their family and community, so that most immigrants establish a base camp for others.

Chain migration results from an established linkage between the migrants' sending areas and their destinations. So, according to Bednarz (1996:6-7), "the process of migration is assisted by migrants who already live in the destination. They help their friends and relatives to make the migration by providing them information, money, and place to stay, perhaps a job, and emotional support. People immigrate to locations where they find connections and a measure of familiarity."

This is the most important aspect of regulatory/family and personal networks in migration systems (Fawcett, 1989). As observed by Fawcett (1989:676), "regulatory/family and personal networks encompass person-to-person obligations among relatives whose expression results in family or chain migration. Similar obligations can pertain to networks made up of friends, classmates or fellow ethnics. Culturally based family obligations may dictate the priorities for sponsorship of new immigrants by former immigrants."

In fact, some migration histories of undocumented Mozambican immigrants in South Africa illustrate the chain migration process. For instance, there was a linkage between Mr Vuma's presence in Tembisa and the subsequent arrival of his wives, children, nephew and grandson; or between the establishment of Mr Sevene and the consequent movements of his niece, Angelina, and grandnephew (Angelina's son) to Tembisa. In both cases the chain link was family related.

Mr Vuma, who was interviewed in Tembisa in 2005, is a Mozambican from Magude district, in Maputo province. At the time of the interview he was 60 years old and was married to three women, two Mozambicans and one South African. Mr Vuma came to South Africa for the first time in 1965 when he was 20 years old and had the second class as his schooling level. He initially entered into South Africa as a contract labour migrant and came to work in a mine in Benoni. In 1969 he abandoned the mine and consequently lost his legal status as a contract labour migrant. He continued staying in South Africa but as an illegal immigrant.

At that time Mozambicans were not allowed to work outside of the mining sector. Mozambicans could only work in South Africa as contract labour migrants. Therefore, from the moment Mr Vuma abandoned the mine in Benoni, he had become an illegal immigrant in South Africa. Whenever he went to Mozambique he had to jump the border fence.

When Mr Vuma became an illegal immigrant he went to Gazankulu, where he decided to change his real name, from Eduardo Manuel Vuma to Risenga Elias Chunguane, in order to obtain a South African ID. After he got the South African ID, he went to Alexandra where he worked as bricklayer up to 1970. In 1971 Mr Vuma moved to Tembisa where he started his own business and has been living there ever since.

In 1987 Mr Vuma lost almost all his assets at home (trucks, farm tractors and cattle), which had been destroyed by the civil war in Mozambique. Mr Vuma subsequently bought a big house in Tembisa and brought his family (two wives and children) from Mozambique to live there. In order to get assistance with the management of his businesses, he also brought to Tembisa his nephew (his brother's son) and grandson, who up to the time of fieldwork were the managers of a business dealing with rented accommodation. Both had entered illegally into South Africa (Interview with Mr Vuma in Tembisa, on July 19, 2005).

Another example of chain migration comes from Mr Sevene who at the time of fieldwork (July 2005) was living in Tembisa for many years. He had also entered into South Africa for the first time during the apartheid era, as a contract labour migrant. After his contract expired he decided to stay in South Africa and established himself as a successful businessman in Tembisa. This encouraged his niece, Angelina, to move in 1995 to Tembisa. All the arrangements for Angelina's travel to South Africa had been made by her uncle Sevene, her mother's brother. Sevene had requested his employee António (a Mozambican from Magude district) to go home and bring his niece Angelina. António went by car from Tembisa to the home community of his boss (in Xilembene, Chókwè district) where Angelina was living with her parents and four children.

António met Angelina for the first time in Xilembene. He took her by car and returned to Tembisa through the Komatipoort border. At the border, Angelina had to give eighty Rand to a border officer on the South African side for passing through, because she did not have any passport. António had no problem because he had already South African documentation. Following the border crossing in Komatipoort, António and Angelina went straight to Tembisa. There, Angelina stayed with her uncle Sevene who gave her some money in order to start her own business. She began to buy and resell essential commodities with the purpose of generating her own income.

After Angelina's arrival in Tembisa, António, the man who brought her from Xilembene to Tembisa, continued working as driver for Angelina's uncle. Later, he became Angelina's husband and she went to live with him. Two years later Angelina ordered her oldest son, Pedro, to come to Tembisa, since there was a job available for him. Pedro also came illegally into South Africa. Once in Tembisa, he went to stay with his cousin, who was owner of a car repair shop. Pedro worked with him as a mechanic's assistant. After his arrival in Tembisa Pedro got financial support of his mother Angelina, and even at the time of fieldwork he continued getting this support, because what he was earning was very little (Interview with Angelina in Tembisa, on July 19, 2005).

Once again, this story is a testament to the strength of kinship bonds and cooperation among the Mozambican undocumented labour immigrants in South Africa in making their survival possible, and fostering the chain of migration. New migrants depend heavily on help from one or more family members or relatives who had immigrated earlier.¹⁵ Each helps one or more subsequent family members or relatives to get established themselves.

¹⁵ During the fieldwork in Gauteng it was evident that many Mozambicans that had immigrated earlier were elderly people, who had been there for a long time. They came to South Africa in their youth as contract labour migrants to the mining industry. Most of them arrived for the first time during the apartheid era and, therefore, they could live only in hostels and their movements had been restricted (see McNamara, 1980:305-308; Spiegel, 1980:115).

It has been argued by some scholars that chain migration usually had great impacts on the demographic structure of the receiving areas. For instance, this has been considered as one of the key factors that have led to an increase in number of ethnic minorities in American and English cities (see FAIR, 2002; Hull, 2005; MWUK, 2005; Jung, 2006). FAIR (2002:1) observed that the annual immigration in the United States had tripled since chain migration began in the mid-1960s, because in this process one migrant sponsored several other immigrants for the admission, who then sponsored others themselves, and so on. In the case of English cities, there was a clear pattern of decline in the proportion of white population in the cities of Manchester, Birmingham and Bradford on account of large increases in their ethnic minority populations through chain migration, mainly of Pakistanis and Bangladeshis (MWUK, 2005).

In the particular case of undocumented Mozambican labour migration to South Africa, the process of chain migration seems to have led to the emergence of some Mozambican communities in destination areas, constituted mostly on the basis of migrants' common origin. Some examples of this are the Mozambican communities of Tembisa and Bekkersdal. The Mozambican community of Tembisa is composed largely of people coming from Magude district, and many of them are related to each other. The Mozambican community of Bekkersdal is constituted predominantly by people from Gaza province.

The predominance of people from the same area of origin in a given community supports the view that each new migrant went to that community where he/she knew someone from his/her home place. On the other hand, it is also usual that each immigrant who goes back home brings someone (a relative or friend) from his/her area of origin when he/she enters South Africa again. By doing so the migrants are relying on the solidarity of people from their home place during their stay in South Africa, with expectations of getting protection and help in case of need. In addition, this allows the migrants to continue and extend their home community life in the destination, similar to the case of the Red migrants in East London (Mayer, 1961).

6.2.2 Friendship networks, migration and gender dynamics

According to Allan (1979:35), “the concept of ‘friendship’ refers to a particular kind of sociable relationship ... the concept is used to express different aspects of what we take being a friend to mean. In one context we may use the term to signify someone we are very close to, a ‘true’ or ‘real’ friend; elsewhere someone we have only interacted with in a handful of sociable or leisure situations may, in passing, be referred to as a friend.” For Massey *et al.* (1987:141-142), the friendship represents “the closest bonds outside the family ... those formed between people as they grow up together.” Thus, friends are the ones you hang out with, talk with a lot and trust their opinion. If they are truly your friends they should at least be able to offer you some advice, if not some of their resources, to assist you in your job search (Beloit College, 2004).

It has been already shown in the forgoing section that more than half of undocumented labour migrants of the survey sample had left with friends on their first trip to South Africa. Hence, friends have played a very specific role in migration process. This was confirmed through interviews conducted in Mozambique and South Africa.

Maria, for instance, had left on her first trip to South Africa with a female friend who knew the way. After her arrival in South Africa, Maria met other Mozambican friends who helped her to establish herself in business. She explained it as follows:

I left with my friend who knew everything about the border. I was being guided by her. Because she was a well-known person, she succeeded in guiding me through the Komatipoort border. After we crossed the border we got accommodation with a family in Komatipoort area. Next day we travelled by car up to Carletonville. When we arrived there I did not have any money and could not buy anything. My friend had some money, since she was travelling frequently to South Africa. Then she led me to a South African citizen who would help me to get job. In turn, that citizen led me then to a South African family, where I started working as a domestic servant.

While I was working for that family, I met some Mozambican female friends that were doing their own informal business. They were buying and reselling diverse goods. With them I talked about my suffering. At

that time I was earning only one hundred and fifty Rand monthly. Those friends told me that what I was earning was very little. So they invited me to join them to earn one hundred Rand weekly. They told me that with R100 per week I would be able to buy and resell my own goods. Therefore, I joined them. After two weeks, they advised me to start doing my own business. In this way I started buying and reselling diverse goods. From that moment on I started to feel that my life was getting better (Interview with Maria in the Magude district, on January 23, 2004).

Maria also reported that in the same way that she had been helped with the improvement of her life, she managed to take with her to South Africa three female friends from her community, who were facing the same kind of sufferings that she had experienced before. They also moved without documents; but Maria helped them to get South African documentation as well as to start their own business, as she explained:

I managed to take with me three friends who were suffering like me. They did not have passports. But, when we arrived there, I took them to the Home Affairs in order to get South African ID's. It was easy, because I knew someone working in the Home Affairs. Even so, we had to pay some money, because we were asked for it. While the three friends were looking for job they were staying by me, since I had my own house. At the same time they were learning the language and the habits of South African daily life. Later on they became used to the South African life and started to do their own business (Interview with Maria in the Magude district, on January 23, 2004).

Here, it is important to point out that the friendship networks in many cases were differentiated by gender. In general, females have relied on the help of women networks. For them, it becomes much easier to deal with other women than men. The reason for this is because the women have in most cases been faced with similar kinds of problems, and are less problematic than men. For instance, Maria had preferred helping women to men, because she believed that men created many problems.

As in the case of Maria, Isabel's decision to leave to South Africa in 1993 had been also influenced by two ladies who were her friends and neighbours in her home community,

in Massinga district (Inhambane province). The two ladies, Mara and Flora, had already been in South Africa. Isabel reported her migration story as follows:

One day, I heard Marta and Flora talking about South Africa. They were saying that in few days they would be leaving to South Africa to look for jobs. I approached them and asked whether I could go with them. They accepted to leave with me. We left Massinga towards Namaacha district. From there we crossed the border via Umbuzini, because none of us had documentation. Marta and Flora had already used that way for several times. After we arrived in Umbuzini we took a taxi straight to Everton, where Mara and Flora had already their own residence. I stayed by Mara and Flora until I got my first job and began to earn some money.

In Everton, we met Mr Bernardo, a Mozambican who was living there for many years. Mr Bernardo was dealing with a business of making and selling cakes. We asked Mr Bernardo to employ us. He accepted us and we started making and selling cakes. Each of us earned sixty Rand per week. I moved from the Mara and Flora's residence to a new accommodation where I had to pay forty Rand for the rent.

Two years later Mr Bernardo's cakes business went into a decline and he was forced to reduce the number of employees. Thus, we lost our jobs. So, I decided to do my own business. I started to buy clothes in Johannesburg and to resell them in Bekkersdal. I had been told before that Bekkersdal was a very good place for that kind of business, since it was an isolated place from Johannesburg and many Mozambican immigrants were living there. In 1995 I relocated to Bekkersdal. Mara and Flora continued staying in Everton, where they also started their own business.

I did not know anybody when I came for the first time to Bekkersdal. Only after I started selling clothes here, I met Rosa, a Mozambican lady who was living here for a couple of years and became my friend. So, after my move to Bekkersdal, I went to stay by Rosa for some days. Later, Rosa introduced me to Flávio, her acquaintance, who subsequently became my husband (Interview with Isabel in Bekkersdal, on July 17, 2005).

According to Isabel, her husband Flávio came from Inhambane province like herself. He had also entered into South Africa illegally in 2003 and was working as bricklayer in Bekkersdal. Isabel also reported that Flávio had been detained for a month in Lindela's repatriation centre and was deported to Mozambique due to the lack of a legal

documentation in South Africa. At the time of the interview Isabel's business was in decline because of the detention of her husband Flávio (Interview with Isabel in Bekkersdal, on July 17, 2005).

In general, male migrants have relied also on male networks. Almost all male migrants interviewed for this research affirmed that they had entered into South Africa for the first time together with some male friends who knew the way. António's migration story encapsulates this trend.

António is a Mozambican from the Zavala district (in Inhambane province), interviewed in 2005 in Johannesburg. His first trip to South Africa took place in 1999 when he was 20 years old and he had the eighth class as his schooling level. He had to give up school, because he and his family were very poor. In addition, he had fathered a child. António had to care for the child and its mother, and needed a job, which was not available locally. So, he decided to leave to South Africa, since he used to hear that it was easy to make money in that country.

António moved from the Zavala district with his friend Zito. They had grown up in the same home community. In fact, António had been encouraged by Zito to migrate to South Africa, since he had already gone there several times. Zito had offered to guide António from Zavala district up to South Africa. On the way they met other three friends who also had been to South Africa.

António's friends had already been working in Johannesburg before. Therefore, they chose Johannesburg as their destination, since the four friends were familiar with the environment. They crossed the Ressano Garcia / Komatipoort border. After they had entered into South Africa they went straight to Johannesburg. António trusted Zito to manage his money for travelling expenses. Once in Johannesburg, Zito disappeared with the rest of António's money, leaving him destitute.

After the disappearance of Zito, António got support from the other three friends who lent him some money, while they were looking for jobs. Two weeks later they got employed by a Portuguese entrepreneur, who was operating in the construction sector. António's three friends had already been previously working for that entrepreneur. They got accommodation in a workers' residence, where they shared a single room.

In his job António earned R600 a month. After three months Antonio met with an accident at work, and had to undergo a surgical operation and was hospitalised for two weeks. When he was discharged from hospital he went to his employer and presented to him a health certificate in order to get financial support for further medical treatment. The employer did not like it and, as result, he discharged António from his job. António could not do anything against the employer. However, he wanted to report the employer to the police, but his friends advised him not to do so, because he was staying in the country illegally.

After his health improved António went to Randfontein where he knew some Mozambicans who were reselling miscellaneous items on the streets. He joined them in doing that kind of business for four months. António was not happy, because he was earning a very little money (around forty Rand per day). So, in December 2000 he decided to return home. After his arrival at home António went to a driving school in order to get a driving-licence, which he obtained in 2001. In the same year he was employed as a driver by a businessman in Xai-Xai city (Gaza province). António transported wood and coal from Moamba district (Maputo province) to Xai-Xai city. He explained that he was having a lot of work, but his salary was very low (300 000 *meticaïs*¹⁶ per month). Therefore, António decided to go back to South Africa.

In 2002 António returned to Johannesburg. He entered South Africa via Umbuzini, since he came back with some boys who already knew that route. António crossed the border

¹⁶ In 2001 one Rand was roughly equivalent to 1500 *meticaïs*.

again without passport. However, he was bearing his Mozambican driving-licence, which he expected to allow him to be employed as driver. António brought it to South Africa in the hope that he could be issued with a South African driving-licence, but he did not succeed because of lack of money. While he was waiting for some opportunity to get money for conversion of his driving-licence, he started a business of reselling cell phones' chargers on the streets around Johannesburg up to the end of 2003. At that time António was living in a flat together with other nine Mozambicans. From 2004 up to the date of interview he was working in a restaurant as barman and had moved to another accommodation where he was living comfortably alone (Interview with António in Johannesburg, on July 16, 2005).

António's migration story illustrates how the friendship networks are important to the migration process. In general, the friendship networks are made up of individuals from the same community of origin, who in some cases have grown up and/or attended school together. Friends have been useful not only for crossing borders during the migration but also because they can provide financial support, in case of need, as well as advice on how to avoid problems.

The interaction between old and the new migrants has been strong throughout the moving process and after arrival at the destination. Once the new immigrants get adapted and employed their dependence on the friends' support declines. This seems to be more common among men. In his analysis of the patterns of recruitment of cross-border migrants to the South African construction industry, Rogerson (1999:20) concluded that in general the construction workers "used the contacts of friends or relatives to secure their first job." But, for the subsequent jobs, the significance of personal networks was reduced as workers resorted to and gained knowledge of alternative strategies for finding work.

However, it is important to note that in some cases, the new migrants have had unpleasant experiences with friends. Apart from António's case, other interviewees reported that there have been some opportunistic friends who have been taking advantage

of being guides to extort money from newcomer immigrants. This phenomenon has been almost exclusively taking place among the male migrants.

There was also a perception among the interviewees inside South Africa that the Mozambicans who were currently entering the country illegally were not to be trusted, since they were seen as robbers. Therefore, the newcomers were sometimes experiencing difficulties in being hosted by the former immigrants, which reflected a lack of solidarity among the undocumented Mozambican immigrants, particularly the males.

Nevertheless, some case studies have shown that the solidarity among female migrants may last relatively long, probably because of kind of women activity that they have been engaging in when they arrive in South Africa. Since the migration “favours men over women in terms of the jobs available in the urban formal sector” (Preston-Whyte and Nene, 1991:234), most of Mozambican labour migrant women have been occupied in the informal sector, buying and reselling essential commodities, which obviously requires a constant interaction and co-operation with each other. In this way some women end up discovering together additional forms of ‘informal money-making’, a very common feature of African female workers in the informal economy (see Preston-Whyte, 1991; Preston-Whyte and Nene, 1991). This aspect is illustrated in the case of Maria.

After Maria had managed to bring her three female friends to South Africa and had helped them in starting their own business, they reflected on how to supplement their low incomes. They decided to draw on one of their home experiences of informal money-making and to apply it in their new location. *Xitique*¹⁷ was the money-making strategy chosen by the four ladies. The *Xitique* system (an informal financial support system) involves members regularly depositing a fixed amount into a common pool which is collected in turn by each member, following a rotation that can be on a daily, weekly or

¹⁷ *Xitique* is practiced throughout Mozambique. “It is more common in urban areas, particularly among wage workers. *Xitique* is also practiced by market vendors but more commonly in the south than in the central or northern provinces. *Xitique* facilitates the accumulation of funds to purchase a specific consumer item such as a refrigerator, television, bicycle, furniture etc. It is also practiced for income generation, for instance, as start-up capital or for the purchase of merchandise” (SARDC, 2002:85).

monthly basis (SARDC, 2002). Maria and her friends had been depositing an amount of R1500.

Another example of solidarity among female migrants is also provided by the case of Angelina. At the time of fieldwork Angelina was also buying and reselling fresh produce in a market close to her community in Tembisa. Angelina used to deposit a part of her income in a savings account in a local bank. This savings account belonged to a female friend, who was a relative of her uncle's wife. Angelina could not open her own account because of lack of documentation. So she had to use her friend's account for saving money. Sometimes, she had to give her friend something when she got the money back. She was doing that for six years. According to her, there were many Mozambican women in a similar situation.

6.2.3 Neighbourhood connections

The networks in undocumented Mozambican labour migration to South Africa also include those social relationships associated within the neighbourhood, whether in the areas of origin or in the destination. It has been argued that those people living right next to each other (the neighbours) know much about each other and, therefore, they can be mutually helpful (see Boswell, 1969; Epstein, 1969a; 1969b; Harries-Jones, 1969; Beloit College, 2004). Thus, "social ties are brought into being by the mere fact of physical contiguity and proximity" (Epstein, 1969b:95).

It was evident from the present study that the neighbours that have had experience of labour migration to South Africa also influenced some potential migrants to move. Many undocumented Mozambican labour migrants interviewed inside South Africa reported that they had entered the country for the first time guided by their neighbours who had been there before. Seeing a neighbour returning from South Africa with a range of goods, clothes or modern appliances has usually motivated the potential migrant to follow the same route:

There are many people in the neighbourhood that use to go and come back from South Africa. Those people use to come back very well-dressed and with a lot of nice clothes. So, when I saw those people with new trousers and shoes I also got motivated to follow the same way (Interview with Pinto in Magude district, on January 24, 2004).

Décio, a twenty-three-year-old undocumented Mozambican immigrant from the outskirts of Maputo city (interviewed in 2005, in Nelspruit), also reported that his motivation for leaving to South Africa had been influenced by observing that his friends and neighbours who used to work there were living relatively well off and did not have many financial problems. According to him, they used to appear well dressed and to bring a lot of valuable goods (such as TVs, tape recorders, radios, watches, etc.). So, one day, in 1999, he decided to follow some of his neighbours and friends when they were going back to South Africa.

Another case is that of Petrous, a Mozambican labour immigrant from Zavala district (in Inhambane province), interviewed in 2005 at the 'Nova Sun' farm (in Mpumalanga). Petrous came to South Africa for the first time in 1990 when he was 17 years old and had the fifth class as his schooling level. He was living with his parents and brothers in his native land, Zavala, before he left to South Africa. He observed in his neighbourhood people that frequently went to South Africa. One day he met two of his neighbours, who were working in South Africa. They told him that in a few days they would be returning to South Africa. He expressed an interest in going with them. They agreed that he could go with them. He left with them without any documentation, and they did not have any either. Therefore, they had to jump the border fence, somewhere near Komatipoort.

Petrous was the youngest of the group and he had never been to South Africa. He relied only on the support of his two home neighbours, which included the financial means for the trip. The two men were working in the 'Nova Sun' farm, around the Nkomazi area (in Mpumalanga). So, when they arrived there with the young Petrous they introduced him to their employer. The owner of the farm employed him as a domestic servant. Some time later, the two home neighbours who brought him to that farm left for the Gauteng region. He continued working as domestic servant for the owner of the farm until 1992, when he

became chief of all workers in the farm. He was still holding this position at the time of the interview (Interview with Petrous in the 'Nova Sun' farm, on September 25, 2005).

As the Petrous case shows, the links with neighbours played an important role in undocumented Mozambican labour migration process to South Africa. The feeling of belonging to a common community of origin, expressed within neighbourhood relationships, has to be considered as one of the network factors that encourage, facilitate, and sustain the undocumented Mozambican labour migration to South Africa. In fact, on the basis of his reflections on human mobility and social networks, Claval (2002:52) concluded that workers were more confident in the information they received on a specific city or country when it came through parents or neighbours who had already settled there: "When coming back home for holidays, local emigrants display their success by driving huge cars, wearing fine clothes and being generous. Candidates of migration get acquainted with them. They know they will get some help from them when they arrive at their new destinations" (Claval, 2002:52).

However, it is interesting to note that after a labour migration experience in South Africa, some migrants end up changing their opinion with regard to the image that they had of the country before migrating. Many migrants recognized that they had moved to South Africa inspired by the illusion of earning a lot of money that would allow them to return home with a range of goods and build modern houses in their home communities, as it was happening among the contract labour migrants (mainly the miners).

For instance, on the basis of his own experiences, António concluded that the image of South Africa that he had before did not match with the reality that he was facing. António was of the opinion that the common citizen in Mozambique was not aware that the success in South Africa depended mostly on the nature of the legal status that one could have there:

Many people believe that if they come anyhow to South Africa they will get everything they want. They think so because they are used to see miners returning home with many goods and building modern

houses in their home communities... The common citizen does not know that the miners are contract labour migrants, who have special treatment in South Africa (Interview with António in Johannesburg, on July 16, 2005).

6.2.4 Links to other social actors

Between the areas of origin and destination there are also other social actors that influence the process of undocumented Mozambican labour migration to South Africa. The most noticeable social actors include the border agents, border smugglers/guides, and the conveyors. Each of them has played a specific role within the process. While the border agents and smugglers/guides have facilitated the crossing of the border for those migrants entering into South Africa without any valid documentation, the conveyors have been very useful for the transportation process from the border to the areas of destination. Notwithstanding the remarkable assistance provided by friends and relatives, it is important to note that a little more than a quarter of undocumented labour migrants of the survey sample had been helped by border agents and smugglers/guides to cross the border into South Africa (Table 6.6).

Table 6.6: Who provided help to migrants in crossing the border

| Who provided help | District | | Total |
|-----------------------------|----------|--------|-------|
| | Magude | Chókwè | |
| Family/Relatives (%) | 3.9 | 16.0 | 13.1 |
| Friends (%) | 23.1 | 38.3 | 34.6 |
| Border agents (%) | 26.9 | 7.4 | 12.1 |
| Border smugglers/guides (%) | 26.9 | 12.4 | 15.9 |
| Nobody (%) | 19.2 | 25.9 | 24.3 |
| Total (%) | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |
| Number of migrants | 26 | 81 | 107 |

i) Border agents

As shown in Table 6.6, a significant proportion (12.1%) of undocumented labour migrants of the sample obtained support from the border agents for crossing into South Africa. Qualitative interviews with some undocumented Mozambican labour migrants in Magude and Chókwe districts as well as inside South Africa reinforce this finding. Some interviewees admitted that their illegal entry into South Africa had been facilitated by some officials on the border.

