UNIVERSITY OF KWAZULU- NATAL
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The lived experiences of Zimbabwean migrants raising children under conditions of irregularity in South Africa.

Submitted for the fulfillment of the requirements for the Degree of Master of Social Science: Social Work

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Look at them leaving in droves despite knowing they will be welcomed with restrain in strange lands because they do not belong, knowing they will sit on one buttock because they must not sit comfortable least they be asked to rise and leave, knowing they will speak in dampened whispers because they must not let their voices drown those of the owners of the land, knowing they will have to walk on their toes because they must not leave footprints on the earth least they may be mistaken for those who want to claim the land as theirs. Look at them leaving in droves, arm in arm with loss and lost, look at them leaving droves.

NoViolet Bulawayo (2013). We Need New Names

Declaration of originality

I, Sheron Mpofu declare that,

1. The research, except where otherwise indicated, is my original research.

2. This thesis has not been submitted for any degree or examination at any other university

3. This dissertation does not contain other persons' data, pictures, graphs or other information, unless specifically acknowledged as being sourced from other persons.

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a) Where other written sources have been quoted, then their words have been re-written but the general information attributed to them has been referenced;

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Signed

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Sheron Mpofu   Dr Dorothee Hölscher

Dedication

This dissertation is dedicated to my late father Godfrey Mpofu. Baba I hope you are proud of me wherever you are and, to my late grandmother Hlanyana Christina Mthethwa.

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Abstract

This study explored the lived experiences of Zimbabwean migrants parenting under conditions of irregularity in South Africa and the role of social work in the lives of irregular migrant parents. The concerns that prompted this research were a gap in South African literature on social work with migrants and general gap in literature on the parenting experiences of irregular migrants worldwide. This was considered to be a problem because of social works concern with the well-being of children, and because of its responsibility towards migrants. Thus, the study aimed to contribute to filling the knowledge gaps that currently exist in the field. The theoretical framework of the study was constructed using a number of concepts from anti-oppressive social work theory and practice, including misframing, social group identity, oppression and internalised oppression.

Purposive sampling was used to select participants for this study, and snowball sampling to access them. Ten Zimbabwean citizens agreed to participate. All ten had lived in South Africa as irregular migrants for a period of between one and six years, having raised children with ages ranging from birth to sixteen years. Six participants from the sample were Ndebele speakers and four Shona speakers; three male and seven female; three were employed as domestic workers, four general hands; one a waitress and one unemployed. Data was collected using semi-structured individual interviews for six individual participants and semi-structured couple interviews for the two couples and thereafter analsyed using thematic content analysis. The study observed the University of KwaZulu Natal ethical requirements. Trustworthiness for the study was ensured through credibility; transferability; dependability and confirmability.

The study revealed that irregular Zimbabwean migrant parents had been pushed to migrate from their country because of the negative economic, social and political conditions in Zimbabwe. They migrated and opted to live under conditions of irregularity with their children in hope that the children would have a better life in South Africa. Contrary to their expectations, they faced multiple challenges in parenting. Participants lived an 'invisible life' hiding from detection. When it came to parental responsibilities and tasks, they tended to prioritise basic needs, education and medical care. In spite of being entitled in law, their children were generally excluded from accessing schools and sometimes from hospitals. Parents found a range of solutions to these challenges but also experienced high levels of stress and showed signs of trauma. Participants experienced some successes that they were proud of, which were mainly when they were able to integrate into South African society. Still, the participants' lived experiences were mainly characterised by broken dreams and disappointments.

Participants faced all these challenges without any help from social workers. This is even though social work with migrants is an established field of services and in spite of social work's commitment to human rights and social justice, and the well-being of all children. Based on these findings, a number of recommendations are made towards social work at the macro, meso and micro levels of practice, social work education and further research. These recommendations focus on increasing the inclusion of irregular migrant children, countering any abuses of human rights in the field of migration, enhancing social work's visibility in migrant communities, strengthening the profession's commitment to human rights, social justice and anti-oppression, and further increasing social work knowledge in this field.

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LIST OF ACRONYMS

Acronym	Complete Term
ACRWC	African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of a Child
ANC	African National Congress
ASGISA	Accelerated and Shared Growth Initiative
CPD	Continuous Professional Development
DA	Democratic Alliance
DHA	Department of Home Affairs
DSD	Department of Social Development
DOE	Department of Education
eNCA	eNews Channel Africa
GEAR	Growth Employment and Redistribution Programme
IFP	Inkatha Freedom Party
IASSW	International Association of Schools of Social Work
IFSW	International Federation of Social Workers
IOM	International Organisation of Migration
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisations
OAU	Organisation of African Unity
OHCHR	United Nations Human Rights Office of the High Commissioner
RDP	Reconstruction Development Plan
RSA	Republic of South Africa
SACSSP	South African Council for Social Service Professionals
UDHR	Universal Declaration of Human Rights
UNCRC	United Nations Convention on the Rights of a Child

UNHRC	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
UN	United Nations
ZDP	Zimbabwean Documentation Process
ZSP	Zimbabwean Special Dispensation Permit

Chapter One: Introduction

This study was conceptualised in early 2016 in the wake of a couple of disturbing international news items. One involved the images of the bodies of a Syrian toddler and his brother who had drowned in the Mediterranean Sea after the boat that they were travelling in had capsized. Their family had sought to escape the war in Syria and were heading for Europe (Mann 2015). The other was the so-called 'Australian Children Overboard Affair' that happened in 2001 and came into light again after the Syrian children had drowned (Mann 2015). Although it did not receive as much attention as the other incident, it impacted my interest in this study's topic and ways of conceptualising it just as much. In the story, it was alleged that a boat carrying migrants to Australia had been turned back by Australian border patrols. It was alleged that in response, some of the migrants threw their children into the water and also jumped into the water so as to force the Australian authorities to rescue them and let them into the country (Mann 2015; Marr 2006). It is worth noting that incidents where parents seemingly place their children at risk in order for their families to gain entry to another country happen worldwide, including in Southern Africa.

The above incidents drew public attention to the question of parenting among migrants (Magnes 2016). In the unfolding debates, some criticized the decisions taken by the migrant parents, viewing them as selfish people who would do whatever it takes to migrate to foreign countries (Mann 2015). Others argued that even though children are placed in danger in the migration process, it should not be assumed that parents would recklessly risk harming their children, but that some of their actions needed to be understood as coming from a desire for their children to have a better life in foreign countries, a life they could never have in their home countries (Mann 2015). Magnes (2016) points out that such debates also exist in South Africa, even though '...many South Africans are unaware…of a society breeding in silence. [This society includes] hundreds of human lives: children some of who have travelled by foot across borders, often starved and emaciated, parents who have carried their children on their backs to a place, where they [believe that they] can be human again, where an idyllic framework of human rights is in place.' These hundreds of human lives also include Zimbabwean irregular migrant parents and their children.

For this study I chose to focus on Zimbabweans parenting under irregular conditions, rather than the hazardous journey because I wanted to explore if after all the risks and sacrifices made, parents' dreams, hopes and aspirations for themselves and their children in South Africa were met. The plight of irregular

Zimbabwean migrant parents, rather than that of refugees and irregular migrants from other countries struck a particular chord for me. This is because as a Zimbabwean who has lived and been a student in South Africa for years, I have witnessed some of the struggles and challenges among acquaintances who were irregular migrant parents. It also struck a chord for me because as a student of social work, I was taught to take the profession's commitments to human rights, social justice, and anti-oppression seriously, and to regard the interest of children at the heart of family-centred social work. Yet I was aware that the irregular status of the people concerned in this study would render social work's commitments challenging to keep. It is against this background, that I read Ochocka and Janzen's (2008:86) caution that, 'understanding parenting issues is complex. It is even more complex in the context of migration'. How complex would it be for social work to respond justly and in an anti-oppressive manner? Thus, the study, *The lived experiences of Zimbabwean migrants raising children under conditions of irregularity in South Africa*, explores the issues surrounding parenting among irregular migrants and the implications thereof for the role of social work.

In this chapter I first define the key migration terms used throughout the study, namely international, irregular and undocumented migration. Thereafter, I provide the background and the rationale that drove the study. Following that I discuss the problem statement that is at the core of this study. Next I discuss the location of the study. After providing this background, I outline the main aim of the study and the three research objectives and questions; thereafter I present the study's underlying assumptions. Next I look at the theory frame used for the study and then the value of the study. The final section in this chapter provides the structure of this dissertation and a brief overview of Chapter 1 to 6.

1.1 Definition of terms: international, irregular and undocumented migration

Throughout this dissertation, I use a wide range of terms in relation to the phenomenon of migration. I explain these terms as I used them. However, as the terms *migration*, *international migration* and *irregular migration* are key to understanding the framing of this study's topic, they are defined upfront.

According to the International Organisation for Migration (IMO *no date),* the term migration, can refer both to the movement of people locally in a country from one place to another and to the movement of people 'across an international border', that is, from one country to another. Thus*,* a migrant is a person who moves either within a country or across international borders (IMO *no date)*. In the context of movement across international borders, the term migrant includes all persons regardless of the person's status in that country and irrespective of whether they moved 'voluntarily or involuntarily', of the reasons behind

their movement, and irrespective of their 'length of stay' 'in the host country (IMO *no date)*. In the context of this study, the term *migrant* and *international migrant* are used interchangeably and are used to refer to persons who have moved across international borders. Where the cited literature refers to asylum seekers and refugees as a distinct category of migrants, this language is retained; however, I consider the term international migrant to be inclusive of these groups.

According to United Nations (UN 2014:4), the term 'irregular migration [refers to] the movement of international migrants who enter or stay in a country without correct authorization.' Therefore, an irregular migrant is defined by IMO (*no date*) and UN (2014) as a person who either entered a foreign country irregularly, without the required documentation, or who overstayed a visa or permit and is illegally working and residing in that country. The UN (2014:4) note that, irregular migrants are also referred to as 'unlawful', 'undocumented', 'unauthorised', or 'illegal migrants'. The term irregular migrant is often preferred to other terms, which the UN (2014) claims, invite discrimination. I chose to use the term *irregular migrant* for this study because of the stigma attached to the other terms. However, where the discussion is concerned directly with a lack of documentation, I use the term *undocumented migrant* as well. It is against these definitions that in the section I discuss the background of the study.

1.2 Background and rationale for the study

Globalisation, through its advancing technologies of transportation and telecommunications, has contributed to people migrating around the globe. According to South Africa's Department of Home Affairs (DHA 2017a:1), 'people migrate for complex and varied reasons'. The UN, assert that many people migrate from their countries of origin because of poverty, conflict and inequality (UN 2015). In 2015, there were an estimated 244 million migrants in the world (UN 2015). 2017 saw an increase in these numbers to an estimated 258 million (UN 2017). Of these 258 million, Asia is said to be hosting 80 million, Europe 78 million, Northern America 58 million, Africa 25 million, the Caribbean 10 million and Oceania 8 million persons (UN 2017). According to the United Nations Children's Emergency Fund (UNICEF 2018) there is an estimated 28 million child migrants in the world. The DHA (2017a) and UN (2014) highlight that over the years there has been an increasing feminisation of migration, as well as an increase in the number of children migrating. In 2014, it was estimated that of all migrants in the world, as many as 30 to 40 million were irregular migrants (UN 2014). The UN (2014) state further that within this population of irregular migrants, there is a growing trend not only to migrate from countries in the global South to those in the global North, but increasingly also from South to South. According to Wilkinson (2015), South Africa, which is characterised by South to South migration, is said to be hosting 5 million migrants.

However the census conducted in 2011 states that the country is estimated to be hosting some 2.2 million migrants, 72% of this population are estimated to be from Africa (Wilkinson 2015). .

Within this population of African migrants, South Africa is said to be hosting most of the Zimbabwean migrants in the world (Amit 2011), and according to the (Bloch 2010; DHA 2017a) Zimbabweans constitute the largest number of migrants in South Africa. Vearey and Wilhelm-Solomon (2011) state that in 2010 there was an estimated 1.5 million Zimbabwean migrants in South Africa. As per Amit (2011) in 2008 the DHA received 400 000 asylum applications from Zimbabweans. In present day South Africa statistics are hard to come by on the number of Zimbabwean migrants in the county. Bloch (2010) suggests that this is because the exact number of Zimbabwean migrants in South Africa is truly unknown. Jinnah (2010) cautions that even though there are statistics on migrants, their true number in South Africa is unknown. This is, the UN (2014) suggests because statistics on irregular migrants are particularly limited or lacking.

As will become apparent in Chapter 2, a considerable body of literature exists on the topic of migration in South Africa. According to much of this literature, South Africa appears to be unable to deal effectively with the large influx of foreigners (Jinnah 2010), which according to some, has resulted in the government adopting an 'anti-immigrant oriented' attitude, and which is expressed through border control and legislative measures (Roestenburg 2013:1). Many of the foreigners going through South African borders settle in its urban centres because of opportunities associated with them (Hölscher 2016a; Jinnah 2010). These cities are characterised by high levels of poverty, crime and inequality, problems that are sometimes blamed on foreigners (Landau 2011; Roestenburg 2013). In addition, the UN (2014:11) says that worldwide, irregular migrants tend to be accused of 'taking jobs from local people, overburdening public health care systems and jumping housing queues.' As a result of such sentiments, in 2008 and 2015, foreigners were attacked in South Africa. They were displaced, their homes and shops were looted. Beyond these intermittent, large scale attacks, xenophobic violence and attitudes continue to be an everyday occurrence in South Africa (Landau 2011; South African History Online 2015). Xenophobic attitudes are also said to be entrenched in government departments like the police, with the result that both regular and irregular migrants do not report crime as they fear deportation and discrimination by the police (UN 2014). Foreigners thus tend to lead an 'invisible' life, hiding from attention - and in the case of irregular migrants, detection - from police, authorities and members of the communities they live in (UN 2014:1). This invisibility can be assumed to have many negative effects on the irregular migrant families - including their children.

Chapter 3 will reveal that the body of South African literature on social work with migrants is limited, as is the global literature on social work with irregular migrants. Nonetheless, the International Federation of Social Workers and the International Association of Schools of Social Work have recognised social work's responsibility towards 'refugees and other migrants' (IFSW/IASSW 2016). This is in view of the fact that according to the international definition of social work (IFSW/IASSW 2014), the profession is guided by principles of social justice, human rights, collective responsibility and respect for diversity, which are understood to extend to the group of international migrants, including refugees (IFSW/IASSW 2016a). The South African Council of Social Service Professionals (SACSSP *no date*) concurs that social workers have an ethical responsibility to promote human rights and social justice. That is, social workers in their work should encourage inclusion, equality of opportunity, and participation of those in adverse life situations. Against the background of these principles, the statement released by IFSW/IASSW (2016) encourages social workers to coordinate responses that will address the needs of refugees, unaccompanied minors, young people and old people during travel and upon arrival in receiving countries. Yet, irregular migrants are not mentioned in the statement. In South Africa, services are available for migrants, however, they are limited and mainly provided by non-governmental organisations (NGOs) (Blaauw, Schenck, Pretorius and Schoeman 2017; Hölscher 2016a). Furthermore, social workers working in government are restricted in their ability to expand services as they have large caseloads and limited resources for existing clients (Caudra 2015; Jönsson 2014; Hölscher 2014).

Chapter 3 will also reveal a general gap in research on the effect of migration on families and parenting. However, because children are considered to be a particularly vulnerable population, they are provided for by the UN, and by the Organisation of African Unity (OAU). As a signatory to the United Nations Convention on the Rights of a Child (UNCRC) and the African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of a Child (ACRWC), South Africa is bound by both these documents in dealing with issues concerning the rights of children. The UNCRC (UN 1989) and the ACRWC (OAU 1990) both make provision for children's rights in relation to their respective member states, and all rights enshrined in UNCRC and ACRWC apply to every child regardless of their nationality or residence status. Furthermore, according to the ACRWC, all the stipulated rights apply to every child in member states regardless of their parents' legal status. Bosman-Sadie and Corrie (2010), state that the UNCRC and ACRWC are reflected in Section 28 (1) of the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa (RSA 1996). This section stipulates that 'every child' has a 'right to nationality; family and parental care; basic shelter; nutrition; basic health care, education and social services; family and parental care and alternative care; protection from degradation and exploitation; protection from exploitative labour practices and to be detained only as a last resort' (RSA 1996, Section 28 (1). Furthermore, according to its preamble, the Children's Act 38 of 2005 serves to

interpret Section 28. It is important therefore that Section 18 of the Children's Act makes provision for parental rights and responsibilities and emphasises that children are to remain in the care of their parents at all times and be removed from this care only as the last resort.

The same level of rights, however, does not apply to adults. According to the Immigration Act 13 of 2002 Section 34, irregular migrants, if found by police, are to be arrested and deported to their country of origin (see also Roestenburg 2013). This means that within the same family, two opposing sides have been created, with children having certain rights that are not shared by their parents, on whom they depend for their care. Yet according to an ecosystemic view of family life, the parental and children's subsystem are intertwined and affect one another (Kirst-Ashman and Zastrow 2010). It is for this reason that parents' irregular status are bound to have profound effects on their children's enjoyment of their constitutional rights. For example, irregular migrant parents have been found to be afraid to access health, social, and educational services on behalf of their children as they fear detection by officials (Madamombe 2014), thereby preventing them from accessing the rights that Section 28 of the South African Constitution grants them. This can be assumed to have negative effects on the affected children's well-being. Yet even though the effects of irregular migration on parents' ability to raise their children should be of great concern to the profession, social work scholars do not appear to have explored this topic either in South Africa or abroad. Against this background, the next section discusses the problem at the core of the study.

1.3 Problem Statement

Following the unknown numbers of Zimbabwean migrants in South Africa and the anti-migrant sentiments held by some and added with irregular migrants leading an invisible life because they are subject to deportation. The living conditions of irregular migrants in South Africa, including those from Zimbabwe, are likely to be characterised by living in fear of police, other government officials, and communities, fear of xenophobic attacks and xenophobic attitudes, exclusion and discrimination. These conditions can be assumed to affect parenting in a negative way, which is of concern for social work.

An initial literature review suggests that while there is a considerable body of literature on migration in South Africa, only a few studies deal with the field of social work with migrants. There is a general gap in research on the effect of migration on families and parenting, with the question of migrant parents raising children under conditions of irregularity appears being under-explored as well. This is a problem because, as noted above, social work is deeply concerned with the well-being of children, and has also recognised its responsibility towards migrants. Thus, the study aimed to contribute to filling the knowledge gaps that currently exist in the field. The next section looks at where this study was conducted.

1.4 Location of the Study

As stated above, even though their exact number has been impossible to establish, Zimbabweans are said to constitute the largest group of international migrants in South Africa, with the majority being irregular migrants (DHA 2017a; Bloch 2010). The study was conducted in two South African cities - Johannesburg in Gauteng and Durban in KwaZulu Natal, both of which are known to have a large population of Zimbabwean migrants. According to RSA (2015), the 2011 census revealed that Johannesburg has a population of 4.4 million. Durban is the largest city in the KwaZulu Natal province and according to the 2011 census has a population of just over 3.4 million (eThekwini Municipality *no date*). Johannesburg has been described as a 'world class city' and the commercial hub not just of South Africa, but of Africa at large (RSA 2015). Johannesburg has advanced telecommunications; transport; water; power; and health care systems (RSA 2015). Meanwhile, Durban is said to be 'Africa's best managed, busiest port' and boasts of being 'a major tourism centre' (eThekwini Municipality *no date*). For these reasons, Johannesburg and Durban have both attracted domestic and international migrants, including refugees and irregular migrants (RSA 2015). For these reasons, the sample of the study was recruited from these two cities, Johannesburg and Durban.

1.5 Aim, Objectives, and Research Questions

This section outlines the overall aim of the study its research objectives and questions formulated to meet this aim. The main aim of the study was to explore the lived experiences of Zimbabwean migrants raising children under conditions of irregularity in South Africa. To achieve this aim, the study explored -

- How irregular migrant sustained themselves and their families under conditions of irregularity;
- What the participants regarded as their parental responsibilities and tasks; and -
- What participants considered to have been their successes and challenges in raising their children under conditions of irregularity.

The research questions guiding this study were therefore: -

- How did irregular migrants sustain themselves and their families under conditions of irregularity?
- What did participants regard as their parental responsibilities and tasks?
- What did participants consider to have been their successes and challenges in raising their children under conditions of irregularity?

1.6 Underlying Assumptions

Miles and Hurbeman (cited in Shenton 2004) state that to ensure confirmability, researchers should state their own predispositions (see Chapter 4.7: Trustworthiness). To this end the following underlying assumptions were explicated at the proposal stage:

- Parents' irregular status affect the lives of their children negatively;
- Such parents face social and economic challenges in raising their children in South Africa;
- Their children are excluded from accessing adequate social, educational and health services, nutrition, and shelter;
- For irregular migrants, the task of raising children with positive identities and values is difficult.

1.7 Theory Frame

In view of the problem statement, aim, objectives, research questions and underlying assumptions, an anti-oppressive framework seemed to be most appropriate. According to Mullaly (2010), oppression is an important concept to consider in social work theory and practice because it relates to issues of social justice. As explained in the background section of this study, the idea of social justice is central to social work. From anti-oppressive social work discourse, I selected the concepts of misframing, oppression, social group identity, and internalised oppression to form a theoretical framework to assist with the interpretation of the study's findings. These terms are interrelated and appropriate to enhance the profession's understanding of irregular migrants in South Africa, whose experiences are mostly characterised by vulnerability; marginalisation; exclusion and otherness (Hölscher 2016a, 2016b; Landau 2011; Misago 2017).

The study drew on Fraser's (2008) understanding of social justice. According to Fraser's (2008) notion of social justice, territorial boundaries and the exclusion of non-citizens from accessing cultural, socio-economic and political rights within their countries of residence are important sources of injustice (see also Hölscher 2014). Fraser (2008:16) asserts that social justice means 'parity of participation', in that 'social arrangements are just if, and only if, they institutionalise the possibility for people to participate on a par with one another in all aspects of social life' (Bozalek 2012:147). Therefore, efforts to enhance social justice should entail the removal of impediments that prevent participatory parity, which according to Fraser (2008) occur at national, regional and global scales. Linked to this is Fraser's (2008) observation that historically, debates about social justice have been focused on claims of citizens against one another and against their respective governments, while both injustices at supra-national levels and injustices faced by non-citizens have tended to be disregarded. Thus for many decades, discourses about social

justice have been preoccupied with the 'what' of justice (that is, questions of economic distribution, cultural recognition and political participation) and as a result, the question of 'who' should be entitled to make what kind of justice claims against whom has tended to be neglected (Fraser 2008:15). Fraser's (2008:15) considers the question of the 'who' of social justice as a matter of framing, and the tendency to disregard the justice claims of non-citizens as an injustice of misframing. These arguments imply that both the causes of irregular migration and the social, political and economic exclusion experienced by irregular migrants can be considered social injustices.