For instance, Luís, who had left with his cousin from the Magude district in 1999, reported that he had managed to enter into South Africa without any documentation, since his cousin knew some border-guards on the Komatipoort border. The cousin gave one hundred and fifty Rand to the border-guards who then allowed them to cross into South Africa. Luis returned home in 2002, still undocumented and crossing the same border. According to him, he did not have any problem on the border. He gave just twenty Rand to some border-guards of the South African side, and they left him passing through to Mozambique (Interview with Luís in the Magude district, on April 28, 2004).

Similarly, Hortência, who was living in Johannesburg for twenty years at the time of interview (July 2005), related that she had often passed through the Komatipoort / Ressano Garcia border offices without any valid documents whenever she entered or went out from South Africa. To do this she had to bribe the border agents:

Whenever I return home and enter the South Africa I pass through the Komatipoort / Ressano Garcia border offices, although I do not have any passport. I never had problems because of going out from South Africa without any passport, neither on South African nor on Mozambican side of the border. I always had to bribe the border-guards with some money, one hundred to one hundred and fifty Rand, on both sides of the border (Interview with Hortência in Johannesburg, on July 18, 2005).

Jorge, another undocumented migrant interviewed in Magude district (in May 2004), also reported that when he moved for the first time in 1999, he and his two friends had to

bribe a border agent at Komatipoort border post with three hundred Rand for crossing into South Africa. According to him, the two friends had already been working in South Africa and, therefore, they knew how to approach the border agents for an easier border-crossing. Further, Jorge explained that after the border agent had received the money he took them personally to the place where they got a car to Daveyton.

Many similar stories have been reported by the interviewees during the qualitative research, emphasizing the connivance of some border agents in the perpetuation of illegal border-crossing for labour in South Africa. Most of the potential migrants have left with people who already knew the way. These people use to offer guidance and many of them have been familiar with some South African border agents. So, when they arrive on the border, they have just to bribe those border agents. Other migrants, however, had to jump the border fence without the presence of border-guards. In this case, the border smugglers/guides have played an important role.

ii) Smugglers / guides

In his analysis of human mobility during globalization Claval (2002) concluded that in many countries trying to reduce the flows of migrants, the networks of smugglers played an increasing role in offering alternative ways of entering a desired country. In this regard, Pécoud and De Guchteneire (2005:4) observed that “motivated migrants manage to escape controls by taking more risks, by crossing in new border areas and by relying to a greater extent on professional people-smugglers.”

About sixteen percent of undocumented labour migrants of the sample (see Table 6.6) had been guided by smugglers to the South African side of the border. The role of smugglers in the guidance of undocumented Mozambikan labour migrants across the border had also been stressed by interviewees. Some interviewed labour migrants reported that they had to pay some smugglers/guides for crossing the border into South Africa.

Luís, an undocumented migrant from Magude district, went to South Africa in 2002 for the second time without documents. As he reported, he succeeded in crossing the Ressano Garcia / Komatipoort border with help from some boys who lived in Ressano Garcia area (on the Mozambican side of the border). He explained how it happened:

Those boys knew the way that I had to use to enter the South Africa. They helped me to pass through the border fence. They managed to raise the barbed wire with some stakes, so I could pass through. They charged me two hundred and fifty Rand (Interview with Luís in the Magude district, on April 28, 2004).

The participation of local residents in the guidance of illegal border-crossers has been pointed out by some interviewees. For instance, a border-guard, interviewed at the Ressano Garcia border post (in September 2004), explained that, apart from the borderline between South Africa and Mozambique being too long, there was another factor that was making the illegal border-crossing easier. It was the fact that the dwellings were located close to the borderline. This allowed the undocumented migrants to use those dwellings as their hiding-places. In the case of a patrol, the migrants used to jump very easily to the other side of the border. In general, some local residents also facilitated the process of illegal border-crossing. This made the task of the border-guard police very difficult, as their movement was monitored by local residents. A Mozambican border-guard commented:

On the other side of the border there are many dwellers from the Mozambican origin. Those dwellers are in general the main facilitators of illegal entry of other Mozambicans into South Africa (Interview with a border-guard at the Ressano Garcia border post, on September 08, 2004).

However, it is important to note that sometimes the migrants have unpleasant experiences with smugglers/guides at the border. Some of the smugglers/guides engage in criminal activities to survive. This is illustrated by the experience of Dêrcio, a young migrant who left for South Africa in 1999 from Maputo city with three friends. On the Ressano Garcia

/ Komatipoort border they met a group of boys, residents around the Ressano Garcia area, who offered to help them to cross the border. They crossed the border at night. Those boys managed to raise the fence by using tree props so that Dércio and his friends could pass through. Afterwards, the boys forced them to hand over all their money. Later, Dércio became aware that what had happened to them was a common phenomenon when crossing the border:

Actually, those boys, who offered to help us, are supposed to belong to a group of criminals that use to stay around the Ressano Garcia area. There, they guide people who cross the border illegally for payment of some money. But, in many cases, they end up attacking these people physically and violently in order to seize their financial and material resources. Most of these criminals come from the outside of Ressano Garcia. They are those individuals that, after their deportation from South Africa to Ressano Garcia, didn't succeed in returning home. For instance, this is the case of individuals from Inhambane province, mainly the *matswas*¹⁸, who have a bad reputation for being the most violent people in southern Mozambique (Interview with Dércio in Nelspruit, on September 20, 2005).

After Dércio and his friends had crossed the border and reached the Komatipoort area, they walked towards the road in order to get a lift to Malelane. They did not have any money because they had been robbed when they crossed the border. Once on the road, they got a lift from a South African citizen who was carrying firewood to Malelane. They did not pay for the lift, but they had to help the driver to unload firewood from the vehicle (Interview with Dércio in Nelspruit, on September 20, 2005).

In general, smugglers/guides have been approached for guidance by those migrants who do not know the way and who have tried to cross the border alone. However, many prospective migrants have relied on the guidance of experienced friends for crossing the border. In effect, in a study of undocumented border-crossing among Mexican migrants Singer and Massey (1998) observed that knowing an experienced migrant increased the odds that a friend or relative would be available to serve as a border-crossing guide.

¹⁸ The *matswas* constitute a small ethnic group in Inhambane province.

iii) Conveyors

Once the migrants have crossed the border, another category of social actors – the conveyors – play an important role. Interviews with migrants revealed that the conveyors played an important role in the migration process, since they provided the migrants with transport from the border area (usually Komatipoort) to the destination areas (mainly Johannesburg, as well as Nelspruit). Taxis (minibuses) have been the most common means of transportation, as is evident in the following statement:

In April 1998 I went there again without documentation, because they rejected my application for a visa. I had to jump the border fence again. I met two guys next to the border fence. So, we were three people at the time of crossing the border. It was night. We had to sleep in the forest, in the Komatipoort area. On the next morning, we went to the road waiting for a taxi. It came and took us. Each of us paid seventy Rand for the taxi. From the Komatipoort border I went straight to Tembisa (Interview with Pinto in the Magude district, on January 24, 2004).

The conveyors constitute another group of facilitators for illegal border-crossing. According to a Mozambican border-guard at the Ressano Garcia border post (interviewed in September 2004), most of the deported migrants from South Africa at that post did not return to their areas of origin; they ended up going back to South Africa. Those migrants used to contact facilitators residing on the border, who in turn made arrangements for the transportation facilities with the conveyors on the South African side of the border (Komatipoort area).

However, it is important to note that the migrants without sufficient financial resources to defray their transportation expenses have had painful experiences after crossing of border. Some migrants reported that after they had crossed the border, they had to walk along the forest for several days from the Komatipoort border up to the first place where they could get a job, since they could not afford a taxi fare. In this regard, Nelson, a

young migrant from Xai-Xai district, who had left for the first time in 1998 at age of 18 with two friends, narrated his story:

I left for South Africa with two friends who had been there before. They had been my classmates in the past. We went across the Ressano Garcia / Komatipoort border. I had only twenty Rand in my possession. My friends also did not have enough money for the taxi. So, after we had crossed the border, we had to walk along the forest, from the Komatipoort border up to Malelane. We took two days and had to sleep in the forest because of fear of the police. In Malelane we got employed in a sugar-cane farm, where we worked for three weeks. We wanted just to earn some money that could allow us to take a taxi up to Johannesburg (Interview with Nelson in Bekkersdal, on July 17, 2005).

6.3 Conclusion

Undocumented Mozambican labour migration to South Africa is supported and sustained by a range of social networks that operate at three different levels: in the sending communities, on borders, and in the destination areas. At all levels the networks are made up of interpersonal relationships. In the sending communities, the undocumented labour migrants relied on interpersonal relationships based on bonds of kinship, friendship and neighbourhood to get moral and material support for the movement. On the borders the migrants set up connections with other social actors – border agents, guides, and conveyors – who supported them in border-crossing and transportation to their preferred destinations. In the destination areas, two sets of social bonds play an important role in the process of social and economic integration of immigrants, namely, the connections with South African citizens, employers and immigration officers, as well as the bonds of kinship, friendship and neighbourhood among the former immigrants.

The kinship bonds were useful mainly as sources of financial help or channels of material assistance for migrants during their departure from the sending communities and arrival at the destination. The friendship connections were very important for the purpose of

guidance throughout the migration process, particularly from the areas of origin to the destination. In other words, the migrants relied far more on friendship ties for coping with the world around them.

An important aspect of friendship networks in the migration process is the fact that they were differentiated by gender. Female migrants relied on the help of women networks, since it was much easier to deal with other women than men. The women in most cases were faced with similar kinds of problems, and were less problematic than men. Similarly, male migrants also relied on male networks. However, it is to be pointed out that the dependence on the friends' support declines once the new immigrants get adapted and employed, a fact particularly evident among male migrants. Solidarity among females lasted relatively long, because of the kind of activities they engaged in the informal sector, which required a constant interaction and co-operation with each other.

Chapter 7 presents an assessment of undocumented labour migrants' integration into South Africa (socially as well as into labour market) and evaluates the consequences of their illegal status.

CHAPTER 7

INTEGRATION IN SOUTH AFRICA

7.1 Introduction

This chapter presents an assessment of the integration process of undocumented Mozambican immigrants in South Africa. It shows how the established immigrants from home communities in the destination have provided the migrants with networks that assist them in making their way in South Africa. The immigrants' home communities have also been serving as the most accessible channels for the social integration of newcomers in their new destination. Furthermore, the chapter highlights other channels within the South African society that have also made the integration of Mozambican immigrants in that society relatively easy. It shows that links between immigrants and South African citizens or employers have played an active role in the integration process of immigrants, whether socially or into labour market.

The chapter is organised as follows: first, it focuses on the role of migrant home communities in the integration process in South Africa. Second, it shows the factors affecting social integration of immigrants. Third, it analyses the integration process into labour market. Fourth, it evaluates the consequences of illegal status of immigrants. Finally, it presents some conclusions.

7.2 Migrant home communities and integration in South Africa

In most of research sites inside South Africa, the Mozambican labour immigrants were organized into communities. Some examples of such communities were the Mozambican communities of Johannesburg, Tembisa, Soweto and Bekkersdal, which constituted the

research sites in Gauteng. In this regard it is important to be noted that Crush and Williams (2004) spoke about the emergence of transnational 'migrant spaces' in South Africa, which were not attached to the idea of transnational 'communities', given that those spaces were co-inhabited and shared with local citizens. "They are the localities of most direct and intense interface with South Africans. It is here, at shack face, that the real substance of relationships between citizens and non-citizens is forged" (Crush and Williams, 2004:11). The high level of organization in the communities in Gauteng was not evident in Mpumalanga, particularly in Nelspruit. Some form of organization in that province could be found amongst the Mozambican immigrants working in the 'Nova Sun' farm, who were staying in hostels under the control of their employer. According to the opinion of some interviewees, the high level of organization within the Mozambican communities in Gauteng was a result of the efforts of the Consulate of Mozambique in Johannesburg who persuaded the immigrants around that area into organizing themselves so that they could be easily assisted in case of need.

7.2.1 Mozambican communities in Gauteng

Soweto, Tembisa, Bekkersdal and Johannesburg were places with the highest concentration of Mozambican immigrants in Gauteng. It was not possible to determine the actual number of immigrants within each community. However, officials in the Consulate of Mozambique in Johannesburg estimated that each community might have on the average a little more than seven thousand immigrants. However the number of male migrants in all communities seemed to be relatively higher than females, because fewer women had been migrating than men.

The majority of the immigrants from the Mozambican communities in Gauteng worked in the informal sector. Many of them bought and re-sold different kinds of goods on the streets or within the markets close to their communities, or at any place where they expected to get many customers. In general, women were involved in dealing with essential commodities (such as vegetables, rice, maize flour, eggs, meat, etc.) while men sold a wide range of more general products (sunglasses, key-rings, sprays for cars,

perfumes, clothes, etc.). However, a number of male immigrants worked as bricklayers or mechanics.

Most of the Mozambican immigrants in Soweto, Tembisa and Bekkersdal lived in small houses built of zinc plates. In general, those immigrants who were in the community for many years owned their houses, and they were working in the mining industry. The newcomers rented accommodation or stayed with acquaintances, relatives or friends. In Johannesburg, most of the immigrants lived in groups of fifteen to twenty people, and rented flats.

Each Mozambican community in Gauteng had a leader and his assistant. The leaders were the connecting link between their community members and other authorities (Mozambican or South African). For instance, the Mozambican Consulate in Johannesburg used to come into contact with the Mozambican citizens through the community leaders. The community leaders had played an important role during the Mozambican elections in 2004, because they mobilized almost all members from their communities to participate actively in the electoral process. During the fieldwork in Bekkersdal (in July 2005) a Frelimo delegation from Mozambique had come to meet with the community and its leaders to thank them for supporting the party and its presidential candidate.

Community leaders also helped members to solve their problems. The most common problem among the community members was related to the lack of a valid documentation for staying in South Africa. Most Mozambicans in each community did not have a valid document. That is to say, in every ten Mozambicans from those communities about seven were staying in South Africa without any valid document, according to the information from the community leaders. Many Mozambicans did not even have the *Bilhete de Identidade* (the Mozambican ID) or birth certificate that could allow them to get a passport from the Consulate in Johannesburg.

Those Mozambican citizens who were in possession of *Bilhete de Identidade* or birth certificate from Mozambique could go to the Consulate and apply for a Mozambican passport. But after they obtained that passport they had to go back to Mozambique and apply for a work permit visa from the South African Embassy. Under this condition they could enter South Africa as legal labour migrants. Otherwise they could enter for thirty days as legal tourists, who did not require a visa, but a valid passport. However, for most of the undocumented Mozambican labour immigrants these solutions were not practicable. Even with a passport, they believed that it was difficult to obtain a work permit visa from the South African authorities. Likewise, their entering into South Africa as tourists would not solve their problem, since they wanted to stay for work and for more than thirty days.

In many cases, community leaders helped members to apply either for a Mozambican passport from the Consulate or a South African ID, because they were aware of all the formal and informal requirements. The community leaders were individuals with varied life experiences in South Africa, since nearly all of them had come to South Africa as miners, via labour-contracts. Some community leaders were retired, but they continued to live in South Africa, given that they had spent the best part of their life here. Therefore, they were well-known and were considered to be prestigious personalities within their communities. They also had strong relationships with the local leaders from the South African communities, mainly those located in their neighbourhood. To some extent this facilitated the social integration of Mozambican citizens into South African society.

Some informants reported that when celebrating events took place within the Mozambican communities, it was common to see the presence of South African community leaders. An example of that could be observed during the fieldwork in Bekkersdal, where some local leaders of ANC had been invited to attend a meeting of the Mozambican community on the occasion of a visit from a Frelimo party's team from Mozambique. It became clear that one of the main objectives of that meeting was to discuss the problems of Mozambican immigrants in South Africa, particularly in that

community. Therefore, the presence of local leaders had been considered to be very crucial.

The great influence of leaders inside and outside their communities was noticeable when undocumented residents were arrested by the police. Some of the arrested Mozambicans were freed thanks to the intervention of their community leaders. This fact was emphasized by the leader of the Mozambican community in Soweto (in July 2005), who reported that he had been often in the repatriation centre at Lindela to free some arrested Mozambican citizens.

It must be stressed that, in some cases, the leaders were linked to other important social activities within and outside of their communities, reinforcing their influential role. In Soweto, for example, the Mozambican community leader was also president of a non-governmental organization called 'International Community Unifiers' whose headquarters were located in Johannesburg. The main aim of this organization was to promote the union not only of Mozambican communities with the South African ones, but also with the other foreign communities existing in South Africa. It encouraged the interaction between citizens from one community with citizens from another one. This organization could be seen as one of the means of social integration of immigrants, particularly the Mozambicans, into South African communities.

The Mozambican community leader in Bekkersdal used religion to contribute to a closer interaction between Mozambicans and South Africans. In addition to his function of community leader, he also was the pastor of a Protestant Church in that community. The church was located inside of his yard and citizens from the both communities, Mozambicans and South Africans, formed part of the congregation.

The fieldwork in the Mozambican community of Tembisa could not start in the first scheduled day because the community leader and many of his members went to attend the funeral of a well-known South African man in that area. According to informants, the man who had died was the owner of a very important funeral services agency in Tembisa.

Within the Mozambican social circle in Gauteng he used to be treated as 'a Mozambican South African'. This was because he maintained a close relationship with the Mozambican communities and provided assistance in times of need. For example, in the case of death of an indigent Mozambican, he used to make all arrangements with regard to the removal of the body to Mozambique, through his funeral agency, free of charge. Therefore, his death had been considered a great loss within the Mozambican communities.

During the fieldwork it was possible to observe that in general the Mozambican communities were constituted by people from the same area of origin (neighbours, friends or kindred), who maintained a type of relationship which Harries-Jones (1969) called 'home-boy' ties. An interesting aspect to be pointed out with regard to this kind of association is the fact that they had led to the formation of small groups with a tribal tendency, a phenomenon that was particularly noticeable in Soweto. Pedro, an undocumented labour migrant living in Soweto since 1979, commented this fact as follows:

Many Mozambicans use to stay in groups according to their common origin. For instance, people from Inhambane province are isolating themselves from the shangana speakers (people from Gaza and Maputo provinces). On the other hand, people from Maputo city and its outskirts are behaving in a proud and superior manner; they are showing much pride in themselves and too little consideration for other groups. They are more solitary than other immigrants from the outside of Maputo city, who use to help each other (Interview with Pedro in Soweto, on July 16, 2005).

There were fewer immigrants from northern Mozambique within the studied communities in Gauteng. This could be attributed to the fact that historically the northern Mozambique has had a low contribution to the migrant flows to South Africa. However, there was an additional explanation particularly within the studied communities in Gauteng. According to some interviewees, the migrants from northern Mozambique were not welcome in those communities because they were seen as thieves; that is, they used to steal things when someone gave them hospitality.

Mozambican home communities in Gauteng: bases of social support for migrants

As referred to previously, almost every new undocumented Mozambican labour immigrant in South Africa used to go to a home community where he/she expected to find his/her home people (kindred, friends or neighbours), who could provide him/her with some support for the integration and adaptation in the new location. Nearly all immigrants interviewed for this research in Gauteng followed this approach when they had left for the first time to South Africa. In this regard, Bauer and Zimmermann (1997:143) theorized that the “interpersonal and ethnic connections” linked “the new migrant with previous migrants and natives in the receiving country by ties of ethnicity, kinship, and friendship.” So, they concluded that “co-movements of migrants might be affected by preferences to live in the neighbourhood of people that share the same traditions, experiences, and values, but also by advantages in receiving information and help in order to achieve easy integration in the economic, cultural and political systems of the destination country” (Bauer and Zimmermann, 1997:143).

It has been argued that the emergence of migrants’ home communities in a receiving country occurs as a result of the maturation of the migrant networks, a factor that leads to the perpetuation of migration (see Massey *et al.*, 1987; Young, 1999; Peleikis, 2000). For instance, in their study on Mexican migration to the United States, Massey *et al.* (1987:153) found that with the establishment of Mexican home communities in the U.S., the social infrastructure linking them to the communities in the origin became more directed and reified, and the network became self-perpetuating. More migrants moved to a particular place where the networks and the social structure afforded them the greatest opportunities for success. As more migrants arrived, the range of social connections was further extended, “making subsequent migration to that place even more likely” (Massey *et al.*, 1987:153).

The life migration experiences of undocumented Mozambican labour migrants revealed that the existing Mozambican communities in South Africa played a noticeable role in migration process, by directing the prospective migrants to particular locations inside the country. This is illustrated by the following extracts from interviews with some undocumented migrants:

I left in 1996 with friends to Soweto, where I had some relatives. We got lift from a Mozambican guy who was also working in Soweto. He took us up to there and we paid one hundred Rand for the lift (Interview with Genito in the Chókwè district, on May 22, 2004).

In 1999 I decided to leave for South Africa to earn my livelihood. I moved with three friends who had already worked there. They knew how to go there. After we had crossed the border we went to Daveyton, where the three friends had been working. I took three days there and then I went to Free State. I did not stay long in Daveyton because there was no job for me. I left to Free State because my aunt, sister of my mother, was living there since 1985. I got her contact and home address before. So, I could call her when I was in Daveyton. When I arrived in Free State I stayed by my aunt. After two months my aunt provided me with a job in a construction company, where I worked as a bricklayer's assistant for seven months before my deportation to Mozambique (Interview with Jorge in the Magude district, on May 02, 2004).

Within their communities the migrants have the social networks which provide assistance as well as advice for the satisfaction of other needs (such as leisure and recreation). For instance, most of the newcomer immigrants in the Mozambican community of Tembisa used to be assisted with accommodation by Mr Vuma, an influential businessman in that community. Mr Vuma, who was living in Tembisa since 1971, used to let rooms to the majority of Mozambicans who used to come to Tembisa for the first time looking for job or their relatives living there. They used to stay with Mr Vuma for a couple of weeks before they got a new permanent accommodation or met their relatives. This happened often during the civil war in Mozambique (1976-1992) (Interview with Mr Vuma in Tembisa, on July 19, 2005).

In case of loss of job, some immigrants used to obtain assistance from the other members of their communities. For example, Joaquim, who was unemployed at the time of fieldwork in the Mozambican community of Tembisa (July 2005), had survived thanks to support from a Mozambican family in that community, whom he had initially met in his country. The family was living for a long time in Tembisa, and both the husband and wife were working in a Telkom Company. Joaquim's living expenses in Bekkersdal were being met by that family. Joaquim's socioeconomic situation had become worse, because he had impregnated Camila, a Mozambican girl also from his district, Chibuto, who was living in Bekkersdal with her uncle. Camila was 18 years old when she gave birth to their baby in May 2005. Joaquim was unable to take care of his new family because he was unemployed. So, he and his new family continued getting support from his hosts who were working in the Telkom Company. At the time of interview Joaquim was looking for a job. It was not easy, since he did not have any documentation (Interview with Joaquim in Tembisa, on July 19, 2005).

Immigrants also received assistance through some social groups established by community members, as for instance, the case of churches. Hortência, a female immigrant interviewed in the Mozambican community of Johannesburg (July 2005), reported that she would never forget the support that she received from her church. She explained that she was a member of the church 'Assembly of God', with a congregation which comprised both South Africans and Mozambicans. The people from that church were the only ones who used to help her when she was faced with a difficult situation. Hortência's second daughter had a baby from a Mozambican who did not assume responsibility for the child. Some days later the baby died. All the arrangements for the baby's funeral had been made by the members from Hortência's church.

Living within a home community in South Africa allowed some immigrants to develop their personal relationships with people from home. This fact was particularly important among the female immigrants, such as Isabel (in Bekkersdal) or Hortência (in Johannesburg). When Isabel came to Bekkersdal she was not married and did not have a boyfriend. After a while in Bekkersdal she got married to a Mozambican man who was

living in this community. Similarly, Hortência's boyfriend was a Mozambican from her home community in Johannesburg.

The two females affirmed that they could only have a man from their home community as their husband or boyfriend. They were not interested in developing relationships with South African men. Hortência explained that she did not like South African men because they were very mean. This fact, in her opinion, constituted one of the reasons why the South African women liked to get married to the Mozambican men. Hortência argued:

The South African men do not care for the domestic expenses. For instance, they are not used to set out household provisions for a month or a week... They usually use to buy a small thing when they come back from the work just for the dinner of that day... The Mozambican men are very generous; they can easily provide food and money for their families... (Interview with Hortência in Johannesburg, on July 18, 2005)

The community life also provided the immigrants with recreation opportunities. For example, in the Mozambican community of Soweto the young immigrants had succeeded in forming a soccer team, whose coach was the leader of that community. During spare time, particularly at weekends, that team used to compete with other local soccer teams. Another example of conviviality among the immigrants was reported by Manuel in the Mozambican community of Tembisa (in July 2005). Manuel, who was staying in Tembisa since 1994, stated that he used to go out with friends from that community, especially to a Casino that was located close to their community. They liked to go there just to try their luck. Manuel added that one day he won one thousand and eight hundred Rand, but he had spent only two hundred Rand. According to him, that money was very useful for the expansion of his business in Tembisa.

7.2.2 Mozambican immigrants in Mpumalanga

Mozambican immigrants in Nelspruit

In Nelspruit, it was not possible to find any form of immigrants' organization in communities like that found in Gauteng. This was probably because Nelspruit was a small town and most migrants used it as springboard to enter into the Gauteng region. However, the Mozambican Consulate in Nelspruit was encouraging the immigrants to organize themselves. Almost all interviewed Mozambican immigrants stated that they had come to Nelspruit not because of having connections with any acquaintance, friend or relative living there, as was common among the immigrants in Gauteng. They had stopped there on their first entry into South Africa, because they lacked the financial means to proceed with their trip to Johannesburg.

For instance, this was so in the case of Adelino, who in 2004 left alone from Maputo city for South Africa. When he left he had intended to go to Johannesburg where his uncle was staying. After he had crossed the border he joined to another Mozambican who was also going to Johannesburg. They got a lift from the border up to Nelspruit. It was night when they arrived in Nelspruit. So, they went to the city to look for some place where they could sleep. There, they met Mr Julio, a Mozambican, who took them to his residence in the outskirts of Nelspruit. The next day, the person who came with Adelino to Nelspruit, proceeded with his trip to Johannesburg. Unfortunately Adelino could not proceed with the trip, because he did not have enough money, and was not sure about the correct address of his uncle in Johannesburg. For that reason he opted to stay in Nelspruit where he was working when interviewed (in September 2005) (Interview with Adelino in Nelspruit, on September 19, 2005).

There is an important aspect to be pointed out with regard the interaction among the Mozambican immigrants in Nelspruit. It was possible to observe that every newcomer immigrant in Nelspruit came easily into contact with the former immigrants around the

city, although there was no well-defined community organization. Some informants in Nelspruit explained that this was largely due to the influence of Mr Nico, an ex-Mozambican football player, who was living there for many years. He was very well known man and popular among Mozambicans and South Africans. Mr Nico had come to South Africa as a football player and had been playing for a team in Nelspruit. At the time of fieldwork he was a retired football player; but he was still making some contribution to the sport as an advisor. In addition, Mr Nico used to assist the Mozambican Consulate in the accomplishment of some activities, mainly those related to the establishment of linkages between the Consulate authorities and the Mozambican citizens around Nelspruit.

It was through Mr Nico that Adelino obtained his first job in Nelspruit as a mechanic's assistant. Adelino had been introduced by Mr Júlio to Mr Nico. Mr Nico introduced Adelino to his friend, Mr Sobuza, who was a mechanic in a car repair shop in the city centre of Nelspruit. In turn, Mr Sobuza introduced Adelino to the owner of the shop. So, Adelino became employee in that shop. Mr Sobuza and Mr Nico became the closest friends and advisors of Adelino (Interview with Adelino in Nelspruit, on September 19, 2005).

Mozambican workers in the 'Nova Sun' farm

Fieldwork in the 'Nova Sun' farm (September 2005) revealed that the workforce had been almost exclusively constituted by Mozambican immigrants, who had entered undocumented into South Africa. However, they had already been legalized. However, they were not allowed to go out of the farm, because their documents were in the possession of their employer. Clearly, this action by the employer was illegal, and the immigrants were vulnerable.

In the farm it was possible to observe some form of social organization among the Mozambican workers. About six hundred Mozambicans working in the 'Nova Sun' farm

were living in hostels inside the property. There were two categories of hostels: the first one was constituted by hostels allocated to workers in leading positions (such as Mr. Petrous²²), while the second category was for the common workers. All workers in leading positions were staying with their families in relatively comfortable apartments, which included bedroom, living room, kitchen, and bathroom. In contrast, three common workers had to share a single room. However, each married common worker was allowed to occupy a single room with his family.

It is important to point out that there were many workers who were staying with their families in the farm. Most of them arrived alone in the farm, leaving their families at home. Later, after they got some stability in their jobs, they asked their families to join them. Some couples met each other on the farm. For instance, after his arrival in the farm in 1990, Petrous met Tandy, a girl from Swaziland whose parents also were working in the same farm. Later, she became his wife. Her parents left the farm and went back to Swaziland. She and Petrous used to visit them regularly. Petrous was living with Tandy in the farm. The only problem within their marriage was the fact that Tandy could not have children. Because of that, Petrous looked for another woman who could bear his children. So, in 2002, he met Joana, a Mozambican girl whose parents came from Massinga district (Inhambane province) and were workers of the farm. Joana was born in that farm. She became Petrous' second wife. Fortunately, Joana could have children and she had one daughter who was 3 years old. Joana continued staying by her parents within the farm, since the Petrous' apartment was occupied by Tandy, his first wife. Petrous supported his two wives and they did not have to work. Almost twenty percent of workers were women, whose husbands were also workers in the same farm (Interview with Mr Petrous in the 'Nova Sun' farm, on September 25, 2005).

In terms of social organization there was some differentiation of activities according to gender on the farm. During fieldwork, which took place in the harvest season of bananas, it was possible to observe that the male workers were occupied in collecting bananas and

²² Mr Petrous was the head of all Mozambican workers in the 'Nova Sun' farm.

clearing the land. The women were packing the bananas, which had to be delivered to the market. The informants revealed that each woman was earning according to the quantity of packs completed. So, they had to pack more bananas to get more money. For that reason, an attempt at interviewing female workers was unsuccessful. The presence of an interviewer was disturbing them and therefore affecting their productivity negatively.

For leisure and recreation there were some common spaces around the hostels. For instance, there was a building with a large TV-room and a bar service for the workers and their families. It was possible to see many young people and some adults watching TV during a visit to the hostels. In addition, there was also a football playground where the workers could compete with teams from outside of the farm.

Another aspect of the social life of the Mozambican workers in the 'Nova Sun' farm was related to the education of the workers' children. In the 'Nova Sun' farm there were many children of school going age. These children attended a school outside the farm. There was a bus which took them to the school. The bus belonged to the farmer.

Overall, the working and living conditions in the 'Nova Sun' farm seemed to be better than that at home for almost all immigrants. Many workers were growing old in that farm, and they appeared to be resigned to the working and living conditions on the farm, given that they could not find similar opportunities at home. Many interviewees said that they were not earning much on the farm; but they accepted it, because it was better than staying at home without doing anything.

7.3 Factors affecting social integration of immigrants

Observations and data from qualitative research in South Africa suggested that the process of social integration of Mozambican immigrants in South Africa was strongly conditioned by the extent of their experience in that country, as well as by their legal status. Those immigrants who were there for long seemed to be socially well established. By coincidence, most of them had already succeeded in legalizing their status and were in

possession of some documentation. They were mostly those Mozambicans who came initially as miners and those who occupied the position of community leaders. This is illustrated with reference to Mr Vuma's life migration story.

Mr Vuma (interviewed in Tembisa in July 2005) came for the first time to South Africa in 1965 to work in the mining industry in Benoni, as a contract labour migrant. He became an illegal migrant in 1969 when he abandoned the mining industry and started to work as a bricklayer. In order to continue living in South Africa he had to change his real name and succeeded in obtaining a South African ID and passport. In 1971 he moved to Tembisa, where he was living when interviewed. In Tembisa he started his own small business. He used to buy clothes and blankets and to resell them to the miners in hostels. After his business expanded, in 1978 Mr Vuma bought a truck for transporting miners' goods from South Africa to Mozambique. This business grew very fast so that Mr Vuma had to increase the number of trucks, from one to twenty. Mr Vuma became one of the largest employers of Mozambican immigrants in Tembisa. As he explained, the drivers of all trucks that he had were Mozambicans. In addition, he had got a market-stall and another business of letting rooms, all in Tembisa. Therefore, Mr Vuma could be considered one of the self-made men in Tembisa (Interview with Mr Vuma in Tembisa, on July 19, 2005).

7.3.1 Importance of South African ID for the social integration

It has to be stressed that the majority of migrants (whether in the sample or in the qualitative interviews) recognized that the possession of a legal document, particularly the South African ID, constituted a crucial condition for their integration in the South African society. For that reason, almost every undocumented migrant tried to get some South African document after his/her entry into South Africa. For instance, fifty-seven percent of (a total of 107) undocumented labour migrants of the sample (in Magude and Chókwè districts) had tried to legalize their situation when they arrived in South Africa, but only few of them were successful.

All interviewed immigrants without a legal document in South Africa were quite worried about their difficult integration in the society. They could not obtain jobs easily and their efforts to integrate more fully in the receiving society were unsuccessful. They spent most of time trying to hide themselves from the police because of their illegal status. Manuel (interviewed in Tembisa in July 2005) explained that almost all Mozambicans in his community always lived in fear of the police. Even those who had valid South African documents were intimidated by the police. According to his experience, Manuel reported what had been happening in the following way:

The police always embarrass us for nothing. It doesn't matter to them whether we have a South African ID or not... When they meet us they use to confuse us as much as possible in order to force us to give them some money. If we don't do it, we can have an unpleasant end: we can be taken to the Lindela's repatriation centre and then deported to Mozambique (Interview with Manuel in Tembisa, on July 19, 2005).

Possession of a South African ID was absolutely vital for the migrants' integration so that they were forced to find illegal ways to obtain it. The most common way was to obtain it through bribery. The undocumented immigrants needed to have connections to some people working in the Department of Home Affairs who could be bribed to provide the ID. In some cases, the immigrants were helped by South African citizens to get ID. The South Africans were used as relatives, and their presence in the Home Affairs with Mozambicans served to forge a familiar relationship. So, the Mozambicans were treated as South Africans and succeeded in getting an ID easily. For example, Manuel (in Tembisa, July 2005) reported that he had succeeded in obtaining a South African ID by resorting to his connections with a South African acquaintance and bribery as well. He explained:

I met a South African guy in the area where I was living after my arrival from Mozambique. That guy was almost my age. I used to play with him. His name was Peter. He was aware of my deep concern about the lack of documentation. So, one day Peter decided to help me with the process of getting documentation. He took his birth certificate and then we went together to the Home Affairs. When we arrived there I told the Home Affairs officers that Peter was my half-brother

and that we were from the same South African mother but from different fathers. I explained them that my father was a Mozambican who was not living in South Africa anymore. Also, I told them that our mother was not able to be there, because of her age. Then I asked them for ID. They charged me three hundred Rand and I got the ID... (Interview with Manuel in Tembisa, on July 19, 2005)

A similar strategy also had been adopted by Isabel and Pinto in order to get a South African ID. Isabel (interviewed in Bekkersdal in July 2005) stated that she had succeeded in obtaining an ID because she had been helped by Ms Cindy, an elderly South African lady who had become her friend in Bekkersdal. Ms Cindy went together with Isabel to the Home Affairs. Once in the Home Affairs, Ms Cindy declared that Isabel was her daughter, and immediately Isabel got the ID as a South African citizen. For that favour Isabel paid three hundred Rand to Ms Cindy.

Pinto (interviewed in Magude district in January 2004) reported that after his arrival in South Africa in 1992 he tried to get documentation with help from a South African couple. He explained:

I did not have any documentation when I left for South Africa... But I tried to obtain it there. I met a South African family that played the role of my parents. I took the documentation of that family to the Home Affairs in order to get registration as son. I succeeded in getting the registration slip, and I would have a birth certificate within three months. That registration slip allowed me to have access to jobs... Unfortunately, I lost the registration slip before I got the birth certificate, which would allow me to get the South African ID. From that time (1992) up to my return in 1998, as a deportee, I never had any valid document (Interview with Pinto in the Magude district, on January 24, 2004).

Luís (interviewed in Magude district in April 2004) was also one of the few undocumented migrants that managed to get South African documentation. He had left in 1999 to Tembisa where he was working for his cousin as a taxi-driver. Although he had a job, he still needed to have a South African ID, because he was attending a night-school in the area where he was living. Luís had to resort to bribery to get that ID. He reported how it happened:

During my stay in South Africa, from 1999 to 2002, I succeeded in regularizing my position of illegal immigrant. I tried to get documentation as a South African. After two years in South Africa I obtained a South African ID. I needed it a lot; because, besides working, I was also attending a night-school. But, I had started attending that night-school even before I got the ID. My cousin had contacted the authorities of the school and they evaluated my Mozambican schooling level. After that I was allowed to attend the school at level of fifth class... To get the ID, my cousin also had contacted some officers of Home Affairs. They tried to cause difficulties for him; but they ended up solving my problem, because my cousin gave them something. So I got a birth certificate... First of all, one must have the birth certificate in order to obtain an ID. In fact, what is difficult to get is the birth certificate. To get it, one must present a birth form from the hospital. The Mozambicans do not have this form. So, they have to give some money to the Home Affairs officers in order to get a birth certificate... (Interview with Luís in the Magude district, on April 28, 2004).

Maria, a returned migrant from South Africa (interviewed in Magude district in January 2004), reported that she had been able to regularize her migrant status, because at the time when Mandela was president he allowed all Mozambicans, who were living in South Africa for five years or longer, to get a South African ID. But for that, according to Maria, it was necessary to present *Bilhete de Identidade* (BI), the Mozambican identification document. She added:

I asked my parents to send to me my *Bilhete de Identidade*, because I left it in Mozambique. They sent it to me through someone who was travelling to South Africa. When I received it, I went to the Home Affairs with a South African friend to get the ID. Because I was not a South African, it was necessary to pay some money. I had to pay three hundred Rand. As soon as I got the South African ID, I returned to Mozambique to get the Mozambican passport. So, when I got the Mozambican passport, it was easier to enter again into South Africa. For that, I needed only to join that passport to the South African ID, and then I immediately got a residence permit on my passport. After that, my entry into South Africa was no longer a problem (Interview with Maria in the Magude district, on January 23, 2004).

As it has been shown, the most common practice adopted by undocumented Mozambican labour immigrants in South Africa, to get their position regularized, was the resort to bribery, which used to be facilitated by their connections with South African acquaintances/friends or influential relatives in the destination. However, it is important to note that many of the migrants interviewed succeeded in getting a South African ID because of the immigration amnesty for Southern African Development Community (SADC) nationals that was implemented in July 1996. The 1996 SADC Amnesty, according to Crush and Williams (2001b:8) “offered the opportunity for SADC citizens to apply for permanent residence, provided that they had been living in South Africa for five years or more, had no criminal record, and either were involved in economic activity or had a South African spouse or dependant born or residing lawfully in the country.”²³

Hortência (interviewed in July 2005 in Tembisa) had been one of the beneficiaries of the 1996 SADC Amnesty, and she succeeded in obtaining a South African ID. The ID allowed her to live freely in South Africa. Also, all her children were living as South African citizens and they had access to the public facilities, such as the schools, one of the reasons which delayed her return to Mozambique:

I believe that the best for my children is the education. They will not have it if they go to Mozambique, because I will not be able to meet the school expenses. There, it is not easy to get access to the public schools that are relatively cheap. The private schools are too expensive. For these reasons I expect to stay longer in South Africa so that my children can continue attending the school. Here, with the little money that I earn from my business, I am able to pay for the education of my children. On the other hand, I believe that my children are used to the environment of the South African schools (Interview with Hortência in Johannesburg, on July 18, 2005).

From the above case studies it can be concluded that having a South African document played an important role in the integration process of Mozambican labour immigrants in South Africa. Those without that document were less likely to be socially and

²³ The majority (73%) of applicants for the 1996 SADC Amnesty were Mozambicans (Crush and Williams, 2001a:18). “Some 146 672 Mozambicans applied for the amnesty, a mixture of refugees and migrant workers” (Crush and Williams, 2001b:8).

economically established in South Africa, even after a long period of residence. They always were under pressure and insecure, and their integration was constrained by the fact that they might be deported at any time. Given the hazards and risks of undocumented life, they had to be circumspect regarding the social and economic connections that they made.

7.3.2 Other factors affecting social integration of immigrants

In addition to their experience level and legal status, there were other factors affecting the social integration of Mozambican labour immigrants in South Africa. Findings from qualitative research revealed that there were some forms of prejudice and discrimination in some circles of South African society that hindered immigrants from achieving their goals. Many interviewed migrants expressed the view that they were not welcome in the host society, since they believed that there was a kind of hostility towards them. This had an adverse effect on their integration in the receiving society. In this regard it is important to note that Kuo and Tsai (1986:136) observed that the social or psychological well-being of immigrants in a receiving society increased when there was an assimilation, structurally or socially, with members of the host society.

Attempts to understand why the undocumented Mozambican labour immigrants in South Africa were not welcome have revealed two different beliefs or views. There was a group of immigrants, constituted mostly by elderly people that were residing in South Africa for many years, who believed that the non-acceptance of undocumented Mozambican immigrants among South Africans was a very recent phenomenon. For them, that phenomenon was associated with the violent and criminal nature of undocumented Mozambican immigrants who were entering South Africa in recent years. For instance, Mr Vuma and Pedro, who were staying in South Africa since 1965 and 1973, respectively, had the same opinion.

The point of view of Mr Vuma (interviewed in Tembisa in July 2005) was that the relationship between Mozambicans and South Africans was deteriorating in recent times.

According to his long experience in South Africa, that situation was caused by the fact that many Mozambicans who arrived recently were violent and engaged in criminal activities. They killed and robbed, and did not show consideration for anybody, and this led to feelings of antipathy from South African citizens towards Mozambican immigrants. In the past the Mozambicans who migrated to South Africa were more peaceful and, therefore, their relationship with the local citizens was much better than in the contemporary period.

Pedro (interviewed in Soweto in July 2005) reported that at the time of his arrival in South Africa (during the seventies) most of South Africans around him did not know much about Mozambique. The Mozambicans used to be treated with more consideration, since they were regarded as being Portuguese. Pedro added that, nowadays, that situation had changed, probably because of the increase in number of Mozambicans entering into South Africa and their reputation for being criminals.

However, there was another group (among the interviewed immigrants), formed mostly by young and newcomer immigrants, who linked their non-acceptance by South Africans with the phenomenon of xenophobia in South Africa. They believed that they were envied by South Africans because of their hard-working capacity which contributed to their prosperity.

Xenophobia and social integration

Almost all interviewed migrants revealed that their relationship with the South African citizens was not good, and many had been victims of xenophobia during their stay in South Africa. The rise of xenophobia in South Africa has been analyzed by Crush (2001:11), who observed that South Africans were becoming increasingly antagonistic towards foreigners since mid-1990s. Since then local studies confirmed that many black foreigners felt that there was considerable verbal and physical antagonism towards their

presence (see, e.g., Danso and MacDonald, 2002; Palmary, 2002; Adepoju, 2003; Solomon, 2003; Crush and Pendleton, 2004; Landau, 2004; Maharaj, 2004). In general, the the Mozambican migrants expressed the feeling that they were not welcome in the social circles of the local residents. They were regarded as inferiors because of their Mozambican origin and migrant status. The Mozambicans were seen as people coming from a poor country, whose presence in South Africa caused unemployment of locals and increased the rate of criminality. Luís, a returned migrant in Magude district, commented on this matter as follows:

The South Africans do not like Mozambicans ... They do not show consideration for Mozambicans ... For them, seeing a Mozambican is the same as seeing a dog ... (Interview with Luís in the Magude district, on April 28, 2004).

Manuel, who was staying in South Africa since 1994, was of the opinion that the non-acceptance of Mozambicans by locals was associated with the fact that they were very diligent. He observed that there were some South African citizens who were not as diligent in their work. Manuel explained:

There are South Africans who treat us badly. In general, they are poor people, who are faced with uncomfortable living conditions do not strive to improve their standard of living. They want to have a lot of money; but they do not want to work hard for a little money as we do. After all, they end up being extremely full of envy of us, since we always use to have some money and they do not ... (Interview with Manuel in Tembisa, on July 19, 2005).

The Manuel's view also was supported by Hortência (interviewed in Johannesburg in July 2005), who added that some South Africans were not happy that Mozambicans were prosperous and they were not. Paradoxically, the South Africans did not like to do the kind of jobs that Mozambicans used to do, since they (the South Africans) assumed that such jobs were for uneducated people.

It is important to note that the information here presented is not surprising, since it is to some extent consistent with some study findings reported by Mattes *et al.* (1999), and

Danso and McDonald (2000). Mattes *et al.* (1999:1-2) found that the majority of South Africans were resoundingly negative towards any immigration policy that might welcome newcomers, and that all South Africans appeared to have the same stereotypical image of Southern Africans, citing job loss, crime and disease as negative consequences they feared from immigrants living in the country. Similar results were reported by Danso and McDonald (2000) after they analysed SAMP surveys (1997, 1998) on the causes and dimensions of xenophobia in South Africa. They observed that South Africans on the whole carried strong anti-immigration sentiments, “with 25% of the population calling for a complete ban on migration into the country and approximately half ... calling for a strict limit on the number of foreigners allowed into the country” (Danso and McDonald, 2000:4). In addition, they noted that South Africans held strongly negative views about immigrants themselves, particularly those from African countries. African immigrants were “perceived to be responsible for stealing jobs and causing crime in the country and for bringing diseases like HIV/AIDS” (Danso and McDonald, 2000:4).

Further, in its Migration News of January 2007 SAMP announced that xenophobia was on the rise in South Africa where foreigners were increasingly being blamed for spiralling crime and growing unemployment. According to SAMP (2007) an intense dislike of people from other countries among South Africans has been caused by a massive inflow from all parts of Africa in the post apartheid-era, where the African foreigners have been regarded as threats. For instance, Nigerians have been seen as dealers in drugs, Zimbabweans as being responsible for cash heists, and Mozambicans as housebreakers (SAMP, 2007).

7.4 Integration into labour market

The process of integration of immigrants into the labour market has been strongly affected by their legal status. It has been quite difficult for the immigrants without valid documents to have a permanent job, particularly in the formal sector. Hence, life in South Africa was difficult, given that it was not easy to get a formal job. Many undocumented Mozambican immigrants in Johannesburg were dealing with informal trade on the streets

(such as buying and reselling of clothes, toys, vegetable) just for survival. This had been happening in all research sites in Gauteng and in Nespruit as well.

Those immigrants that have succeeded in getting formal jobs have been working in the construction industry (Table 7.1), particularly those who have been staying in Johannesburg and its outskirts. Other immigrants have been working within the service sector (as mechanics, waiters, gardeners or domestic servants). Rogerson (1999) observed that the South African construction sector had only four countries – Mozambique, Zimbabwe, Swaziland and Botswana – as the major suppliers of migrant workers. Among these countries Mozambique was clearly dominant, and Johannesburg was “the first point of migration for the majority of construction workers” (Rogerson, 1999:3).

Table 7.1: Occupations of undocumented Mozambican labour migrants in South Africa

| Occupation | District | | Total |
|--------------------|----------|--------|-------|
| | Magude | Chókwè | |
| Construction (%) | 38.5 | 53.1 | 49.5 |
| Service (%) | 26.9 | 21.0 | 22.4 |
| Informal trade (%) | 11.5 | 14.8 | 14.0 |
| Industry (%) | 15.4 | 3.7 | 6.6 |
| Farm work (%) | 7.7 | 1.2 | 2.8 |
| Unemployed (%) | --- | 6.2 | 4.7 |
| Total (%) | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |
| Number of migrants | 26 | 81 | 107 |

As it has already been referred to in the chapter 6, those immigrants who succeeded in being employed had connections with someone who facilitated their integration into labour market. The most common facilitators have been friends and relatives, who have already been working and were well established. However, it is interesting to note that some employers have also played an important role in this process. In some cases, the undocumented immigrants have been helped by employers to get their situation regularized. This was very common among the farm workers, and was evident in the case of Mozambican immigrants in the ‘Nova Sun’ farm (Mpumalanga).

It is important to point out that the efforts of the farmers to regularize the situation of their undocumented workers have been made to a large extent within the context of South African government policy. Information obtained from an interview with the head of the Mozambique Labour Department in Nelspruit (September 2005) revealed that in many farms of Limpopo and Mpumalanga provinces a process of legalization of Mozambican workers had been initiated. For diverse reasons, those workers (who were estimated to be more than twenty thousand) had entered undocumented into South Africa. The process of their legalization was aimed at a better control of recruitment of Mozambican labour for the South African agricultural sector, as per an agreement in 2004 between the South African and the Mozambican Labour authorities (see also IMENSIS Moçambique, 2004). This agreement instituted mechanisms which had to be followed not only in the process of legalization of illegal workers but also in the facilitation of recruitment of new workers taking into account conditions that should satisfy all parties concerned. The agreement emphasised that there should be no violation of law and human rights. Within this context, in 2005, one thousand and five hundred Mozambican workers, who were illegally employed in the ZZ2 farm in Tzaneen (Limpopo province), obtained work permits from the South African authorities (IMENSIS Moçambique, 2005).