To provide for an understanding of the relationship between oppression and identity, the study drew on Dominelli (2002), Mullaly (2010) and Young (1990). All three authors argue that from an anti-oppressive point of view, it is important to understand how oppression works in everyday life, how it is structurally reproduced, and how it can be eliminated. Oppression in this structural sense occurs through people's uncritical application of unjust norms, stereotypes; and their uncritical following of unjust institutional rules, which leads to what Young (1990:48) considers as the 'five faces of oppression', namely exploitation; marginalisation; powerlessness; cultural imperialism; and violence. Young (1990) states that these faces of oppression are interlinked: for example, oppressed persons experience different forms of violence when they are exploited, relegated to social margins, when they a lack voice and are powerless and subjected to cultural imperialism.

Young (1990) and Mullaly (2010) write in depth about these five faces. Briefly and in relation to the study, the first of these five faces is exploitation. Young (1990) explains that exploitation is best understood in the context of worker/employer relationships, where the employer makes undue profit from the labour of the worker because the latter is not in control of his/her working conditions. Elaborating on marginalisation, Young (1990) states that those who are socially marginalised - like irregular migrants - exist in societal peripheries. She asserts that marginalisation is the worst form of oppression because those who are in society's margins may be partially, even completely, excluded from important aspects of social life and therefore unable to make social justice claims. People who are completely excluded simply 'do not exist'. As far as powerlessness is concerned, Young (1990) highlights that people have power when they are able to influence decisions that affect their lives. For example, irregular migrants can exercise such power through civil society organisations that represent their voice in relation to migration policies. Therefore, people experience powerlessness when they lack that voice, and in such instances 'power is exercised over them' so that 'they take orders' but 'do not give them' Young (1990:56).

In discussing cultural imperialism, Young (1990) states that this occurs when the culture of a superior group - like citizens - is universalised and treated as a norm. Because it is the dominant group's culture

it is used as a way to view an inferior group like irregular migrants. An example for this would be migrants who follow a culture that is different from those that dominate in the receiving country and who are therefore seen as deviant and stereotyped in negative ways. Finally, violence is defined by Bulhan (cited in Mullaly 2010:152) as 'any relation, process or condition by which an individual violates the physical, social and or/ psychological integrity of another person or group'. Mullaly (2010) states that violence occurs at interpersonal, cultural, institutional and structural levels of a given society. To put it in another way 'the personal is political, and the political is personal' (Mullaly 2010:161). There are different forms of violence. Physical violence is where one or members of a dominant group physically attacks one or more members of an oppressed group. Social violence is where the social functioning of members of oppressed groups is affected, and psychological violence is when members of oppressed groups live in fear of being attacked and psychological violated (Mullaly 2010).

The existence structural patterns and processes of oppression allow some people to intentionally oppress others, which can lead to the kinds of tyrannical behaviour that is traditionally associated with the term oppression (Dominelli 2002; Young 1990). Both structural processes of oppression and oppressive treatment of some people by others occur along the lines of social group membership. Both irregular migrants and Zimbabweans in South Africa may be considered the kinds of social groups which, because of their irregular and non-citizen status, can be assumed to be easily marginalised, exploited, rendered powerless, and subjected to cultural imperialism and violence. The children of irregular Zimbabwean migrants, though formally enjoying the same rights as the children of citizens and legal residents, nonetheless share their parents' social group membership and may therefore be considered to be oppressed.

People's identities and their sense of self are impacted by their respective group memberships. According to Dominelli (2002), these identity formations are central to structural processes of oppression. Dominelli (2002:8) defines identity as the sense of who one is in relation to others. Identity formation processes entail the use of differences to demarcate the boundaries between one group and its members from others, often producing binary opposites that at once connect groups that are considered 'inferior' with those that are considered 'superior' (Dominelli 2002:8). Examples of such binary opposites would be citizens-versus-non-citizens, and regular-versus-irregular migrants. According to Dominelli (2002), one of the outcome of such superior-versus-inferior opposites is that members of differently positioned groups develop either privileged or oppressed identities, which are correlated with the binary opposites connecting the groups to which they belong. It is according to these binary opposites that privileged identities are attributed to the members of one group, while the members of the other group receive identities that are stigmatised (Dominelli 2002). These identities are then presented by the dominant or

superior group as natural and further reinforced by the media, social institutions and dominant discourses. Mullaly (2010:67) states that members of inferior groups are 'imprisoned' by such binary identities in that there are few ways to escape them. This, according to Mullaly (2010) is also because those who question these identities are labelled by the dominant group as deviant.

Finally, oppression is linked to conditions of the social environment that influence the psyches of individuals. According to Mullaly (2010), the different faces of oppression - including oppressed people's low social status and blocked opportunities - have a negative effect on people's psychological functioning, which Mullaly (2010) refers to as internalised oppression. Internalised oppression results from a person believing, accepting, and often acting in accordance with the stereotypes and propaganda about them (see also Dominelli 2002). As per Dominelli (2002), it can also result in people accommodating oppression that is, finding way to best deal with oppression instead of challenging it. This, according to Mullaly (2010), has a number of damaging consequences, which were found to be relevant in this study. One effect is called fatalism, which refers to members of oppressed groups accepting 'second-class' citizenship, or a complete absence of citizenship and agree that their status in society can be attributed to their personal shortcomings, rather than to societal structures (Mullaly 2010:40). Internally oppressed people also tend to hide from attention. Further, Mullaly (2010) states that internalised oppression can lead to oppressed people competing over who is most oppressed instead of challenging their oppression.

Together, the concepts of misframing, social group identity, and oppression - including internalised oppression - provided a useful interpretive frame within which the findings of the study could be made sense of. This is because they allow for the conceptual linking of structural processes with the daily challenges that irregular Zimbabwean migrants experienced and the parental choices they made as they sought to raise their children under conditions of irregularity. This study's value flows, at least in part, from its anti-oppressive framework, which is discussed in the following section.

1.8 Value of the Study

According to Jansen and Vithal (2008:13), 'the significance of any study is usually articulated in terms of its contribution to improving practice, informing policy or enriching the knowledge base of the topic or issues being investigated.' As seen in the problem statement, the field of social work with irregular migrants is under-researched and indeed, it will be revealed in Chapters 3 and 5 that in spite of glaring needs, social work in South Africa is mostly invisible to members of this group and that where it is visible, the profession is not involved in protecting irregular migrants; it participates instead in their discrimination and exclusion. This study thus adds to existing knowledge in the field of social work with migrants and

their families, and it is hoped that the theoretical framing of its findings will stimulate critical reflection on social work's roles and responsibilities in this field. More specifically, the study has been of value to members of a group that is particularly marginalised, that is, irregular migrants, in that it gave its participants an opportunity to speak about their experiences of raising a family under conditions of irregularity in South Africa, and how that has affected their children. At the macro level, the study might help to raise awareness of the problems faced by irregular migrant parents and their children, with the anticipation that it can contribute positively to policy and social work practice. With the value of the study discussed, the next section outlines the structure of this dissertation.

1.9 Structure of the dissertation

CHAPTER 1: In this chapter I provided a background and rationale of the study. Following that I defined key migration terms that will be used throughout the study: migration, international and irregular migration. After that I provided the problem statement that drove the study, the location of the study, its main aim, objectives and research questions. I also presented the underlying assumptions of the study. The theory frame guiding the study was presented and discussed thereafter. I concluded this chapter by presenting the value of the study and the structure of the dissertation.

CHAPTER 2: This chapter is the first of the dissertation's two literature review chapters. It begins by looking at the reasons why Zimbabweans migrate from their country, discussing a range of models that are commonly used in migration studies, from the classical to contemporary schools of thought. Secondly, I discuss the successive policies and laws that have been used to govern migration in post-apartheid South Africa. I conclude this chapter by looking at the experiences of different groups of migrants in South Africa and by placing these within South Africa's historical and present social, political and economic context.

CHAPTER 3: This chapter is the second of the two literature review chapters. Here, I look at the literature on migrant parenting and the field of social work with migrants. On the question of parenting I begin by broadly looking at what parenting is about. Thereafter, I look at the parenting experiences of different groups of migrants, namely refugees, regular and irregular migrants. In the second half of the chapter, I present an 'idealised view' on how social services should be delivered to migrant families, including those of irregular migrants. After providing this background, I present literature that is concerned with what is actually happening 'on the ground' in terms of everyday social work service delivery to irregular migrant families.

CHAPTER 4: In this chapter I discuss the qualitative interpretive research methodology that was used to conduct the study. This chapter begins with a discussion of the qualitative interpretive paradigm. Thereafter, I present the exploratory-descriptive design, sampling methods which were purposive and snowball sampling, data collection methods which were semi-structured individual and couple interviews, and the data analysis method, which was thematic content analysis. Following that, I discuss the ethics that guided the study and its trustworthiness. The chapter concludes with a discussion of the study's strengths and limitations.

CHAPTER 5: This chapter presents and discusses the study's findings. It is organised along three themes, with a total of nine sub-themes. The themes are discussed in the following order: 'Migration Causes: Initial Hopes and Aspirations of Irregular Migrant Parents in South Africa', 'Migration Experiences: Responsibilities, Tasks and Challenges of Irregular Migrant Parents' and 'Overall Evaluations of Participants' 'Irregular Migration Experiences'. These themes are discussed with reference to the two literature review chapters and the theory frame.

CHAPTER 6: This is the concluding chapter for the study and is divided into four sections. In the first section 6.1, I present a summary of findings from Chapter 5 in relation to the three research objectives. In the second section, I discuss the underlying assumptions in relation to the study's findings. I conclude the study in Section 6.3 by returning its problem statement and, in Section 6.4, giving recommendations for social work at the micro, meso and macro levels of practice, and towards further social work research and research education.

Chapter Two: Literature Review on Zimbabwean Migration and Migration Governance in South Africa

The purpose of this chapter is to contextualize the study within current discourses on migration, and within the available literature on the historical, legal, and policy aspects of Zimbabwean migration and migration governance in South Africa. This chapter is divided into three sections. In the first Section 2.1, I discuss the causes and dynamics of Zimbabwean migration to South Africa. Here, I explain relevant migratory models and illustrate these by providing empirical information on Zimbabwean migration to South Africa. Section 2.2 focuses on migration governance in South Africa and considers relevant legislation, policies and practices concerning the management of different categories of migrants and their offspring. Against this background, I provide, in Section 2.3, an in-depth discussion of the experiences of different migrant groups reported in the empirical literature on migration in South Africa, focusing on migrants' interface with government institutions, and its representatives on the one hand, and with civil society and others. The extent to which South Africa's colonial and apartheid history influences the way in which communities, government institutions and representatives relate to foreigners is also considered.

Noting that anti-oppressive social work theory is itself underpinned by the ecosystems theory (Dominelli 2002), I refer to the anti-oppressive theory frame of this study wherever relevant in this literature review. However, the framework is used most explicitly in Section 2.3 to help explain the complexities that arise in the interface of migrants with their surrounding communities, civil society and government institutions focusing on the concepts of misframing (Fraser 2008), oppression (Dominelli 2002; Young 1990), social group identity (Dominelli 2002; Young 1990) and internalized oppression (Mullaly 2010). At the end of the chapter, it should be clear that there are complex reasons for which Zimbabweans and other nationals migrate to South Africa and the clear-cut distinctions that the South African government makes between different 'types' of migrants do not correspond well. This lack of correspondence often leads to irregular migration that makes for considerable hardships and prevalence of different forms of oppression at all levels of the environment in which South African-based irregular migrants exist.

2.1. Understanding Zimbabwean migration to South Africa

In this section, I discuss the different reasons why Zimbabweans migrate from their country to South Africa. I begin with the classical school of thought in migration which centres on the ideas of economic push and pull and is modelled on migration emanating from industrializing Europe during colonial times. I move to reasons why Zimbabweans in present day migrate which are related to the modern push and

pull model. Rather than simply accepting the appropriateness of classic migration theories in explaining Zimbabwean migration to South Africa, I consider the reasons for this migration within a Southern African historical context that dates to the times of Shaka Zulu and the *mfecane*, and to mine labour migration during the South African colonial era. Against the backdrop of this historical perspective and the push and pull framework, I also consider the following explanations of contemporary Zimbabwean migration: the ecosystems model, the geographical proximity model and the view of migration as a household survival strategy. The unique but intertwined reasons why Zimbabweans migrate to South Africa should be clear at the end of this section.

The period of European industrialisation and colonialism is referred to by Papastergiadis (2002:7) as the 'classical period of migration'. Efforts to understand and explain migration during this classical period were influenced by the economic theories such as the neoclassical theories, new economics theory and worlds systems theory (Massey, Arango, Hugo, Kouaouci, Pellegrino and Taylor 1998; Papastergiadis 2002). These theories state that 'international migration … is caused by geographic differences in the supply and demand of labour' (Massey 1999: 35). That is, according to Massey *et al.* (1998:6) there is an assumption that people migrate from countries with 'limited supply of capital, low rates of job creation, and abundant reserves of labour' to countries with high capital and high wages. This is because countries with large labour reserves normally have low wages. As migration continues, the wages in migrant-receiving countries will deteriorate and those in migrant-sending countries will improve until an equilibrium is supposedly reached, and migration tapers out. For these reasons, classic migration theories are said to be built upon the 'push and pull framework', which is almost 'exclusively economic' (Massey *et al.* 1998:12), though this is not openly acknowledged.

Besides economic theories however, the classical period is also influenced by social capital theory (Massey *et al.* 1998). In this context, social capital is defined as networks held by an individual that enable them to migrate. These networks can be turned into other forms of capital such as financial capital. Another notable characteristic of the classical models is that migration is viewed largely as a voluntary, individual decision where the person is said to calculate and weigh wage and, other benefits against the range of costs that come with migrating (Massey *et al.* 1998; Massey 1999; Papastergiadis 2002). According to Massey (1999:35) it is believed that people act on the premise that 'before they can reap the bigger wages associated with labour productivity, they must undertake certain investments, which include material costs of maintenance while moving and looking for work, the effort involved in learning a new language and culture, the difficulty experienced in adapting to a new labour market, and the psychological costs of cutting old ties and forging new ones.' This then frames any decision to migrate and the difficulties faced in the process of migration as exclusively the responsibility of individuals. From

an anti-oppressive point of view, such a framing is problematic, firstly because individual actions cannot be considered in isolation from the contextual conditions in which they are set, and secondly because against any background of unemployment and poverty, the idea of 'voluntary' migration is fraught.

Massey *et al.* (1998) point out that classic migration theories insufficiently explain contemporary migration. For example a journey that would have been travelled during the classical period using a boat and would have taken long to travel is now a journey that can be travelled in a short space of time because of modern means of transportation (Papastergiadis 2002). Massey *et al.* (1998) also state that in contemporary migration, people do not always move to countries where there are high wages and high capital; for instance there can be two countries with high capital and wages and people would choose one country over the other. The authors add that indeed, some contemporary migration occurs regardless of the capital and wage issues. However, Massey *et al.* (1998) maintain that in spite of its considerable complexities, wage and capital issues do remain important underlying causes of contemporary migration.

In response to the world's contemporary social, economic and political factors, the classic push and pull model has been modernised (Massey *et al.* 1998). For example Roestenburg (2013:4) contends that beyond strictly economic considerations, push factors are now related to any 'negative' experiences or events occurring in 'sending countries' that cause citizens to migrate to other countries. These would include both factors associated with labour migration and refugee producing conditions (Londt, Magqibelo, Roman and September 2016). Accordingly, both documented and undocumented Zimbabwean migrants participating in Bloch's (2008) study revealed that they left their country because of both economic and political reasons.

Likewise, pull factors are now considered to be any positive factors that exist in, or are associated with, particular 'receiving countries' (Roestenburg 2013:4) that attract foreign nationals. For example, Zimbabwean migrants participating in Idemudia, Williams and Wyatt's (2013) study stated that they had migrated to South Africa because they believed that access to healthcare and other resources would be easier. The study reveals that South Africa offered their participants both resources and protections that made it worthwhile to endure the challenges associated with getting to, and living in the country. Potocky-Tripodi (2002:4) observes that in recent debates, push factors are often associated with refugees who tend to be seen as having been forced to migrate by events such as war and political oppression, while pull factors tend to be associated with 'voluntary' migrants, who are said to migrate because they are attracted by receiving countries' economies. Potocky-Tripodi (2002) cautions against this binary point of view in that it tends to be conceptually limiting and emphasises that all migration is the result of both push and pull factors, which thus cannot be attributed to one group.

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As part of the push and pull model, other authors suggest that in some Southern African households migration is an important livelihood strategy. That is, the family selects a member of the family who can migrate to another country to work and send money back home (Hölscher 2016b; see also Roestenburg 2013). Crush, Chikanda and Tawodzera (2015:5) term this livelihood strategy 'survival migration' where citizens of a country, 'flee an existential threat to which they have no domestic remedy'. Thus, the concept of survival migration incorporates both refugees and other migrants and as a result blurs the boundaries between them (Crush *et al.* 2015:5). A study conducted by Roestenburg (2013) with refugees and other migrants at Johannesburg's Central Methodist Church confirms that the majority of participants had migrated to South Africa purely as a means of survival. The study also revealed that the majority of survival migrants at the church were males. Roestenburg (2013) notes that in the context of survival migration, the decision-making process is often patriarchal and in many instances, a man is selected to migrate and work for the family. McGregor (cited in Bloch 2010) highlights that survival migration is characteristic of many Zimbabwean migrants who, regardless of class, send family members abroad and to neighbouring countries as means of basic survival. Crush *et al.* (2015) suggest that regardless of individual differences, it is thus best to describe most migration from Zimbabwe to South Africa as survival migration.

The case of Zimbabwean migration to South Africa also shows that to understand the phenomenon fully, a historical view centering on the Southern African region is necessary. According to Omer-Cooper (1966), migration between different Southern African regions dates back to the times of Shaka Zulu and the Zulu Kingdom. According to Hölscher (2016b:31) Southern African migration must be understood also in the context of colonial conquest and slave trade, both of which led to large-scale displacements and population movements, stating that during this period, Southern Africa experienced 'large-scale violence, disruptions and refugees movements'. This period is referred to by Omer Cooper (1966) as *mfecane* and according to Hölscher (2016b:31) *mfecane* is Nguni word that translated to the 'scatterings'. The two authors highlight that during this period people migrated all over Southern Africa. The result, among other things, is that in the present day, Southern African countries have Nguni people who share an identity that transcends the region's national boundaries. An example of this are Zimbabwe's Ndebele who share a common lineage with South Africa's Zulu citizens (Omer-Cooper 1966). This is one of the reasons why Siziba (2016:121) states that throughout history, migration from Zimbabwe to South Africa has been largely 'ethnicized': because of such intertwined identifies, South Africa has always been a preferred destination for Zimbabwe's Ndebele people. This is one example that illustrates why migration is context specific.

Beyond the *mfecane*, Southern Africa's colonial history has contributed to present day migration due to

the discovery of diamonds and gold in 1876 and 1885, in Kimberley and Johannesburg, respectively (Bloch 2010; Hölscher 2016b; Segatti 2011). Following these discoveries, the colonial government sought to maximise profits; thus there was a heightened demand for cheap labour (Hölscher 2016b). Attempts were made to attain this cheap in labour in South Africa by forcing Africans into locations where for the sake of survival, impoverished males were forced to migrate and sell their labour in the emerging mines. After these vigorous means failed to produce sufficient amounts of cheap labour, the colonial government created the Employment Bureau of Southern Africa (TEBA), that saw South Africa recruiting mine labourers from its neighbouring countries and Southern Africa at large (Crush and Dodson 2006; Hölscher 2016b; Segatti 2011). This bureau was established in 1896 and operated until 1970s (Hölscher 2016b). These labourers were migrated from their low-wage countries to a South Africa that had higher capital and high wages. Consequently, Hölscher (2016b) states that from 1948 to 1986 South African mines employed 477 000 workers, and 45% of these workers were foreign nationals from Malawi; Mozambique; Lesotho; Botswana; Swaziland; Tanzania and Zimbabwe. As a result, present day Southern Africans still see South Africa as a place to seek to employment, and thus it remains a preferred destination for migrants (Bloch 2010; Segatti 2011).

Other models have been developed to explain present day migration. An ecosystem view of migration, though compatible with the idea of push and pull factors, considers the reasons for migration in relation to the different levels of the environment (Potocky-Tripodi 2002), in which the micro, meso and macro levels of peoples' life worlds span both sending and receiving countries. Potocky-Tripodi (2002) states that at a macro level, decisions to migrate are affiliated to political, economic and cultural factors. For example, Zimbabweans are migrating to South Africa both because their home country is struggling economically, and because South Africa is perceived to be prosperous (Bloch 2010). Likewise, Zimbabweans have described the political situation in Zimbabwe as oppressive, whereas South Africa is perceived to be more democratic and as allowing more political freedoms (Idemudia *et al.* 2013).

The ecosystem view highlights that at a meso level, decisions to migrate are linked to dynamics such as pre-existing relationships between people in sending and receiving countries (Potocky-Tripodi 2002:15): decisions are about 'individual family and social networks, including ties to kinship groups, friends, neighbours, co-worker, acquaintances and ethnic, religious and political associations in both sending and receiving countries' (see also Bloch 2010). Indeed, it will be revealed later in this literature review that Zimbabweans, too, have social networks which have contributed to their decisions to migrate to South Africa, and which are used to counter negative effects of migration (see Section 2.2). Finally, according to the ecosystem view, decisions to migrate are linked to people's micro level environments. Here, the key issue is people's ability to make and execute decisions on whether or not to migrate. Such decisions

are mediated by individual factors such as gender, age, ethnicity, religion, education and financial assets (Potocky-Tripodi 2002). An example of this would be Crush *et al.*'s (2015) observation that elderly Zimbabweans are less likely to migrate than younger people.

Proximity, that is, the geographical location of sending and receiving countries, is also highlighted by Potocky-Tripodi (2002) as a catalyst in migration. As stated in the background of the study, the United Nations (UN 2014) report that there is growing trend, particularly for irregular migrants, not only to migrate to the North but also South to South (see Chapter 1.2). In this case, Zimbabwe and South Africa are neighbouring countries and they share a land border, including the Beitbridge Border Post, which has been described as 'porous' and thus made it easy for Zimbabweans to come into South Africa (Bloch 2010:235). Indeed, the term 'revolving door syndrome' has been coined in relation to the Zimbabwean-South African border. This term refers to the ease with which deported Zimbabweans to return to South Africa - sometimes on the day of deportation (Bloch 2010:235).