However, the main concern of all undocumented Mozambican workers in South Africa has always been about the instability of their employment conditions, which has not allowed them to realise their aspiration to earn a lot of money for the improvement of their living conditions at home. This is illustrated through the migration history of Pinto, a returned migrant in Magude district (interviewed in January 2004). Pinto had stayed in South Africa from 1992 to 1997 without any legal documents, and he had changed jobs many times. At the end he returned home without anything:

After I arrived in South Africa in 1992, I went to stay by my friend's relatives who were living in a locality called Area. There I got job in a banana farm, where I was earning one hundred and twenty Rand per month. Two years later (1994) I decided to leave to Witbank, because I heard that there one could earn more. I worked there up to the period of elections, because the job ended. Then I went to Tembisa with some acquaintances and stayed there up to end of 1994 without finding any

job. So, I left to Johannesburg with a friend. There we succeeded in getting job in a construction company. I was earning thirty-five Rand per day, as a bricklayer's assistant. I worked in that company until mid-1995 when the project ended. After that, I went to another construction company, but the job was only for a short while. Later I got job through a Portuguese, also in a construction company. I worked there for six months. The job ended at the beginning of 1996. So, from 1996 to 1997 I got employed in the rehabilitation of water supply system. I was earning fifty Rand per day. The job ended in October 1997 ... Then I began to ponder over my long stay in South Africa. I had been in South Africa for a long time, and I still had not succeeded in improving my material life ... I did not succeed in sending home anything, because what I earned was little. Maybe it was not due to the fact of being earning very little. The biggest problem resided mainly in the fact that all jobs that I got were ending too early before I had accumulated enough money ... For example, I needed to buy some building material to send to Mozambique; but I did not succeed in doing it... For these reasons, I began to think that it would be best for me to return to Mozambique. So, I returned home at the end of 1997 (Interview with Pinto in the Magude district, on January 24, 2004).

There are two main reasons for the frequent change of jobs among the undocumented Mozambican workers in South Africa. Firstly, the short-term nature of jobs, as illustrated by the Pinto case study. The survey data also revealed that the majority of undocumented migrants in the sample had been employed on a weekly basis on their first job in South Africa; that is, they had been contracted to work for just a week. Another reason for changing jobs was the low wages that were paid to the undocumented workers. The survey results showed that more than sixty percent of migrants were earning less than two hundred Rand per week on their first job in South Africa (Table 7.2), in spite of the fact that many of them were working relatively long²⁵ work-weeks (six to seven days a week). About half of the migrants of the sample had been earning only one hundred and fifty Rand or less per week on their first job (see median weekly income in Table 7.2).

²⁵ Bilsborrow *et al.* (1984) observed that one of the factors that encouraged the recruitment of migrant workers was, in fact, the expectation that they are prepared to work longer than non-migrants.

Table 7.2: Weekly income of undocumented Mozambican workers on their first job in South Africa

| Weekly income | District | | Total |
|--------------------------------|----------|--------|-------|
| | Magude | Chókwè | |
| < R100 (%) | 30.8 | 32.9 | 32.3 |
| R100-R199 (%) | 30.8 | 31.6 | 31.4 |
| R200-R299 (%) | 19.2 | 15.8 | 16.7 |
| R300-R399 (%) | 3.8 | 10.5 | 8.8 |
| R400+ (%) | 15.4 | 9.2 | 10.8 |
| Total (%) | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |
| Mean weekly income (Rand) | 205.8 | 174.7 | 182.6 |
| Median weekly income (Rand) | 150.0 | 150.0 | 150.0 |
| Number of undocumented workers | 26 | 76 | 102 |

Low salaries, in some cases aggravated by unfair treatment from employers, have forced many undocumented workers to change their jobs. For instance, Dércio (interviewed in Nelspruit in September 2005) reported that he had been forced to give up his first job in a stone company because of a decrease in his salary. He added that the employer was treating his employees unfairly. He believed that he and his work-mates had been exploited by the employer because of their illegal status in South Africa:

That white man was paying us very little, in spite of hard work that we were doing. He knew that we were staying illegally in South Africa and would not be able to complain to the authorities. Because of this, he likes to employ people who do not have documentation, mostly Mozambicans. He does not employ South African citizens (Interview with Dércio in Nelspruit, on September 20, 2005).

The survey results also have showed that the low salaries, deportation and termination of short-term contract had been the main reasons for ending the first job in South Africa among the undocumented labour migrants (Table 7.3). However, it is interesting to note that in spite of having been one of the most important reasons for ending the first job, the low salaries did not constitute the main motive for the first return home by the majority of undocumented labour migrants, who had returned home mainly for holidays or were deported (Table 7.4).

Table 7.3: Reasons for ending the first job in South Africa

| Reason | District | | Total |
|--|----------|--------|-------|
| | Magude | Chókwè | |
| Low salary (%) | 26.9 | 30.3 | 29.4 |
| Deportation (%) | 7.7 | 26.3 | 21.6 |
| Termination of short-term contract (%) | 23.1 | 14.5 | 16.7 |
| Illness (%) | 7.7 | --- | 2.0 |
| Own will (%) | 34.6 | 28.9 | 30.4 |
| Total (%) | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |
| Number of undocumented workers | 26 | 76 | 102 |

Table 7.4: Reasons for the first return home

| Reason | District | | Total |
|--|----------|--------|-------|
| | Magude | Chókwè | |
| Low salary (%) | 7.7 | 7.9 | 7.8 |
| Deportation (%) | 11.5 | 28.9 | 24.5 |
| Termination of short-term contract (%) | 19.2 | 7.9 | 10.8 |
| Holidays (%) | 46.2 | 47.4 | 47.1 |
| Other (%) | 15.4 | 7.9 | 9.8 |
| Total (%) | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |
| Number of undocumented workers | 26 | 76 | 102 |

The presence of illegal foreign workers, particularly the Mozambicans, within the South African labour market was viewed as having a depressing effect on wage levels of South African workers, since the illegal migrants work for long hours for low wages (see Solomon, 2003:102-103). There is a view that South African workers were forced to accept the salary and working conditions of illegal workers in order to avoid losing their jobs. In this regard, Longhi *et al.* (2006) observed that the impact of immigration in regional labour markets was central to the public discourse on immigration: “the public perception that migrants might ‘rob jobs’ of native-born and might bid down wages” (Longhi *et al.*, 2006:1).

7.5 The consequence of illegal status

Given their illegal status in South Africa the undocumented Mozambican immigrants have been subjected to two social phenomena: exploitation and deportation. Exploitation of undocumented labour migrants has been a very common phenomenon in the world. For instance, from a study on undocumented immigration in the Brazilian state of Amazonas, Dos Santos *et al.* (2001) concluded that the undocumented migrants who had been informally employed were often exploited by their employers, which included the non-payment of salaries. This situation was not being denounced by migrants to the relevant authorities because of a fear of being deported.

The undocumented Mozambican labour immigrants in South Africa do not escape from the exploitation phenomenon. Some South African employers, mainly the farmers, have been taking advantage of the presence of undocumented workers in their farms, who have been employed without any guarantee of protection of their rights. As result, many undocumented Mozambican workers were working without any remuneration. When they claimed for their salaries they were arrested and repatriated without any money (see also Solomon, 2003:98). The Deputy Administrator of the Chókwè district commented on this situation as follows:

It is exactly from the farms where we have been receiving many complaints ... What has been happening is the following: When in a certain farm there are many Mozambicans working for a long time without remuneration and waiting for their salaries, the owner of this farm goes to the police to denounce the existence of those Mozambicans ... In many cases, it has been happening after several months, one or two years of work without remuneration, since the accommodation and food are provided by the farmer. When the Mozambican workers claim their salaries, the immediate response from the farmer is to call the police to denounce those undocumented workers. When the police arrive, the farmer feigns innocence and the Mozambicans end up being deported without any salary ... Therefore, what has been happening is a kind of fraud, practiced by some South African farmers against the undocumented Mozambican workers (Interview with the Deputy Administrator of the Chókwè district on May 24, 2004).

The undocumented Mozambican labour migrants have been subjected to a traumatic experience through the deportation, one of the main reasons for terminating employment and returning home, as showed by the survey results and qualitative data as well. This finding is consistent with the research of Mattes *et al.* (2000:200), which revealed that “since 1990, more than one million people” had been removed from South Africa; “more than 99%” of those deportees “went to SADC states and 82% to Mozambique alone.”

Some data obtained during the fieldwork from the Ressano Garcia border office, the single border post officially used for the repatriation of citizens belonging to the southern region of Mozambique, reflect the great intensity of the deportation process. Table 7.5 shows the numbers of repatriated Mozambicans from South Africa in the first semester of 2004. In that period, the Ressano Garcia border post received a total of 20 364 Mozambican citizens, deported from South Africa because of their illegal status. Following the border office report, 95% of those deportees were males over the age of 17. Females in the same age group represented only 4% of all deportees, while children comprised 1% of deportees (Ministério do Interior, 2004).

Table 7.5: Deportees from South Africa to the Ressano Garcia border post during the first semester of 2004

| Month | Number of Deportees | | Total |
|----------|---------------------|------------|--------|
| | By train | By vehicle | |
| January | 1 003 | -- | -- |
| February | 2 190 | -- | -- |
| March | 2 761 | -- | -- |
| April | 2 047 | -- | -- |
| May | 3 721 | -- | -- |
| June | 1 921 | -- | -- |
| Total | 13 651 | 6 713 | 20 364 |

(--) Figures by month were not available, but the total for the semester was known.

According to the information obtained from a border post officer in Ressano Garcia (in September 2004), the monthly average number of repatriated people varied from 2 000 to 3 000. The yearly average varied from 15 000 to 20 000 repatriated migrants. The process

of repatriation occurred in two ways. The first one consisted in repatriating the undocumented Mozambican migrants via special trains, which used to arrive twice a month in Ressano Garcia. In the second way the undocumented migrants were repatriated through special vehicles from the South African police (immigration authorities), which used to arrive everyday at the Ressano Garcia border post. Migrants repatriated via special trains were those who were captured in the large cities of South Africa, such as Johannesburg, Durban, Nelspruit, and Pretoria. On the average, they had been there for 2 to 4 months. After their detention in special police stations, those people were transferred to the repatriation centre of Lindela, near Johannesburg. From there, they were put into trains and sent to the Ressano Garcia border post. Those who were repatriated via vehicles were captured in localities close to the border, and had been in South Africa for only 2 to 3 days. Pinto, interviewed in Magude district, explained his deportation from South Africa to Mozambique as follows:

When I arrived in Tembisa in 1998 I heard that there was a company called RTP, which was building houses for habitation. I went to that company and got a job ... I began to work on a Friday. On that Friday, the workers were receiving money for that workweek. I received money for a workday, around R50. After that, I went to my residence ... it was weekend ... On the following Monday, morning, I returned to the job. Soon after I arrived there, the police came. They began to demand documentation. I didn't have any documentation... So, I was taken by the police to the Kempton Park. I stayed there, in prison, for six days... There, we were many people. The other people had been captured from other localities. Then we were moved from Kempton Park's prison to the Lindela repatriation centre. We stayed there for more than five days. They were waiting for an increase in the number of captured people so as to fill all railway carriages going to Mozambique ... The day arrived when we were to be deported to Mozambique. They took and put us into a train that left for the Komatipoort / Ressano Garcia border ... They left us there without anything to eat and no money to continue travelling towards home ... We had to disentangle ourselves from that situation ... In the group I met a friend who brought some clothes from South Africa. We decided to sell those clothes in order to get money for our travel to home. We did it and got some money. My friend gave me a part of that money and I took a taxi to Maputo city ... There, I met my brother who paid my bus travel to home, in Magude district (Interview with Pinto in Magude district, on January 24, 2004).

There are various reports on the abuse of undocumented Mozambican migrants on the part of some agents of South African security forces during the process of arrest (e.g. Manby, 1997; Mattes *et al.*, 2000; Ministério do Interior, 2004). For instance, the report from the Ressano Garcia border post office revealed that around 87% of a total of 1 066 deportees in some days of February and March 2004 had been mistreated during arrest or deportation. In many cases such abuse included physical violence. As consequence of abuse many repatriated migrants had arrived in Ressano Garcia border post in very poor health (Ministério do Interior, 2004). In addition, there were some cases of police corruption. According to statements from some interviewees, the arrested undocumented migrants used to pay a certain amount of money to some agents of the South African police in order to be released. Jorge, one of interviewed migrants in Magude district (in May 2004) narrated his deportation experience in the following way:

I was arrested at my workplace in 1999 while I was working ... When they arrived they asked me for my passport which I did not have, so they arrested me ... I was arrested together with other undocumented Mozambicans ... We were three Mozambicans ... But, the other two guys managed to give money to the police and went free. Each of them paid seven hundred Rand ... Because I did not have any money to give them, they took me to a locality near Free State. I stayed there two weeks. Then I was transferred to Witbank, where I stayed almost three months ... After Witbank, I was transferred to Bloemfontein, where I stayed for one month ... From Bloemfontein I was deported to Mozambique with other Mozambican guys. While we were in prison we were living badly ... We were subjected to horrible torture by the guards of the prison. I personally was beaten until my stomach became swollen. I did not eat anything for two weeks ... I spent more than three months very sick in prison. I was still sick when I was deported to Mozambique. Till now I am not feeling well ... (Interview with Jorge in the Magude district, on May 02, 2004).

Finally, it is important to note that, according to information obtained from Ressano Garcia border-guard (in September 2004), the repatriated migrants who arrived in that border post used to be abandoned to their fate. They arrived there without any money and the Mozambican authorities were not able to transport them to their areas of origin because of lack of means. Those migrants who were repatriated with some goods sold

them in order to get money for their return home or back to South Africa. Most of deportees did not return home. They went back to South Africa because the distance was relatively short, repeating the steps of the first entry, and making the process a vicious circle.

7.6 Conclusion

In general, the migrant networks led to the establishment of migrant home communities in South Africa, which played a significant role in the process of social integration of Mozambican immigrants in the country. Through these communities the immigrants were not only linked with their place of origin, but also obtained support for overcoming challenges in their new location. Within the home communities the undocumented immigrants were also protected against arrest/deportation, as well as help for legalization of their situation.

However, the organization of Mozambicans in home communities was more evident in the Gauteng region than in Mpumalanga, which is used by most migrants as springboard to enter Johannesburg. Many migrants in Mpumalanga are staying on the farms, and were socially organized according to the rules of their respective farms. The interaction with the external world was lesser among migrant farm workers than by those staying outside the farms. This may constitute one of the motives why some migrants do not stay longer on the farms, using these only as 'refuelling stations' before moving on to the urban areas (mainly Johannesburg and Nelspruit).

The process of socioeconomic integration in South Africa is strongly conditioned by the extent of migrants' experience in the country as well as by their legal status. Undocumented immigrants with a long experience in South Africa were more likely to be successful. They were also more likely to get some documentation through their already existing local networks (connections with South African friends, acquaintances,

immigration officers, etc). Links with South African citizens were very important for undocumented immigrants to achieve legalization of their situation within the country. This legalization is in most cases obtained by illegal means (bribery).

Most undocumented immigrants do not succeed in legalizing their situation and, therefore, their socioeconomic integration into South Africa becomes unsuccessful. This is aggravated by the fact that the undocumented Mozambican labour immigrants were not welcome in some circles of South African society because of xenophobia. These factors precipitated their arrest and deportation.

Since the deportees were left on the border without means to support trips up to their homes, they end up staying there longer, and resorting to the already existing networks for their return to South Africa. In general, they use the same ways of illegal entry and guidance experienced in the previous trips, making the undocumented Mozambican labour migration to South Africa a vicious cycle.

Chapter 8 analyses the impacts of undocumented labour migration to South Africa in the Mozambican sending communities. It examines demographic, social and economic impacts of migration within the households and the communities.

CHAPTER 8

IMPACTS OF UNDOCUMENTED MOZAMBICAN LABOUR MIGRATION IN THE SENDING COMMUNITIES

With the money that I earn from my business in Tembisa I could buy a barrack at home. I want to use it as a small shop for the sale of foodstuff. In addition, I bought a strip of land around the Maputo city, where I want to build a house for me and my family. At this moment my wife is there to organize the building material.²⁶

8.1 Introduction

The undocumented Mozambican labour migration to South Africa affects the demographic structure as well as the socioeconomic life of sending communities. As shown in chapter 5, most of undocumented labour migrants were younger men from the economically active age-groups, whose absence from the households affected the size and composition of respective, and also caused a detrimental loss of productive workers in the households. However, the undocumented labour migration to South Africa also has some positive impact in the sending communities, since it allows some households to improve their material standards of living. Those undocumented migrants with a longer labour migration experience and who succeed in being socially and economically integrated into South African society are more likely to bring some benefits from the migration to their families/households or communities.

In this regard, it is important to point out that De Vletter (2006:2) in his analysis of data from SAMP's Migration and Remittance Survey conducted in Southern Mozambique in 2004, noted that there was a "disparity of wealth and well-being among external migrant-

²⁶ Interview with Manuel in Tembisa on July 19, 2005.

sending households.” For instance, “households with several generations of miners” were “likely to have built up assets and a home-based production capacity that would put them well above the economic status of other households with a more recent involvement in mine-migration” (De Vletter, 2006:1).

These issues are analyzed in this chapter through an examination of demographic and socioeconomic impacts of migration to South Africa in the two Mozambican districts of Magude and Chókwè. More specifically, this analysis focuses on the effects of undocumented migration on the size and composition of households by sex and age, current consumption (family sustenance, housing, schooling for children, and standard of living), productive investment (agricultural production and small business), and other social achievements.

8.2 Demographic impact

Migration is one of the three demographic variables that might cause changes in the size and the age-sex composition of a given population. The other two variables are fertility and mortality. The main difference to the last two variables is that migration can dramatically alter the sex and age structures of a population, since this is a very selective process.

The analysis of demographic impact of migration in sending communities is based on the household survey data from Magude and Chókwè districts. Households selected were those where there was at least a member away in South Africa at the time of survey (May 2004), which were compared with data on those households without any member away. It is important to note that 309 (41.5%) of a total of 745 households of the sample had at least one household member away in South Africa at the time of survey. There were 509 household members who were away in South Africa, representing about eleven percent of the sample population (4645 people). Males and females represented, respectively, 86.4% and 13.6% of household members who were away in South Africa. The mean age of all people who were away was 30.

8.2.1 Size of households

An examination of the average size of the sample households in Magude and Chókwè districts has revealed differences between households of emigrants (people who were away in South Africa at the time of survey)²⁷ and those without any emigrants. The average household size (number of people in a household) of the emigrant households was 7.5 and 5.8 in the *de jure*²⁸ and *de facto* account of household members, respectively (Table 8.1). For the non-emigrant households the average household size was 5.2 (Table 8.2). These data reveal that the emigrant households from the study areas were larger than non-emigrant households.

Table 8.1: Size of emigrant households (2004)

| Number of people in a household | Emigrant household size by district | | | | | |
|---------------------------------|-------------------------------------|--------|-------|-------------------------|--------|-------|
| | <i>De jure</i> account | | | <i>De facto</i> account | | |
| | Magude | Chókwè | Total | Magude | Chókwè | Total |
| Mean | 6.8 | 7.8 | 7.5 | 5.1 | 6.2 | 5.8 |
| Median | 6.0 | 7.0 | 7.0 | 5.0 | 5.0 | 5.0 |
| Total population | 623 | 1694 | 2317 | 462 | 1346 | 1808 |

Table 8.2: Size of non-emigrant households (2004)

| Number of people in a household | Household size by district | | |
|---------------------------------|----------------------------|--------|-------|
| | Magude | Chókwè | Total |
| Mean number of people | 5.2 | 5.4 | 5.3 |
| Median number of people | 5.0 | 5.0 | 5.0 |
| Total population | 875 | 1453 | 2328 |

²⁷ In their study on the Mexican migration to the United States, Massey *et al.* (1987) used the concept of “active migrants” to designate those migrants who were in the U.S. at the time of fieldwork in Mexico.

²⁸ In this chapter the concepts of *de jure* and *de facto* account of population have been used with regard only to the international migration to South Africa. The *de jure* account of population does take into account the emigrants, while the *de facto* account does not.

A key issue is why most of people who were involved in the migration process in Magude and Chókwè districts were from larger households. In fact, it is important to note that De Vleter (2006:8) also found that the average household size of the migrant-sending households in southern Mozambique was considerably higher (8.5) than the average size of all households from that region (6.4).

According to De Vletter (2006:8), the migration did not necessarily come from the large families, but in fact, created large families “by amalgamating families affected by migration”. That is, the migrant-sending households in southern Mozambique were usually constituted by extended families. This was because in many cases the migrant household members used to be the working-age sons who at the time of migrating ended up leaving their wives and children under the care of their parents.

In part, De Vletter’s argument seems to be supported by some results from this research. For instance, 49.1% of people who were away in South Africa at the time survey in Magude and Chókwè districts were household sons in the economically active age group. About 17% and 48% of the emigrants’ households²⁹, respectively, comprised daughters-in-law and other relatives as household members. They represented, respectively, 3.5% and 19.2% of the population from the emigrants’ households. Some of those daughters-in-law and other relatives were supposedly wives and children of the household sons who had already emigrated. In contrast, only 7.8% and 34.9 % of households without any emigrants had, respectively, daughters-in-law and other relatives as household members. They represented, respectively, only 1.8% and 14.7% of population from those households.

Stalker (2006) argued that in the households where the migrants are married men, the women become heads of the families. So, they may suffer from loneliness and extra workload. In this context, “the emigration can bring the extended family into play requiring the wife to stay with other family members, or at least get more frequent visits from parents and in-laws” (Stalker, 2006:2).

²⁹ The sample was composed of 309 emigrants’ households and 436 households without any emigrants..

However, the survey results have shown another factor that might have an additional influence on the increase in size of some households in the research sites. Most of the larger households of the sample revealed the presence of more than one wife for the household head. About 7% of the emigrants' households had 2 or 3 wives for the household head. The average number of people in the emigrants' households with two or three wives for the household head was 11.9. But, it was only 7.2 in emigrants' households with less than two wives for the household head. In the households without any emigrants, but with two or three wives for the household head, the average number of people was 8.3; it was only 5.1 in the households with less than two wives for the household head. The presence of more than one wife for a household head has made a significant impact on the enlargement of household size. This, when added to the presence of daughters-in-law in the households, might contribute significantly to a raise in birth rate within the households, a trend particularly evident among the emigrants' households.

With regard to the presence of more than one wife by some household heads, it is important to note that this is a very common practice among men, particularly from the rural communities of the Mozambican study areas. According to the Deputy Administrator of Chókwè district (in 2004), the issue of polygamy was a cultural phenomenon in that district, and not necessarily an effect of migration itself. However, there had been many migrant men who used to have more than one wife. In this respect, the Deputy Administrator explained:

Besides being a cultural phenomenon in our district, polygamy is more frequent among the migrants, particularly the contract labour migrants who succeed in bringing many goods from South Africa. For example, when a migrant returns with a car, it attracts the attention of many women. Obviously, that migrant is more susceptible to get more than one wife, since it is socially accepted (Interview with Deputy Administrator of Chókwè district on May 24, 2004).

Thus, polygamy has to be seen as one of the factors that contributed to the increase in the size of some households in the study areas, but not necessarily as an effect of migration. However, a significant proportion of emigrants in the working-age were from the larger polygamous households, which suggests that in this context the migration might have been a response to economic pressure caused by the presence of a larger number of people in the household. This argument seems to be also relevant to a general explanation for the concentration of emigrants in other large-sized households of the sample (not necessarily polygamous households), which is reflected in the higher mean number of people in the emigrants' households, as shown in Table 8.1.

Stark (1991) argued that there was a positive relationship between household size and migration decisions. That is, larger households were expected to encourage migration in order to provide a diversified source of income. For instance, in a study on migration and household income in Ghana, the Canadian Economics Association (2004:17) found a positive correlation between household size and migration, which suggested that a large family size might be viewed as “a risk-pooling strategy” that might encourage migration.

8.2.2 Composition of households by sex and age

Studies have revealed that the migration has a selective effect on the sex and age. Men, mainly in the age-group 20-45, have predominated among the migrants (see, e.g., Domenach and Picouet, 1995:49). An obvious consequence of this in the areas of origin has been a predominance of children and women, as well as an increase in the proportion of elderly people in the total population. A deficit of people in economically active age-groups because of emigration in the rural areas has often caused constraints on the availability of labour for agricultural production.

Figure 8.1: Age-sex composition of emigrants’ households (2004) – *De jure* account

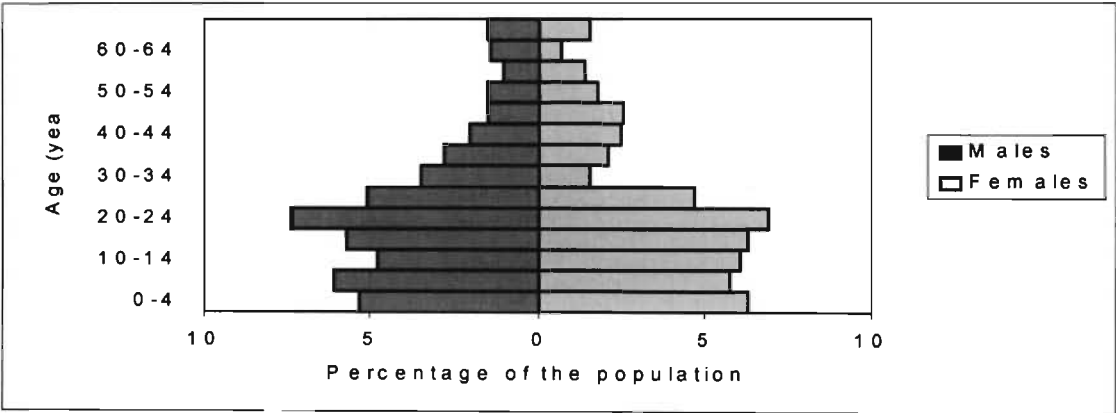


Figure 8.2: Age-sex composition of emigrants’ households (2004) – *De facto* account

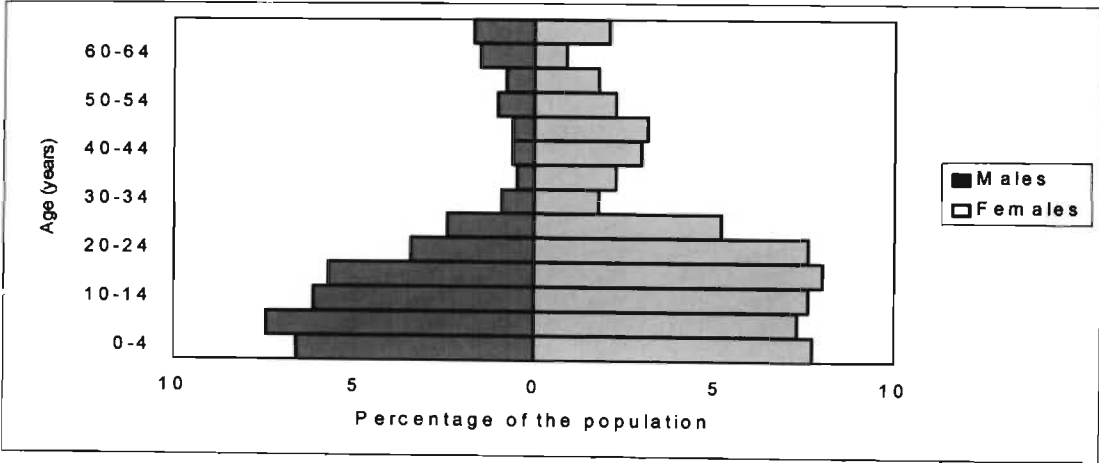
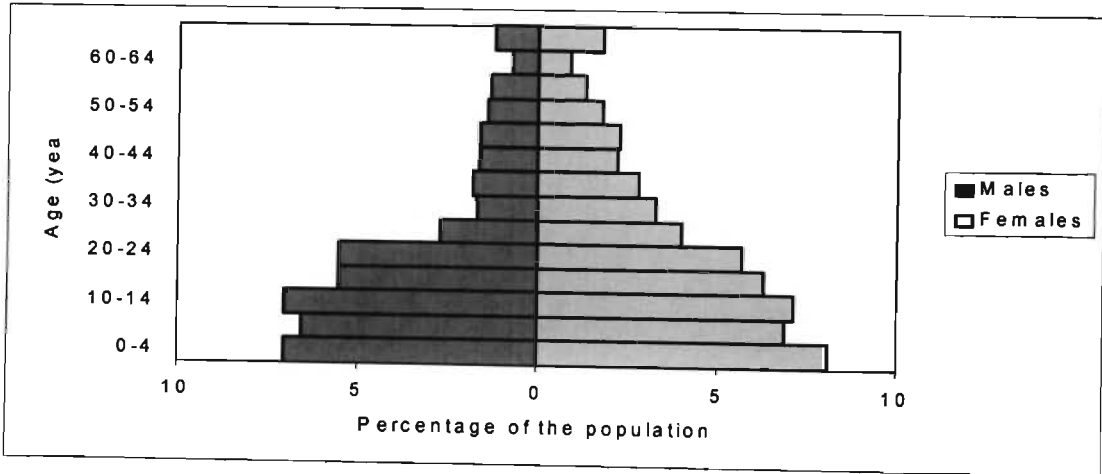


Figure 8.3: Age-sex composition of non-emigrants’ households (2004)



Figures 8.1 to 8.3 show the age-sex composition of the households from the study areas. From a comparison of the age-sex pyramid of the *de jure* population (Figure 8.1) to the pyramid of the *de facto* population (Figure 8.2) in the emigrants' households it is evident the deficit of the economically active males because of emigration (Figure 8.2). Also, the sex-age pyramid of non-emigrants' households (Figure 8.3) reveals an imbalance between males and females. The proportion of males is low, particularly from the age 25 and above. Reasons for this may be others than emigration. A further analysis of the age-sex composition is presented in Tables 8.3 to 8.6.

Table 8.3: Sex distribution of population from the emigrants' households (2004)

| Sex | Emigrant household population by district | | | | | |
|------------------|---|--------|-------|-------------------------|--------|-------|
| | <i>De jure</i> account | | | <i>De facto</i> account | | |
| | Magude | Chókwè | Total | Magude | Chókwè | Total |
| Males (%) | 51.0 | 49.1 | 49.6 | 40.5 | 38.8 | 39.2 |
| Females (%) | 49.0 | 50.9 | 50.4 | 59.5 | 61.2 | 60.8 |
| Total (%) | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |
| Total population | 623 | 1694 | 2317 | 462 | 1346 | 1808 |

Table 8.4: Sex distribution of population from the households without any emigrants (2004)

| Sex | Non-emigrant household population by district | | |
|------------------|---|--------|-------|
| | Magude | Chókwè | Total |
| Males (%) | 43.9 | 46.5 | 45.5 |
| Females (%) | 56.1 | 53.5 | 54.5 |
| Total (%) | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |
| Total population | 875 | 1453 | 2328 |

In general terms, the survey results revealed a predominance of women (52.4%) in the sample population of Magude and Chókwè districts. This finding was very closer to the proportion of women (51.8%) in Mozambique's total population in 2005 advanced by the *Instituto Nacional de Estatística* (2005). However, there was a significant difference

between emigrants' households and households without any emigrants in terms of ratio of women to men (see Tables 8.3 and 8.4). The *de jure* account of population from the emigrants' households showed almost a balance between males (49.6%) and females (50.4%). But the *de facto* account (excluding the emigrants) revealed a considerable decrease in the proportion of males to 39.2%, and an increase in the share of females to 60.8% (Table 7.3). This change could be explained by male emigration to South Africa, meaning a shortage of male agricultural producers in the households (see also De Vletter, 2006).

Given that the majority of migrants from the study areas have been young men, who in many cases are married, a large number of women have been forced to assume extra responsibilities for the maintenance of the household throughout the absence of their husbands. For instance, about 45% of emigrants' households were headed by married women whose husbands were away in South Africa, while the rest of households were headed by men (40%) and unmarried women (15%).

Interestingly, the population from the households without any emigrants (Table 8.4) also showed a relatively low proportion of males (45.5% versus 54.5% of females). In fact, an analysis of marital status within this population revealed a higher proportion of women aged 12 years and older who were unmarried (56.7% versus 43.2% of women from the emigrants' households). Thirty percent of households without any emigrants were headed by the unmarried women, mainly the widows³¹ (against only 15% of emigrants' households headed by unmarried women). This might explain in part the low proportion of men in the households without any emigrants.

The effect of migration on the age structure is shown in Table 8.5. The proportion of the economically active population (the 15-64 age group) in the emigrants' households

³¹ The husbands of the majority of widows from the study areas died from varied diseases.

decreased significantly from 62.5% to 53.5% because of emigration, while the proportion of the population under fifteen increased from 34.4% to 42.7%. The median age decreased from 21 to 17, as a result of high emigration of working-age household members. An obvious consequence of this is the relative increase in dependence ratio of under-fifteens in relation to the economically active population in the households.

Table 8.5: Age distribution of population from the emigrants' households (2004)

| Age (years) | Household population by district | | | | | |
|------------------|----------------------------------|--------|-------|---------------------|--------|-------|
| | Including emigrants | | | Excluding emigrants | | |
| | Magude | Chókwè | Total | Magude | Chókwè | Total |
| 0-14 (%) | 29.2 | 36.3 | 34.4 | 37.7 | 44.4 | 42.7 |
| 15-64 (%) | 68.1 | 60.5 | 62.5 | 58.9 | 51.7 | 53.5 |
| 65+ (%) | 2.7 | 3.2 | 3.1 | 3.4 | 3.9 | 3.8 |
| Total (%) | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |
| Mean age | 25.4 | 23.6 | 24.1 | 23.9 | 21.8 | 22.4 |
| Median age | 23.0 | 20.0 | 21.0 | 19.0 | 17.0 | 17.0 |
| Total population | 623 | 1694 | 2317 | 462 | 1346 | 1808 |

Table 8.6: Age distribution of population from the households without any emigrants (2004)

| Age (years) | Households population by district | | |
|--------------------|-----------------------------------|--------|-------|
| | Magude | Chókwè | Total |
| 0-14 (%) | 39.3 | 44.5 | 42.6 |
| 15-64 (%) | 56.0 | 53.5 | 54.4 |
| 65+ (%) | 4.7 | 2.0 | 3.0 |
| Total (%) | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |
| Mean age (years) | 24.0 | 21.1 | 22.2 |
| Median age (years) | 18.0 | 17.0 | 18.0 |
| Total population | 875 | 1453 | 2328 |

Nevertheless, it is interesting to note that the age distribution of population from the households without any emigrants (last column of Table 8.6) – which showed 42.6% for the under-fifteens, 54.4% for the working-age group 15-64, 3% for the people aged 65 and over, and an median age of 18 years – was almost similar to that one of the *de facto* population from the emigrants' households (last column of Table 8.5). These figures and patterns were very similarr to the total Mozambique's population in 2005, as published by the *Instituto Nacional de Estatística* (2005), which showed 43.6% for the population under fifteen, 53.7% for the age group 15-64, and 2.7% for the people aged 65 years and older, as well as an median age of 17.7 years.

Therefore, it can be argued that the difference in the age distribution of the *de jure* population between the emigrants' households and the households without any emigrants can be explained by the higher concentration of the working-age people in the emigrants' households.

8.3 Migrants' remittances

It has been argued that the main advantage of labour migration in the sending communities is that emigrants send much of their earnings home in the form of remittances, which are, according to Ghai (2004:6), "the most obvious way through which migration helps families and relatives who remain behind and the country of origin." For Stalker (2006:4), remittances have become a crucial source of income and foreign exchange for many countries so that the "global remittances reached an estimated \$204 billion in 2004, including \$144 billion to developing countries." The remittances have been also a vital source of income for millions of migrants' families, who in many cases, particularly in Africa, spend the money on food and other household essentials as well as education for their children (Stalker, 2006). In other cases, the money has been spent on housing or land, or it has been simply saved or invested in new businesses (see also Horst, 2004; Akuei, 2005; Mazzucato, 2005; Nwajiuba, 2005).

In southern Mozambique, where the sites for this research are based, remittances from South Africa also played a significant role in the improvement of material standards of living of migrant households. However, De Vletter (2006:14) noted that although the overall impact of labour migration had been positive in the southern region as a whole, involvement in migrant wage labour itself did not necessarily guarantee that the household would be better off than those that had not sent members abroad.

De Vletter (2006:14-15) argued that there was some economic differentiation between external migrant-sending households, which was mostly caused by four factors, namely (i) the level of remuneration in South Africa, (ii) the degree of commitment of migrant workers to remit money or goods to their households (which was affected by the facilities available to different types of migrants to remit money or remittances), (iii) the size of family (which usually determined the labour sources available for migration), and (iv) the history of migration of the households (since households with multi-generational migrant history were likely to have accumulated more assets than those with a shorter history).

In turn, the level of remuneration depended, according to De Vletter (2006:15), on a range of factors such as (i) income-generating capacity of the migrant (which was affected by the level of education and years of experience); (ii) sector of employment (access to the mining sector or not); and (iii) legal status of the migrant.

Some of these issues are taken into consideration in this section through an examination of effect of migrants' remittances on the current consumption (family sustenance, schooling for children, housing, *lobola*/marriage, and standard of living), and productive investment (agricultural production and small business) in the sending communities. The basis of analysis is the survey data on remittances gathered from returned undocumented labour migrants in the Mozambican research sites, as well as the qualitative data obtained from the current migrants within South Africa.

As shown in chapter 5, the sample survey in Magude and Chókwè districts identified 107 working-age people who had left without documents to work in South Africa between

1980 and 2004. Almost three quarters (72%) reported that they had sent some goods to their households while they were in South Africa. Moreover, 67.3% of them took a range of goods with them at the time of their first return home. In terms of cash, only 47.7% of these migrants had succeeded in sending money home, but 61.7% took it with them at the time of their first return home.

Many migrants might have preferred to spend their earnings on South African goods, which were supposedly cheap, rather than sending cash home, where the supply of such goods was very low and expensive. On the other hand, some migrants might have opted to first save, which then might have allowed them to return home with South African goods and/or some cash.

However, there were also other factors that contributed to the higher proportion of migrants who remitted goods home. As reported by some interviewees, the process of sending goods home used to be facilitated on the one hand by some Mozambican conveyors, who regularly transported the migrants' goods from South Africa to Mozambique. For instance, Jorge, a returned undocumented labour migrant in Magude district, stated that he had succeeded in sending some goods to his mother and brothers at home thanks to a Mozambican conveyor:

While I was in Free State I used to send washing soap, maize flour, clothes and exercise-books to my mother and brothers at home. I used to send these goods through an owner of a delivery transport who regularly brought goods from Free State to Magude district. He did transport of goods of everyone who wanted to send something from there to Magude district. In addition, he was well known by my family here in Magude (Interview with Jorge in the Magude district, on May 02, 2004).

On the other hand, there was another way of sending goods home through the MANICA Company in South Africa. Many interviewed migrants considered this way as the easiest. For instance, Dércio, an undocumented Mozambican immigrant in Nelspruit, had been a customer of that company. As a result of the good services of MANICA Company he had considerably improved the living conditions at home. Dércio managed to extend his

mother's house and to make it relatively comfortable. He added new rooms to the house and covered it with zinc sheets. In addition, he painted the house and connected it to the electricity supply. In order to make such house improvements, Dércio had to first buy building, painting and electrical materials from the MANICA Company in Nelspruit. He got the invoice from that company for the goods, which he sent to his relatives at home. In turn, they took the invoice to the branch of MANICA Company in Maputo, where they received all materials bought by Dércio in Nelspruit.

According to Dércio, the MANICA Company offered excellent services for people who wanted to send goods to their families at home. Those people did not need to carry the goods home themselves. All they had to do was to pay for the goods at any branch of MANICA Company in South Africa. People at home just needed to have details of the invoice of that payment so that they could pick up the goods from any branch of the MANICA Company in Mozambique. According to Dércio, this way of sending goods home was very practical, mainly for immigrants without any documentation:

In contrast to other companies, which impose the presentation of documents on the people who want to send something to their families at home, the MANICA Company does not ask for documentation. It helps a lot the Mozambicans who want to send goods home and do not have any valid document (Interview with Dércio in Nelspruit, on September 20, 2005)

Therefore, the MANICA Company was particularly important for migrants who remitted building materials for the construction of their houses at home. Maria, for example, is a female migrant interviewed in the Magude district (in January 2004), who succeeded in constructing her house at home thanks to the facilities that she had for buying and remitting building materials from South Africa through the MANICA Company. In this regard she explained:

When I was in South Africa I used to send some goods to my family through the MANICA courier, a South African company that dealt with deliveries. Also, from the MANICA Company I bought every building material for the construction of this house. I did not bring that

material by myself. At the time of returning home I brought just the purchase invoice, which I presented to the representative of MANICA Company in Maputo. Then I received all building materials that I bought in South Africa (Interview with Maria in the Magude district, on January 23, 2004).

Table 8.7: Sending goods and cash home by duration of stay in South Africa on the first trip

| Duration of stay in SA on the first trip | Sending goods home | | Sending cash home | | Total |
|--|--------------------|-------|-------------------|-------|-------|
| | Yes | No | Yes | No | |
| < 3 months (%) | 1.3 | -- | 2.0 | -- | 0.9 |
| 3-5 months (%) | 2.6 | 20.0 | 3.9 | 10.7 | 7.5 |
| 6-11 months (%) | 22.1 | 23.3 | 21.6 | 23.2 | 22.4 |
| 12+ months (%) | 74.0 | 56.7 | 72.5 | 66.1 | 69.2 |
| Total (%) | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |
| Mean (months) | 10.9 | 9.2 | 10.7 | 10.2 | 10.4 |
| Median (months) | 12.0 | 12.0 | 12.0 | 12.0 | 12.0 |
| Number of migrants | 77 | 30 | 51 | 56 | 107 |

Table 8.7 suggests being there a relationship between the duration of stay in South Africa and the capacity for sending goods or cash home. The longer the period of stay in South Africa, the greater the likelihood of remittances in cash or kind being sent back home. On the average, the migrants who sent goods and cash home stayed, respectively, 1.7 and 0.5 months longer than those who did not send anything (see Table 8.7). Migrants living in South Africa for a longer period of time were more likely to have regular employment and income earning opportunities.

As indicated previously, many migrants of the sample had preferred carrying goods and cash with them at the time of their return home. But there were some migrants who did not carry anything with them as they returned home. The mean duration of stay in South Africa, in Table 8.8, shows that the migrants who had carried goods home with them had stayed in South Africa, on the average, 0.7 months longer than those ones who did not carry any goods home. In effect, the proportion of migrants who had stayed in South Africa for 12 months or more was relatively higher among those who carried goods home

with them (72.2% vs. 62.9% among the migrants who did not carry any goods home). To an equal extent, the mean duration of stay in South Africa revealed that the migrants who carried cash home with them had stayed in South Africa, on the average, 0.4 months longer than those who did not carry any cash home. Also, the proportion of migrants who had stayed in South Africa for 12 months or longer was comparatively higher among those who carried some cash home (71.2% vs. 65.8% among the migrants who did not carry any cash home with them). Therefore, the data in Table 8.8 suggests that there was some relationship between the experience in South Africa and the capacity for carrying goods or money home.

Table 8.8: Carrying goods and cash home by duration of stay in South Africa on the first trip

| Duration of stay in SA on the first trip | Carrying goods home | | Carrying cash home | | Total |
|--|---------------------|-------|--------------------|-------|-------|
| | Yes | No | Yes | No | |
| < 3 months (%) | 1.4 | -- | 1.5 | -- | 0.9 |
| 3-5 months (%) | 5.6 | 11.4 | 6.1 | 9.8 | 7.5 |
| 6-11 months (%) | 28.8 | 25.7 | 21.2 | 24.4 | 22.4 |
| 12+ months (%) | 72.2 | 62.9 | 71.2 | 65.8 | 69.2 |
| Total (%) | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |
| Mean (months) | 10.7 | 10.0 | 10.6 | 10.2 | 10.4 |
| Median (months) | 12.0 | 12.0 | 12.0 | 12.0 | 12.0 |
| Number of migrants | 72 | 35 | 66 | 41 | 107 |

The relationship between the level of income and the capacity for sending goods or cash home is analysed in Table 8.9. Half of migrants who had not sent goods home were earning two hundred Rand or more a week, while only 28.6% of migrants who remitted goods home had the same income. In addition, the mean and median weekly incomes of those who had not sent goods were relatively higher (R205.6 and R190.0, respectively) than of those migrants who did send goods home (R161.8 and R150.8). This suggests that the level of income might not have been an important factor in the capacity to send goods home. However, it seemed to have had a slight influence on the capacity to send cash home. The proportion of migrants whose weekly income reached R200 or more was relatively higher among those who sent cash home, 39.2%, compared to 30.4% among

the migrants who did not send any cash home. The mean and median weekly incomes of migrants who had sent cash home (R181.1 and R150.0, respectively) were slightly higher than of those who did not send any cash home (R167.7 and R140.0). In this case, it can be inferred that some migrants did not send any money home probably because of their low income.

Table 8.9: Sending goods and cash home by weekly income on the first job in South Africa

| Weekly income (in Rand) | Sending goods home | | Sending cash home | | Total |
|-------------------------|--------------------|-------|-------------------|-------|-------|
| | Yes | No | Yes | No | |
| Never got job (%) | -- | 16.7 | -- | 8.9 | 4.7 |
| <R100 (%) | 33.7 | 23.3 | 35.3 | 26.8 | 30.8 |
| R100-R199 (%) | 37.7 | 10.0 | 25.5 | 33.9 | 29.9 |
| R200+ (%) | 28.6 | 50.0 | 39.2 | 30.4 | 34.6 |
| Total (%) | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |
| Mean (Rand) | 161.8 | 205.6 | 181.1 | 167.7 | 174.1 |
| Median (Rand) | 150.8 | 190.0 | 150.0 | 140.0 | 150.0 |
| Number of migrants | 77 | 30 | 51 | 56 | 107 |

Table 8.10: Carrying goods and cash home by weekly income on the first job in South Africa

| Weekly income (in Rand) | Carrying goods home | | Carrying cash home | | Total |
|-------------------------|---------------------|-------|--------------------|-------|-------|
| | Yes | No | Yes | No | |
| Never got job (%) | -- | 14.3 | -- | 12.2 | 4.7 |
| <R100 (%) | 31.9 | 28.6 | 34.8 | 24.4 | 30.8 |
| R100-R199 (%) | 32.0 | 25.7 | 27.3 | 34.1 | 29.9 |
| R200+ (%) | 36.1 | 31.4 | 37.9 | 29.3 | 34.6 |
| Total (%) | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |
| Mean (Rand) | 180.0 | 161.9 | 185.9 | 155.1 | 174.1 |
| Median (Rand) | 150.0 | 100.0 | 150.0 | 120.0 | 150.0 |
| Number of migrants | 72 | 35 | 66 | 41 | 107 |

Finally, Table 8.10 highlights the relationship between level of income and the capacity for carrying goods or cash home. The longer the period of stay in South Africa, the more money earned for remittances and goods. The values of mean and median weekly income of migrants who had carried goods and cash home were relatively higher compared to those of migrants who did not carry anything home. This data suggests that the level of migrants' income in South Africa might have had some effect on the capacity for carrying goods and cash home.

Table 8.11: Sending/carrying goods and cash home by sector of employment

| Sending/carrying goods and cash home | | Sector of Employment | | | | | | Total |
|--------------------------------------|-----------|----------------------|---------|---------------|----------|-----------|------------|-------|
| | | Construction | Service | Inform. trade | Industry | Farm work | Unemployed | |
| Sending goods home | Yes (%) | 75.5 | 79.2 | 66.7 | 100.0 | 33.3 | -- | 72.0 |
| | No (%) | 24.5 | 20.8 | 33.3 | -- | 66.7 | 100.0 | 28.0 |
| | Total (%) | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |
| Sending cash home | Yes (%) | 49.1 | 37.5 | 46.7 | 100.0 | 66.7 | -- | 47.7 |
| | No (%) | 50.9 | 62.5 | 53.3 | -- | 33.3 | 100.0 | 52.3 |
| | Total (%) | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |
| Carrying goods home | Yes (%) | 62.3 | 70.8 | 86.7 | 100.0 | 66.7 | -- | 67.3 |
| | No (%) | 37.7 | 29.2 | 13.3 | -- | 33.3 | 100.0 | 32.7 |
| | Total (%) | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |
| Carrying cash home | Yes (%) | 52.8 | 70.8 | 80.0 | 100.0 | 66.7 | -- | 61.7 |
| | No (%) | 47.2 | 29.2 | 20.0 | -- | 33.3 | 100.0 | 38.3 |
| | Total (%) | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |
| Number of migrants | | 53 | 24 | 15 | 7 | 3 | 5 | 107 |

Considering the relationship between the capacity for sending goods or cash home and the kind of employment in South Africa, Table 8.11 reveals that the majority of migrants in almost all sectors had sent goods home but not all had sent cash. However, in terms of amount of cash sent or carried home by the migrants themselves, the kind of sector of employment seems to have had some influence. On the average, the migrants who had been employed in industry sent relatively more money (R678.6 each) than others, on their first trip to South Africa. They were followed by those migrants who had been employed in the informal trade (R511.4 each) and construction (R468.5 each). Less money (R250 each migrant) had been sent by migrants who were doing farm work (see Table 8.12).