A number of recent studies conducted in South Africa (see for example Bloch 2010; Crush *et al.* 2015; Hölscher 2016b; Jinnah 2010; Londt *et al.* 2016; Roestenburg 2013) demonstrate that contemporary migration of Africans to South Africa is complex and intertwined, suggesting that the models discussed above overlap and complement each other. These studies reveal that poverty; lack of opportunities; political unrest; abusive family situations; death of parent from HIV/AIDS; human rights violations; discrimination; envisioning a better life in South Africa; hoping for improved living conditions, and perceptions of South Africa's economic attractiveness have contributed to people migrating to South Africa (Bloch 2010; Jinnah 2010; Londt *et al.* 2016; Roestenburg 2013; Hölscher 2016b). Jinnah (2010) reveals that Somalian refugees migrated to South Africa because they saw the country as the economic hub of Africa. To them South Africa was a place of economic opportunity. To maximise on these economic opportunities, the majority of Jinnah's (2010) participants settled in Johannesburg. Those who did not, tended to settle in other big cities like Cape Town and Port Elizabeth. Hölscher (2016a) states that this is also characteristic of other African migrants who choose to settle in cities for the opportunities associated with them. However, their aspirations are often disappointed when faced with the realities of living in South Africa. Section 2.3 will explore these challenges in greater detail.

All in all, reasons for Zimbabwean migration to South Africa can be said to be context specific and intertwined, thus, cannot be attributed to one singular model. This suggests that to the extent that they are based on only a limited number of models, migration policy and legislation risk being biased, contradictory, and as a result risk undermining their stated purposes, or working at cross-purposes with one another. This is the topic of the next section, with particular focus on the implications thereof for

irregular migrants in South Africa.

2.2. Migration Governance in South Africa

The different models discussed in Section 2.1, especially the push and pull model and Southern African history of labour migration, are reflected in post-apartheid South Africa's migration policies and legislation and are also used to place migrants into different categories (DHA 2017a). The focus is on post-apartheid South Africa where Zimbabwean migration to South Africa has occurred in 'three distinct phases or waves' (Crush *et al.* 2015:365). The first 'wave' occurred from the late 1980s to mid-1990s, the second 'wave' from the mid-1990s to 2005 and, the third 'wave' began in 2005 and continues up to today (Crush *et al.* 2015:365) and, participants of this study migrated during the last two waves. With this and the models discussed above in mind, in this section I provide an account of the different categories that migrants are placed into and what that means for post-apartheid South Africa's migration governance. After providing this background, I explore in chronological order legislation and policies adopted in the management of migration in post-apartheid South Africa and their effect on irregular migration.

According to the Crush *et al.* (2015:4) and United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR *no date*), contemporary migration, in particular migration from Zimbabwe to South Africa, can be characterised as 'mixed migration'. The International Organisation of Migration (IOM 2008:2) states that, 'the principal characteristics of mixed migration flows include the irregular nature of, and the multiplicity of factors during such movements, and the differential needs and profiles of persons involved.' Migration therefore is 'mixed' when there are 'refugees and economic migrants in a single migration stream' (Crush *et al.* 2015:4). A 'mixed migration stream', as per the IOM (2008:2), can also contain '...unaccompanied minors, environmental migrants, smuggled persons, victims of trafficking, and stranded migrants'. Crush *et al.* (2015:4) state that in most instances, the term 'mixed migration' is used with the purpose of separating refugees from 'economic migrants' and other types of migrants. In particular, refugees are separated from other migrants to allow them as a protected group of migrants to access the rights due to them without conflict with the rights of other groups migrants like irregular migrants whose rights are not clearly provided for (Crush *et al.* 2015). The UNHCR proponents of this term coined the term mixed migration to help governments develop policies for different categories of migrants (UNHCR *no date*; Crush *et al.* 2015).

This separation of refugees from other 'types' of migrants is linked to a public discourse of whether migrants are 'voluntary' or not, that is 'economic' or 'forced migrants' (Hölscher 2016a:58). According to the UNHCR (*no date*) public discourse places emphasis on this question, because of a shared assumption that, '...economic migrants, choose to move in order to improve their lives', whilst 'refugees

are forced to flee to save their lives or preserve their freedom'. Hölscher (2016a:58) argues that in reality, it would be both simplistic and inaccurate to categorise a certain of group of migrants as having 'chosen' to leave and the other as having been 'forced' to leave their countries. Yet these concepts have been shown to have governed all of South Africa's post-apartheid migration policy and legislation (DHA 2017a; Crush *et al.* 2015).

Even though refugee related issues will arise throughout this discussion on migration legislation and policy, I am focusing on migration Green Papers and White Papers for migration and migration legislation only because this study deals with irregular migration. The development of post-apartheid legislation and policy began with the Aliens Control Act 96 of 1991, which was inherited from the previous regime and continued being used post-1994 until it was amended in accordance with the Constitution of South Africa (RSA 1996; see also Amit and Kriger 2014; Carciotto and Mavura 2016; Vigneswaran 2008a; DHA 2017a). This alignment began with the promulgation of a Green Paper for International Migration in 1997 and a White Paper for International Migration in 1999. Next came the Immigrations Act 13 of 2002, which was amended four times in 2004, 2007, 2011 and 2014. These amendments were in response to the socio-economic and political issues occurring in South Africa at the time and, as it will be revealed below, in most instances served to tighten the laws and, as a result, contributed to the phenomenon of irregular migration in South Africa. In 2016, the second Green Paper for International Migration was released, followed consecutively by the White Paper for International Migration South Africa (DHA 2017a; see also Carciotto and Mavura 2016).

The Aliens Control Act 96 of 1991 was the first piece of legislation to be used in dealing with migration in post-apartheid South Africa. Since it was inherited from the previous regime, the DHA (2017a) highlight that there was need for it to be aligned to the democratic process that was occurring in the country and thus had to be aligned to the new Constitution. Amit and Kriger (2014) highlight that the South African Constitution did not talk about migration legislation and policy per se. However, as stated in Section 2 of the Constitution, it is the supreme law of the country and therefore, all South African policies and legislation must be in accordance with its principles, as enshrined in the Bill of Rights (RSA 1996). The Aliens Control Act 96 of 1991 was indeed amended in accordance to the interim Constitution (DHA 2017a). The Aliens Control Act before this amendment stripped irregular migrants of all rights, and decisions made by DHA officials about their status were not only final but also not subject to any review (DHA 2017; Segatti 2011). Section 55 of the Amendment Act, now stated that the decisions on persons held for more than 30 days was now subject to judicial review and other forms of review (DHA 2017a). This aspect was one of a number of provisions that revealed the Act's 'deterrent and draconian nature' and thus, the Act failed to align with South Africa's new Constitution (Carciotto and Mavura 2016:8). The

DHA (2017a) states that in spite of a number of amendments, the Act fell still short of meeting constitutional principles and was thus 'declared unconstitutional' in 2002 (Segatti 2011:38).

As highlighted above, policy and legislation development often unfolded in response to the socio-economic and political context. One such instance was in the early 1990s where there was a rise of immigration from 'white collar' African and Asian workers, many of whom who took up positions that had been 'deserted' by white South Africans (Carciotto and Mavura 2016; Segatti 2011). In trying to contain this rise, the DHA tightened the requirements for permanent resident applications. For example, application fees for permanent resident applications was increased such that many migrants could not afford to them (Crush and Dodson 2006; Segatti 2011). This kind of tightening of requirements resulted in a spiral of temporary residence applications from 400 000 to 700 000 in 1992 (Segatti 2011). These Asian and African workers remained on temporary residence permits, suffering socio-economic uncertainties as a result (Crush and Dodson 2006; Segatti 2011).

In short, the newly elected, ANC- led government was faced with a rapidly evolving migration environment and in response to which it chose to develop policies that concentrated on a 'policing and coercive vision of migration management' (Segatti 2011: 39). Segatti (2011) highlights that for some political leaders in Africa, the deterrent approach migration adopted by the new government came as a shock because they had assumed that the coming into power of the ANC would lead to relaxation of migration laws. Indeed, some members of the ANC felt that they had 'a moral debt owed by South Africa to the rest of the continent' (Segatti 2011:41). Amongst many stakeholders, civil society and some members of the press tried to pressurise the government into a more inclusive approach to migration governance. A report released by the Institute of Democracy in Southern Africa concluded that South Africa needed policies that were more appropriate for the Southern African context, and in 1991 the then Minister Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi of Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) gave instructions for the drawing of the Green Paper for International Migration (Segatti 2011).

The Green Paper for International Migration 1997 stated that first and foremost, the development of migration policy and legislation should be in line with the Constitution and at all times uphold its principles (DHA 2017a). The DHA (2017a) states that, 'the Green Paper suggested that planned migration would create opportunities for economic growth and development, and such could be viewed as a potential tool for nation building, rather than an impediment'. Furthermore, the Green Paper emphasized 'a planned and efficient system of immigration [governance]' while at the same time stressing that 'unauthorised migration is undesirable' (DHA 2017a:10). Furthermore, it's stated in the Green Paper that 'simple, achievable, manageable' migration would lead to the meeting of South Africa's developmental goals

(DHA 2016:11). Carciotto and Mavura (2016:8) commend the Green Paper for being 'progressive' as it recognized that migrants were a possible asset to the country's development. At the same time, Carciotto and Mavura (2016) and Vigneswaran (2008a) express disappointment that this progressive orientation was lost in the subsequent development and formulation of migration legislation.

Following on the 1997 Green Paper, a White Paper for International Migration was promulgated and adopted in 1999 as South Africa's first official, post-Apartheid migration policy for migration (DHA 1999; see also Carciotto and Mavura 2016). In its executive summary, the White Paper stated that 'administrative and policy emphasis shifted in mind set from border control to community workplace inspection with the participation of communities and cooperation of other branches and spheres of government' (DHA 1999:1). The executive summary highlighted that additional resources were to be channelled towards reinforcement, and this was to be done through 'school, workplace and service providers inspections' to see if South African employers and service providers were complying with permit laws (DHA 1999:1). The main aim was to 'detect, track and act against' temporary permit violations such 'illegal aliens' as might be benefitting from these violations (DHA 1999:1).

Vigneswaran (2008b:784) states that this shift from border control to community inspections in dealing with irregular migration represented a shift from 'external control' measures, which were about ensuring that irregular migrants are dealt with at borders, to 'internal control' measures, which were about arresting the irregular migrants. Segatti (2011) gives an example of internal control measures where the police sometimes helped by the army were assigned to enforce immigration laws, here they conducted raid operations and set up roadblocks that resulted in many irregular migrants being deported. The DHA was also blocking their access to work and government services, as well as penalising those employing or servicing them (Vigneswaran 2008b). This shift was seen as necessary by the DHA because irregular migration could not be dealt with at the borders as they were 'long and porous' (Vigneswaran 2008b:784). In recommending implementation of such internal controls, the White Paper stated that it sought, therefore, 'to let people who add value to our society in and to keep those that do not, out' (DHA 1999:4). Those who were seen as 'adding value' to South African society were listed in the White Paper as entrepreneurs, investors, those with the kinds of knowledge, skills and expertise that citizens did not yet possess. Vigneswaran (2008b) highlights that this approach was ineffective in dealing with irregular migration because community members turned out to be unwilling to report irregular migrants and business people proved undeterred and continued employing them. However, it remains to be seen if indeed this approach was ineffective as the years unfolded.

The 1999 White Paper has been subject to a lot of debates and criticisms, and one of its greatest critics

is the DHA itself. Relevant to this study is that the White Paper is said to have demonstrated 'little awareness of historical and geopolitical contexts', meaning that it did not reflect important geographical and historical factors in southern African migration. Consequently, it failed to guide and inform the development of policies appropriate to the Southern African Development Community (SADC) (DHA 2017a). The DHA (2017a:4) criticises the White Paper in that it 'lacked a holistic approach to immigration' which in turn led to 'policy gaps'. These policy gaps supposedly existed in matters relating to refugees and asylum seekers. The DHA (2017a) asserts that there is a need to address all the issues holistically. Segatti (2011) points out that matters relating to asylum seekers and refugees were dealt with in the White Paper on Refugee Affairs 1998. The DHA (2017a) however maintains that as a result of not taking into account geographical contexts and a lack of holistic policy, this negatively affected the DHA's ability to process asylum applications, including when Zimbabweans turned to the asylum system for documentation in the wake of their country's economic and political meltdown (see also Amit 2011). This in turn led to many of them becoming irregular migrants.

The Immigration Act 13 of 2002 was legislated to deal with some of the issues in the 1999 White Paper (DHA 2017a). The Act's overarching purpose is laid out in its preamble. In terms of border control, the preamble of the Act highlights that they were to be controlled, and irregular migrants were to be 'detected, reduced and deterred'. In terms of internal migration control, the preamble states that government departments were to work hand in hand. Internally also, the preamble states that irregular migration was to be dealt with the deployment of officials, who would track and apprehend irregular migrants. At the same time, the preamble stressed the need for the South African economy to 'have access at all times to the full measure of needed contributions by foreigners'. Thus, foreigners could be employed in the country- but only to the extent that it directly benefited the country's economy. Finally, the preamble of the Act stated that the government has the responsibility to help 'prevent and control xenophobia'. All of this, according to the preamble, should be done within the Constitution and a human rights framework.

As highlighted above, the Immigration Act was amended three times, and these amendments were primarily in response to developments in its social, economic and political context. The first amendment, in 2004, was the result of a change-over from IFP to the African National Congress (ANC) in the department's leadership, and was called for by the then-president Thabo Mbeki (Caciotto and Mavura 2016). The new minister of DHA, Nosiviwe Mapisa-Nqakula, stated at the time of coming into office that there would be policy changes (Segatti 2011). According to Crush and Dodson (2006), this was a result of the ANC's dissatisfaction with certain sections in the Act. The authors highlight that it was only after this amendment that the Act was fully used. In [2004] Minister Mapisa-Nqakula's successor, Malusi Gigaba, reiterated that there was a need for policy and legislation that would help South Africa meet its

developmental goals by facilitating investment and attracting skills. In addition, there was also need for policy and legislation that respected the Constitution and human rights, insinuating that the Act to some extent did not. He said that the 2004 amendment was merely a short-term solution, and that more legislation was to be developed to meet these needs (Segatti 2011). In spite of these pronouncements, Vigneswaran (2008a) argues that at the time of coming into the DHA, the ANC did not have a clear plan for how it was going to deal with issues like irregular migration.

The first Immigration Amendment Act 19 of 2004 dealt with a number of issues, but significant to this study is that it made provisions for the issuing of corporate permits for highly skilled and of temporary permits for lower skilled migrants. Secondly, in its preamble the Amendment Act talks about the 'amplified and redefined' power of the minister. The Amendment Act speaks of redefining who should be part of the Immigration Advisory Board, and according to Carciotto and Mavura (2016) the members of the board were to be chosen by the minister. However, Carciotto and Mavura (2016:32) observed that rather than advising the minister, 'the danger' was that this Board was 'likely to become, for all intents and purposes, a rubber stamping board for policies and decisions aligned with the interests of the government.'

According to Carciotto and Mavura (2016), the 2004 amendment also eliminated public and civil society participation in the formulation of regulations as provided for in Section 59 of the Constitution (RSA 1996). 'Public participation' in legislation formulation, according to the Legislative Sector South Africa (2013:6), 'is the process by which parliament and provincial legislatures consult with people and interested or affected individuals, organisations and government entities before making a decision'. Section 7 of the Immigration Act 13 of 2002 which made such provisions was removed and replaced by Section 8, which stated that public participation in regulation making was eliminated and only the director general and the minister of DHA were to be consulted in regulations made for the Act in the future. This came as a blow to civil society who had anticipated that with ANC at the realm of the DHA, the principles of the Constitution would be continue to be reflected in the Act, and that their voices and opinions would be heard (Carciotto and Mavura 2016). Indeed, it was a violation of the Constitution's provision for this participation (Section 59), in spite of the Constitution's requirement that all legislation should be aligned to its provisions (RSA 1996, Section 7). Carciotto and Mavura (2016:32) claim that the DHA was able to do this because it was dealing with migrants, that is, people of a 'weaker political constituency'. In terms of Fraser's (2008) social justice framework, eliminating public participation and political representation in the amendment of Act constitutes misrepresentation, therefore is socially unjust. I assume that it was one of the results of this development that future regulations made in respect of the Act would not represent the interests of marginalised groups, such as irregular migrants.

As part of the South African context influencing policy development, the 2008 xenophobic attacks represent an important turning point in South Africa's policy on migration. The assumption by some leaders on the African continent was that with the attacks, South Africa would change its stance with its policies becoming more pan-African in orientation. However, to their surprise again, some in the ANC called instead for the prioritisation of South African citizens and the tightening of immigration laws (Segatti 2011). The third, 2011, amendment of the Immigration Act reflects these contextual changes. According to the Immigration Amendment Act 13 of 2011 this amendment mainly dealt with 'technical aspects'. That is the, the Amendment Act reduced the asylum transit [permit] visa days from 14 days to 5 days. Carciotto and Mavura (2016) contend that the reduction of days added onto the already existing obstacles asylum seekers already had such as lack of money for travelling. Therefore, by reducing the number of days in the asylum in transit visa this meant that they were unlikely to reach the Refugee Reception Centres on time, thus, these migrants became irregular migrants subject to deportation (Carciotto and Mavura 2016).

Although it should be expected that matters pertaining to asylum seekers should be dealt with in the Refugees Act 130 of 1998, the Immigration Amendment Act also provides for aspects of asylum seeking to be dealt with in terms of the Immigration Act. Thus, the Immigration Amendment Act 13 of 2011 also allowed for the preliminary procedure for asylum seekers to be dealt with by DHA officials at the border, who would henceforth be determining whether or not a person qualifies for asylum. In this way, the Amendment Act eliminated attorneys, advocates and migration practitioners at a crucial point of the process of applying for permits. The Amendment Act 13 of 2011 now required that those applying for temporary permits, such work permits, present themselves to DHA offices. The Act also introduced harsher penalties for those who had overstayed in the country. Additional regulations for the Immigration Act, published in 2014, represented further South Africa's post-2008 orientation towards increasingly tightened permit application requirements. For example, Section 17 of the regulations required, for a relative's visa for children, not merely proof of kinship through a birth certificate, but also a paternity test. Arguably, this made use of relatives' visa unaffordable for many poor migrants such as those fleeing political and economic turmoil in Zimbabwe, and rendering irregular migration as one of a diminishing number of options for Zimbabweans in South Africa wishing to bring their children.

The Zimbabwean Documentation Process was implemented as part of migration governance in South Africa. After realising that Zimbabwean migrants constituted the largest number of asylum seekers and irregular migrants, the government embarked on an exercise to regularise their stay in South Africa (Amit and Kriger 2014). From September 20 to December 31, 2010 the DHA implemented what it called 'the Zimbabwean Documentation Process (ZDP)' (Amit 2011:4). The permits granted during this ZDP were renewable every four years, that is, the first round of renewals was scheduled for 2014. This process was

open to all Zimbabweans regardless of their current status, so it was open to asylum seekers as well as irregular migrants (Amit 2011). According to Vearey and Wilhelm-Solomon (2011), to apply for this special permit, Zimbabweans were required initially to have a passport; fingerprints; as well as proof of employment, study, or business ownership. However, some migrants could not access the DHA because of long queues; some people could not get letters from employers, and there was also poor communication from the DHA to migrants (Vearey and Wilhelm-Solomon 2011). Amit (2011) adds that the DHA itself was not ready for the large numbers of people it was about to serve, and the applicants themselves were not given enough time to put together the required documents. Thus, during the last week of the application window, these conditions were 'relaxed', and applicants were required only to prove that they were Zimbabwean citizens (Amit 2011:5). Yet by October 2011, that is, ten months after the window for regularising their stay had closed, only 145 000 permits were issued to 275 762 applicants from an estimated population of 1-1.5 million (Vearey and Wilhelm-Solomon 2011).

It must be assumed therefore that following the ZDP, a sizeable number of Zimbabwean migrants remained in the country either on asylum seeker permits or irregularly, and continue to face arrest and deportation every day (Vearey and Wilhelm-Solomon 2011). Zimbabwean asylum seekers risked having their applications rejected, with their stay - once the appeals process had been exhausted - becoming irregular. Irregular Zimbabwean migrants face deportation because, according to Bloch (2010) political turmoil in the country notwithstanding, they were generally considered economic migrants. Thus, with the exception of those who in fact had applied for refugee status and not yet been rejected, they did not fall under the 1951 Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees as refugees, which protects from deportation (UNHCR 1996). Considering the large population in the country, Amit and Kriger (2014) question the intentions of the DHA behind the ZDP and argue that had the intention been indeed to regularise Zimbabwean migrants in the South Africa, a larger number would have been documented. Furthermore, they argue that more Zimbabwean would have been documented in 2014 when the permits were renewed. The former minister of DHA, Professor Hlengiwe Mkhize announced in a statement released by the DHA (2017b) that the permits will be renewed again, and the renewed permits are set to expire on 31 December 2021. As in 2014, there won't be an option for new applications; only renewals will be allowed.

The approach adopted by the DHA in post-apartheid South Africa in dealing with migration - from the White Paper to the Immigration Act and its subsequent amendments, and from the IFP to the ANC - has been subject to a lot of criticism. Crush and Dodson (2006) express concern that since 1994, that migration policy remained effectively unchanged for 10 years, even though the country was now going through a democratic process. The IFP and ANC interchangeably blamed each other for this lack of

transformation (Crush and Dodson 2006; Segatti 2011; Vigneswaran 2008a). Even though there were political difficulties, it is important to note that from the onset and in spite of its commitments to the contrary, the South African government failed to engage with migration positively and as a tool for the country's development (Segatti 2011; Vigneswaran 2008a). To those in government, migration was mainly about 'border control and access to jobs' (Segatti 2011:31). Vigneswaran (2008a) adds that from the beginning, irregular migrants were seen as a threat to South Africans seeking to access to socio-economic benefits such as jobs. Thus, in spite of migration being an integral part of southern African history and contemporary livelihoods strategies, much of South African migration policy was not aligned with other economic policies, such as the Reconstruction Development Plan (RDP), the Growth Employment and Redistribution Programme (GEAR) and Accelerated and Shared Growth Initiative (ASGISA) (Segatti 2011).

The Immigration Act in particular has been subject to a lot of debates and criticisms and described by some as a flawed piece of legislation (Crush and Tawodzera 2011). Vigneswaran (2008a) claims that the DHA intentionally increased and tightened requirements for example the reduction of days in the asylum in transit visa discussed by Carciotto and Mavura (2016) and many other examples discussed above in order to exclude people from regularising their status. The United Nations (UN 2014) states that worldwide, conditions created by countries' migration laws (such as the Immigration Act) have increased pathways to irregularity, lends credence to this view. In sum, both Carciotto and Mavura (2016) and Vigneswaran (2008a) claim that in the formulation of the Immigration Act of 2002 and subsequent amendments have helped created a hostile environment where foreigners existed under increased difficulties. Vigneswaran (2008b:783) asserts that, '...instead of interventions towards the integration of migrants from a human rights prescription, the South African approach was to transform the host environment into a place where undocumented migrants would feel unwelcome, and thereby be encouraged to return home, or better yet, to not come at all.' As discussed by Vigneswaran (2008b), internal control measures which target community and workplace enforcement also helped create this hostile environment. Carciotto and Mavura (2016) conclude that together, rather than helping combat xenophobia, these interventions contributed to the cultivation of xenophobic sentiments and vigilantism against foreigners.