Table 8.13 shows the amount of cash carried home with the migrants themselves. It is interesting, however, to note that the farm workers were the ones who had carried home the largest amount of money. On the average, they had carried home R1500 with them on their first trip to South Africa. They were followed by those who were working in the industry (R1035.7 each), construction (R866.1 each), and informal trade (R852.5 each). The migrants in the service sector were the ones who had carried home less money (R379.4). In short, it can be argued that the amount of money carried home by the migrants themselves was larger than that sent home, primarily because they had opted to save for the moment of return home, specially those migrants who had been earning relatively less as, for instance, the farm workers.³²

Table 8.12: Cash sent home during the first trip to South Africa by sector of employment

| Cash sent home (Rand) | Sector of Employment | | | | | Total |
|--------------------------|----------------------|---------|-------------------|----------|--------------|-------|
| | Construction | Service | Informal trade | Industry | Farm work | |
| Mean (Rand) | 468.5 | 323.3 | 511.4 | 678.6 | 250.0 | 469.0 |
| Median (Rand) | 210.0 | 250.0 | 400.0 | 500.0 | 250.0 | 250.0 |
| Number of migrants | 21 | 9 | 7 | 7 | 2 | 51 |

Table 8.13: Cash carried home during the first trip to South Africa by sector of employment

| Cash carried home (Rand) | Sector of Employment | | | | | Total |
|-----------------------------|----------------------|---------|-------------------|----------|--------------|-------|
| | Construction | Service | Informal trade | Industry | Farm work | |
| Mean (Rand) | 866.1 | 379.4 | 852.5 | 1035.7 | 1500.0 | 775.5 |
| Median (Rand) | 600.0 | 400.0 | 500.0 | 1000.0 | 1500.0 | 500.0 |
| Number of migrants | 28 | 17 | 12 | 7 | 2 | 66 |

³² The mean and median weekly incomes in each sector of employment were the following: Construction – mean weekly income: R227.6, median weekly income: R150.0; Service – R138.0, R120.0; Informal trade – R124.9, R80.0; Industry – R163.6, R200.0; Farm work – R78.3, R75.0.

Thus, the data presented in Tables 8.12 and 8.13 suggest that the amount of money sent or carried home by the migrants themselves was to some extent dependent on the kind of sector of employment. Generally, the cash remittances were quite reduced. However, they could be used, together with goods remittances, for meeting some basic needs at home. The following section focuses how these remittances had been used.

8.3.1 Impact of remittances on the current consumption

Both quantitative and qualitative data have indicated that the migrants' income generally is first addressed to satisfy the immediate needs of the household/family such as food, clothing, education for children, housing, and consumer goods. Also, the most frequent goods sent or carried home by the migrants themselves comprised clothes, food, furniture, and zinc sheets.

Table 8.14 shows the distribution of migrants of the sample by the kind of goods sent or carried home by them during the first trip to South Africa. The majority of undocumented migrants of the sample had sent or carried clothes home with them during the first trip to South Africa. In terms of sending goods home, the clothes were followed by food, furniture, and zinc sheets. Furniture and food occupied the second and third positions, respectively, in the context of goods carried home by the migrants themselves. The furniture sent or carried home comprised mostly chairs, tables, and beds. To a lesser extent, there were also other kinds of luxury goods that had been sent or carried home, such as bicycles, radios or cassette-recorders.

Table 8.14: Migrants by the kind of goods sent or carried home during the first trip to SA

| Kind of Goods | Percentage of Migrants | |
|--------------------|------------------------|--------------------|
| | Goods sent home | Goods carried home |
| Clothes | 59.7 | 76.4 |
| Food | 18.2 | 5.5 |
| Furniture | 14.3 | 12.5 |
| Zinc sheets | 6.5 | 1.4 |
| Other | 1.3 | 4.2 |
| Total | 100.0 | 100.0 |
| Number of migrants | 77 | 72 |

An analysis of how the remittances sent or carried home had been used revealed that they had been utilised mostly for personal and/or family consumption/sustenance. This was followed by family business, investment in the agriculture, and education for children. To a lesser extent, the cash remittances had been used also for other very important purposes, such as building or purchase a house, marriage/lobola, and debt payment (see Table 8.15).

Table 8.15: Migrants by the purposes of cash remittances sent or carried home

| Purpose of cash sent or carried home | Percentage of Migrants | | | | | |
|--------------------------------------|------------------------|-----------|-----------|-------------------|-----------|-----------|
| | Cash sent home | | | Cash carried home | | |
| | Purpose 1 | Purpose 2 | Purpose 3 | Purpose 1 | Purpose 2 | Purpose 3 |
| P/F consumption | 100.0 | -- | -- | 93.9 | -- | -- |
| Family business | -- | 52.0 | 14.3 | -- | 46.7 | 12.0 |
| Agriculture | -- | 34.4 | -- | -- | 26.7 | 4.0 |
| Education | -- | 9.4 | 64.3 | -- | 13.3 | 72.0 |
| Housing | -- | -- | -- | 1.5 | 6.7 | -- |
| Marriage/lobola | -- | 3.1 | 7.1 | 4.6 | 4.4 | 8.0 |
| Debt payment | -- | 3.1 | 14.3 | -- | 2.2 | 4.0 |
| Total | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |
| Number of migrants | 51 | 32 | 14 | 66 | 45 | 25 |

i) Personal/Family consumption

As shown in Table 8.15, the remittances were primarily used for the personal/family consumption/sustenance. Only in a few cases remittances were used for productive purposes, probably because the amounts were limited. This is to some extent consistent with the De Vletter's finding from an analysis of household differentiation in southern Mozambique. De Vletter (2006:23) found that the expenditure on food and other basic needs overwhelmingly dominated the budget of external migrant-sending households.

In effect, almost all interviewed undocumented Mozambican immigrants in South Africa affirmed that they were taking risks just for obtaining the basic means for the sustenance of their families at home, since most of those families were rural and dependent on unproductive subsistence agriculture. Many immigrants reported that they were the only ones who guaranteed the basic family consumption at home.

For instance, Isabel, who was staying in Bekkersdal with her husband since 1995, reported that she used to go back home just for short visits to her brothers and stepsons. When she went back home she used to buy some goods for her brothers, since their work in the farm was not yielding enough for their survival. Isabel (interviewed in Bekkersdal on July 17, 2005) was the only person who could help them by providing of essential commodities. Also, she had already built and furnished a house in which her brothers were living.

Adelino, another Mozambican immigrant in Nelspruit (interviewed on September 20, 2005), confessed that he did not have any intention to stay in South Africa for ever. He had a strong wish to stay with his family in Maputo. If there were opportunities of employment in Maputo he would have opted to stay there rather than coming to South Africa without documentation. But he had to continue working in Nelspruit as long as he could earn some money that could allow him to sustain his family at home. He added that he had never returned home, since his arrival in Nelspruit in 2004. He used to send some

essential commodities (food and clothes) to his family in Maputo. He never sent money to the family, because what he earned was not enough for him to accumulate savings.

The family survival at home also constituted António and Pedro's imperative. António, who confessed to having had a hard experience in South Africa (particularly in Johannesburg) with regard to obtaining a decent job, reported that in spite of difficulties, he had succeeded in sending home some furniture (bed and wardrobe), an electronic apparatus for music, and money for the purchase of food for his parents and eight brothers. Pedro, who had subsequently become the owner of a shop for car repair and painting in Soweto, sent some goods, mainly essential commodities, for his mother and brothers at home. For the future, he was expecting to build a house for his mother. He had no idea when he would return home, given that everybody there was depending on his earnings in Soweto.

It is interesting to note that De Haas (2005:7) criticised the tendency of some studies "to denote expenditure on housing, sanitation, health care, food and schooling as unproductive and non-developmental." De Haas (2005:7) argued that, "after all, such improvements in the wellbeing and human capital of people also have the tendency to increase their productivity, freedom of choice and the capacity to participate in public debate. Consequently, they also constitute 'development' ..."

ii) Education for children

Education for children was referred to as one of the purposes of cash remitted home by some of the migrants interviewed (see Table 8.15), mainly those who had left behind children of school age. For example, Maria, a female returned migrant from South Africa interviewed in Magude district in January 2004, reported that the money that she had earned in South Africa had allowed her not only to build a house and to feed her children, but also to put them into school. She stated that she would not stop working in South Africa in the near future, since she had to continue sponsoring the education of her

children. At the time of the interview four of her six children were still going to school (Interview with Maria in the Magude district, on January 23, 2004).

In fact, providing help for schooling to the youngest household members at home seemed to be a social obligation of many migrants. Jorge, interviewed in Magude district in May 2004, also was one of the migrants who felt this kind of obligation when he was in South Africa. He reported that instead of sending money he had sent exercise-books to his seven brothers in order to help them with their schooling, since all people in the family were depending on him. Jorge's brothers were staying with a widowed and disabled mother.

iii) Housing

Although housing improvement was not identified as one of the main areas for which cash was sent in Table 8.15, it emerged as an important factor in the qualitative interviews. Almost all interviewed migrants affirmed that the one of the goals in their migratory life was to have their own house in Mozambique. This goal had been already achieved by Maria and Angelina, two female migrants interviewed in Magude district and Tembisa, respectively. Maria, who had built a three-bedroomed house with conventional building material in Magude district, explained how she managed to do it:

Because of hard living conditions at home I was forced to leave to South Africa. There I found a job and started working as a domestic servant. Then I noted that I could buy goods and resell them to get extra money. So, I started doing it. After a certain time and many movements to South Africa, buying goods there and reselling them in Mozambique, I managed to build this house that God gave me. Thanks to South Africa I got everything that I have in this house (Interview with Maria in the Magude district, on January 23, 2004).

Angelina (interviewed in July 2005) reported that with the money that she was earning in Tembisa she was able to build her own house in Mozambique in 2001. Her mother and children were living in that house. She was intending to save more money in order to be

able to get a car in a near future. After that, she wanted to buy furniture for her new house. Finally, she had to earn more money for the future of her children. So, there was no schedule for her definitive return to Mozambique. She would return only after her goals had been realised (Interview with Angelina in Tembisa, on July 19, 2005).

Hortência, another female immigrant interviewed in Johannesburg in July 2005, revealed that she was planning to build a house in Mozambique. She had already started to collect some building materials (e.g. zinc sheets). At the time of the interview she was dealing with the process of obtaining a passport from the Consulate of Mozambique in Johannesburg. After that she would go home to organize everything related to the construction of her house (Interview with Hortência in Johannesburg, on July 18, 2005).

Owning a house at home represented a symbol of prestige for the migrants, especially when it was located close to Maputo city. This was, for instance, the case of Mr Vuma, a Mozambican immigrant in Tembisa, who succeeded in obtaining a South African citizenship and, subsequently, in becoming a successful businessman. Mr Vuma reported that the insecurity in his motherland (Magude district) in the eighties, as result of civil war (which mainly affected the rural areas), forced him to buy an alternative house in Maputo city in 1989. He added that that house belonged to a former governor of Maputo province. He had paid the equivalent to sixty thousand Rand for the house. Mr Vuma brought some of his relatives who had left their homes in Magude district because of war to live in the house. Therefore, Mr Vuma was owner of two residences: one in Magude district and the second one in Maputo city (Interview with Mr Vuma in Tembisa, on July 19, 2005).

Table 8.16: Type of housing in returned migrant and non-migrant households

| Characteristics of house | Percentage of Households | |
|--------------------------|-----------------------------|------------------------|
| | Returned migrant households | Non-migrant households |
| Walls were built of | | |
| Cement | 17.1 | 18.1 |
| Adobe | 59.1 | 56.7 |
| Wood and zinc sheet | 1.9 | 0.8 |
| Rush and sticks | 21.9 | 24.4 |
| Total | 100.0 | 100.0 |
| Roof was built of | | |
| Zinc sheets | 76.2 | 85.0 |
| Thatch roof | 23.8 | 15.0 |
| Total | 100.0 | 100.0 |
| Floor was | | |
| Built of cement | 26.7 | 23.2 |
| Filled with earth | 73.3 | 76.8 |
| Total | 100.0 | 100.0 |
| Number of households | 105 | 254 |

However, a consideration of the characteristics of houses, in terms of type of building material used, does not reveal great differences between the returned migrants and those without any migratory experience. In the two cases the walls of houses were made mostly of adobe (see Table 8.16). De Vletter (2006:9) found that the building of cement houses was usually a priority for migrant miners in southern Mozambique. But this was not so in the case of undocumented labour migrants, particularly those from the Magude and Chókwè districts. It is true that only a few undocumented migrants can afford to build a cement house. Given their job instability and vulnerability to deportation, most of the undocumented migrants were not able to accumulate enough savings that could allow them to build a high-quality house like the miners (who were contract labour migrants).

It is also interesting to observe that there was no salient difference with regard to the type of roofing between undocumented migrant and the non-migrant dwellings. The majority of roofs in the two cases were made of zinc sheets, which is, according to De Vletter (2006), a common phenomenon in the south of Mozambique. Although the zinc sheets were the most home remitted building materials by many undocumented migrants, this

was not a good indicator of the impact of migration on the quality of housing, since the material was also widely used in non-migrant households.

Another aspect that may characterize the quality of a house is the type of material which is used for the floor. A house whose floor is built of cement offers more comfort than that one whose floor is filled with earth. Owning a house with a cement floor in the rural areas is an indication of wealth. Therefore, it would be expected that the majority of migrant households had houses with cement floors. However, very few migrant houses had cement floors, as shown in Table 8.16, probably because of the precarious status of the undocumented labourers.

iv) Lobola / marriage

Lobola has been defined by Smith (2002) as a century-old marriage tradition in Africa, which requires that a price be paid for the right to marry a woman. It is a complex and very formal process of negotiation between the two families to come to a mutual agreement about the price that the groom has to pay in order to marry the bride. The purpose of *lobola* is to bring the two families together, to promote mutual respect and dignity, and to expand the love between the man and woman to the immediate and extended families (Smith, 2002).

One of the social achievements of migrants, mainly the young male migrants, is the fact that they have been able to use a part of their savings for payment of *lobola* to get married when they return home. Although the sample survey showed only a few cases of migrants that used their savings for the purposes of *lobola* or marriage (see Table 8.16), the qualitative data indicated that this has been one of the most common goals among the male migrants. It would appear that the majority of undocumented male migrants on their first trip to South Africa were unmarried people, who after a certain period in South Africa returned home with necessary means for them to get a fiancée or wife.

For instance, Manuel, an undocumented migrant interviewed in Tembisa in July 2005, had come to South Africa leaving behind Anita, a woman that would be his wife in the near future. Although they were living together before Manuel's movement to South Africa, he did not consider her as his wife, because he had not yet paid *lobola*. As he explained, he was not yet socially accepted as Anita's husband by her family. Therefore, Manuel had saved money and was organizing to go back home in order to pay *lobola* and get married to Anita according to the cultural rules of their home community.

v) Standard of living

The standard of living has been viewed as the quality and quantity of goods and services available to people and how these were distributed. In its measurement diverse indicators have been taken into account such as gross domestic product, the per capita income, access and quality of health care and education, and access to sanitation and water (Steckel, 1995; Ministry of Social Development, 2001).

An assessment of the impact of undocumented labour migration on the standard of living in the returned migrant households is made in Table 8.17, through an examination of the kind of fuel that has been used for cooking as well as the presence of some consumer durables in the households, such as electronic goods (telephones, radios, and television) and vehicles (cars, tractors, motorcycles, and bicycles). According to Massey *et al.* (1987) this would make life much more enjoyable and enhance the social status and prestige of a family within the rural community.

Most rural communities in Mozambique do not have access to electricity. Thus, the firewood remains the main source of fuel within the rural communities. This has been reflected in the results of the sample survey in Magude and Chókwè districts, which revealed that firewood was frequently used by the majority of migrant and non-migrant sample households (Table 8.17). The few households that used electricity were all located in the districts' headquarters, which were considered as urban areas. However, even among the urban households of the sample very few used electricity. From a total of 22

migrant urban households of the sample only 9.1% were using electricity. Similarly, the proportion of non-migrant urban households that used electricity was very low, only 7.1% from a total of 127 households. Therefore, there were no great differences between migrant and non-migrant households with regard to the kind of fuel frequently used for cooking.

Table 8.17: Standard of living in returned migrant and non-migrant households

| Selected indicators | Percentage of Households | |
|--------------------------|-----------------------------|------------------------|
| | Returned migrant households | Non-migrant households |
| Fuel used to cook | | |
| Electricity | 1.9 | 3.5 |
| Coal | 1.9 | 8.7 |
| Firewood | 96.2 | 87.8 |
| Total | 100.0 | 100.0 |
| Possession of telephone | | |
| Yes | -- | -- |
| No | 100.0 | 100.0 |
| Total | 100.0 | 100.0 |
| Possession of radio | | |
| Yes | 52.4 | 42.9 |
| No | 47.6 | 57.1 |
| Total | 100.0 | 100.0 |
| Possession of television | | |
| Yes | 2.9 | 3.9 |
| No | 97.1 | 96.1 |
| Total | 100.0 | 100.0 |
| Possession of car | | |
| Yes | 4.8 | 3.1 |
| No | 95.2 | 96.9 |
| Total | 100.0 | 100.0 |
| Possession of motorcycle | | |
| Yes | 2.9 | 3.1 |
| No | 97.1 | 96.9 |
| Total | 100.0 | 100.0 |
| Possession of bicycle | | |
| Yes | 44.8 | 18.9 |
| No | 55.2 | 81.1 |
| Total | 100.0 | 100.0 |
| Number of households | 105 | 254 |

Another indicator used to assess the standard of living was the possession of a telephone among the migrant and non-migrant households. Neither the migrant nor the non-migrant households in the sample possessed a telephone. Also, the vast majority of both migrant and non-migrant households did not possess a television set, car, or motorcycle (see Table 8.17).

However, an examination of possession of radio or bicycle revealed some differences between migrant and non-migrant households. More than half (52.4%) of migrant households possessed a radio against 42.9% of non-migrant households. Also, there were 44.8% of migrant households that possessed bicycle against only 18.9% of non-migrant households (Table 8.17). These figures suggest that radios and bicycles are the most common consumer durables among the undocumented migrant households in Magude and Chókwè districts. Radios and bicycles are goods that can be easily brought from South Africa or acquired from the Mozambican local market, and are relatively cheap. Possession of these two kinds of goods is the minimum that a common migrant can do in order to enhance his social status and prestige within the community.

It is evident that the analysis of the presence of selected consumer durables in returned undocumented migrant and non-migrant households in Magude and Chókwè districts (Table 8.17) revealed no salient differences in standard of living between the two groups. The use of electricity as well as the possession of televisions, cars, or motorcycles were reported only in a very insignificant number of both migrant and non-migrant households, which means that there were no clear patterns of ownership by migrant status. This could, in part, be explained by the fact that the two study areas were mostly rural, and that the income generated by undocumented migrants were relatively low.

8.3.2 Impact of remittances on productive investment

In addition to personal/family consumption, the investment in family business and agriculture was one of other purposes for which cash was sent or brought home by returned undocumented migrants in Magude and Chókwè districts (Table 8.15). Through

the qualitative interviews it was possible to find out in which kind of businesses and agricultural ventures undocumented migrants had invested. Most migrants had used the money for small businesses in the informal sector. In general, these businesses involved buying and reselling essential commodities with the purpose of generating some income for family survival. This was evident from the examination of the main source of income among returned migrant and non-migrant households (Table 8.18). Business was the main source of income in 41% of returned migrant households against only 28.3% of non-migrant households.

Table 8.18: Main source of income in returned migrant and non-migrant households

| Source of income | Percentage of Households | |
|----------------------|-----------------------------|------------------------|
| | Returned migrant households | Non-migrant households |
| Salary | 5.7 | 26.0 |
| Farming | 37.1 | 45.7 |
| Business | 41.0 | 28.3 |
| Migratory labour | 16.2 | -- |
| Total | 100.0 | 100.0 |
| Number of households | 105 | 254 |

A desire to own a business at home was the most common aspiration of many interviewed migrants. Manuel, interviewed in July 2005 in Tembisa, was one of the migrants who had succeeded in doing something for business at home. He reported that he could buy a barrack at home with the money that he was earning in Tembisa. Manuel would use that barrack as a small shop for the sale of foodstuff. In contrast, Pinto, interviewed in January 2004 in the Magude district, was not able to fulfil his aspiration to have his own business, since he had returned home as a deportee. However, he intended to persist, and if he succeeded in getting enough money he would set up a mini-shop at home for the sale of diverse goods.

Some migrants argued that they could engage in business activities that would improve their living conditions if their villages had access to electricity. Lack of electricity was considered by interviewees as the major hindrance to their aspirations for engaging in

productive businesses within their home communities. This was, for instance, Maria's point of view:

If this village had access to the electricity, then I would build a mini-shop here that could allow me to feed and educate my children, and I would not go anymore to South Africa. I do not want to be absolutely dependent on my trips to South Africa. My oldest daughter who takes care of the youngest brothers in my absence will leave home at any moment because of her marriage. The youngest children run a risk to stay home alone at any time. It is a big concern for me. For that reason I have to manage to build a mini-shop here at home, so I can take care of my children (Interview with Maria in the Magude district, on January 23, 2004).

Thus, most businesses operated by returned undocumented migrant households were very insignificant in the context of economic growth and development of sending communities. They could not generate employment and could hardly meet the basic needs of a household. The most common business activities were the sales of essential commodities, clothes, traditional alcoholic drinks, coal and firewood, on the street or within the local informal markets.

Besides small businesses, some migrants reported that they had sent or brought money home for investment in agricultural production. In general, the money had been used for paying labourers from outside the household or for renting a plough. The labourers from the outside were usually invited in order to reinforce the available workforce in the household. However, it is important to stress that the impact of such investment in the development of migrants' communities was not evident. This was because it had been made by only few migrants on an irregular basis, and was restricted to subsistence agriculture.

An examination of possession of tractors or cattle in the household, the indicators used to assess the investment in inputs for agricultural production, suggested that there were no significant achievements whether in migrant nor in non-migrant households. Only two (out of 105) migrant households possessed a tractor, against one (out of 254) non-migrant

households. Twenty nine percent of migrant households had at least a cow, against only fourteen percent of non-migrant households. Here, it is important to stress that the breeding of cattle is a common activity in Magude and Chókwè districts, which also seems to be the most preferred by returned migrants in those areas.

The success of productive investment in migrant sending communities was in some cases dependent on the experience and legal status of migrants. Migrants with a long experience in South Africa and in possession of legal documentation were more likely to make a visible investment than those without enough experience and with an illegal status. For instance, Mr Vuma, who was staying in Tembisa for more than three decades at the time of interview (July 2005), reported that he had become a big farmer and cattle breeder in his motherland after he had made significant investment in inputs for the agricultural production (e.g. farming tractors and cattle). It is interesting to note that Mr Vuma had become a South African citizen since 1970 and a successful businessman in Tembisa.

8.4 HIV/AIDS and the undocumented Mozambican labour migration to SA

Migration has been considered as one of the factors that have contributed to the rapid spread of HIV/AIDS in sub-Saharan Africa, “first to main urban centres, and later to rural areas” (Garenne, 2006:271). According to Garenne (2006:272) “large migration flows in southern Africa also contributed to the spread of HIV in the region, from Zambia to KwaZulu-Natal, and from Namibia to Mozambique.” Lurie (2004:1) observed that it was not so much movement per se, but the social and economic conditions that characterized migration processes that put people at risk for HIV. The role of migration in the spread of HIV to rural Africa had conventionally been seen as a function of men becoming infected while they were away from home, and infecting their wives or regular partners when they returned (Lurie, 2004:1).

According to Peberdy and Dinat (2005), labour migration was also affecting the vulnerability to HIV of many migrant women in South Africa. Some of the most vulnerable female migrants were the domestic workers, particularly those working in Johannesburg. The argument was that their lonely life, resulting from their migrant status, separation from partners, and restrictions on when and where they could see their partners and boyfriends, might make them more vulnerable to the risk for HIV (Peberdy and Dinat, 2005:47).

The high prevalence rates of HIV/AIDS among Mozambican labour migrants, particularly the miners, have been reported by some studies and media reports in Mozambique and South Africa (see, e.g., *Correio da manhã*, 2003; SAMP, 2005e; De Vletter, 2006). In its 1591st edition of June 2, 2003, the *Correio da manhã* reported that, from 2001 to 2002, AIDS had already killed about seven hundred Mozambican miners, from a total of approximately 80,700 Mozambicans who were working in South African mining companies. Most of the miners had died in their homes in Mozambique after they had been unfairly dismissed from their jobs because of their HIV-positive status. In its Migration News of 13 September 2005 SAMP announced that the mortality from AIDS among Mozambican miners in South Africa had reached “catastrophic” levels. According to, the Mozambican Deputy Labour Minister, between 2000 and 2004 at least 2,500 Mozambican miners had died of AIDS (SAMP, 2005e).

In addition, De Vletter (2006) observed that in southern Mozambique the *de jure* female headed households were dominated by widowed women, which partially reflected the death of migrant workers from HIV/AIDS in South African mines. According to De Vletter (2006:9), in recent years, AIDS had emerged “as the major risk to migrant workers with an estimated 50% of Mozambican mineworkers being HIV positive.” In the southern provinces of Mozambique, namely Maputo, Gaza, Inhambane, and Maputo city, known as the main sending areas of labour migrants to South Africa, the average prevalence rate of HIV/AIDS in 2003 had been estimated at about 14.8%, which was too close to the highest rate in the central region (16.7%), and was higher than the average rate in the northern region (8.4%) (see Kaizer Family Foundation, 2005). The high

prevalence rate of HIV/AIDS in southern Mozambique has been regarded as caused mainly by the presence of an increasing number of labour migrants in that region, who have returned from South Africa already infected with the disease (see *Correio da manhã*, 2003).