Amit and Kriger (2014:273) state that the documentation of foreign nationals - or lack thereof - can be used 'as a tool' by the state. The authors contend that documentation processes such as the ZSP are used at times by states to see how many people from a particular population they are dealing with. On the other hand, 'state administrations may deliberately not document social groups because they do not wish to empower these groups vis-à-vis the administrative state' (Amit and Kriger 2016:273). The

Lawyers for Human Rights; The Centre for Child Law and The Scalabrini Centre of Cape Town (2016:10) concur that documentation or lack thereof can be used as a 'deterrent' to irregular migration. Furthermore, they state that in the case of children born to irregular migrant parents, not being able to have them documented is used as a tool to deter their parents from engaging in irregular migration themselves. Amit and Kriger (2014) state that in maintaining foreigners undocumented in South Africa does indeed lead to some of them leaving the country, which, they claim, is a main aim of the DHA in creating the hostile environment discussed above.

In spite of these continuities, South African migration policy and legislation is seen as very active and ever-evolving. Thus in 2016, the DHA developed a new Green Paper for International Migration. In it, the DHA (2016) states that even though post-apartheid migration legislation has been amended there remain loopholes that need to be closed, creating a need to formulate new policy and legislation as would fit within the present South African and international migration climate. With this in mind the new Green Paper for International Migration passed in 2016 and a new White Paper for International Migration South Africa was published in 2017. Many issues relating to migration governance in South Africa are discussed and from those issues I chose those that are relevant to this study. Firstly, the new Green Paper states that recently there has been an increase in South African-bound migration of women and children (DHA 2016; see also Lawyers for Human Rights *et al.* 2016). However, the Lawyers for Human Rights *et al.* (2016) state that even though it acknowledges the rise of child migrants, the new Green Paper fails to put across guidelines on how this rise will be dealt with. The Lawyers for Human Rights *et al.* (2016) suggest that migrant children are a doubly vulnerable group and therefore need their own policies. The authors remind us that even though many children have the same status as their parents, the two are not tied together; thus children should be treated as a separate group, further pointing to a need for separate policies. The Lawyers for Human Rights *et al.* (2016) go on to propose that in matters relating to children, policy development should be guided by Section 28 of the Constitution, which deals with children's rights. They claim that failure to do so will lead to furthering their vulnerability and also lead to an increase of statelessness among children. The Lawyers for Human Rights *et al.* (2016:7) conclude that while the Green Paper acknowledges that children are affected by the 'overloaded asylum system', it again fails to provide direction as to how this will be dealt with.

In sum then, the post-apartheid government has followed recommendations and public discourse on placing migrants into different categories and governed migration using these categories. The South African government has also prioritised the documentation of skilled and highly skilled migrants while neglecting the documentation of lesser skilled and unskilled migrants. In response to events occurring in post-apartheid South Africa, migration policy and legislation has also evolved to harden the conditions

under which migrants in the country must exist. As seen above, the tightening of migration policy and legislation has increased the number of migrants turning to irregular migration. The next section will look into the experiences of migrants in relation to these laws and the South African context generally.

2.3 'Migrant experiences in context'

Against the background of the legislation, policies and governance issues discussed in the preceding section, in this section I present available literature on the experiences of migrants including refugees and irregular migrants, in South Africa. I first discuss how South Africa's colonial and apartheid history have contributed to the creation of insider and outsider identities that have led to exclusions and discrimination of foreign nationals. Following that, I explore the 2008 and 2015 xenophobic attacks and the South African government's reactions to these attacks. Thereafter, I discuss how South Africa's present political and socio-economic context has contributed to the fuelling of the already existing xenophobic attitudes, discrimination and exclusion. I conclude this section by exploring the different experiences of refugees and irregular migrants living in South Africa.

In order to place the experiences of irregular migrants in context, it is essential to consider South Africa's historical, political, social and economic context and how this has affected how foreign nationals are viewed. The xenophobic and anti-migrant sentiments held by some in South Africans must be seen therefore in the context of the country's history of 'racial and ethnic discrimination, predatory politics, and violent resistance' (Landau and Misago 2009:102). The authors add that this history has created a conducive environment for xenophobic attacks to occur such as those seen in 2008 and 2015. Landau and Misago (2009) assert that the colonial history of South Africa and the drawing of national borders have influenced the exclusionary attitudes that can be observed today. Exclusion in relation to the drawing of borders means one's territorial origin being linked to access, or the denial of access, to rights. In other words, territorial origin means 'exclusive claim to territory and resources within' (Landau and Misago 2009:101; Landau 2011; see also Fraser 2008).

For this reason, geographical origin and history influence some South Africans' perceptions of whether a person is an 'insider or outsider' in their communities (Landau and Misago 2009; see also Hölscher 2014). The question thus arises how then it is determined in South African communities if a person is an insider or outsider. The theory frame of this study highlights that in the context oppression and exclusion, one's social group identity determines whether a person is viewed as an 'insider' or 'outsider' (Dominelli 2002:38). Examples of such binary opposites would be citizens-versus-non-citizens, and regular-versus-irregular migrants (see Chapter 1.7).

As highlighted in Chapter 1.7, those with 'superior' identities possess desirable qualities and characteristics and therefore, come to be regarded as insiders. 'Inferior' groups have undesirable qualities and characteristics thus become outsiders (Dominelli 2002; Mullaly 2010). For example, a citizen of South Africa is perceived to be an insider and an irregular migrant an outsider. Dominelli (2002) points out that these identities are regarded and presented as natural by the superior group, and that the drawing of boundaries between these two groups results in stigmatization of the inferior/outsider group. An example would be how migrants are often presented in the media negatively, as according Crush and Dodson (2007:444), 'migrants do not simply cross South Africa's borders, they "pour" and "flood" into the country in "tidal waves", sweeping away in their path.' In effect, irrespective of legal status, as 'outsiders/inferior/them', migrants come to be seen as a threat to the enjoyment of rights and resources by the citizenry, 'insiders/superior/us'. These 'insiders' thus have taken it upon themselves to protect the boundaries between 'insider' and 'outsider' (Landau 2011). Considering the models that tie South Africa's in-migration to the regional history and with the DHA itself admitting the complexity of migration to the country, the question thus rises: Are a country's borders the correct frame for social justice claims? According to Fraser (2008), they are not, and the 2008 and 2015 xenophobic attacks would support that view.

Because of South Africa's 'insider' and 'outsider' identities and the policing of these boundaries through both policy, legislation and public discourse, 2008 saw large scale xenophobic attacks in South Africa. Foreign nationals from different African countries were attacked, 60 people died, almost 700 were raped and more than 100 00 were displaced from their homes (Landau 2011). One third of people who died were South African nationals; these people were killed because they did not want to participate in the attacks, were married to foreign nationals, or due to certain physical features, they were mistaken for foreign nationals (Landau 2011). Landau (2011) equates the number of deaths in the 2008 xenophobic attacks to the number of deaths in the Sharpeville massacre. Yet according to him, xenophobic deaths are hardly talked about and considered to be historically irrelevant. Landau (2011) states this is problematic in that communities, civil society and government seem to fail to acknowledge the loss of human lives. Mullaly (2010) speaks of oppression entailing physical, social and psychological violence. He specifies that in the context of physical violence, members of the oppressed groups live in continuous fear of attack from members of the 'superior' group, and often community members are aware that these attacks are occurring, who the attackers are and that they will happen again (Mullaly 2010). Mullaly (2010) adds that because attackers often go unpunished or, if they are punished, they receive a light sentence, such contexts breed perpetual violence.

Following the 2008 violence, there have been other large scale attacks, including in 2015 where 15

people died, and in 2017 where the number of people who were injured or died is undetermined (Al Jazeera 2017). This suggests that the large scale attacks are now occurring at close intervals (Hölscher 2016b). Beyond the intermittent, large scale attacks, xenophobic attitudes and physical violence against foreign nationals continue to be an everyday occurrence in South Africa (South African History Online 2016; see also Landau 2011; Misago 2017).

Beyond South Africa's colonial and apartheid history and the drawing of boundaries and xenophobic attacks, 'insider' and 'outsider' demarcations are also reflected in South Africa's socio-economic environment. South African cities in which refuges and other migrants tend to settle are characterised by degradation, poverty, and unemployment, and the large numbers of both local and international migrants coming into the cities have resulted in pressure on infrastructure and overstretching of already limited public services provided by municipalities and non-governmental organisations (NGOs) (Hölscher 2016a; Roestenburg 2013). In 2016, there was an economic growth rate of only 1%, while in 2017, 35% of South Africa's population were unemployed; half of the population lived in poverty; the country experienced several credit downgrades, at the same time as there were 1.2 million foreign workers, making up 4% of South Africa's workforce (Al Jazeera 2017). These pressures and resultant competition have fed into a nationalist patriotism, with many South Africans feeling that it is only South Africans who belong to the country and have to enjoy its benefits, and that 'others' do not belong and should not be entitled to the benefits that come with citizenship (Roestenburg 2013).

In spite of the available research on xenophobic attitudes and violence in South Africa, the South African government claimed during the 2008 attacks that there was a 'mysterious third force' behind the attacks, blamed criminals for causing the violence, as well as insinuating that foreigners themselves caused the unrest (Landau 2011:1). Landau (2011) adds that after the 2008 attacks, the government maintained that South Africa was safe place for foreign nationals. While the government was speculating about who or what could be causing the 2008 attacks, some people in the townships openly claimed responsibility for the attacks (Landau 2011). Seven years later, the then Minister of Home Affairs Malusi Gigaba, suggested that the 2015 attacks were fuelled by businesses that employ mostly foreigners, and that these businesses would thus be dealt with accordingly. He also indicated that foreign news agencies are also adding onto the tensions in the country through sensational reporting (Tandwa 2017). Finally, in a statement released by the DHA responding to the 2017 attacks, Minister Gigaba claimed again that South Africans were neither xenophobic nor are they attacking and looting businesses owned by foreigners (Tandwa 2017). It is against this background that Misago (2017) considers the South African government's reactions to the xenophobic attacks to be a form of 'denialism'.

Beyond South Africa's colonial and apartheid history, and the drawing of 'insider and outsider' boundaries, South Africa's current political, economic and social climate has fueled xenophobic and anti-migrant sentiments. According to Al Jazeera (2017) political parties in the country are competing over what should be done about migration. One such example was a statement made by the Mayor of Johannesburg Herman Mashaba. In celebrating 100 days as a mayor, Mashaba referred to irregular migrants as criminals, and this criminality, he said, was associated with irregularly entering the country (Chabalala and de Villiers 2017). Mashaba went on to say that South Africa was being held at ransom by irregular migrants, and that the opening of national borders, a decision made by national government, had a negative effect on local government (Pather 2016). In response to this statement, and the 2017 xenophobic attacks, Minister Gigaba emphasized the importance of responsible leadership and advised against 'popularistic' politics (Tandwa 2017).

Importantly, Landau explains that it is not only Herman Mashaba and the members of the Democratic Alliance (DA) who have made such statements, but that people also in other political parties, including the African National Congress (ANC) have made such inflammatory statements (Al Jazeera 2017). Misago (2017) adds that, 'chief among [the] underlying causal factors is obviously the prevailing anti-immigrant sentiment [which is] … fuelled by political scapegoating. Political leaders and officials of the national, provincial and local government often blame foreign nationals for their systemic failures to deliver on the political promises and satisfy the citizenry's growing expectations'. According to Landau (2011), these kinds of political discourses have created public expectations, in respect of which government had failed to deliver and in response some citizens felt like they had to control the movement of these people that they were competing with.

The demarcations between migrants and citizens, xenophobic sentiments and violence discussed so far have considerable impact on the day to day living experiences on Zimbabweans and other migrants in South Africa. In almost all the studies reviewed, migrants and refugees from a range of African countries reported to have experienced xenophobic attitudes, comments, violence and aggression. Somalis however were found to be more prone to xenophobic attacks than others in that owning businesses made them regular and easy prey (Jinnah 2010).

Idemudia *et al.* (2013), reporting on their study on the experiences of Zimbabwean migrants, found that contrary to their expectations, their participants had only limited access to basic services. However, Siziba (2016) points out that the experiences among Shona and Ndebele speaking Zimbabweans tend to be different. Ndebele people are said to have migrated to South Africa prior Zimbabwe's political and economic meltdown of 2001 (that is, the first 'wave' of Zimbabwean migration to post-apartheid South

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Africa), while Shona people's migration to South Africa is a new phenomenon and, according to Siziba (2016), a result of Zimbabwe's current political and economic difficulties (that is, the second 'wave' of Zimbabwean migration). The difference in experience is also linked to the fact that the Ndebele share an identity and language with Nguni people in South Africa (See Section 2.1 above). Ndebele is said to be close to Zulu, Xhosa and Swati, whilst Shona is distinct from South Africa's languages. Even though there seems to be the same number of Ndebele people in South Africa as are Shona speakers, the former are less likely to be recognized as foreigners than the latter (Siziba 2016). Shona people are sometimes referred to as *'Amakwerekwere'* a term which South Africans sometimes use to describe Congolese, Somalis, Nigerians and Mozambicans as well. *'Amakwerekwere'* according to Siziba (2016:121) '...is a derogatory and putatively onomatopoeic term, frequently used by South Africans to describe African foreigners, whose languages are said to be indecipherable.' This 'cluster' of people are more likely to be victims of xenophobic violence than the Ndebele speaking Zimbabweans who blend more easily into the local populations (Siziba 2016:122). .

Since they do not fit in terms of language, some Shona speaking migrants have devised means to fit in South Africa, including changes in their bodily appearance, dress and mannerisms. Siziba (2016:122) identifies that for Shona people identity is important in a city like Johannesburg, as it can be used as a 'marker'. The author highlights that these migrants have to create an identity that has to 'pass' and this involves walking, talking and behaving in a certain way (Siziba 2016:122). For example Siziba (2016) points out that to avoid being identified Shona people change the way they dress from conservative Zimbabwean dress styles to liberal South African so as not to stand out. This identity is said by Siziba (2016:123) to be in preparation for the 'field' which is Johannesburg. As stated by Dominelli (2002) in Chapter 1.7 such reactions to oppression are said to be accommodative and also constitute acceptance, and are harmful to the oppressed persons.

Besides xenophobic attitudes and attacks some migrants had other experiences related to their living conditions, employment and the police. In a study by Hölscher (2014), conducted with migrants affiliated to a South African church, participants reported that they had experienced homelessness; unemployment; poverty and hunger. And, Idemudia *et al.*'s (2013) study reveals the ways in which some irregular migrants are exploited in their places of employment. According to Agustin (2009) migrants are often affiliated with 'dodgy enterprises', that is, paid jobs in the informal economy where permits and visas are not required. Such jobs include work in construction, working as 'nannies', in restaurants, and as sex workers. According to Idemudia *et al.* (2013) and Vigneswaran (2008a), working in informal economies is often highly exploitative.

Irregular and other migrants' experiences are also characterised by living in fear of police and other government officials (UN 2014). As highlighted above in Section 2.2, migration laws are mainly enforced by the police and DHA officials. Segatti (2011) states that although the Constitution, legislation and policy protect the rights of migrants 'on paper', many government department's employees - like DHA and police officials - fail to adhere to them. Under these circumstances, human rights are often disrespected. In addition, Vigneswaran (2008a) asserts that human rights abuses are a result of poor communication between those making laws and those enforcing them. Such human rights abuses are reported, for example by Hölscher, Sathiparsad and Mujawamariya (2012) who describe the experiences of a refugee street vendor who sold 'fake labels' in one South Africa's central business districts. This trading was done openly, and the police even bought from her, yet the vendor was raided, and her husband arrested and imprisoned by the same policemen who had bought from her all along. Mafukidze and Mbanda (cited in Hölscher *et al.* 2012:56) explain that although police raid goods from all informal traders, foreign nationals are more likely to be targeted than everyone else. Some informal traders pay the police for 'protection' (Hölscher *et al.* 2012:56). Vigneswaran (2008a) adds that in some instances, women were raped or forced to engage in sex with the police in exchange for their freedom. Pease (2010) highlights that in most instances the vulnerabilities of migrants intersect with other vulnerabilities, for example in this case being a woman intersects with being a migrant. Hölscher *et al.* (2012) and Vigneswaran (2008a) state that these are vulnerabilities in relation to law enforcement agencies for foreign nationals, and are mainly associated with living in urban areas.

In Section 2.1 I mentioned that people are most likely to migrate places where they have social networks. Roestenburg (2013) speaks about the importance of these social networks in making in hostile environments bearable for migrants and reveals that indeed, access to social networks serve as a protective factor (Roestenburg, 2013). In addition Roestenburg's (2013) study is able to show that especially at the stage of initial migration, such networks helped counter the negative psychological effects of migration. This is because people found it easier to develop a sense of belonging when they were around people 'like them' (Roestenburg, 2013). Social networks, however, can also expose migrants to risk factors that can place them in danger. Thus, migrants settling near their compatriots, in Johannesburg's central business district, were also at a risk of becoming victims of crime (Roestenburg, 2013). In addition, some authors argue that although social networks help migrants adjust to a new situation, they can be a hindrance to migrants' integration into the communities in which they live.

In sum, this section placed the experiences of migrants in South Africa within a historical and present-day social, economic and political context that is dominated by the demarcation of boundaries between citizens and non-citizens, which have led to xenophobic sentiments and attacks. Available empirical

studies suggests that many Zimbabwean migrants and migrants from other countries, irregular migrants, and other groups of migrants experience exploitation, unemployment and harassment at the hands of the police. Finally, it was suggested that Zimbabwean migrants experienced South Africa differently along ethnic lines. The next section concludes this chapter.

Conclusion

To conclude, the causes and dynamics of migration generally, and between Zimbabwe and South Africa more specifically, are complex; more complex than South African policy and migration strategies, which are greatly based on the push and pull model. Although the complexities of migration and historical relationships in Southern Africa are acknowledged throughout post-apartheid policy and legislation, this has not translated into day-to-day migration governance. Instead, through a succession of reforms, there has been a progressive tightening of policy and legislation, which has contributed considerably to an increase of irregularity among Zimbabwean migrants. Yet rather than seeking to address the causes of irregular migration, the South African government instead appears to focus on policing and exclusion of 'unwanted' migrants. This has created a hostile environment that makes integration difficult and, as will be discussed in much detail in the following chapter, leads to the victimisation of a wide range migrant children, particular those of irregular migrant parents. Parallel to, and in interaction with these developments at the level of policy and legislation, there are discourses and social practices in post-apartheid South Africa, which also serve to create boundaries and exclude foreign nationals. Xenophobic violence is a stark example and symptom of this. The empirical literature reviewed in this chapter suggests that the experience of migrants in South Africa is dominated by these exclusionary structures and processes, which in turn gives rise to the number of strategies to protect themselves, including different ways of 'blending in', becoming 'invisible as well as reliance on the support of social networks. However, the reviewed literature suggests that In spite of such strategies, migrants are vulnerable to human rights abuses and criminal acts committed against them by law enforcement personnel.

South Africa as sovereign state has a right to protect its national interests, these interests should be protected within a human rights and constitutional framework, and with consideration of the history of the Southern African region. As much as I am concerned in this dissertation about South Africa's migration laws, migration governance and its effect on the everyday living conditions of irregular migrant parents, I am even more concerned about the role of social work in lives of irregular migrant parents. As it will be seen in the following chapter social work, functions in the context of the state laws as a profession, it also has its own ethical principles that it has to adhere to when working with clients, and these do not correspond with some of the migration laws, policies and practices discussed in this chapter. The issue

of parenting, more especially the parenting challenges faced by irregular migrant parents, as well as social work responses those issues form part of the next chapter.

Chapter Three: Review of the Literature on Migrant Parents and Social Work with Migrant Families

The purpose of this chapter is to contextualise this study within available literature on the effects of migration on families, both parents and children. The chapter also looks at role of social work in the lives of refugees and irregular migrant parents. Like the previous chapter, I refer to the study's anti-oppressive theory frame where appropriate, focusing on concepts of misframing (Fraser 2008), oppression including internalised oppression (Mullaly 2010; Young 1990) and social group identity (Dominelli 2002; Young 1990), noting that the anti-oppressive theory itself is underpinned by the ecosystems theory. This is to highlight the complexities that arise in the interface of migrants with their surrounding communities, civil society and government institutions. In all these respects, I reveal that different forms of oppression that occur at all levels of the environment in which migrant families exist.

In the first section of this chapter, I focus on the question of parenting, starting with a discussion of general parenting tasks and challenges. Thereafter, I shift my focus to the question of parenting in relation to the specific tasks and challenges faced by migrants generally and irregular migrant parents more particularly. In Section 3.2, I review available literature on social work with refugees and other migrants, including social work with irregular migrant families. Here I begin by presenting an idealised view of how social services should be delivered to these population groups, and contrast this with what, the empirical literature is revealing, what is actually happening 'on the ground'. At the conclusion of this chapter, it should be clear that because of their social group identity, irregular migrant parents experience discrimination and exclusion and, to some extent, have internalised that they are second class citizens, which comes with a few rights. The same applies to the children they are raising, irrespective of the fact that their legal status is not tied to that of their parents.

3.1. Parenting for migrants

What is parenting and parenthood about? What are the experiences of different types of migrant parents in a foreign country? As stated above this section is divided into two subsections. The first subsection focuses on what parenting is about and what parental responsibilities entail in general terms. The second section looks at what parenting is like for refugees and irregular migrants and places these experiences in the context of the first section.

3.1.1. Different meanings of parenting and parental responsibilities

In this section I address the question of what parenting generally entails. Here I look at what parental

tasks and responsibilities entail, how they are affected positively and negatively by parental characteristics, the children in their different developmental stages, the environment in which the family exists, as well as class, age, cohort and ethnicity. Because parenting for this study's participants occurred in nuclear, single parent and extended families, I look into the importance of different types of families in southern Africa and the parenting roles adopted by mothers, fathers and the extended family members in these families. I conclude this discussion with looking at the different types of parental orientations.

Bornstein (2002:ix) claims that, 'put succinctly, parents create people', adding that parenting is a '24/7 job' that begins at pregnancy (Bornstein 2002:xii), continues throughout a lifetime and it is mainly about 'giving and responsibility' (Bornstein 2002:x). Amongst many other things, parents have the responsibility to prepare their children's 'physical, economic and psychosocial' conditions in which they expected to exist in (Bornstein 2002:ix). As part of preparing psychosocial conditions, parents have the responsibility of socialising their children (Bornstein 2001). Here they are expected to help them 'regulate their own effect, emotions and morality', assisting them to form healthy interpersonal relationships (Bornstein 2001:2). Bornstein (2001:2) highlights that in meeting their children's physical needs, parents are expected to cater for their biological and health care needs, in turn 'promot[ing] children's wellness and prevent[ing] illness'. Parents also are assumed to be able to control and manage the home and local environment in which their children live in, for example by monitoring the kind of media and friends their children are exposed to (Bornstein 2002). The society at large, social workers and the state place all these responsibilities and expectations on parents. Yet as it will be discussed in paragraphs below, all these responsibilities are not entirely dependent on parents but dependent on different factors. Furthermore as it will be seen in Section 3.2.2, to expect this from parents and then disable, for example, irregular migrant parents from meeting these, is important from an anti-oppressive point of view.