However, in spite of this alarming scenario with regard to the relationship between labour migration and HIV/AIDS in southern Mozambique, the survey data on undocumented labour migration in Magude and Chókwè districts did not reflect this reality. For instance, from a total of 107 returned undocumented labour migrants of the sample only two reported that they had returned from South Africa because of illness, which was not confirmed as being related to HIV/AIDS. The others had returned because of other reasons. During interviews no migrant discussed his/her HIV status; but there were some who reported cases of other migrants who had already died of AIDS. The reluctance to speak about HIV/AIDS was related to the stigma associated with the disease. Possibly because of their relatively long stay³³ in South Africa the miners' exposure and vulnerability to the risk for HIV might be higher than those of undocumented migrants, who in many cases have stayed for shorter terms because of deportation.

Nevertheless, it is interesting to note that data collected from key informants in Mozambique and South Africa confirmed the seriousness of HIV/AIDS epidemic among Mozambican labour migrants. Also, the miners were identified by informants as being affected by this disease. For instance, the Deputy Administrator of the Chókwè district summarized the negative impact of labour migration to South Africa on the health conditions of that area as follows:

Nowadays we are very worried about the health situation in our district, since there are increasing numbers of migrants who have been returning from South Africa already infected with HIV or sick of AIDS. This situation is aggravated by the fact that most of the infected migrants have been returning to their wives, infecting them too. Many men in the area possess more than one wife according to the traditional

³³ Following the Draft Green Paper on International Migration of Republic of South Africa (1997) the miners were allowed to renew their contracts yearly.

custom. After a certain period of time the migrants as well as their wives die, leaving many children as orphans. On the other hand, when the sick migrants die in Mozambique, it becomes difficult to regularize pensions for their families. In many cases the money and goods of these migrants end up being frozen in South Africa, which prejudices their families in Mozambique (Interview with Deputy Administrator of the Chókwè district on May 24, 2004).

8.5 Conclusion

The analysis of the impacts of undocumented labour migration in the sending communities revealed that, from a demographic perspective, the migration process had caused some changes in the average size and composition by sex and age of population from the emigrant's households in Magude and Chókwè districts. The mean number of people in the emigrants' households dropped from 7.5 to 5.8, as a consequence of emigration. However, it had remained still larger than that observed in the households without any emigrants (5.3). This has to be regarded as an effect of migration itself, which had created large families by putting families affected by migration together.

As a result of migration the balance between the proportions of males and females in emigrants' households had been changed. While the proportion of males dropped from 49.5% to 39.2%, females rose from 50.4% to 60.8% as result of male emigration. In terms of age, the emigration had caused a decrease in the proportion of the economically active population from 62.5% to 53.5%. The proportion of the population under fifteen increased, which consequently might have increased the dependence ratio of under-fifteens in emigrants' households.

From socioeconomic point of view, the undocumented labour migration to South Africa is one of many survival strategies for households in Magude and Chókwè districts. The undocumented labour migrants have helped their family members at home through remittances (cash or goods sent or brought home by migrants themselves), though on a very small scale. Only few migrants have sent cash home; most migrants have preferred

to bring it by themselves during their home return, probably because they have opted to save first.

The capacity for sending or carrying goods or cash home had a positive relationship with the duration of stay (experience) and level of migrants' income in South Africa. Migrants who had been employed in the industry had sent relatively more money compared to farm workers.

Most of the goods sent or brought home included clothes, food, furniture, and zinc sheets. Goods and cash remittances had been utilised mostly for current consumption in the households. Some cash had been used also for family businesses, subsistence agriculture, schooling for children, and house building. In some cases the cash remittances were useful for migrants to accomplish their social obligations at home, such as marriage/*lobola* or debt payment.

The remittances from undocumented labour migrants have been very small because of their vulnerability to exploitation and deportation from South Africa. Given the smallness of remittances there have not been significant improvements in their material standard of living as, for example, in the case of migrant miners who were mostly on contract. Equally, there were no visible achievements in the socioeconomic development of undocumented migrant households or communities because the remittances were very limited.

Although it was not clear whether the undocumented labour migrants have been exposed and vulnerable to HIV/AIDS to the same extent as the contract labour migrants (the miners), it was evident that this disease was affecting all migrants, independently of their legal status. However, the results of this study suggest that there is a need for additional research on this matter in order to get accurate information about the situation of HIV/AIDS among the undocumented Mozambican labour migrants.

CHAPTER 9

CONCLUSION

9.1 Introduction

Migration, a human being's ability to move from one space to another one, has been taking place at all times and in a variety of circumstances. Independently of whether it is an individual or household decision, whether it involves one person or a group of individuals, whether it occurs legally or illegally, or voluntarily or involuntarily, migration has always been linked to push and pull factors, both in the area of origin or in the area of destination.

The industrial revolution and the subsequent phenomenon of urbanization in some countries of the world contributed to socio-economic imbalances between countries and, therefore, increased the variety of push and pull factors influencing migration. For instance, lack of employment opportunities in a country and chances of getting a job in another appear to be ones of the main (push and pull) factors of the labour migration around the world today, mainly that from the developing to developed countries.

Also, increasing globalisation of the world economy has been followed by a process of global migration, in which some millions have left their homes to find opportunities elsewhere in the world, especially from the poor nations to the rich. In industrialised nations employers have hired immigrants from the less developed countries in order to cut costs and weaken national labour movements. This has been an important pull factor influencing undocumented migration. While ordinary citizens of developed receiving nations are unwilling to accept mass immigration because of a fear of losing their jobs and social benefits, the immigrants have entered borders illegally through their networks. After they enter a country, they do not have access to the regular labour market or the

benefits of labour-protection laws (see Kwong, 2007). This scenario is evident within the SADC region, particularly in the case of Mozambican labour migration to South Africa.

The findings from this study generally confirmed the patterns of Mozambican labour migration to South Africa suggested by other studies. Typologically, two kinds of labour migration were identified: documented and undocumented migration. Both were caused by common pull and push factors: demand for foreign labour force in South Africa and lack of domestic employment in Mozambique, respectively. Differences between them were reflected in the ways they occurred (in officially controlled ways or beyond governmental control), in their patterns, and in the impacts on the sending communities and households.

While the documented migration involved male contract labourers to the mining industry, the undocumented labour migration comprised both males and females who crossed borders illegally to seek employment in the different sectors of the South African economy, particularly in the agriculture field. Compared to contract migration, the undocumented labour migration had less impact in the improvement of living conditions in the sending communities/households. The reason for this was because the undocumented migration was linked to low paid, unstable or irregular jobs. Also, undocumented migrants were vulnerable to arrest and deportation.

It is important to note that the findings showed that regardless of the legal status of the incumbents, the Mozambican labour migration to South Africa was temporary and circular in nature. Whether legally or not, people moved and returned home repeatedly after a while at the destination, making evident Sayad's (2000) postulate that the return was the constitutive element of the immigrant condition. However, the mechanisms through which the circularity process happened varied with the legal status of the migrants.

The circularity in contract labour migration was ruled by a labour migration policy adopted by the governments of the two countries. Contract labour migrants were allowed to return home after a certain working period in South Africa and their movements across the borders were not inhibited. They benefited from the reduced transaction costs associated with sending remittances and easily got re-entry visas.

In contrast, the circularity of undocumented labour migration was facilitated by migrant networks. The undocumented migrants entered South Africa and returned home many times. To return home they resorted to same social channels used during the entry into South Africa (assistance from friends, relatives, border-officers, smugglers). Through these channels the undocumented migrants were able to return home temporarily for holidays or to attend family affairs, as this was the case of contract migrants. They re-entered South Africa undocumented again, and so the cycle continued.

This chapter presents general conclusions of the study on the undocumented Mozambican labour migration to South Africa. It starts with a summary of main findings of the study. Then, on the basis of these findings, it presents some theoretical reflections, which are followed by policy recommendations. Finally, the chapter concludes with some suggestions for further research.

9.2 Main research findings

9.2.1 Patterns of migration

The research findings showed that, during the reference period 1980-2004, the undocumented migration from the study areas occurred as response not only to the lack of employment conditions but also to the political violence that had affected the country since the mid-seventies. This violence intensified in southern Mozambique in the mid-eighties. The migration process involved both men and women.

From mid-1980s up to early 1990s Magude district, compared to Chókwè district, had much more people, mainly women, moving because of political violence. This was because Magude district was located much closer to South Africa than Chókwè district. Hence, geographical proximity is one of the facilitating factors of undocumented movements across borders.

Since early 1990s the political violence abated. However, the undocumented migration for economic reasons continued in southern Mozambique, particularly in the research sites. The majority of migrants were males. The number of females involved in undocumented labour migration was relatively smaller compared to males. Most of the women did not migrate to look for jobs. They migrated to meet their husbands who had succeeded in getting jobs in South Africa. The job seemed to be a consequence of being in right place at the right time. In general, women formed a second wave of migration.

As explained before, most of the women who had moved undocumented in the course of the reference period (1980-2004) had mentioned reasons other than economic factors for their move. They had moved to join relatives or to escape from the danger of war. It is interesting to note that from a study on Brazilian internal migration to Rio de Janeiro, Perlman (1976) came to a similar finding that men mainly revealed economic reasons for their move, while among women family motives were the most important in their decisions for migration.

It is important to note that the presence of more males than females in Mozambican migrant flows to South Africa has a historical basis, since the labour migration to the plantations and mines in southern Africa began in the middle of the nineteenth century. It has been argued that the establishment of the migrant labour system in southern Mozambique is strongly linked to a wage-dependent peasant form of agricultural production in this region (Harries, 1983; Van Den Berg, 1987; Roesch, 1991; Head, 1995).

Harries (1983:3) explained that the migrant form of labour arose out of the needs of the rural community, in which “wages became the nutrient for survival in a harsh environment and compensated in some measure for the dissolution of old forms of livelihood such as hunting and trading.”

In addition, according to Van Den Berg (1987) and Roesch (1991), the introduction of forced labour in Mozambique by the Portuguese colonial rule during the first decades of the twentieth century (in an attempt to foster the growth of a capitalist and peasant commercial agriculture in the area) had led to a massive loss of labour for subsistence production, which affected the peasant families negatively.

Van Den Berg (1987:386) argued that the “peasant agricultural production was not only insufficient for the simple reproduction of the peasant families, but it also required periodic cash inputs from wage labour in South Africa.” Thus, “labour migration also had consequences for the sexual division of labour. Peasant families encouraged their male members to seek wage labour which obliged female members to cultivate the fields. A part of the wages of the man was invested in agriculture, and its value was augmented by the work of the woman” (Van Den Berg, 1987:386).

Study findings revealed that people started to migrate at the age 20 on the average. Therefore, they were also selective in terms of marital status. Unmarried males predominated in undocumented labour migration. The presence of unmarried women among the undocumented labour migrants appeared to be low, since most of the women migrated to join their husbands.

Among household members sons constituted the majority of undocumented migrants. The proportion of household heads involved in undocumented migration was relatively small. This might mean that the household heads were in general unwilling to take risks associated with an illegal border crossing, probably because of their responsibilities within the family. On the other hand, it appeared that the household heads were usually

involved in contract labour migration. Generally, it can be argued that the undocumented labour migrants were selective in terms of household hierarchy.

The undocumented migrants from Magude and Chókwè districts were mostly rural. They were generally illiterate and without any professional qualifications. However, some literate undocumented Mozambican migrants were found in Gauteng who came from urban environments mainly from Maputo city and capital cities of southern provinces (Xai-Xai and Inhambane cities). So, the degree of selectivity of migrants was dependent on their area of origin, especially whether they came from rural or urban areas.

Gauteng, in South Africa, was the most preferred destination by undocumented migrants. However, the border areas, mainly the farms and small towns in Mpumalanga, served as springboard for their entering into the Gauteng region. But even so, there were many Mozambican migrants working on the farms. These findings suggest that the undocumented Mozambican labour migration is, in general, a step-by-step migration. This means that the migrants moved gradually from their areas of origin up to the most preferred destinations in Gauteng.

Migrants outside the farms were mostly working in the construction industry (mainly as bricklayer assistants), service sector (as mechanics, gardeners, waiters or domestic servants), and informal trade (as buyers and resellers of second-hand clothes, toys, and vegetables). The informal trade involved the majority of women outside the farms. It is important to note that the undocumented migrants were rarely employed in the mining industry, which suggests that this sector might almost exclusively deal with the contract migrants.

9.2.2 Migration process: decision-making and social networks

The findings confirmed that the migrant's decision to move had an economic motive. However, it is important to note that, in general, the decision-making process occurred at the level of the household. Almost all migrants interviewed had been encouraged to move

by their household members. Their intention was to earn money in South Africa in order to contribute to the household income. The decision-making processes in undocumented Mozambican labour migration have occurred within the perspective of 'The New Economics of Migration.'

While the household/family members in the areas of origin participated in the migration decision-making process, on the border the undocumented labour migrants were assisted by border agents and smugglers for illegal border-crossing. At this stage, migrants with confidence in some agents resorted to bribes to pass through the border. Others opted for a paid guide. After crossing the border conveyors assisted the migrants with transportation to the destination. Internationally, this is a common fact in undocumented labour migration, whose explanation is given by the 'Institutional theory' of migration (a part of the social capital theory).

On the arrival at the destination, the former Mozambican immigrants (relatives, friends or neighbours), in some cases living in communities, assisted the new immigrants with food and shelter as well as in the search for jobs. On the other hand, the local residents, employers and immigration officers assisted the immigrants in getting documentation. In this case the new immigrants resorted to migrant networks in order to cope with the world around them. According to network theory (part of the social capital theory), migrant networks are "sets of interpersonal ties that connect migrants, former migrants, and non-migrants in the origin and destination areas through ties of kinship, friendship, and shared community origin" (Massey *et al.*, 1998:42)

In general, the friendship networks of undocumented Mozambican labour migrants were differentiated by gender. This means that female migrants relied on women networks, while men found support in male networks. In addition, the friendship ties among migrant women lasted longer than those among male migrants. In general, the solidarity among male migrants diminished as they adapted to their new social environment. The friendship networks were also differentiated by the areas of origin. Usually, migrants maintained and relied on the friendship bonds set up on the basis of a common area of

origin. To a certain extent, this phenomenon led to the emergence of migrants' communities in the destination areas being dominated by a given ethnic group.

The kinship, friendship or neighbourhood bonds constituted the main determinants of the Mozambican migrants' orientation to specific destinations in South Africa. The establishment of home migrant communities was particularly evident in Gauteng, and allowed the immigrants to be linked with their origin, and to obtain support for overcoming challenges in their new location. Also, the home communities provided the undocumented immigrants with protection against arrest/deportation, and support for the legalization of their status.

Through their integration into the home communities the immigrants acquired experiences of social life and work in South Africa. Their success was strongly influenced by the extent of those experiences and also changes in their legal status. However, most undocumented immigrants were not able to legalize their status and were vulnerable to arrest and deportation. Thus, through their membership in already established social networks, the new immigrants gained access to social capital (social structure that can be used as resources by the actors to realize their interests) (Coleman, 1988; 1990). The migrants capitalized on their experiences and social ties in order to avoid being arrested and to survive in South Africa.

Migrant networks were key elements for the sustainability of the migration process, since every new Mozambican immigrant entered South Africa via social connections with people at the destination. On the other hand, resorting to their experience and social links, the undocumented migrants experienced multiple entries in South Africa. In general, each re-entry in South Africa was followed by a new immigrant, leading to what Massey *et al.* (1993; 1998) called cumulative causation of migration. The theory of cumulative causation argues that "over time migration tends to sustain itself in ways that make additional movements more likely" (Massey *et al.*, 1998:45).

9.2.3 Impacts in the sending communities

The undocumented labour migration caused demographic changes within the households of the sending communities. These changes were evident in the decrease in the average size, in a higher proportion of females, and in the reduction of the share of working-age population of the emigrants' households. This led to a declining male labour force in the rural areas.

In general, the emigrants were from large-sized households. Although this could be associated with an effect of migration itself, by creating extended families (see De Vletter, 2006), it was also evident that polygamy contributed to the increase of some households in the study areas. A significant part of emigrants were from the larger polygamous households. This suggested that the emigration might have been a response to economic pressure caused by the presence of a larger number of people in the household.

The undocumented labour migration to South Africa was one of the survival strategies adopted by many households. These households received goods and cash remittances from the family members who had already migrated. Goods, mainly food and clothes, were the most common remittances. Given the vulnerability of undocumented labour migrants to exploitation and deportation, their remittances were very limited. They were used only for meeting some basic needs in the household (food, clothing, housing and schooling for children). The remittances were too insignificant to be used productively and, therefore, they did not have any noticeable impact on the improvement of the standard of living of undocumented migrant households.

There were no salient differences between undocumented migrant households and non-migrant households with regard the housing conditions as well as the standard of living. While building of cement houses was a salient feature among migrant miners in southern Mozambique (see De Vletter, 2006:9), this was not so in the case of undocumented

labour migrants, particularly among those from Magude and Chókwè districts. It was evident that the productive investment was dependent on the experience and migrant legal status. Those migrants with long experience in South Africa and in possession of a legal documentation were more likely to make visible investment than migrants without experience and with an illegal status.

The impact of migration at an individual level was reflected in a change in perception amongst migrants. Their experience in South Africa had changed the image of South Africa as a country of easy fortune and good life. They realized that the image of South Africa brought to them before was not the one they experienced. Most migrants argued that if job opportunities were available in Mozambique, they would stop moving to South Africa.

However, some migrants revealed that they had learnt a lot from the migration process, so that they were able to cope with the challenges to their life at home. They decided to stop migrating and to capitalize on the positive aspects of the acquired experience in South Africa. This was evident particularly among those migrants who succeeded in attending a school or attained some professional qualification in South Africa.

Finally, a check of the impact of undocumented migration on the health conditions in the sending communities indicated that the scenario might not be different from that observed among the contract migrants (the miners). The spread of HIV/AIDS in southern Mozambique has mostly been associated with the presence of mineworkers who returned already infected from South Africa. However, data from this study did not reflect this reality, given the reluctance of migrants to discuss their HIV status.

9.3 Theoretical reflections

The Mozambican migration to South Africa can be understood within two main historical contexts: the traditional contract labour migration and the undocumented migration, and these are associated with different theories.

Historically, the establishment of a migrant labour system in southern Mozambique arose from a dependence on wage from peasant agricultural production. This was negatively affected by the colonial policy of forced labour during the first decades of the twentieth century, in an attempt to foster the growth of a capitalist and peasant commercial agriculture in the area. This led to a massive loss of labour for subsistence agricultural production. In addition, the earnings from the forced crop production were very low. Therefore, peasant families encouraged their male members to seek wage labour; and the migrant wage labour in South Africa was the best option. So, the peasant agricultural production required periodic cash inputs from this migrant wage labour (see Harries, 1983; Van Den Berg, 1987; Roesch, 1991; Head, 1995).

This explanation frames the theoretical approach of 'The New Economics of Migration', which considers migration as a household decision taken to minimize risks to family income and to overcome capital constraints on family production activities (Massey *et al.*, 1993; 1994; 1998; Durand and Massey, 2003). That is, the labour migration in southern Mozambique was a response of peasant households to the constraints that were associated with the colonial labour market policy.

These constraints changed with the passing of time. After the independence of Mozambique in 1975, there was no forced labour and forced crop production anymore. But political, social and, consequently, economical instability in the country, soon after independence, led to another kind of constraint on the labour market: lack of employment opportunities and deterioration of conditions for agricultural development (commercial and subsistence).

The poor labour-market conditions in the post-independence period, worsened by a rapidly growing labour force, favoured the continuity of the migrant labour system in southern Mozambique. However, in addition to the contract labour migration the undocumented migration increased during this period. This was associated with the lack of local employment opportunities. Under these circumstances migration represented a

household response to minimize risks to family income, according to the postulate of 'The New Economics of Migration' (see Massey *et al.*, 1993; 1994; 1998; Durand and Massey, 2003).

Nevertheless, in the late 1970s and early 1980s there were additional factors that contributed considerably to the rise of undocumented labour migration. Apart from a reduction in recruitment of contract labour migrants, the environmental disasters, namely floods and droughts, combined with the intensification of civil war, led to the deterioration of living conditions of rural families in the south of Mozambique, therefore increasing their poverty levels. On the other hand, the demand for a cheap labour force was growing in some sectors of the South African economy outside the mining industry.

The conditions under which the undocumented Mozambican labour migration occurred were much more complex than before. In this case, an attempt at understanding the process should start with the following questions: (i) what were the causes of migration; (ii) how migration-decisions were made; (iii) why the migration was undocumented and (iv) how it occurred. Responses to these questions lead to a mix of theoretical approaches, from the neoclassical to the social capital models of migration. For instance, causes of migration could be explained within the push-pull framework, from the 'Neoclassical Theory' (see Massey *et al.*, 1993; 1994; 1998; Durand and Massey, 2003), in which environmental, political, social and economic instabilities in Mozambique constituted the push factors, while safety conditions and demand for unskilled cheap labour force in South Africa were the pull factors. However, it is important to stress the role of network factors, which functioned as a link between pull and push factors, and guaranteed free flow of information between origin and destination, allowing the occurrence of undocumented migration (as postulated by the 'Network Theory') (see Jedlicka, 1978-79).

Migration decisions were mostly made at the household level. As shown in this study, several families, mainly those living in the areas close to South Africa, migrated as refugees from the civil war. As they arrived at the destination they were illegally

employed, becoming undocumented workers. Other people who migrated illegally to work were doing so to assist their families, and therefore their decisions to migrate were made according to the postulate of 'The New Economics of Migration.' According to this theoretical model, in developing countries, "the institutional mechanisms for managing risk are imperfect, absent, or inaccessible to poor families, given them incentives to diversify risks through migration" (Massey *et al.*, 1998:22)

The key insight of this model is that migration decisions are not made by isolated individual actors, but by larger units of related people – typically families or households – in which people act collectively not only to maximize expected income, but also to minimize risks. In developing countries the institutional mechanisms for managing risk are imperfect, absent, or inaccessible to poor families, giving them the incentives to diversify risks through migration (that is, foreign wage labour). In the event that local economic conditions deteriorate and activities there fail to bring in sufficient income, the household can rely on migrant remittances for support (Massey *et al.*, 1993; 1994; 1998; Durand and Massey, 2003).

There were several reasons why Mozambicans migrated undocumented to South Africa.³⁴ The majority of migrants were from rural areas where it was difficult to obtain a travel document (passport) and even the Mozambican ID, *Bilhete de Identidade*, which was compulsory in that country. In the period before 2005 it was necessary to get a visa from the South African Embassy, in the capital city of Maputo, in order to enter into South Africa. This was very expensive (five hundred Rand for a tourist visa, for instance), and most of the rural population could not afford it. Obtaining a work permit was much more difficult. As a result of these constraints most people decided to cross the border undocumented.

As revealed by the findings from this study, the most common ways of entering South Africa were the links with experienced people in migration process who were well

³⁴ This is not applicable to the refugees who later became undocumented workers at the destination.

informed about how to reach the destination and to seek job opportunities. In many cases, the experienced people were those who initially had been to South Africa as contract labour migrants. They were mostly friends, relatives, or neighbours of prospective migrants. This explanation frames the 'Social Capital Theory', which considers the undocumented migration as managed by social networks in response to the barriers erected by the receiving countries to keep people out (see Massey *et al.*, 1993; 1994; 1998; Durand and Massey, 2003). As argued by Massey *et al.* (1998:56), "the greater the barriers to movement, the more important should network ties become in promoting migration, since they reduce the costs and risks of movement."

The findings revealed that throughout the journey the migrants were aware of different options to cross the border illegally, which included connections with border smugglers/guides, border officers, and conveyors. This frames the postulate of the 'Institutional Theory', which states that barriers to immigration create a lucrative economic niche for organisations and individuals dedicated to promoting international movement for profit (Massey *et al.*, 1998). The argument of 'Institutional theory' is that, once international migration has begun, for-profit organisations and private entrepreneurs provide a range of services to migrants in exchange for fees set on the underground market: surreptitious smuggling across borders; clandestine transport to internal destinations; counterfeit documents and visas; etc. (Massey *et al.*, 1993; 1998).

At the destination there were some acquaintances (relatives, friends, or neighbours) who assisted the newcomers with accommodation, sustenance, the search for jobs, and social adjustment. In this way the migrants set up their networks, and assisted the following generations in the migration process (see Massey *et al.*, 1993; 1994; 1998; Durand and Massey, 2003). In this way the number of undocumented Mozambican immigrants in South Africa rapidly increased. Also, as a result of this, the number of unskilled Mozambican workers in some sectors of South African economy increased, particularly in the agriculture, construction and domestic work. These sectors continued pulling more Mozambican immigrants, and were known as the main occupations of the Mozambican workers in South Africa. With time this became an additional pull factor of

undocumented Mozambican migrants. This should be understood as framing the ‘Theory of Cumulative Causation’, which postulates that “over time international migration tends to sustain itself in ways that make additional movement progressively more likely” (Massey *et al.*, 1998:45). In this case, the recruitment of Mozambican undocumented immigrants into particular occupations in significant numbers led those jobs to be stigmatised and viewed as being culturally inappropriate for native workers, which reinforced the demand for more immigrants.