With all its responsibilities, Bornstein (2001:3) states that inevitably, parenting also entails disappointments and stresses in that '...parenting does not always go right or well...' Parents are sometimes unable to provide for their children, at times they neglect and abuse their children, and most families at some point or another go through difficult times (Bornstein 2001). Bornstein (2001:3) states that parenting not going well is also affected by children's and parent's individual characteristics that are linked to their 'physical, personality and intellectual characteristics', as well as specific habits and challenges affecting the individual within the family, for example marital difficulties and drug addiction. Parenting not going well sometimes is also influenced by a parent's beliefs - these sometimes define what it means to be a parent and how children should be raised, and their expectations of the children they are raising (Bornstein 2001; Bornstein 2002). Beliefs that influence parenting are often acquired through their own experiences of being parented.

Parenting is not only about those who are doing the parenting but also about the children being parented (Bornstein 2002; Bornstein 2001). Thus, a discussion of parenting also needs to consider the children's developmental stages, tasks and needs. This is because parenting has different meanings to parents at different points in their children's development (Ambert 1994; Berk 1998; Berger, McBreen and Rifkin 1996; Bornstein 2002). In the lifespan model discussed by Berger *et al.* (1996) children go through different stages of development and these stages are referred to as life periods. The second life period 'infancy and early childhood' in the lifespan model ranges from birth to four years. Berger *et al.* (1996:141) state that in this period, the 'child is completely dependent upon adult caregivers', thus, it is important for the child to have 'adequate shelter and emotional bonding'. In this life period parenting is truly a 24/7 job because the child is dependent fully on the parent. In middle and late childhood, a life period ranging from four to twelve years, the child is still dependent on the parent but less so than during infancy and early childhood. During this period, the child starts going to school, thus begins to develop relationships outside the family, that is, friendships with peers at school. In early and late childhood, the parent helps the child develop cognitively and emotionally. The parent also helps guide the new peer relations. In adolescence, a life period that ranges from 13-18 years, Berger *et al.* (1996:148) state that, 'the major tasks… revolve around biological development and further integration into social institutions'. Adolescents also grow physically, in height and also experience sexual maturation. During this stage, the parent helps the child make sense of the biological developments and help them fit into new friendships and relationships (Berger *et al.* 1996; Berk 1998).

According to Bornstein (2001), parenting is not only influenced by the parents and the children being parented, but also affected by the ecology in which the family exists, that is, external factors with which the family interact with. Berk (1998) states that these external factors constitute the social, political and economic environment, which is said to affect child development. Thus, there are socio-structural factors that can both assist and hinder children and their parents during the different stages of their development (Berger *et al.* 1996). At infancy and early childhood, access to socio-structural resources such as medical care is essential, meaning that the infant can be affected severely by community dysfunction, lack of access to services and poverty. During middle and late childhood, access to institutions such as schools is essential. Again, poverty may prove a major obstacle affecting the child's development, while friendship networks and community structures can serve as both hindrances and sources of support. During adolescence, as children are trying to 'find themselves', issues such as racism and belonging to minority groups such as irregular migrants become increasingly relevant. At all stages, factors like employment, social status, media, access to and functioning of government institutions, and community and work ties affect parenting (Bornstein 2002). The above socio-structural, political and economic factors are

important concerns for parents especially those parenting under conditions of irregularity. I will return to these further down in the chapter (see Section 3.2.2).

Ambert (1994) states that parenthood is not only dependent on the socio-cultural environments, but also on class, age, cohort and ethnicity. As per the author the above factors provide different meanings to the parental experience. According to Berger *et al.* (1996), the term cohort refers to issues that are specific and peculiar to a certain decade/century. For instance, in terms of effect of cohort on parenting, in the 21st century parenting is negatively and positively affected by migration. When it comes to age, parenting is affected by whether for example the parent is a teenager or older (Berk 1994; Bornstein 2002; Sabattini and Leaper 2004). The authors state that compared to older parents, parental tasks and responsibilities are most likely to be more difficult for teenage parents who are still children themselves. Ethnicity in influencing parenting is tied to the culture of parents discussed below. Berk (1998) states that class of the family that is the economic and financial standing of the family can affect the conditions in which children are raised in positively and negatively.

This study's participants were raising their children in different types of families (see Chapter 5.2.2). Families are defined by the Department of Social Development (DSD) (2013) as a societal group made up of people who are related, through blood or otherwise, who share a history, and who may or may not live together. There are different types of families in southern Africa, including South Africa, namely: extended, polygamous, single parent, household union, child headed households; adoptive; foster; blended and gay families. As a result, Zinn *et al.* (2011) claim that there is no typical family form and cautions against the myth of a family being made up of a heterosexual father, who is the breadwinner, a mother that is staying at home and providing care for the children. Berger *et al.* (1996) states that this myth leads to a victimisation of single parents. Furthermore, Berk (1998) highlights that in most instances, single parents are women, who, as soon as they are faced with parenting challenges, risk being judged as being unable to take care of their children (Berger *et al.* 1996). As it will become apparent in Chapter 5: Presentation and Discussion of Findings, this yardstick shifts the blame for complex parenting challenges to individual parents, which is inappropriate.

In nuclear families, roles and responsibilities are sometimes shared between parents. According to Sabattini and Leaper (2004), the sharing of responsibilities and roles can begin from the birth of a child. In 'traditional nuclear families', the mother assumes the role of primary caregiver and of 'running the household' (Sabattini and Leaper 2004). In this role, the mother is responsible for ensuring that all the children's needs are taken care of (Sabattini and Leaper 2004). Bornstein (2001:1) highlights that it is therefore assumed that 'mothers are unique, the roles of mothers are universal, and motherhood is

essential to development of children', compared to the role of a father. However, Sabattini and Leaper (2004) argue that in recent years, there has been a modestly increasing number of fathers assuming the roles traditionally associated with motherhood. Thus according to Bornstein (2002), it has become more common for some household responsibilities, including caring for children, to be shared more equally between parents. Still, Sabattini and Leaper (2004:218) maintain that the majority of caregiving roles continue to be assumed by mothers, while fathers 'help' at their discretion.

Ambert (1994) highlights that role sharing between mothers and fathers differ according to societies and cultures. Ambert (1994) gives an example of societies where a child is not only raised by their parents but by the extended family and even by members of the community who are close to the family but not blood relations. This is traditionally the case in African societies (Ambert 1994), where as a result, child rearing responsibilities are distributed in more complex ways. However, with the majority of African societies being structured along patriarchal lines, the burden of responsibility tends to lie with women. Berk (1998) concurs that motherhood has different meanings in different societies, and the sharing of parental roles is not always aspired to. For example the author claims that in Western societies, if roles and responsibilities are not shared equally between parents this can result in strains on the parental subsystem. In comparison, in other - including many African - societies, motherhood tends to be embraced because being a mother is accompanied with a lot of prestige. Ambert (1994), however, criticises the centrality of mothers in their children's lives, stating that by making mothers the most important parent in their children's lives, results in them being blamed for any dysfunction that occurs in their children's lives, instead of considering other factors which may be the problem.

There are different kinds of parental orientations, that is, ways in which parents raise their children (Ochocka and Jansen 2008). These are, according to Ochocka and Janzen (2008), authoritative, authoritarian and permissive parental orientations. In 'authoritative parenting', there is a fair amount of supervision from the parent, and there are also clear standards of acceptable behaviour. This type of orientation is described as warm, and children are most likely to benefit. Then there are 'authoritarian parenting' where parents demand unquestioned obedience. The authors describe it as 'punitive' and often 'excessive' (Ochocka and Janzen 2008:86). This orientation is said to negatively affect children being parented. Finally, there are 'permissive' parents where there are insufficient standards for behaviour in the family, and children are allowed to do as they please and not questioned on their behaviour. Both authoritarian and permissive parenting styles are said to affect the children negatively because the former is too strict and the latter is too relaxed (Ochocka and Janzen 2008). Like the assuming of parental roles above, (Ambert 2004; Bornstein 2002) argue that due to cultural differences these parental orientations should not be viewed as universal, as what might apply in one context will not

apply to another.

In sum, parenting and parenthood is affected by the parents parenting the children, the children being parented at different stages of their development, the type of family of which they are a part of, and the cultural context in which parenting takes place. Most important to this study are the socio-economic, political, and legal contexts in which the parenting is occurring. I consider this further in the next section, focusing on how parenting is affected by migration.

3.1.2. Parenting for refugees and migrants

The available literature in South Africa on the parenting experiences of migrants, including refugees and undocumented migrants is limited. Thus, in this section I draw on literature from Australia, New Zealand and Canada, and this literature mainly focuses on the parenting experiences among refugees. Drawing from these sources, I first look at stress that results from living in a foreign country and its effect on parenting. Thereafter, I look at acculturation and language barriers faced by different types of migrants and what these mean to family structures. I conclude this general overview of parenting among different types of migrants worldwide with a discussion of the experiences of irregular migrant parents in South Africa using an example of the widely published Eastleigh Primary School incident.

According to Idemudia *et al.* (2013), migration has been positively related to stress and mental health challenges. Malica (cited in Idemudia *et al.* 2013:19) states that migrating for refugees can be said to be a 'social earthquake'. Renzaho, Swinburn, Green and Mellor (2011:228) found in their study with African refugees in Australia that for their participants, parenting in a foreign country was accompanied by 'stressful events'. Guo's (2014) study with Chinese migrants in Canada revealed that stress for parents came from them having lost their safety nets and familiar environments and having to live in host countries like Canada where they were presented with high levels of uncertainty as well as barriers, including exclusion from job opportunities because their qualifications were not recognised. In addition, Ochocka and Janzen (2008:88) state that:

> *Parenting in a new country is difficult because the caregiver is experiencing a new environment while simultaneously attempting to provide to a stable environment for a family. These are added stressors that are important to take into account when describing parenting from an immigrant perspective.*

Even though Idemudia *et al.*'s (2013) study with Zimbabwean migrants in Musina does not talk about parenting in migration, it however provides a useful view for the study. Idemudia *et al.* (2013:19) highlight that stress for Zimbabwean migrants in South Africa is affiliated with '...a lack of preparation for cross-

cultural transition', as well as a 'lack of financial and tangible resources such as food, clothing, and shelter... also proficient language skills.' Furthermore, stress for irregular Zimbabwean migrant parents is likely to come from their experiences in South Africa which are mainly characterised by living in fear of police, DHA officials and communities migrants live in (see Chapter 2.3). Stress also can result from hostilities associated with migration laws and the resultant day-to-day challenges (see Chapter 2.2), the challenges emanating from a loss of home and social status will be discussed in the following section.

Deng and Marlowe's (2015) study with South Sudanese refugees in New Zealand concentrates on the effects of cultural and language barriers experienced by refugee parents. In a study conducted in Australia Williams (2010:35) observed that, 'the culture of the refugee parenting experience may be characterized by disruptions in and alterations to family structure and organisation; values and norms and gender roles.' Deng and Marlowe (20150 and Renzaho *et al.* (2011) concur that a change of environments is most likely to bring about a change in roles. An example would be Sudanese refugees that come from a patriarchal society where the father was the breadwinner and had authority 'over the wife and children', who is now no longer the sole breadwinner and therefore no longer has that authority (Deng and Marlowe 2015:418). The culture and language barriers reported by these authors are relevant for this study because the sample consisted of both Ndebele and Shona speakers. As discussed in Chapter 2.3, Shona speakers are likely to experience more language and culture barriers in South Africa than might be the case among Ndebele speakers.

The authors also reveal that children of refugees are likely to adjust faster to the new social realities than their parents because through their peers, for example at school, they have better opportunities to learn the language and adapt to the culture of the host country (Ambert 1994; Deng and Marlowe 2015; Renzaho *et al.* 2011). The authors term this process acculturation. Acculturation is defined by Valtonen (2015: 101) as '...the acquisition and/or knowledge of the appropriate value orientations, behavioural modes and limits, as well as attitudes with which individuals must be familiar in order to function in a new society.' Ambert (1994) and Renzaho *et al.* (2011) highlight that the better acculturation of the children often leads to conflict between them and their parents, with parents in many instances wanting to maintain the norms, values and traditions of their country of origin. For instance, Renzaho *et al.* (2011) state that parents in their study tended to favour authoritarian parenting styles which are uncommon in Australia, where their study was conducted. Consequently, this lead to a 'breakdown of communication' between parents and children (Renzaho *et al.* 2011:229). Ochocka and Janzen (2015), too, found that the acculturation processes caused disruption in their participants' family dynamics. In sum then, the disruption of gender roles and the better acculturation of the children can prove challenging, and even negatively affect, migrant families.

In comparison to the Australian and New Zealand contexts, Crush and Tawodzera's (2011) study with Zimbabwean migrants in Cape Town and Johannesburg reveals that not just parents but Zimbabwean children, too, face language barriers. This may be attributed to the fact that in terms of Schools Act 84 of 1996, children should be taught from grade 1-2 in the native languages for example Zulu, Xhosa, Pedi or Tswana. It is however, revealed that in some schools this goes provision goes on until grade 12. Based on their study with unaccompanied migrant minors in Musina Refugee Reception Centre on the South Africa/Zimbabwe border, Londt *et al.* (2016) also highlight that the minors face language barriers in shelters and schools. Crush and Tawodzera (2011) conclude that this is a disadvantage to the Zimbabwean migrant children who come from Ndebele and Shona backgrounds. As result, the use of native languages until grade 12 can lead to these learners lagging behind at school.

The findings in Londt *et al.'s* (2016) study revealed that unaccompanied minors not only face language barriers, but also found that the children were subjected to xenophobic comments from shelter workers. However, while at school some children were subjected to rude comments, others had tolerant classmates and teachers who made effort to make them belong. Crush and Tawodzera (2011), in their study with Zimbabwean migrant parents on their children's right to access to education in South Africa, produced more adverse findings. The authors identified that children of Zimbabwean migrants experienced persistent xenophobia and discrimination at schools. According to the authors, xenophobic attitudes that are held in the homes and communities of some learners are transferred to the 'classroom and playground' (Crush and Tawodzera 2011:2). The experiences reported in their study include Zimbabwean children being called derogatory names by both teachers and learners, being ignored by teachers, being teased about their foreign status, and being threatened with death should they not leave South Africa. Crush and Tawodzera (2011) contend that such incidents often go unreported as parents fear that reporting might worsen the situation. Migrant parents are also said to live in fear of a repeat of large-scale xenophobic violence, like the one experienced in 2008. Parent's reactions are said by Mullaly (2010) to be characteristic violence and internalised oppression.

As stated above, literature on the experience of parenting for different types of migrants is concerned with loss of status, acculturation and language barriers. In the context of irregular migration, these issues are likely to be pertinent as well but can be expected to be overlaid by the experience of irregularity. An example of the issues faced by particularly irregular migrant parents in South Africa can be found in Crush and Tawodzera's (2011:8) study that identified the barriers faced by parents and their children when trying to access government institutions such as schools and hospitals. According to the authors, such barriers are mostly related to a lack of required documentation. This is because Section 13 of the Immigration Act of 2002 requires a child to have a study permit in order to be enrolled in a South African

School. In addition, children have to be in possession of a birth certificate, and the younger children also have to have an immunisation card (Crush and Tawodzera 2011). Section 39 (1c) of the Immigrations Act also stipulates that institutions should not 'knowingly' enrol irregular foreigners, and Section 39 (2) stipulates that if an institution is found to have enrolled irregular migrants it shall be charged with contravening the Immigrations Act. Crush and Tawodzera (2011) state that the Department of Home Affairs (DHA) has the legal obligation to inspect educational institutions to enforce these requirements. This is seen in the so-called Eastleigh Primary School incident. As irregular migrants would struggle to produce any of these three documents, these requirements are relevant to understanding the parenting experience of the participants in this study.

Documentation issues among children of irregular migrants were brought into light by events that occurred in May 2017 at Eastleigh Primary School in Johannesburg. The school issued a widely criticised letter, that instructed all foreign parents to bring to school their original residence permits and advised that failure to do so would result in the school calling the police, their children being arrested, and parents having to collect them from the police station. The school later claimed that the letter had been issued after receiving an instruction from the DHA (Amod 2017; Evans 2017; eNews Channel Africa eNCA 2017). Yet the DHA, through one of then-minister Malusi Gigaba's social media accounts, distanced itself from both the school's letter and its claim to have received an instruction (Amod 2017; eNCA 2017). The Gauteng Department of Education later instructed the school to withdraw the letter, saying that though it was important for schools to follow the country's laws, sometimes they had to be humane and considerate. The Department proposed that instead of threatening to have children taken to a police station, schools could instead instruct parents whose children were without documentation to keep them at home (eNCA 2017). While through its principal, Eastleigh Primary School withdrew the letter and issued an apology, Evan (2017) highlights that '...it's apology letter still contained a threat when it urged parents and caregivers to sort out the documentation issues so that the children's education can continue 'harmoniously'.

After the Eastleigh Primary School letter was circulated on social media, foreign nationals in South Africa shared on different social media platforms that they had received similar letters for their children, from government and private schools, alleging that their children's schools, too, had been instructed by the DHA to request documentation. An example of one of the social media pages where this information was shared is Facebook page for women from Bulawayo Zimbabwe (Makhox Women's League 2017). While it appears that the Eastleigh Primary School letter to parents was in keeping with South African Immigration Act, questions have been raised about the constitutionality of the matter. The Lawyers for Human Rights stated in response to the event that '...all children in South Africa are equally entitled to

education regardless of their status or documentation' (Evans 2017). This matter was already highlighted in Chapter 1.2. In addition, Evans (2017) states that the South African Schools Act 84 of 1996 prohibits discrimination of any form when it comes to admission of children to school. Indeed, in the Schools Act states that 'learners are to be admitted on an equitable basis' and 'there is not unfair discrimination'. It is for this reason that Crush and Tawodzera (2011) argue that when it comes to education of children of irregular migrants, the Immigration Act is in conflict with other South African laws and indeed the Constitution itself.

To conclude, migrant parents and their children face a variety of barriers in their host countries which make the task of parenting difficult. However, the barriers for irregular migrant parents are doubly difficult to cross because according to law they are not supposed to exist. The Eastleigh Primary School incident and the subsequent discussions among foreign nationals in South Africa exemplify what Misago (2017) meant when talking of institutionalised forms of xenophobia (see Chapter 2.3). In terms of oppression this incident of exclusion and marginalisation of irregular migrant children shows that indeed oppression occurs through people's uncritical following of institutionalised rules. It is also important to note that during the Eastleigh Primary School incident, social workers were noticeably absent from the discussion, and the resolution of the problem. The social work role in the field of migration is the topic of the next section.

3.2 Social Work with Migrants

Like the preceding section, this section is divided into two parts. The first part discusses an idealized framework on how social services should be delivered to migrants generally and irregular migrant families, and the second part discusses how social work services are delivered 'on the ground' to irregular migrant parents. I chose to discuss social work with irregular migrants in this order so as to provide a framework on how social services should be delivered to these population groups and to compare with what is happening was is really happening on the ground. As a result of gaps that exist in social work literature on migrants in South Africa in writing these two sections I draw from literature from the Canadian, Australian, New Zealand, British contexts and the South African context.

3.2.1. An idealised view of how social services should be delivered to irregular migrant families

In this section I discuss how, according to available literature in this field, social services should be provided, to migrants generally and irregular migrant parents more specifically. Considering that this study is concerned with its participants' parenting experiences, in the first part of this section I explore

how South African policy makers envisage child and family centred services, focusing on South Africa's developmental social welfare model (Bosman-Sadie and Corrie 2010; Dutschke 2008) and provisions of the Children's Act 38 of 2005. Thereafter, I move to discuss the two central principles in social work, which are human rights and social justice. In this discussion, I look at their relevance for service provision to irregular migrant parents. I conclude the section by looking at how direct social services should be provided to migrants and specifically irregular migrants, as according to the levels of the environment.

According to the developmental social welfare model (Bosman-Sadie and Corrie 2010; Dutschke 2008) and the Children's Act 38 of 2005 child and family centred services have four levels of intervention. As per the Children's Act the first level is *Prevention.* According to the Act, prevention focuses on communities that do not yet have problems that would affect children and families, but because of issues such as crime and poverty are at risk of developing problems such as child neglect and abuse (see also Bosman Sadie and Corrie 2010; Dutschke 2008). As stated in the Children's Act, the second level of intervention is called *Early Intervention*. Here, social work services are rendered to children and families who have been identified as having problems, and services are rendered to prevent statutory intervention. Bosman-Sadie and Corrie (2010) and Dutschke (2008) state that the third level of intervention is the level of *Statutory Intervention.* On this level, social workers intervene in the lives of children and families using legislation and working through specialised courts. An example would be a child 'in need of care and protection' who is removed from the home environment by a social worker and placed in a Child and Youth Care Centre by a Children's Court, using the provisions of the Children's Act. The final level of intervention is called *Reunification,* which is when a child who had been removed from the home environment is returned back home and social work services are rendered with the aim of facilitating and supporting both child and family through the process (Bosman-Sadie and Corrie 2010; Dutschke 2008). I will return to importance of these services in Section 3.2.2 when discussing the recent intervention by DSD with Zimbabwean irregular migrant children.

Child and family centred work generally, and the South Africa's developmental social welfare model more specifically, are guided by an ethical framework, which at the broadest level has been formulated by the International Federation of Social Workers and the International Association of Schools of Social Work (IFSW/IASSW). The Global Definition of Social Work states that, 'social work is a practice-based profession and an academic discipline that promotes social change and development, social cohesion, and the empowerment and liberation of people' (IFSW/IASSW 2014:1), adding that the profession is guided by principles of social justice; human rights; collective responsibility and respect for diversity. The definition highlights that therefore, the aim of social work is to '…engage people and structures to address life challenges and enhance well-being' (IFSW/IASSW 2014:1).

Following the global document, Ethics in Social Work, Statement of Principles (IFSW/IASSW 2004), Hölscher (2016b) highlights that of all the professional principles listed in the Definition, human rights and social justice are central to informing social work practice with refugees and other migrants. Similarly, Hugman (2012:383) asserts that human rights and social justice are 'foundational to social work'. In working with irregular migrant parents, the two principles are definitely important because empowerment, collective, responsibility, enhancement of human well-being and ethical social work can only be achieved when human rights are upheld and social justice is promoted.