Finally, it is important to note that to understand how the undocumented Mozambican labour migration to South Africa happened, in terms of its dynamics, the ‘social capital theory’ (particularly the network theory) and ‘theory of cumulative causation’ appeared to be the most relevant. The resort to the social networks was the main feature of undocumented migrants. However, some economic approaches, such as the ‘neoclassical theory’ and the theory of ‘the new economics of migration’ were relevant to understand the causes of migration as well as the migration decision-making process.

9.4 Policy recommendations

Notwithstanding the controls, undocumented labour migration from Mozambique to South Africa continues unabated and deportations have been taking place almost daily. Hence, administrative measures such as deportations and strict control of borders do not stop the illegal immigration into South Africa. The South African Home Affairs Minister had claimed that the drive to deport illegal immigrants was a futile exercise and a waste of money, and that tightening the borders was not a solution. The Minister acknowledged that South Africa was economically attractive to the immigrants. Therefore, once deported, they were likely to return. According to the Minister, a possible solution to the problem would be address to the economic situation in the migrants’ countries, by dealing with some of the push factors in their economy (SAMP, 2006b).

It would be obvious that if the push factors are eliminated from migrants’ sending areas, the illegal cross-border movements will be reduced. However, since migrating to South

Africa for work is also a very dominant cultural phenomenon or rite of passage in the life cycle of the population in southern Mozambique, it still remains the question of whether an eventual elimination of push factors from that region would also change this historical tradition.

This study revealed that a lack of jobs locally constituted the main reason for migration to South Africa. In addition, difficulties in obtaining a work permit were the principal reason for undocumented labour migration. Therefore, an attempt to frame a solution to this problem should take into consideration these two aspects as starting-points. Any policy aimed at the stopping of illegal border crossing should consider a revision of existing requirements for attainment of a work permit. In addition, necessary conditions have to be created in Mozambique that can allow the majority of rural population to obtain easily documentations required for legal entry in South Africa.

Stopping migration takes for granted the removal of its causes. It means that job opportunities have to be created in the migrant sending areas, particularly in the rural areas, so that people can be employed locally, hence reducing their dependency on migrant labour. This would require, for instance, establishing productive infrastructures and services in the rural areas which could provide people with jobs, social assistance, leisure and recreation, and make positive impacts on their material and social life.

Undocumented Mozambican labour migration has a particularity, its circularity, which should be considered in any policy framework. The integration of the circularity of migration into the policy frameworks constitutes a new approach to labour migration policy (see Hugo, 2003; O'Neil, 2003; Lehohla, 2006; De Ron, 2007). The argument is that the circularity reduces illegal migration and the risk of abuse, meets the preference of migrants to stay away from home for shorter periods, and helps check the negative social consequences that results from long-term separations of families, for example, long exposure of migrants to the risk of contracting HIV. Assisted by their networks the migrants often returned home after ten months of stay in South Africa, on the average,

showing that their intention was not to remain on a permanent basis in the country. Therefore, an effort should be made in order to frame a migration policy that would allow workers to move for shorter periods, taking into account the advantage of the circular nature of their migration. In this way, people would enter the South Africa legally, and the strength of networks supporting undocumented migration would be weakened.

Given that migration is an important source of income for many households in sending communities, policies are required that encourage migrants to organize in order to be involved productively in development projects of their communities. For example, there should be government initiatives that encourage the formation of migrant associations linked to development projects at home, particularly in the agricultural sector. This would contribute to an improvement in their living conditions and that of the communities as well, hence reducing their dependence on labour migration.

Finally, it is important to point out that observations from the fieldwork suggested that in Mozambique there were some initiatives from civil society organisations to contribute to the social integration of repatriated migrants from South Africa. This was, for instance, the case of a non-governmental organisation called ADAIMOR (Associação de Apoio e Integração dos Moçambicanos Repatriados) – Association for Assistance and Integration of Repatriated Mozambicans – which was based in Ressano Garcia. The aim of ADAIMOR was to create conditions for the socio-economic integration of deportees from South Africa. Such initiatives should be morally and financially encouraged by the government in order to reduce negative impacts of the process of repatriation.

9.5 Further research

As referred to previously, since 2005 the tourist visas between South Africa and Mozambique have been abolished. Mozambicans entering South Africa to work must have a work permit, which is not easy to obtain. So, it is likely that some migrants enter the country as tourists and end up becoming illegal after their tourism permit expires.

Therefore, further research will be necessary in the near future to assess the impact of this measure on the trends of undocumented labour migration.

The study showed that the migrants from study areas were mostly from large-sized households and a significant part of those households were polygamous. Given that polygamy is a cultural practice in the area, further research on its relationship with migration seems to be relevant.

The impact of HIV/AIDS on undocumented labour migration was not reflected in the findings from this study. Therefore, further research on this serious matter is necessary.

Finally, it is important to note that in Mozambique research on undocumented migration is still incipient, probably because of the difficulties in dealing with illegal migrants. However, it is important to acknowledge that undocumented labour migration was related to limited socioeconomic development in the country, and particularly in the communities from which the migrants come. Therefore, there is a need for more systematic research in this field that assesses the future trends in illegal labour mobility so that the government can develop suitable migration policies in Mozambique and South Africa.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX 4.1

SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRE

SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRE (*)

The Dynamics of Undocumented Mozambican Labour Migration to South Africa

INTERVIEWER – Good morning / afternoon. My name is _____. I am a researcher from the Centre for Population Studies at the Eduardo Mondlane University. I am now in Magude / Chókwè to understand a little of the life of those people who migrate to South Africa to get job there. It is known that most of them are faced with very hard situations when they try to go there without visa. The Mozambican government is very concerned with such situations. We, as researchers, have the mission to provide useful information for the decision-makers, who have the responsibility to frame a development policy that can satisfy the needs of all citizens in the country. That is the reason why I am here for a talk with you.

Questionnaire Number: _____ ()

(If the questionnaire has a continuation, place A, B, and C between parentheses, for the first, second, and third questionnaire, respectively)

Identification and Control

| | | | |
|---------------------------|-------------------|----------------------------|----------------|
| Survey area _____ | Urban ____ | Rural ____ | Locality _____ |
| Administrative Post _____ | District _____ | Head of household _____ | |
| Interviewer _____ | Coordinator _____ | Date _____ / _____ / _____ | |

(*) This questionnaire is confidential. No information contained in it will be individually published. The collected data will be transformed in global statistics.

PART I

ALL PEOPLE IN THE HOUSEHOLD

(Please, register the head of the household, his/her spouse, sons, and other persons living usually in the household, including those who are temporarily absent)

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

| Q0. Name | 01 | 02 | 03 | 04 | 05 | 06 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Q35. Had you ever been to school before you left at the first time to South Africa? | 1 yes (go to Q36) 2 no (go to Q37) 9 dknow / nanswer (go to Q37) | 1 yes (go to Q36) 2 no (go to Q37) 9 dknow / nanswer (go to Q37) | 1 yes (go to Q36) 2 no (go to Q37) 9 dknow / nanswer (go to Q37) | 1 yes (go to Q36) 2 no (go to Q37) 9 dknow / nanswer (go to Q37) | 1 yes (go to Q36) 2 no (go to Q37) 9 dknow / nanswer (go to Q37) | 1 yes (go to Q36) 2 no (go to Q37) 9 dknow / nanswer (go to Q37) |
| Q36. Please, tell me the highest school level that you completed before you left at the first time to South Africa? | _____ class 99 dknow / nanswer | _____ class 99 dknow / nanswer | _____ class 99 dknow / nanswer | _____ class 99 dknow / nanswer | _____ class 99 dknow / nanswer | _____ class 99 dknow / nanswer |
| Q37. How was your occupational situation before you left at the first time to South Africa? | 1 worked (go to Q38) 2 unemployed (go to Q39) 3 retired (go to Q39) 4 student (go to Q39) 5 other _____ (go to Q39) 9 dknow / nanswer (go to Q39) | 1 worked (go to Q38) 2 unemployed (go to Q39) 3 retired (go to Q39) 4 student (go to Q39) 5 other _____ (go to Q39) 9 dknow / nanswer (go to Q39) | 1 worked (go to Q38) 2 unemployed (go to Q39) 3 retired (go to Q39) 4 student (go to Q39) 5 other _____ (go to Q39) 9 dknow / nanswer (go to Q39) | 1 worked (go to Q38) 2 unemployed (go to Q39) 3 retired (go to Q39) 4 student (go to Q39) 5 other _____ (go to Q39) 9 dknow / nanswer (go to Q39) | 1 worked (go to Q38) 2 unemployed (go to Q39) 3 retired (go to Q39) 4 student (go to Q39) 5 other _____ (go to Q39) 9 dknow / nanswer (go to Q39) | 1 worked (go to Q38) 2 unemployed (go to Q39) 3 retired (go to Q39) 4 student (go to Q39) 5 other _____ (go to Q39) 9 dknow / nanswer (go to Q39) |
| Q38. If you did work before you left at the first time to South Africa, please tell me the kind of work. | 1 farm worker 2 domestic servant 3 employee in the sector of services 4 employee in the industry 5 businessman 6 informal businessman 7 driver 8 housewife 9 let house/flat 10 other _____ 99 dknow / nanswer | 1 farm worker 2 domestic servant 3 employee in the sector of services 4 employee in the industry 5 businessman 6 informal businessman 7 driver 8 housewife 9 let house/flat 10 other _____ 99 dknow / nanswer | 1 farm worker 2 domestic servant 3 employee in the sector of services 4 employee in the industry 5 businessman 6 informal businessman 7 driver 8 housewife 9 let house/flat 10 other _____ 99 dknow / nanswer | 1 farm worker 2 domestic servant 3 employee in the sector of services 4 employee in the industry 5 businessman 6 informal businessman 7 driver 8 housewife 9 let house/flat 10 other _____ 99 dknow / nanswer | 1 farm worker 2 domestic servant 3 employee in the sector of services 4 employee in the industry 5 businessman 6 informal businessman 7 driver 8 housewife 9 let house/flat 10 other _____ 99 dknow / nanswer | 1 farm worker 2 domestic servant 3 employee in the sector of services 4 employee in the industry 5 businessman 6 informal businessman 7 driver 8 housewife 9 let house/flat 10 other _____ 99 dknow / nanswer |

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

REMITTANCES FROM THE RETURNED UNDOCUMENTED LABOUR MIGRANTS

[illegible]

[illegible]

| Q0. Name | 01 | 02 | 03 | 04 | 05 | 06 |
|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|
| Q64. What are the main usages of the savings that you brought with at the first time? (Mention up to 3 usages according to their importance) | 1 personal consumption 2 productive investment in the agriculture 3 familiar business 4 purchase of house 5 marriage 6 lobola 7 school for children 8 payment of debt 9 migration of other household members 10 other _____ 99 dknow / nanswer | 1 personal consumption 2 productive investment in the agriculture 3 familiar business 4 purchase of house 5 marriage 6 lobola 7 school for children 8 payment of debt 9 migration of other household members 10 other _____ 99 dknow / nanswer | 1 personal consumption 2 productive investment in the agriculture 3 familiar business 4 purchase of house 5 marriage 6 lobola 7 school for children 8 payment of debt 9 migration of other household members 10 other _____ 99 dknow / nanswer | 1 personal consumption 2 productive investment in the agriculture 3 familiar business 4 purchase of house 5 marriage 6 lobola 7 school for children 8 payment of debt 9 migration of other household members 10 other _____ 99 dknow / nanswer | 1 personal consumption 2 productive investment in the agriculture 3 familiar business 4 purchase of house 5 marriage 6 lobola 7 school for children 8 payment of debt 9 migration of other household members 10 other _____ 99 dknow / nanswer | 1 personal consumption 2 productive investment in the agriculture 3 familiar business 4 purchase of house 5 marriage 6 lobola 7 school for children 8 payment of debt 9 migration of other household members 10 other _____ 99 dknow / nanswer |

LABOUR MIGRATION WORKING EXPERIENCE OF UNDOCUMENTED RETURNED MIGRANTS

[illegible]

[illegible]

PART III
DATA ON THE SOCIOECONOMIC STATUS OF THE HOUSEHOLD
(Only for the household head or respondent for the household)

| | | | | | | | |
|--|--|---------------|---------------------------|------------------|-----------------------------|-----------|----------|
| Q86. What are the walls of the house made from? | 1 cement / brick | 2 adobe | 3 wood and zinc | 4 rush or sticks | 5 other _____ | | |
| Q87. What is the roofing of the house made from? | 1 cement slab | 2 lusalite | 3 zinc | 4 grass | 5 other _____ | | |
| Q88. How many compartments has the house? (Mark all possibilities) | 1 only one compartment | 2 living-room | 3 kitchen | 4 bathroom | 5 bedrooms (how many? ____) | | |
| Q89. What is the ground of the house made from? | 1 filled with earth | 2 cement | 3 wood | 4 other _____ | | | |
| Q90. Where the consumed water comes from? | 1 canalization in the house 2 canalization outside the house 3 public drinking fountain 4 well 5 river or lake 6 other _____ | | | | | | |
| Q91. Does the house have sewerage system? | 1 yes | 2 no | | | | | |
| Q92. Which kind of combustible has been used to cook? (Mark all possibilities) | 1 electricity | 2 gas | 3 coal | 4 firewood | 5 other _____ | | |
| Q93. Please, tell me whether the house has the following (Mark all possibilities) | 1 home telephone | 2 radio | 3 television | 4 car | 5 motorcycle | 6 bicycle | 7 trator |
| Q94. Please, tell me whether the house is | 1 belonging to you | 2 let | 3 donated | 4 other _____ | | | |
| Q95. Please, tell me whether the household possess the following (Mark all possibilities) | 1 cattle (how many? _____) | | 2 farms (how many? _____) | | | | |
| Q96. What are the main sources of the household's income? (Mention three, at the maximum, according to their importance) | Source 1 _____ | | Source 2 _____ | | Source 3 _____ | | |

APPENDIX 4.2

SELECTED ENUMERATION AREAS FOR THE SAMPLE

| Order Nr | Selected enumeration area | Number of households in selected enumeration area | Locality | Administrative post | District | Province | Rural / Urban |
|----------|-----------------------------|---|--------------|---------------------|----------|----------|---------------|
| 01 | Cuambati | 19 | Mapulanguene | Mapulanguene | Magude | Maputo | Rural |
| 02 | Moine -sede | 109 | Moine | Magude | Magude | Maputo | Rural |
| 03 | Bairro "5" - Maguiguana | 42 | Maguiguana | Magude | Magude | Maputo | Rural |
| 04 | Mahel-sede | 73 | Mahel | Mahel | Magude | Maputo | Rural |
| 05 | Matchabe | 124 | Machembe | Magude | Magude | Maputo | Rural |
| 06 | Bairro "3" - Maguiguana | 53 | Maguiguana | Magude | Magude | Maputo | Rural |
| 07 | Heróis Moçambicanos | 37 | Chichuco | Magude | Magude | Maputo | Rural |
| 08 | Ungubana 2 | 84 | Machembe | Magude | Magude | Maputo | Rural |
| 09 | Panjane-sede | 109 | Panjane | Panjane | Magude | Maputo | Rural |
| 10 | 1º Bairro – Motaze-sede | 86 | Motaze-sede | Motaze | Magude | Maputo | Rural |
| 11 | Mutchapo | 105 | Chichuco | Magude | Magude | Maputo | Rural |
| 12 | Ricatla | 142 | Magude-sede | Magude | Magude | Maputo | Urban |
| 13 | Chicotiva | 137 | Magude-sede | Magude | Magude | Maputo | Urban |
| 14 | Bairro vila | 124 | Magude-sede | Magude | Magude | Maputo | Urban |
| 15 | Mawandla 2 | 82 | Magude-sede | Magude | Magude | Maputo | Urban |
| 16 | Machua | 91 | Maxinho | Macarretane | Chókwè | Gaza | Rural |
| 17 | Majajamela | 95 | Maxinho | Macarretane | Chókwè | Gaza | Rural |
| 18 | Macarretane | 81 | Macarretane | Macarretane | Chókwè | Gaza | Rural |
| 19 | 25 de Setembro - Matuba | 137 | Matuba | Macarretane | Chókwè | Gaza | Rural |
| 20 | Lionde | 173 | Lionde-sede | Lionde | Chókwè | Gaza | Rural |
| 21 | Bombofo (twice) | 101 | Lionde-sede | Lionde | Chókwè | Gaza | Rural |
| 22 | Conhane (twice) | 266 | Conhane | Lionde | Chókwè | Gaza | Rural |
| 23 | Massavane | 203 | Conhane | Lionde | Chókwè | Gaza | Rural |
| 24 | Mapapa | 119 | Conhane | Lionde | Chókwè | Gaza | Rural |
| 25 | Marrambanjane | 118 | Xilembene | Xilembene | Chókwè | Gaza | Rural |
| 26 | 1º de Maio - Xilembene | 66 | Xilembene | Xilembene | Chókwè | Gaza | Rural |
| 27 | Inchovane (twice) | 30 | Xilembene | Xilembene | Chókwè | Gaza | Rural |
| 28 | Macunene | 73 | Xilembene | Xilembene | Chókwè | Gaza | Rural |
| 29 | Chiguidela (twice) | 122 | Xilembene | Xilembene | Chókwè | Gaza | Rural |
| 30 | Chalucuané | 99 | Chiduachine | Xilembene | Chókwè | Gaza | Rural |
| 31 | Chiduachine | 156 | Chiduachine | Xilembene | Chókwè | Gaza | Rural |
| 32 | Malhazene | 100 | Xilembene | Xilembene | Chókwè | Gaza | Rural |
| 33 | 2º Bairro – Xilembene | 85 | Xilembene | Xilembene | Chókwè | Gaza | Rural |
| 34 | Bairro "6" - Xilembene | 126 | Xilembene | Xilembene | Chókwè | Gaza | Rural |
| 35 | 1º Bairro – Cid. Chókwè | 153 | Chókwè | Cid Chókwè | Chókwè | Gaza | Rural |
| 36 | 2º Bairro – Cid. Chókwè | 95 | Chókwè | Cid Chókwè | Chókwè | Gaza | Rural |
| 37 | 3º Bairro – Cid. Chókwè (3) | 435 | Chókwè | Cid Chókwè | Chókwè | Gaza | Urban |
| 38 | 5º Bairro – Cid. Chókwè (2) | 231 | Chókwè | Cid Chókwè | Chókwè | Gaza | Urban |

APPENDIX 4.3

GUIDE FOR LIFE MIGRATION HISTORIES

Some of the returned and current undocumented Mozambican labour migrants to be identified in Mozambique (in Magude and Chókwè districts) and Africa (in Gauteng and Mpumalanga provinces), respectively, will be selected for the life migration histories. The participants will be migrants who were or are undocumented. They will be diversified according to the following characteristics: **age; sex; experience in SA** (duration of stay in SA); **occupation in SA** (migrants in the agriculture, industry and other sectors); **level of education**; etc.

The life migration histories are supposed to provide an understanding of the migration dynamics in depth and detail. The life migration histories will be focused on lifetime processes of returned and current undocumented labour migrants, such as kinship relations and attitudes, relations with neighbours and friends, economic circumstances, occupational mobility, migration, border-crossing, aspirations, resource accumulation, experience in South Africa, economic and social contacts in South Africa, etc., for example, the experience of finding accommodation and getting help from the Mozambican network in South Africa.

The process of interviews will be as follows: first, get an overall breakdown in simple chronological terms of number of trips, where to, what done...; and then, begin to engage it in more general discussion.

Topics to be discussed:

Begin by talking about what it is like to be in South Africa, what they hope/hoped...

- Life history before migration (birth, growth, schooling, professional qualification, occupation)
- Description of living conditions in the area of origin before migration (socio-economic conditions in the migrants' families/households/communities)

- Experience of migration in the life (history: frequency, number of times, ages in the migration process)
- Strategies used in the migratory process (from the family / community of origin, through the borders, up to the place of destination)
- Facilities in the migratory process (in the departure, crossing of borders, entering into SA and integration in the receiving community). Getting details of anecdotes...
- Conditions within which the process of migration starts in Mozambique (motivations)
- Difficulties in the migratory process (in the departure, crossing of borders, entering into SA and integration in the receiving community)
- Process of social integration in SA (history)
- Process of social networks (existing links between migrants and receiving communities; former migrants and the newcomers; migrants and the communities of origin)
- Working experience in SA (mechanisms of getting jobs, changing jobs and ending jobs; salary conditions)
- Process of remittances (kind of remittances, sending mechanisms, beneficiaries, type of investments in the area of origin)
- Impacts of migration on the migrants' life (socio-economic conditions: family income, businesses, family formation/dissolution, type of marriage, professional qualification, etc.)
- Impacts of migration on the households/communities' life (household wealth indicators, size of the households, investments in the community, culture of migration, etc.)
- Intended length of stay in SA
- Process of return (intention, motivations, and type of return: temporary or definitive)
- The image of South Africa in the migrants' communities
- Forms of getting information about South Africa
- Meaning of migration in the community of origin (in social and economic life, culture of migration)

In addition, it is advisable to:

- (i) Read the qualitative interviews from the fieldwork in Mozambique and make a list of interesting points to follow up, especially in relation to where migrants stay and how they get a job. How are they supported before they earn any money? What kind of relatives they have in Gauteng or Mpumalanga?
- (ii) Try to prove those experiences of crossing the border (through Game reserve in particular) and also being shopped back. Investigate the similarity of stories got from earlier informants in Magude and Chókwè districts.
- (iii) Look at the relationships with women in Gauteng or Mpumalanga. Do they go outside the "home" to search for girlfriends and sex? Do they have children in Gauteng or Mpumalanga? Are they paying "bridewealth" at home? What about marriage?
- (iv) Investigate the health conditions: HIV/AIDS. Are they bothered by this – either for themselves or wives / girlfriends at home? What do they do if they get sick?
- (v) Find out where are they working? Not mines?
- (vi) Assess Xenophobia in S.A.
- (vii) Look at the Chanda's case, by Epstein, in Mitchell (ed.), *Social networks in urban situations*. Try to get the same sort of data on one or two days' activities in Gauteng or Mpumalanga.
- (viii) Test out Mayer's notion of 'encapsulation'...
- (ix) Investigate the church affiliation. Where do they attend church – if not why not?
- (x) Look at what do they do for recreation in the spare time.
- (xi) Find out what are the other money making activities besides "formal" employment.

APPENDIX 4.4

GUIDE FOR IN-DEPTH INTERVIEWS WITH KEY INFORMANTS

Some people that have been dealing, on familial and professional bases, with undocumented Mozambican labour migrants will be selected as key informants for in-depth interviews, in Mozambique and South Africa. In Mozambique the key informants will be, for instance, the community leaders from the research sites, District Administrators, District Directors of Labour, border officers, representatives of Department of Migratory Labour (in the Ministry of Labour), and labour migrants recruiting agency. In South Africa the key informants will be the leaders of Mozambican communities, officials of Mozambican Consulates in Johannesburg and Nelspruit, and Sub-delegate of the Mozambican Labour Department in Nelspruit. The key informants will be interviewed in order to get details of their knowledge of undocumented Mozambican migration process to South Africa.

Topics to be discussed:

- Life history of the participants;
- Description of socio-economic situation in the district (in the case of District Administrators and Directors of Labour);
- Knowledge of the Mozambican labour migration process to South Africa;
- Description of migrants (sex, age, education, professional qualification, occupation);
- Mechanisms used in the migratory process (from the family/community of origin, through the borders, up to the places of destination);
- Facilities in the migratory process (in the departure, crossing of borders, entering into SA and integration in the receiving community);
- Difficulties in the migratory process (in the departure, crossing of borders, entering into SA and integration in the receiving community);
- Conditions within which the process of migration starts in the community (motivations);

- Process of social integration in SA (history);
- Process of social networks (links between migrants and receiving communities; former migrants and the newcomers; migrants and the communities of origin);
- Working experience in SA (mechanisms of getting jobs, changing jobs and ending jobs; salary conditions);
- Process of remittances (kind of remittances, sending mechanisms, beneficiaries, type of investments in the origin);
- Impacts of migration on migrants' life (socio-economic conditions: family income, businesses, family formation/dissolution, type of marriage, professional qualification, etc.);
- Impacts of migration in the households/communities (household wealth indicators, size of the households, investments in the community, culture of migration, etc.);
- Length of stay in SA;
- Process of return (motivations, and type of return: temporary or definitive);
- The image of South Africa in the community;
- Forms of getting information about South Africa;
- Meaning of migration in the community (in social and economic life, culture of migration).