With respect to the two principles, I think it is essential to begin by discussing human rights, how they apply to social work, and then relate them to social justice. The United Nations Human Rights Office of the High Commissioner (OHCHR) (*no date*) states that, 'human rights are rights inherent to all human beings, whatever our nationality, place of residence, sex, national or ethnic origin, colour, religion, language or any other status.' Article 1 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UN General Assembly 1948) asserts that 'all human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights'. IFSW/IASSW (2012) argues that even though human beings are furnished with rights 'on paper', many a time these rights are violated, for example in the case of migrants, through xenophobia. How then do human rights relate to social work? As per the IFSW/IASSW (2014), 'advocating and upholding human rights … is the motivation and justification of social work.' In practice, social workers are expected to facilitate, and advocate for people to access their rights, including access to basic resources like food, water and shelter, thereby helping them maintain their human dignity (Hare 2004; IFSW/IASSW 2012; Rautenbach and Chiba 2010). Secondly, social workers uphold their service users' human rights by treating them as individuals and assisting them regardless of, for example, their irregular migrant status (IFSW/IASSW 2012a; Rautenbach and Chiba 2010).

In social work, human rights and social justice are often seen as overlapping and complementing each other (Hugman 2010). In spite of this close connection, they remain two different principles. According to Hölscher (2014), Fraser (2008) provides a useful framework for understanding social justice, especially in the field of social work with migrants. As discussed in Chapter 1.7, Fraser (2008:16) defines social justice as *participatory parity*, and for there to be parity in participation, impediments that prevent it should be removed at local, national and global scales. Fraser (2008:15) says that for there to be justice, there have to be recognition, redistribution, and the question as 'who' should be entitled to what types of justice should be addressed. Hölscher (2014) says, this understanding should inform what social work commitment to social justice would mean in practice. The South African Council of Social Service Professionals (*no date:6)* therefore, point out that social workers in promoting social justice should challenge social injustice and 'pursue social change particularly with and on behalf of vulnerable and

disadvantaged families, groups and communities'. Furthermore, the IFSW (2014) states that social work efforts should be focused on the reduction of poverty, unemployment, discrimination and other forms of social injustice.

In terms of how social justice and human rights overlap, Valtonen's (2015) discussion of equality is helpful. Valtonen (2015:101) states that the term equality comprises of both 'formal' and 'substantive equality'. Formal equality is about putting laws in place that ensure that everyone is equal. On the other hand, substantive equality is about the practical implementation of the formal equality and about 'taking difference into account and interprets equality as requiring different (rather than same) treatment.' In this way, substantive equality relates social justice and formal equality to human rights. As stated above, both human rights and social justice are principles that should guide social workers' goals and conduct.

According to Hugman (2012), human rights and social justice should inform both micro level and macro level practice, that is, both in counselling and structural social work (Hugman 2012). Valtonen (2008:14) adds that social work interventions should occur at all levels of the environment, which are namely 'micro, meso and macro' levels. Accordingly, Hugman (2010) and Segal (2012) state that social work interventions with migrants, too, occur according to micro, meso, and macro levels of the environment, where social workers adopt different roles and skills to intervene in the lives of migrants and refugees. In this way, generalist social work practice applies in the field of migration (Valtonen 2008), including, therefore, irregular migrant parents as a sub-group of migrants. As an illustration, Hugman *et al.* (2011:2) list the exact services provided for refugees and migrants as 'advocacy, aid, health services, trauma counselling, rehabilitation, settlement support, social recreational programmes, community development and educational programmes'. In addition, Segal (2012) highlights that the types of services should be provided according to the different levels of the environment, that is, at macro level social workers should be involved in migration and migrant policy formulation. At meso level social workers should be involved in community work programs which help provide linkages with social networks and also educate community members on the experiences of xenophobia. At a micro level, social workers in their different types of services agencies can help formulate programs that take into account the social, economic and psychological experience of migrants and these would be incorporated into direct service provision.

In terms of micro level practice, Valtonen (2008), Hölscher (2016b), Hugman (2010, 2012) and Segal (2012) unanimously agree that social workers should be aware that they are dealing with a group of people many of whom are experiencing post-traumatic stress. According to the authors, such stress is related both to the migration process and the host country condition, (Hugman 2010; Lacroix 2006) add that it also related to loss of county and adjusting to a new social status in the host country. Potocky-

Tripodi (2009) recommends therefore that social service interventions should be tailor-made specifically for migrants, as well as taking into account the cultural diversity of this service user group. Similarly, Hugman (2010:26), asserts that social workers in this field need to understand 'the deeper issues of culture' and how they affect people's everyday life. Finally as far as meso level of practice is concerned, Hugman (2010) states that in service provision practitioners should understand the different forms of discrimination faced by migrants and also be reflexive of their own positioning as members of the population that are discriminating. It is important to add here that an awareness of previous trauma, stress, of cultural diversity and competency in responding to this, should include an appreciation of the parental challenges experienced by migrants (see Section 3.1.2 above). These factors need to be taken into consideration when applying child and family centred policy and legislation, such as the developmental social welfare model and Children's Act discussed at the beginning of this section. A failure to do so would fall short of an expectation that social workers must promote human rights and social justice in their work.

Elaborating on macro level practice, Hugman *et al.* (2011) highlight that through bodies such as IFSW/IASSW, social workers are involved in debates and advocacy in refugee and migrant policy development at national and international levels. In spite of this, both Graham and Williams (2014) and Segal (2012) argue that social work has tended to neglect issues affecting different migrant groups at a global scale and that the profession is not sufficiently involved in advocating for their human rights and social justice, being preoccupied instead with the immediate needs of individual refugees and other migrants. Relating these debates to the South African context, Hölscher (2016a:68) recommends that '...there is an array of areas in which policy intervention are required', and that 'there should be a balance between contributing to wider society initiatives that intervene in structural, socio-economic challenges facing South Africa as a whole and targeting exclusionary discourses, attitudes, rules and practices that affect cross-border migrants....' At this level Hölscher (2016a) further recommends that social work practice should encourage different groups to co-exist.

Within the micro, meso and macro levels of interventions, Hölscher (2016b) highlights that ideally, social work practice with migrants should encompass contextual issues. Blaauw *et al.* (2017) claim that in South Africa, 'all [is] quiet on the social work front' when it comes to working with migrants. They highlight a dearth of literature from the African context and go on to state that the majority of texts on social work with migrants are based on 'Western' contexts. Hugman (2010:10) concurs that most social work literature and intervention models have been developed in the 'Global North'. This is a problem because some specific contextual issues might arise from the fact that South Africa is located in the 'Global South', thus a 'Global South-style' of social work with migrants will be necessary. Hugman (2010:9) goes on to

highlight that it is essential when developing contextually relevant interventions in the field of social work with migrants, that the profession considers the 'specific needs of service users, political and public attitudes towards migration and the provision, the professional location of social work the boundaries of social workers and the resources available to them'. In essence, even if in the form of idealist models, South African social work needs to produce more literature and research that speaks to the realities faced by Africans in the South African context (Blaauw *et al.* 2017).

To conclude, an idealised view of social work service delivery to irregular migrant parents in South Africa should incorporate the developmental social welfare model in working with children and families and social justice and human rights as the main guiding principles considering their status. An idealised framework should have intervention strategies that cut across micro, meso and macro levels of the environment and interventions should be relevant to the South African context. Finally an idealised view should take into account that irregular migrants are a distinct and distinctly vulnerable group. The vulnerability of irregular migrant parents occurs in three layers: them being migrants, them also being irregular migrants and them parenting children who are also irregular migrants. Based on this the importance of social work in the lives of irregular migrant parents cannot be overemphasized. The next section looks at the day to day to provision of services on the ground.

3.2.2. What is actually happening 'on the ground'

Even though international and national codes of ethics; legislation and policies create an expectation that social workers provide adequate services to irregular migrant parents, there is ample evidence that these expectations do not simply translate into practice, and that many practitioners are limited in their ability to do so. Social service provision to migrants is dependent on, and often limited by, a range of factors, including state policies, the availability of resources, and the government and general public's attitude towards migration (Hugman 2010). In this section I look into issues of *eligibility* and *availability* as barriers to social service provision (Browne, Glass and Holyoak 2016:157). I move on to explore how contextual issues and cultural awareness affect service provision to a service user group who are from a different country and face challenges in a receiving country that local social workers may be insensitive to. Thereafter, I discuss the role social work plays in the detection and arresting of irregular migrants and what this role means to an already invisible population. I conclude this discussion by looking at a recent case where social workers in South Africa dealt with irregular migrant children and their parents.

Based on their findings from a study with social service agencies in Utah in the United States of America, Browne *et al.* (2016:157) state that often service provision to migrants is dependent on the questions

both of 'eligibility' and 'availability of service'. As it shall be seen in the following paragraphs, there are many criteria that are used to determine whether or not different groups of migrants are eligible for social work services, and there are many role players who decide on matters of eligibility. The first and most important role player who decides which groups of migrants are eligible for social work services is the state. Dominelli (2002:33) highlights that the state is the most important role player because, 'social work is a small profession within a large state bureaucracy'. Cuadra (2015) and Jönsson (2014) state that compared to other groups of migrants the state's migration laws are most relevant to irregular migrants because they can prevent access to social services. Based on her study with social workers in Sweden, Cuadra (2015) problematises the role of the state in social work practice with different types of migrants. The author argues that the presence of the state prevents access to social work services even to those who are in fact entitled to service regardless of status and one such group are the children of irregular migrants. An example is a study conducted by Humphries (2004a:29) with social workers in Britain, where the then conservative British government used state laws to draw boundaries around those considered 'deserving' and those considered 'undeserving' of social services. Whether the British state regarded persons or groups as deserving or undeserving, was dependent on whether they held regular or irregular migrant status (Humphries 2004a). In South Africa it is the Immigration Act, the Immigration Amendment Acts and the Refugees Act that determine which groups of migrants should be assisted by social workers.

Besides the state deciding which group of migrants should or should not receive services, social workers themselves have their own criteria. Jönsson (2014:i41), who also conducted a study with social workers in Sweden, states that in service provision for irregular migrants is reliant on two discourses, which are 'the victim discourse' and 'the discourse of illegality'. According to Jönsson (2014:i41) 'the victim discourse' is affiliated with women and children who are seen as victims in irregular migration. Their victimhood is associated with them being women and children, and therefore, they are seen as deserving of social work's assistance. On the other hand, Jönsson (2014:i41) contends that 'the discourse of illegality' is associated with men who, because they are men, are seen not as victims but as people responsible for themselves and their families, and undeserving of assistance from social workers. Hölscher, Bozalek and Zembylas (2014) found in their study with refugees in South Africa that eligibility for United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR)-funded services was dependent on a two interlinked criteria. The first criterion for social work service provision was whether the client was a registered asylum seeker or refugee. The second criterion was used to subdivide the group of asylum seekers and refugees further: Hölscher *et al.* (2014:195) highlight that here, eligibility was based on '...assessing their level of *specific need*…' As funding in the organisation dried up, eligibility required an emergency, that is, the question was asked if a 'person [was] going to die' before he or she were assisted.

The many criteria used by social workers to decide who is eligible for social services or not - whether provided by the state or by social workers, whether they hinge on definitions and oppositions like regular vs irregular migrant, refugees vs asylum seeker, women and children vs men, or on their presumed levels of need - ultimately violate the idea of human rights on which social work is built upon. They also constitute acts of misframing based on citizenship and legal status, misrecognise people's own understandings of who they are and what support they need, and ultimately lead to maldistribution of access to support and services (see Fraser 2008; Hölscher 2014). They, therefore, constitute social injustice.

As highlighted by Browne *et al.* (2016), social work service provision is reliant on the availability of resources, in particular funding. Browne *et al.* (2016); Cuadra (2015); Hölscher (2014) and Hugman (2010) all highlight that in most instances, the eligibility criteria discussed above are linked to the fact that there is a large number of clients and limited funding. Humphries (2004a) claims that this is because in many instances, governments are increasingly unwilling to spend public money on social services for groups like migrants. However, some authors argue that it is not only social services for migrants that is underfunded but social work worldwide generally is an underfunded profession (Hölscher 2016b; Sewpaul and Hölscher 2004; Sewpaul 2013). Humphries (2004a:32) states that this is because, '...welfare has been increasingly regarded as a commodity and the culture of capitalism, business thinking has transformed it into a commercial enterprise with a goal.' In a statement on the Syrian refugee crisis, the IFSW/IASSW (2015) observed that, 'political bodies have proven they can find large sums of money to bail out banks and other financial institutions- but they seem reluctant to help out people in need'. Misframing, misrecognition and maldistribution in the case of migrants including irregular migrants, have an important root in an economic order in which social work service users are misregnosized generally and welfare services at large are underfunded.

A number of authors highlight that there are questions not only about who should qualify - that is, if services are available - but also about the appropriateness of those services that are in fact rendered to migrants (Browne *et al.* 2016; Hölscher 2016a; Hugman 2010; Segal 2012; Williams 2010). These authors state that social work training is often generalist in nature and in many cases does not include multicultural and language training. Browne *et al.* (2016) state that to bridge this gap, many social workers use volunteers from the population of migrants, claiming that this can sometimes affect communication in the helping relationship between clients and social workers. For example, it can render confidentiality difficult to maintain, thereby undermining the trust that is necessary for a helping relationship to develop. Contextual issues such as 'race/ethnicity, cultural background, and religion, [of both clients and] agency personnel' and a lack of 'critical consciousness' by social workers can also affect the appropriateness of the type of service rendered (Browne *et al.* 2016:161). Finally, apart from cultural and language

competency, Jönsson (2014) claims that some services provided by NGOs are not in response to the needs of migrants but according what they want to achieve themselves.

Beyond issues of eligibility, at times social workers are obliged legally to identify irregular migrants, with some even participating in their deportation (Browne *et al.* 2016; see also Humphries 2004a, 2004b). Humphries (2004b:102) problematises that this role is seemingly embraced by social workers, yet it is '...blatantly at odds with principles held by the profession.' Humphries (2004b:104) concludes that therefore, 'it is no wonder they [social workers] are despised and feared by the people they purport to help'. Cuadra (2015) agrees that this role often leads to irregular migrants distrusting social workers and states that in the end, this is an important reason why members of this group are failing to access social work services. For these reasons, Bhabha (2016) and Madamombe (2014) claim that the invisibility of migrants and their lack of access to public services places their children at risk. Generally, because of the issues like poverty, families may struggle to take of care of their children (Zinn, Eitzen and Wells 2011). Yet, the family according to Zinn *et al.* (2005) is a very private institution that at time maintains a certain imagine to those outside even when things might be going wrong. If added to this is a fearful relationship between families and the state because of irregularity, it means that social work will be unable to step in to assist even in cases of neglect and abuse.

As seen in preceding paragraphs, social workers participate in the drawing of boundaries around eligibility to social services for irregular migrants and they also participate in the state's deportation of irregular migrants. They thus take part in the discrimination and exclusion of clients which as discussed violates the rights of irregular migrants, constitutes social injustice and further violates the social work code of ethics on which the profession is built upon. As much as we want to the lay the blame for this exclusion and discrimination at the door of the social work profession, Browne *et al.* (2016) remind us that the profession in working with irregular migrants operates within a complicated economic, social and political environment. Furthermore, Cuadra (2015) highlights that because of this environment social workers cannot escape the requirements placed upon them by the state through migration laws and big funding organisations like the UN, thus, social workers sometimes cannot help but co-opt with the state and organisations like the UN in the exclusion of clients. From this Hölscher (2016a:65) states that, 'in this context, an image emerges of practitioners who are either co-opted as gatekeepers and agents of control, or who feel besieged by the exclusionary systems confronting their service users…' Because of all of this, Hugman (2010) contends that in working with irregular migrants it is difficult for social workers to work within ethical principles such as social justice and human rights. However, Humphries (2004a) argues that even though social workers are restricted, for instance by the state, they also don't make sufficient efforts to resist these restrictions. Hölscher (2014) concludes that as impossible as it might

seem it is necessity for the profession to criticise the way services are provided within these organisations.

The role of social work in the lives of irregular migrant families and children in South Africa was recently placed in the spotlight by the media, in a case involving irregular Zimbabwean migrant children who were brought into the country irregularly. Allegedly eight children with ages ranging from two to fourteen were found by members of the public in the company of smuggled adults in a truck at a garage in Rustenburg (Washanyira 2018a). It is alleged that they were brought into the country through the Beitbridge Border Post and were headed for Cape Town (Bornman 2018; Mngadi 2018; Washanyira 2018a). According to Washanyira (2018a), concerned members of the public opened the truck after they heard a child crying, following which a confrontation ensued between them and the adults in the truck, as well as the truck driver, who had come back from buying food. The police were called, and the truck driver and the adults in the truck were arrested for contravening the Immigration Act. The children, who were minors, were handed over to the Department of Social Development (Washanyira 2018a).

A number of issues relating to the Children's Act arose from how, subsequently, the social workers dealt with the children and their parents. Noteworthy was a statement made by the DSD spokesperson Lumka Oliphant who stated that, 'the parents were negligent and broke the law, contravened immigration law, hence are deemed unfit to be given the children' (Washanyira 2018b). Also, a judgement made by the High Court points out social workers, as per the Children's Act, considered the children to be in need of care and protection. The case reached the high court after the parents through their lawyer appealed the Minister of Social Development's decision to deport the children (Washanyira 2016b). The two points show that the parents were considered negligent.

According to Washanyira (2018a), after the children were taken by social workers, their location became unknown. Washanyira (2018a) alleges that not even the parents were told of their children's whereabouts. While some claimed that the children were in a facility in Brits (Washanyira 2018b), the DSD spokesperson said they were in fact in Child and Youth Care Centre in Rustenburg (South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC) 2018). The DSD further contended, after meeting with parents, that it could not be establish if the people who claimed to be the parents of their children were indeed telling the truth. It is unclear whether the children were given an opportunity to point out their parents.

Even though the parents asked for the children to be released into their care and argued that it would be in their best interest to do so (Washanyira 2018b), the children were recently repatriated to Zimbabwe. This is after a ruling to repatriate them was made by the Pretoria North Gauteng High Court (Mngadi 2018). Judge Bill Prinsloo in making his ruling stated that 'he could not fathom how parents could allow their children to travel with strangers, in a truck, from Beitbridge to Cape Town' (Mngadi 2018). In addition,

he stated that the 'he doubted that their parents acted in the best interest of the children' (Mngadi 2018). A ruling was made therefore in terms of Section 290 of the Children's Act, which speaks about the repatriation of trafficked children. The same Section states that this should occur where there is guaranteed safety and care in the children's country of origin. In this instance, a guarantee of safety and care was provided the Ministry of Labour and Welfare in Zimbabwean (Bornman 2018). After the judge's ruling, the spokesperson for DSD went on to say that this was a victory for children's rights in South Africa and that this case shows how South Africa is willing to protect the best interests of the child regardless of their status in the country (SABC 2018). Yet, the lawyer representing the parents argued in response that this was, 'a slap dash attempt at getting rid of their [the Departments of Home Affairs and Social Development] burdens and obligations to guarantee the safety of the children' and that for the parents to have 'been kept in the dark, without forthcoming explanation...has left them to assume they have been stripped of their parental rights' (Washanyira 2018b).

Questions arise as to whether the decisions made by DSD were indeed in the best of the Zimbabwean migrant children, or whether the Department and the social workers involved were working with DHA in enforcing immigration laws rather than protecting the rights of irregular migrant children. As was discussed in Chapter 2.1 and will be shown further in Chapter 5.1.3, we need to understand that Zimbabwean migration to South Africa is complex and often occurs in stages, where the parents migrate first and the children follow after. With some children concerned in this case being very young, the parents might indeed seem neglectful. Yet in most instances, it is not the desire of parents to place the children's harm way but many parents act out of desperation and a desire of parents for their children to have access to a better life in a foreign country like South Africa; a life they could not have in Zimbabwe (see Chapter 1 Introduction). Thus, to refuse parents access to their children based on the allegation that they were neglectful, on the claim that the Department was unable to prove the parents' identities and therefore needed to deport the children concerned, constitutes a serious form of misrecognition and misframing, and is therefore socially unjust. It is also violation of the rights of irregular migrant children whom the Department purported to protect regardless of migrant status. This case further shows how in South Africa, too, some social workers can become implicated in the deportation of irregular migrants, and even the separation of children from their parents, while at the same time claiming to uphold their profession's ethical principles.

In sum, social workers in their day-to-day service provision to different groups of migrants struggle to work within ethical professional principles. They are seen as participating with other stakeholders such as the state in the drawing of boundaries around who should or should not have access to social services. They are also seen participating in the identification and deportation of irregular migrants and their

children.

Conclusion

Regardless of the many difficulties faced by social workers working with different groups of migrants, the potential for social work to make a positive difference through its guiding ethical principles, in the lives of irregular migrant parents raising children under conditions of irregularity cannot be overemphasized. Firstly, parenting has many difficulties and many responsibilities are placed on the parents by the state and society. The definitions of what parenting is and the responsibilities placed upon parents do not pay attention to issues like the ecological environment in which the family exists in, parental roles in families; the developmental stages of children which come with their own demands, and, the ethnicity, cohort, age and class of parents. Secondly, in addition to the general responsibilities those parenting in migration experience stress affiliated with barriers in the economic, social and political environment, with the Eastleigh Primary School incident being a perfect example of problems faced by irregular migrant parents in their host countries. Unfortunately though, the potential to make a difference in the lives of irregular migrant parents and their children is limited by social work itself, and by the state, as seen with the incident with Zimbabwean irregular migrants. It must be emphasized that even where these migrants are categorised as 'irregular', they are on the move due to compelling reasons and should be afforded the same care by social workers that is offered to citizens. I shall respond to all the concerns presented and discussed in Chapter 2 and 3 by presenting the findings for my study. First, however, the study's methodology is discussed.

Chapter 4: Research Methodology

In this chapter I discuss the research methodology used in conducting this study. This research adopted a qualitative interpretive research methodology. Some methodical alterations were made in the process of conducting the study due to conditions in the field, however, none of these entailed departures from the research methodology as proposed. All adjustments made are explicated below. Also, a reflexive diary was kept during data collection and during the writing of the dissertation and used to reflect on my positioning as a Zimbabwean student conducting research with other Zimbabweans in South Africa and assisted with the writing of this chapter. The methodological choices made in the course of the study are discussed in the following order: research paradigm, research design, sampling, data collection methods, data analysis, ethics, trustworthiness, potential value of the study and limitations.

4.1 Research Paradigm

The interpretive methodology is based on the qualitative research paradigm. Qualitative research studies people's subjective experiences through an interactive and intersubjective approach in which the researcher interacts with study participants in an empathic manner (Terre Blanche and Durrheim 2006). As per Terre Blanche and Durrheim (2006:6), 'paradigms are all-encompassing systems of interrelated practice and thinking that define for researchers the nature of their enquiry along three dimensions: ontology, epistemology and methodology.' Terre Blanche and Durrheim (2006:6) state that the term ontology refers to the 'nature of reality' being studied; epistemology defines the relationship between the researcher and the reality being studied, and methodology sets out how a particular researcher will go about studying a particular reality.

The qualitative research paradigm has an ontology that focuses on the reality being studied as made up of people's subjective experiences (Terre Blanche and Durrheim 2006). In this study the subjective experiences of Zimbabwean irregular migrants raising children under conditions of irregularity were explored. From this follows an interactive and intersubjective epistemological approach in which the researcher interacts with participants in an empathic manner (Terre-Blanche and Durrheim 2006). The methodology used to study people's subjective experiences is reliant on the interactive relationship between the researcher and the participant (Terre Blanche and Durrheim 2006). The subjective interaction with research participants was influenced by my positioning as a Zimbabwean citizen and social worker. As per Terre Blanche, Kelly and Durrheim (2006:277), 'in interpretive research, subjectivity is not considered the enemy of the truth, but the very thing that makes it possible for us to understand personal and social realities empathically.' They further state that it should be shown how the subjective

interaction was used to benefit the research. This subjectivity is discussed in greater detail in this chapter's sections on sampling; data collection methods; ethics; trustworthiness and strengths and limitations of the study.

An exploratory-descriptive design, purposive and snowball sampling strategies, semi-structured interviews as the means of data collection and thematic content analysis of the collected data all fit within an interactive, intersubjective and emphatic nature of the qualitative paradigm and they are explained in the subsections below.

4.2 Research design

An exploratory-descriptive design was used for this study. According to Durrheim (2006), a research design should be guided by four important components, which are: the purpose guiding the research; the context within which the research is being conducted; the research paradigm and the techniques used in collecting and analysing data; and the theoretical framework informing the study. A research design should also have coherence that is, its purpose, context, paradigm and techniques should fit together (Durrheim 2006). According to Babbie and Mouton (2001), an exploratory design looks into new topics, areas and subjects with the expectation of providing insight into and an understanding of experiences of participants in new fields of study. Descriptive studies aim to describe events, phenomena and observations narratively, thickly and richly (Babbie and Mouton 2001; Durrheim 2006). The exploratory-descriptive design was appropriate for the study because, as highlighted in Chapter 1.3 (Problem Statement), the effects of irregular migration on parenting experiences are a field of study that is under-researched in social work at present. Thus, in the presentation of findings in Chapter 5, I provide an understanding of the experiences of these participants. Furthermore, I thickly described the experiences of irregular migrant parents raising their children under conditions of irregularity. These thick descriptions are done using verbatim quotes, which are embedded in detailed contextual descriptions.

4.3 Sampling: Purposive and Snowball Sampling

Participants for this study were selected through purposive sampling and accessed using snowball sampling. According to Durrheim and Painter (2006), sampling is the selection of research participants from their representative population. Purposive sampling is guided by the purpose of the study and the researcher's knowledge of the population being studied (Babbie and Mouton 2001). Therefore, according to Leedy and Ormrod (2005:206), a purposive sample is selected to meet a 'particular purpose', that is, their ability to provide information on a particular topic. To identify such participants, criteria are

developed, justified and applied (Babbie and Mouton 2001; Leedy and Ormrod 2005). The sample, as proposed, was to consist of ten to twelve participants, dependent on availability. The purposive sampling criteria used for the study were as follows:

- All participants should be Zimbabwean migrants because this group was known to include irregular migrants, as well as being known and accessible to me as a Zimbabwean citizen.
- There should be an equal number of Ndebele and Shona speakers, as these are the two main languages spoken in Zimbabwe
- Participants should have resided in South Africa irregularly and raised children as irregular migrants at some point in their lives, but for ethical reasons, at the point of interviewing should have regularised their stay
- In order to be able to give detailed and nuanced accounts of their experiences, participants should have raised their children under conditions of irregularity for three to five years prior being regularised

In addition, the sample was intended to consist of-

- Both male and female participants-
- Single parents and parents who raised their children jointly
- Parents of children at different ages, that is, birth to 18 years

Between February and July 2017, ten research participants were recruited for this study. As anticipated, I had difficulties accessing participants because some were uncomfortable with being recorded and two withdrew due to the sensitivity of the research topic. Nonetheless, ten participants was a reasonable number considering these difficulties. The number is also appropriate for the exploratory-descriptive design in that it allowed for deep descriptions and exploration of participants as discussed in the research design above (See 4:3 Research Design). Appendix 1 provides an overview of the participants who eventually agreed to be part of the study.

As proposed, the sample consisted entirely of Zimbabwean migrants included both Ndebele and Shona speakers, which are the two main languages spoken in Zimbabwe. With Ndebele being close to isiZulu and Shona being distinct from any of South Africa's local languages, the two languages open different possibilities of, and limitations to, blending into South African social and economic life, and accessing resources (Siziba 2016). The sample, however, did not consist equally of Ndebele and Shona speakers as planned as there were six participants from the former group and four from the latter. The Ndebele speaking participants were easier for me to recruit because I have access to relevant social networks in Johannesburg (see discussion of snowball sampling below). Following a recruitment period of four weeks,

interviews with the Ndebele speaking participants were completed within the week of 11 to 16 February 2017, and all interviews were conducted in Johannesburg. On the other hand, I experienced difficulties in accessing Shona speaking participants in Johannesburg, which had initially been proposed as the study location. This sample was accessed subsequently in Durban. Here, the recruitment and interview period overlapped and took place between 5 May and 27 July 2017.

The original sample was to consist of Zimbabwean migrants who were illegal in South Africa and were raising children as irregular migrants. For ethical reasons I opted to interview migrants who were previously who had since been able to regularise their status through the Zimbabwean Special Dispensation Permit (ZSP). However, due to difficulties faced in the field accessing those who had the ZSP, this sampling criterion was expanded to include participants from a diverse range of statuses, but all of whom shared a previously irregular status. Thus, five participants in the study are holders of the ZSP, four have asylum seekers permits and one has a student permit. The sampling criteria was also supposed to consist of Zimbabwean migrants who had been raising their children under conditions of irregularity for 3-5 years. I was unable to access participants who strictly met this period. The period of irregularity for participants now ranges from 1-6 years and dates back between a few weeks and seven years prior to the interview.

In addition, the sample consisted of both male and female participants; single parents and parents raising their children jointly; as well as parents of children of different ages, that is, birth to 18 years. These criteria served to allow for insights into the different experiences of male and female participants, emanating from carrying sole and shared parental responsibilities, and from raising children at different developmental stages.

As mentioned above, participants were recruited using snowball sampling. In snowball sampling, the researcher is able to identify one potential participant, and uses this connection to access other members of the same population group (Babbie and Mouton 2001). Snowball sampling is used for population groups who have been stigmatised, either are or have been engaged in illegal activities, or for other reasons are hard to find (Babbie and Mouton 2001). This method proved necessary in the context of this study and enabled me, over time, to identify prospective participants who were willing to speak about their experiences of irregular migration.

To recruit participants, I made connections through a total of four acquaintances who referred me to friends, colleagues and customers in contexts such as hair salons, restaurants and factories. I explained my sampling criteria to these joint acquaintances and provided them with my contact details, which I said they should pass to anyone, who met the sampling criteria and was potentially interested in the study. I

then made myself available to explain the study to potential participants via SMS, WhatsApp, calls or by passing messages through our joint acquaintances, depending on individual preferences. I continued with this process until the required sample size was reached. To ensure anonymity of participants, both the joint acquaintances and the prospective participants themselves were advised not to reveal their true identities to me; however, none of them found this precaution to be necessary.

4.4 Data Collection: Semi-structured Interviews with Individuals and Couples

Data was collected through semi-structured individual interviews with six participants. In addition, semi-structured interviews were held with two couples (husband and wife) who were interviewed jointly at their request, bringing the total number of interviews to eight. This type of interviews, according to Kelly (2006), fits within the qualitative research paradigm. While in qualitative studies, focus group discussions are a popular alternative, I opted for individual and couple interviews rather than focus group discussions, as this method allows for more privacy and makes it easier to assure participants of confidentiality. Assurance of confidentiality was important due to the sensitive nature of the topic that was researched. As recommended by Kelly (2006), the interviews were guided by a semi-structured interview guide containing relevant topics and themes prepared before the interviews (See Appendix 2). Questions in the interview guide ranged from broad to narrow, allowing me to keep the interviews on track, while allowing participants sufficient opportunity to bring their own interests and priorities into the conversation (Kelly 2006). In this way, a semi-structured interview format enabled, firstly, a deeper exploration of issues than a structured interview format would. Secondly, it allowed me to maintain more control than an unstructured interview format would have done, thereby enabling me to ensure that all the topics that were required to answer the research questions would be covered (Kelly 2006).

The interviews took place after the participants gave their informed consent, which was after I had explained in detail what the study was about and their rights as participants (See Section 4.6 below). According to Kelly (2006) interviews have to be conducted in an environment where participants can freely express themselves. Although I had arranged to use one of the local churches frequented by Zimbabwean migrants as I had thought this would be the most comfortable and neutral place to do the interviews, 80% of the participants elected to be interviewed in their homes and 20% in their workplaces. With the consent of the participants, all interviews were recorded and thereafter transcribed. One of the Ndebele speaking and all of the Shona speaking participants were interviewed in English. The remainder of the interviews were conducted in Ndebele and translated during transcription (see Appendices 4 and

5 for samples of an individual and a couple interview, respectively). Notes were taken during and after the interviews to keep track of important points, questions and body language (Kelly 2006). These notes assisted in the analysis of the interview contents, which are subject of Chapter 5 (see Appendix 6 for an example of the notes taken during an interview).

4.5 Data Analysis: Thematic Content Analysis

In qualitative data analysis, there is no clear dividing line between data collection and data analysis in that both occur interdependently. A phenomenon has to be thickly described, which includes the description of processes, transactions and contexts in ways that allow for the conceptual linking of interview contents with the contextual conditions within which they have occurred (See Section 4.2: Research Design). Though preliminary forms of data analysis accompany the data collection, there is nonetheless a point where data collection ends and data analysis occurs on its own. Thematic content analysis was the chosen analysis method in this study, which means that there were certain steps that needed to be followed (Terre Blanche, Durrheim and Kelly 2006). These were, familiarisation and immersion, inducing themes, coding, elaboration, and interpreting and checking are they discussed sequentially order below:

Data analysis in thematic content analysis begins with **familiarisation and immersion**. Here, according to Terre Blanche *et al.* (2006) researcher immerse themselves in the data collected until they are able to locate the data and know what kind of conclusions can be reached from it. In the process of data collection, transcription and translation of the interviews, I familiarised and immersed myself in the data. My positioning as Zimbabwean citizen allowed for quick familiarisation and immersion into the data. Thus before the actual induction of themes began, I had ideas around possible themes, as well as a good sense of which participants spoke about what issues, and where I would look for suitable quotes.

In the second stage of data analysis, the researcher is to **induce themes**. In inducing themes, the researcher groups data into different classes. According to Terre Blanche *et al.* (2006), themes should be named using the language of research participants. Yet at the same time, the researcher looks critically into the data instead of just summarising. In this process, themes should be organised such that there are neither too many, nor too few themes, bearing in mind the desired length and complexity of the study's data analysis chapter. While following these guidelines in this study, I kept the main aim of the research in mind at all times. I used the words, phrases and experiences of participants to induce themes. I created a chart with seven possible themes, which I then reduced and divided into sub-themes (see discussion of elaboration below).

The third stage of data analysis is **coding**. Here the researcher analyses the data theme by theme, making choices as to whether she wants to code words, phrases, sentences, or even paragraph. The same phrase, sentence and paragraph can be coded several times, using a different colour. The purpose of the coding exercise is to group data into themes (Terre Blanche *et al.* 2006). During coding, themes were integrated and the number of themes was reduced to five and were laid out in a chart. While many researchers code on their soft copies and use specifically designed software to assist in the process, I opted to print out all eight interviews and cut out different interesting quotes, paragraphs and phrases, grouped them according to themes, and glued them to different colour papers. Where quotes fitted into more than one theme, cross references were inserted. This enabled me to visualise my emerging analysis and provided for a physical engagement with the data, simply by moving around and matching quotes within different themes. To illustrate the coding process, Appendix 7 contains an example of coded data.

The fourth stage in data analysis is **elaboration**. The aim here is to look closely at the previously coded themes checking how they fit together, differ, as well as exploring what kinds of sub-themes can, or should, be developed from them (Terre Blanche *et al.* 2006). The outcome of this process is visualised in Table 4.1 below and provided the structure for Chapter 5. The writing of the chapter formed what Terre Blanche *et al.* (2006) calls the stage of **interpreting and checking**. In the process of writing the chapter, I compared and contrasted the contributions made by the different study participants, looking for similarities and contradictions, placing these in context, all with the view to answering the research questions. It is at this point that it became apparent that the data generated from individual and couple interviews differed somewhat in that the couples tended at times to both stimulate and caution each other in the course of the interview. This kind of exchange is visible in Appendix 5.

Themes	Sub-themes
1.Migration Causes: Initial Hopes and Aspirations of Irregular Migrant Parents in South Africa	1. Zimbabwe's social, political and economic instability and the 'push' to migrate 2. Social networks and the 'pull' of South Africa 3. Why do migrant parents 'choose' to move their children under conditions of irregularity?
2. Migration Experiences: Responsibilities and Tasks of Irregular Migrant Parents	1. Parenting and law enforcement agencies in South Africa 2. Meeting basic human needs and accessing human services

	3. Other Parenting Issues and concerns
	4. Psychological distress and coping mechanisms among Irregular Migrant Parents
3. Overall Evaluations of 'Migration Experiences'	1. Successes of irregular migrant parents
	2. Broken dreams and disappointments

Table 4.1 Themes

4.6 Ethics

The research was guided by research ethics of the University of KwaZulu Natal. According to Babbie and Mouton (2001), research ethics are associated with questions of morality, specifically what is right and wrong in conducting research. Ethics in research are essential because they protect research participants from being exploited by researchers (Wassenaar 2006). According to Wassenaar (2006), four main principles should guide ethical research: autonomy and respect for the dignity of persons, non-maleficence, beneficence, and justice. These four principles guided the study as follows:

The principle of **autonomy and respect** for the dignity of persons, according to Wassenaar (2006), finds expression in the research practice of voluntary participation and informed consent. Voluntary participation and informed consent are interrelated. Prospective participants give informed consent after the researcher explains the study in detail and accurately (Wassenaar 2006). They should understand the information explained by the researcher, including the risks entailed in participating in the study. They should also understand that participation is voluntary (Wassenaar 2006). Participation is voluntary according to Wassenaar (2006), when people are not forced or deceived into participation; and when they also know that they can withdraw at any stage of the study. During the data collection process, I followed these suggestions closely; the informed consent form, which was translated into both Ndebele and Shona, is attached as Appendix 3 to this dissertation.

Autonomy and respect for dignity is also about confidentiality (Wassenaar 2006), which according to Babbie and Mouton (2001) includes protecting the identities of research participants. This protection is important because in many studies, participants reveal the most personal information which sometimes is even unknown to those close to them (Babbie and Mouton, 2001). In this way, it is closely related to the principle of **nonmaleficence**. According to Wassenaar (2006), this principle serves to assist the researcher in making sure that research participants are not harmed by participating in the research. In

this study, I use pseudonyms. Participants are referred in the data analysis chapter (See Chapter 5) according the numerical order of participation, for example participant 1, 2, 3 etc. In view of participants' previous, irregular life in South Africa, it was necessary to twerk certain biographical details (Miller 2000). This was done in agreement with the participants concerned. Finally, Wassenaar (2006) recommends that to protect the identities of participants, recorded interviews are kept safe. In this study, all interview transcripts were anonymised. Hard copies of these transcripts were kept in a locked cabinet in the office of my supervisor and torn upon completion of the data analysis. Soft copies are kept in a password-protected file to which only my supervisor and I have access, and will be destroyed within five years from the date of their collection, i.e. in 2022.

Nonmaleficence is about protecting participants from possible trauma and re-traumatisation that might arise from their participation in a study. The literature reviewed for the study revealed that migration is stressful and traumatic (See Chapters 2 and 3). Indeed, it will be revealed in the data analysis (Chapter 5) that for some participants, talking about their experiences of migration and irregularity did evoke memories of trauma and stress. As a social worker, I have been trained to pick signs of such traumatisation, which include 'reexperiencing' and 'hyperarousal, avoidance, negative cognitions and mood' (American Psychiatric Association 2013:277). There were instances during the interviews where I could see that participants were re-traumatised, and I provided immediate debriefing. I had also made arrangements with the Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation in Johannesburg and with the Catholic Archdiocese of Durban Refugee Pastoral Care in Durban for follow-up counselling, should it be required. However, the participants that I had identified as being in need of counselling refused to be referred, even though they were now documented and their irregular status was not issue. This may have been the case because due to previous experiences with them, participants did not trust public institutions, irrespective of whether these were government or non-government institutions, (See Chapter 5.2). In Durban, one couple took up the offer of referral for follow-up services, however, this was motivated not so much by a perceived need for counselling as by the couple's desperate need for material support.

The principle of **beneficence** means that research is supposed to benefit a study's participants, either directly or indirectly. Participants of this study might benefit directly to the extent that it leads to better access to services. They might also benefit indirectly if it adds to existing knowledge in the field, which could ultimately lead to direct benefits (see Section 4.10). Hugman *et al.* (2011) caution that especially in research with refugees and other migrants, some people might choose to participate in a study based upon expectations of receiving immediate and tangible benefits, which can often not be met. In view of this concern, I problematised prospective participants' expectations of financial gain. These discussions happened prior to the signing of the informed consent form and were also repeated during and after data

collection. None of the prospective participants were lost after I had explained this. The reason for this might be that on account of the clarity offered, participants adjusted their expectations and stayed on due to other anticipated benefits, such as being heard, taken seriously, and being able to process painful experiences.

Justice is a complex philosophical principle to achieve (Wassenaar 2006). However, Wassenaar (2006:67) suggests that in simple terms, justice means for people to 'receive what is due to them'. This requires that throughout the research process, a researcher treats participants with fairness and equity. Fairness is achieved when participants are not sampled through for reasons of mere convenience. As discussed in Section 4.3, participants in the study were sampled using purposive and snowball sampling. Furthermore, Hugman *et al.* (2011) emphasise that to achieve justice people are supposed to be active participants throughout a study. In the study, justice was achieved firstly, through the use of a semi-structured interview guide, which allowed participants to co-determine the content of the interview (see Section 4.5), and secondly, through member checks, which allowed participants to reconsider and correct any content that, in their view, might have been misperceived, misinterpreted, or which participants might have changed their mind about after the interview (see Section 4.8: Trustworthiness).

The conventional, 'four principles' approach to research ethics is mainly concerned about the protection of research participants, based on assumption that researchers may take advantage of them. However at times, researchers, too, need protection from harm that may emanate from the research process. My own experience evidences this in that the data collection process was traumatic for me as a researcher. The trauma emanated from a sense of powerlessness I felt in the face of participants' hardships (see reflexive diary, Appendix 8). It also came from the stories shared by the participants on their different experiences of irregularity. I used regular supervision to deal with the trauma. One of the recommendations included in Chapter 6.4 emanates from, and responds to this experience.

4.7 Trustworthiness

Qualitative researchers have different methods than positivists to establish the objectivity of their research and to convince readers that their findings are worth paying attention to (Babbie and Mouton 2001; Shenton 2004). According to Guba and Lincoln (cited in Babbie and Mouton 2001), qualitative researchers achieve objectivity by applying the concept of trustworthiness. According to them, trustworthiness can be achieved through ensuring that a study is credible, transferable, dependable, and confirmable. These four dimensions are interlinked and were applied in this study as follows:

Credibility: According to Babbie and Mouton (2001:277), the term credibility refers to the 'compatibility between constructed realities that exist in the minds of the respondents and those that are attributed to them'. Babbie and Mouton (2001), state that credibility can be ensured, among other measures, through peer debriefing, member checks and triangulation. Peer debriefing is a process where a peer with insight into the research, who is at the same level as the researcher, reviews the work of the researcher and questions the decisions taken (Babbie and Mouton 2001). I have a peer who was a masters student like me, and who proofread my work. This peer went through the interviews, my interpretations of the data, as well as the initial drafts of my data analysis chapter and provided feedback of the extent to which they represent the data collected. An example of how this peer review process benefited the study is that I was initially unaware of social networks as an emerging sub-theme, but after she pointed out its importance, I included it as a subsection in the presentation and discussion of the study's findings (see Chapter 5.1.2).

To ensure credibility further, I conducted member checks, that is, going back to the research participants and checking if what they said was correctly interpreted (Babbie and Mouton 2001). The participants were afforded the opportunity to read the first draft of my data analysis chapter and to comment on my interpretations. Participant 9 said that the data was well analysed and he had nothing more to add. Participant 1 after reading the chapter reiterated and emphasized the issues discussed in Chapter 5 (see Appendix 9). This feedback was considered in subsequent drafts of the paper. Finally, I already discussed in Section 4.5: Data Collection that two couples requested to be interviewed jointly. I agreed to this, but used the same interview guide with the couples as I used in the individual interviews. Notwithstanding this, the couple interviews generated somewhat different insights into the issues at stake in the study (see Section 4.6: Data Analysis). In this way, the credibility of the study was enhanced.

Transferability: According to Babbie and Mouton (2001), transferability requires a researcher to assist the readers of her research report to decide on the extent to which her findings can be applied to other contexts. This in turn requires the researcher to provide thick descriptions of the phenomena being studied, including the context of the study. Purposive sampling also assists with transferability (Babbie and Mouton 2001). This study used purposive sampling, and thick descriptions on the experience of parenting under conditions of irregularity in South Africa are provided in the data analysis chapter.

Dependability: According to Babbie and Mouton (2001:278), dependability means that 'an enquiry must ... provide its audience with evidence that if it were to be repeated with the same or similar respondents … in the same (or similar) context, its findings would be similar'. Thick descriptions mentioned in the discussion of transferability above also help ensure dependability. In addition, researchers can provide

an audit trail which enables readers to examine if the interpretations of the researcher are represented in the data collected (Babbie and Mouton 2001). The audit trail for this study is appended to this dissertation and comprises the following: informed consent forms in English; Shona and Ndebele; interview guide; notes taken during the interviews; member checks; peer debrief; a selection of the whatsapp conversation between me and my supervisor and a reflexive diary; interview samples both individual and couple interviews and steps taken to analyse the data. All these are apprehended as appendices to this dissertation.

Confirmability: Finally, trustworthiness can be attained by ensuring that the biases of the researcher do not influence the study and the information reflected is only of the participants (Babbie and Mouton 2001; Shenton 2004). According to Shenton (2004), this is done through explication of the researcher's predispositions (see Chapter 1.6: *Underlying Assumptions*). Babbie and Mouton (2001) add that confirmability can be ensured through member checks, which were discussed above in the paragraph on credibility. Finally, researchers should enable their readers to trace their interpretations, conclusions and recommendations back to their original source. This was achieved by means of the audit trail discussed above.

Keeping a reflexive diary (see Appendix 10 for an example) and the use of regular supervision helped me reflect on my positioning as a Zimbabwean citizen, ethnicity, professional identity, my position of being a student as well as a researcher, and its methodological impact. In this way, both were particularly important tools in ensuring confirmability. These reflections enhanced my ability to include critical discussions of my social positioning in Sections 4.4: Sampling, 4.5: Data Collection and to 4.6: Data Analysis above, and in Section 4:10: Strengths and Limitations of the Study below.

4.8 Strengths and Limitations of the Study

According to Terre Blanche and Durrheim (2006) it is important for researchers to be aware of problems they might come across when conducting a study. They say it is also important to have solutions that will counter these problems. However, often limitations are intertwined with strengths, and when seeking to limit the former and maximise the latter, it is important to be mindful of how the two aspects are interlinked. The two main concerns in this study were my own social positioning, and my ethical responsibilities towards the participants in this study. These are included in the discussion below.

The first set of strengths and limitation to this study was my own positioning as a Zimbabwean migrant, in that participants sometimes spoke in terms of an assumption that since I am Zimbabwean living in South Africa, I, too, know inside information pertaining to their daily migration experiences. For example,

one the participants spoke of police agents as 'volunteers', assuming that I would know who these people were, but I did not. I was attentive to such assumptions and asked questions wherever such arose. However, my positioning as a Zimbabwean was not only a limitation but also a strength. As discussed in Section 4.7 on confirmability, my citizenship enabled me to access hard-to-find participants, and my ethnicity allowed me relatively easy access to Ndebele speaking participants. Finally, my positioning as a South African-based Zimbabwean caused me to get emotionally involved in the study. While on the one hand, this emotional involvement was traumatic and slowed down the dissertation writing process, it also enhanced my ability to engage with research participants.

The study's feasibility presented another limitation. My concerns about feasibility were associated with the sensitive nature of the topic and how this would affect access to prospective participants (see 4.3: Sampling). This limitation was resolved by sampling participants using snowball sampling. Secondly, I was concerned that the prior irregularity of the participants' stay in South Africa might lead some to distort information. To address this, I assured them of confidentiality as explained in Section 4.7: Ethics. I believe that indeed, this helped all participants to speak more freely and honestly than they otherwise might have. A final limitation emanates from my ethical responsibilities. As discussed in Section 4.7, I had to falsify and omit some of the information related to identities and biographical details of the participants. This limitation, however, could not be addressed because in human science research, the protection of participants trumps everything else. In spite of these challenges, I believe that the study generated a range of in-depth insights that are worth paying attention to. These are presented in the following chapter which presents and discusses the study's findings.

Chapter 5: Presentation and Discussion of Findings

In this chapter I present findings of the study, *The lived experience of Zimbabwean migrants raising children under conditions of irregularity in South Africa.* As stated in Chapter 4, data for this study was collected using semi-structured interviews with ten research participants. Six of these interviews were done individually, and another two interviews were held with couples consisting of husband and wife. There were seven female participants and three male participants, with ages ranging from 27 to 45. Two of the participants were single parents and eight were married; six were Ndebele and the other four were Shona speakers. Five participants were university degree holders with the other five having completed their high school education. At the time of the interviews, one participant was unemployed and dependent on her family, three were employed as domestic workers, one as a waitress and five were employed as general hands. Ten of the participants' children were male and six were females, and their ages ranged from birth to eighteen years. Appendix 1 presents an overview of the research participants, all of whom are quoted in this chapter.

The data analysis brought to the fore three interrelated themes. The first theme is *Migration Causes: Initial Hopes and Aspirations of Irregular Migrant Parents in South Africa*. This theme comprises three sub-themes, namely *Zimbabwe's political and economic situation and the 'push' to migrate; Social networks and the 'pull' of South Africa* and; *Why do irregular migrant parents 'choose' to raise their children under conditions of irregularity?*. The second theme constitutes the core of this study and is entitled, *Migration experiences: responsibilities and tasks of irregular migrant parents.* Four sub-themes fall within this theme, namely, *Policing and law enforcement agencies in South Africa; Meeting basic human needs and accessing human services; Other parenting issues and concerns* and, *Psychological distress and coping mechanisms among irregular migrant parents.* The theme concluding this chapter is, *Overall Evaluations of Migration Experiences*, with the following two sub-themes: *Successes of irregular migrant parents* and, *Broken dreams and disappointments.* All three themes are discussed with reference to the literature review and the theoretical framework of the study. While none of the participants encountered any social workers, I do refer, where appropriate, to the different kinds of services that could have been rendered. At the end of this chapter, it should be clear why participants left their country, what their experiences were as parents with an irregular status in South Africa, the extent to which these experiences met their expectations of South Africa, and if indeed oppression and social injustice occurred on the grounds of social group identity.

5.1. Migration Causes: Initial Hopes and Aspirations of Irregular Migrant Parents in South Africa

Participants migrated and opted to raise their children under conditions of irregularity because of multi-layered reasons related to the sending country, the receiving country, and to the participants themselves. In this theme, I discuss the reasons why participants said they had migrated from Zimbabwe to South Africa, relating these to the models discussed in Chapter 2.1. As highlighted above, this theme is divided into three sub-themes. Subtheme *5.1.1 Zimbabwean social, political and economic instability and the 'push' to migrate* looks at reasons for migration as affiliated to Zimbabwe's political, social and economic instability. In the second subtheme *5.1.2 Social networks* and *the lure of South Africa*, I discuss factors causing migration in relation to South Africa's political, social and economic attractiveness. Also in this sub-theme, I consider the contribution to migration of participants' social networks both in sending and receiving countries. I conclude this theme with sub-theme *5.1.3 Why do irregular migrant parents 'choose' to raise their children under conditions of irregularity?* by exploring, firstly, why parents migrated their Zimbabwean-born children to South Africa and secondly, where children were born in South Africa, why participants chose to live with their children in the country under conditions of irregularly.

5.1.1 Zimbabwe's social, political and economic instability and the 'push' to migrate

For the last two decades, Zimbabwe has been going through political, economic and social turmoil which has pushed citizens into migration (Bloch 2010; Crush *et al.* 2015; Idemudia *et al.* 2013). As discussed in Chapter 2.1, push factors are negative events occurring in sending countries that contribute to citizens' decision to migrate (Londt *et al.* 2016; Roestenburg 2013). Nine out of ten participants in this study stated that they were 'pushed' to migrate from Zimbabwe: six stated openly that they migrated because of problems that the country was facing, with another three alluding more indirectly to the country's political, social and economic situation as a key driver to their migration, mentioning these challenges many times across different parts of the interviews. These nine participants had migrated to South Africa between 1999 and 2014 hence were part of the 'third wave' of Zimbabwean migration to South Africa (see Crush *et al.* 2015). The tenth participant was the only one who did not speak of socio-economic hardships and political turmoil as reasons for her migration; she migrated from Zimbabwe in 1997 as part of the 'second wave', that is prior to the country's political, economic and social meltdown (see Crush *et al.* 2015). Participant 9's statement was typical of the third wave migrants' sentiments expressed in this study:

I mean, after experiencing [the] economic meltdown in Zimbabwe … fleeing from the political, socio-political instability which is definitely detrimental to the economic lapsing in Zimbabwe [pause] so well, yah! That's why we are here.

Similarly, Participant 7 stated:

The reason why I came to South Africa [was that for me] as a teacher, it was unbearable in Zimbabwe in 2006 - around 2005, 06, 07 - in terms of financial survival.

These two quotes illustrate some of the ways in which the political, economic and social situation of Zimbabwe was experienced by participants when they decided to migrate from their country. It is important to note also how explicit Participants 7 was about his decision to migrate being a matter of survival, thereby supporting claims that much of Zimbabwean migration is survivalist in nature (see Crush *et al.* 2015). In ecosystemic terms, these two quotes demonstrate how macro level problems such as Zimbabwe's collapsing economy translated at the micro level into individual hardships, such as 'unbearable' financial problems, eventually pushing some people to migrate across Zimbabwe's border (see Potocky-Tripodi 2002). While these quotes illustrate therefore how some Zimbabweans felt pushed to migrate, they do not provide information regarding participants' choice to migrate to South Africa rather than alternative destinations; this is the subject of the next sub-theme.

5.1.2 Social networks and the 'pull' of South Africa

Tied to Zimbabwe's apparent unattractiveness are perceptions of South Africa's attractiveness, that is, a set of positive conditions believed to exist in the receiving countries that attract foreign nationals. This was discussed in Chapter 2.1 in connection with the term, 'pull factors' (see Londt *et al.* 2016, Massey *et al.* 1998; Roesternburg 2013). All ten participants referred to this complex link throughout their respective interviews, even in response to questions that did not pertain to their reasons for leaving their country. For example, Participant 2 recollected how:

We heard that here in South Africa everything is well and that life is good. Life was generally said to be easy … We thought when we come into South Africa you will get everything you want, be it money, a place to live and jobs. You just live and everything falls into place. That's the way we heard of South Africa from those coming from there. The way they looked when they were coming from there. They looked well and beautiful…you could even see that their skin changed….You see that life is well.

Similarly, Participant 4 recollected how members of her social networks reported that:

> *Life in South Africa is cheap, food is cheap. They said life was generally better compared to Zimbabwe … So we left hoping life would be better in South Africa.*

Participant 7 stated that he migrated to South Africa because he was 'expecting to get a good paying job', explaining that:

> *By then a salary … [of] R1000 was equivalent to 4 months' salary in Zimbabwe. So to me it was like I had done my research [and] found that teachers were getting paid more than R5000.*

These accounts reveal that participants opted to migrate to South Africa because they believed this destination would provide them with all the things they were lacking in Zimbabwe: jobs, better accommodation and a better life compared to Zimbabwe. Thus, their accounts were similar to those of the participants in Bloch's (2010), Jinnah's (2009) and Idemudia *et al.*'s (2013) studies who referred to South Africa as an economic hub and thus held the promise of better access to jobs, healthcare and other services. It is also worth noting that from the above three quotes that participants migrated to South Africa because of economic reasons. As per Massey *et al.* (1998) and Papastergiadis (2002) migrating to countries like South Africa where there is high capital and high wages is characteristic of pull factors. The above quotes and most accounts by participants revealed an element of hope and dreams held for a better life in South Africa. Another key point evidenced in these three accounts is the participants' tendency to contrast and compare the South African and the Zimbabwean contexts against each other, an inclination described by Massey *et al.* (1998) and Papastergiadis (2002) as typical among migrants. In this study, this inclination also shows how closely push and pull factors are interlinked in people's experiences, perceptions and decision-making in migrating.

This study's participants also revealed that pull factors were related to the phenomenon of social networks, that is, they migrated to South Africa because of what they heard from significant others in their lives about the 'better life' in South Africa. Social networks in migration are defined by Massey *et al.* (1998) as networks accrued to individuals that enable them to migrate (see Chapter 2.1). While the role of these networks in people's migratory choices is already implied in the above three quotes, two participants made explicit reference to the relevance of social networks. Participant 10 shared the following:

> *My … younger sister came to South Africa earlier than me, it was 1997, and then she settled…Because we had … similar skills ... she informed me that she would like us to start a business…*

Participants 8, one of the married participants, stated that she migrated to South Africa because:

I can say that I didn't have a chance to stay in Zimbabwe … You know issue of families: as a couple, we believe we need to be together so that the family can stand firm. [Be]cause we believe that when men can come alone in South Africa it's not good … You as a wife will be in Zimbabwe, [and] sometimes you feel like I will be forgotten.

What is noticeable from Participants 10 and 8 - and indeed all the participants who migrated partially because of social networks - is that they were not just following social networks generally, but they migrated following family. As seen with the participants above Massey *et al.* (1998) in the classical school of thought in migration and Potocky-Tripodi (2002) in ecosystem view to migration state that people migrate to places where there are people they know. The above reasons explain why participants as adults migrated from Zimbabwe to South Africa. The reason for the migration of their children is the subject of the next sub-theme.

5.1.3 Why do irregular migrant parents 'choose' to raise children under conditions of irregularity?

The White Paper for International Migration South Africa (DHA 2017a) states that there has been a rise in women, children and families migrating as a whole. In this sub-theme I look at reasons why parents migrated their children from Zimbabwe to South Africa. The data revealed that three children initially migrated with their parents, while four others were brought to South Africa at a later stage. The data also revealed that nine children were born into irregularity. For those with children born into irregularity, I explore reasons why participants decided to live with their children under conditions of irregularity after they were born. Participants 8 who brought her child with her when she moved to South Africa, revealed during an interview that in Zimbabwe:

We were failing to afford even three meals a day with my family…So I thought … [that if] I carry my child with me it's better … [than] leaving people with a burden … You are not sure what time it might to come for me to have a breakthrough in South Africa because there were many stories that things fall apart, [but] sometimes things, they go right.

Participant 1 who migrated her child later on stated that she brought him to South Africa because:

I had left my child with my relatives, and things were just not nice. They fought over the child, and it was affecting the child. So I decided to take my child with me.

Participant 10 also moved her child later on and shared the following:

We missed him … There was not even a single day [when we did not miss him] … So we went to Zim … We didn't plan to take him but when we were coming back, we [just] decided to take him.

Participant 4, who had children born into irregularity stated the following:

It's all the same. We left Zimbabwe because we were suffering … [It] was really bad … the hunger and everything else. So we thought it would be better to live with our children instead of them living in Zimbabwe...

Noticeable from the above four quotes is that whether the decision was to migrate the children or to keep them in South Africa under conditions of irregularity, participants advanced reasons that were related to those that initially informed their own decision to migrate: all the push and pull factors discussed in Sections 5.1.1 and 5.1.2 also contributed to participants' decisions in respect of their children. Furthermore, the different waves of migration and the peculiar characteristics of each wave influenced the nature of reasons for migrating the children. Thus, Participant 10 - the only 'second wave migrant' in this study - brought her child because she and the child's father 'missed him' whereas the other participants - that is, the 'third wave migrants' in this study - brought their children as a matter of survival. Also revealed in the participants' accounts is that both migrating children and keeping them in South Africa in spite of their irregular status was not perceived to be an irresponsible action; on the contrary, participants considered this to be integral to meeting their parental responsibilities. This means that participants in this study would support Bornstein's (2002:5) idea that 'physical, economic and psychosocial' needs of children are best catered for if parents are with their children: save for Participant 10, all participants in this study opted to live with their children under conditions of irregularity because of their belief that irrespective of all the challenges discussed below in Section 5.2, South Africa would provide their children with a better life. Data therefore supports Magnes' (2016) and Mann's (2015) claims that parents migrate their children in hope that they would have a better life in host countries (see Chapter 1 Introduction).

In sum then, participants' reasons for migration though presented separately across three sub-themes, were indeed interlinked and reflected a combination of micro, mezzo and macro level issues that cut across the different migratory models presented in Chapter 2.1. Importantly, participants entered South Africa at a point of disadvantage. That is, they left their country because of instability in hope of either survival or at least a better and easier life, they were willing to trade the advantages of being citizens in their country of origin to being irregular migrants. This then rendered them members of a powerless social

group, relegated to the margins of South African society. In this way, they became vulnerable to exploitation, cultural imperialism and different forms of violence, with powerlessness characterising many of their experiences (see Young 1990). In terms of social justice, they also were likely to be misframed, as result, exposed to misrecognition, maldistribution and misrepresentation (Fraser 2008). These experiences form the topic of the next section, which looks at how participants fared as irregular migrant parents in South Africa.

5.2. Migration Experiences: Responsibilities, Tasks and Challenges of Irregular Migrant Parents

In this theme, the ways in which participants' parental responsibilities and tasks were impacted by conditions of irregularity, are looked into. This is the longest section in this chapter because it is the core of the study and provides a bulk of answers to the three research questions at its heart. The discussion for this theme begins with *5.2.1 Parenting, migration and law enforcement agencies in South Africa*, a sub-theme which explores participants' encounters with DHA officials, the police and their agents. It is essential to begin with this sub-theme, so as to know irregular migrant parents fared in South Africa in terms of their relationship with law enforcement agencies, considering their status. Following this sub-theme, I explore parental responsibilities as highlighted by participants, and their experiences of providing basic necessities for their children, such as food, shelter and clothing, under conditions of irregularity. This is discussed in sub-theme, *5.2.2 Meeting basic needs and accessing human services.* As this forms part of meeting parental responsibilities and performing parental tasks, access to human services such as schools, hospitals and social services are also explored in this section. Thereafter, I look at the sub-theme *5.2.3 Other parental issues and concerns* which is about parental responsibilities and tasks that participants talked about but did not attended to. All the issues included in this section were considered important by the participants concerned, regardless of their migrant status and their inability to meet their own expectations of themselves. In concluding the theme, I examine *5.2.4 Psychological distress and coping mechanisms among irregular migrant parents.* I chose to look at this sub-theme last because encounters with the police and difficulties faced by participants in accessing human services were a source of stress for most of the participants. However, it will be revealed as well that participants had devised means to deal with both stress and the challenges they faced in their environment. At the end of this section it will be clear that irregular migrant parents faced difficulties in relation to the police, in accessing schools and sometimes hospitals and meeting all their parental responsibilities and that all these experiences resulted in psychological distress.

5.2.1 Parenting, migration and law enforcement agencies in South Africa

In this study, participants revealed that they had many encounters with agents of the Department of Home Affairs (DHA) and the police. As stated by Segatti (2011) and Vigneswaran (2008b), DHA officials and the police have the responsibility to re-inforce migration laws (see Chapter 2.2); thus it is no surprise that the experiences of participants in this study were characterised by encounters with the above officials. Besides encounters with the police, participants had encounters with people they referred to as 'volunteers'. Participant 4 explained that volunteers are:

> ...people who work under the police and government. Sometimes they are dressed in civilian [clothes], and they ask for identity documents… These people are Zimbabweans.

Before getting into this discussion, it is worth mentioning that six out of ten participants talked about encounters with the police and of the six, three also had encounters with the volunteers. A related point to consider is that the encounters between the police and the participants all happened in Gauteng; the Durban-based participants did not reveal similar experiences. In exploring the participants' encounters with the police and volunteers, I first provide a brief background on how, according to Immigration Act 13 2002 and the White Paper 1999, irregular migration is *supposed* to be dealt with. After providing this background, I look at the experiences of participants in dealing with the police and volunteers and what this means to their parenting experience as irregular migrants.

As highlighted in Chapter 2.2, the DHA and the police have the responsibility to control irregular migration internally (see Vigneswaran 2008a). Amongst many other internal control measures used to deal with irregular migration, police set up roadblocks and arrest irregular migrants on the streets (see Segatti 2011; Chapter 2.2). This is done so as to 'detect, track and act against temporary permit violations and other illegal aliens' (see DHA 1999:1). According to the DHA (1999:4) the objective is to ensure that those who 'add value' to South Africa, such as providing critical skills, and those who are entitled to protection, such as refugees, are let in, while those who don't fall under either of these categories are kept out. The Immigration Act stipulates that those enforcing permit laws, for example the police, should do so within a human rights and constitutional framework. None of the participants had scarce skills or refugee status, and six of them spoke of their encounters, as irregular migrants, with the police and volunteers. Participant 8, a Shona speaker, shared that:

> Upon my arrival in South Africa … I was alarmed that … if you are illegal [and] you have to walk outside, the police will just take you home.

Similarly, Participant 2, a Ndebele speaker, reflected:

> *Life is really hard when you are illegal. You can't even go anywhere because the police will arrest you… The police really look at your arm; they know that there is scar from BCG injections from Zimbabwe.*

These two accounts confirm some of the ways in which police work to detect and arrest irregular migrants and that participants, because of their irregular status, live in fear of them (see Segatti 2011; UN 2014). Participant 2's experience suggests that the police are aware of intertwined identities between Ndebele speakers and some South African nationals and that because of this, they cannot be easily identified as foreigners - hence the need to devise other means to identify foreign nationals, such as searching for BCG injection scars that are peculiar to Zimbabweans (see Omer-Cooper 1996; Siziba 2016). Dominelli (2002) highlights that people have multiple facets to their identities that can be used to identify them. In this context, even though Participant 2 is a Ndebele speaker and therefore difficult to tell apart from South African citizens, she has a scar that would reveal her identity as a citizen of Zimbabwe. Contrary to Siziba (2016)'s observation, these two quotes suggest that when it comes to law enforcement officials, the experiences of Zimbabweans are similar across regardless of language and ethnic identity (see Chapter 2.3).

Once detected, participants had a variety of interactions with the police. One such experience was narrated by Participants 5, who shared the following:

> *You would be getting paid [a salary of] R350 a week, and then you get arrested … You bribe the police [with] R200, and then you are left with a R150 … [with which] you [still] have to buy the baby's pampers, and you also have to pay rent from that money.*

This quote supports Mafukidze and Mbanda (cited in Hölscher *et al.* 2012) and Vigneswaran (2008b) who state that the police in urban areas sometimes target and arrest foreign nationals for permit law violations so that they can solicit bribes (see Chapter 2.3). Consequently, bribing the police affected the family's finances negatively as a family of a father, mother and child had to survive on R150 per week. This meant that the police in a way were contributing to the perpetuation of poverty in irregular migrant families.

A different experience was narrated by Participant 1, who was a victim of crime yet failed to report it to the police:

> *I remember this one time [when] my child was at home, and they stole his keys and then opened my flat and stole my laptop. So when I got home, you know, I wanted to call the police but because I was illegal in the country I was so scared that … maybe, if I call the police, the police will start asking for my documents...*

This quote supports claims presented in Chapter 1.3 that irregular migrants are indeed an invisible population whose members live in fear of detection and would do anything to maintain their invisibility (South African History Online 2015; UN 2014). This fear of detection and apparent need for invisibility left Participant 1 doubly vulnerable as the victim of an unreported crime, while also exposing her child to the experience that for people like them, there is no apparent recourse to being violated and wronged.

Beyond the apparent lack of recourse when violated by others, Holscher *et al.* (2012) are among a number of authors who have reported that the South African police themselves are also involved in violating and exploiting the vulnerability of migrants. Similarly, Participant 6, who encountered a police roadblock, shared the following:

> *I remember that I was arrested when I was [coming home] from work. I found a roadblock, and I had left my child where I lived. So I explained that to them. I was really touched when I explained that I have a child [at home, and] they did not [seem to] understand ... [even though] I was carrying pampers. I showed them the bag of pampers, and they said someone sent me to buy for them … [Then] this other officer suggested that I milk my breast in front of a female police officer to prove that I have a child. I did that, and that's when they let me go. I was mistreated! Imagine, I had to open my breasts for someone.*

Participant's 6 human dignity was violated by the police. Her experience supports the views held by Carciotto and Mavura (2016); Segatti (2011) and Vigneswaran (2008b), who all state that foreign nationals experience human rights violations at the hands of the police. Because powerlessness that came with her irregular status, this participant did not, after her release, complain to any authority about the mistreatment she experienced at the hands of the police. In this way, her experience also supports claims that the police, like DHA officials, sometimes violate the human rights of irregular migrants because they know that they are dealing with a people of a 'weaker political constituency' (Carciotto and Mavura 2016:32), that is, people who will not complain or report mistreatment because of their irregular status. This further shows that the rights of irregular migrants, although highlighted in the Immigration Act and the White Paper of 1999, do not necessarily translate into practice (see Segatti 2011).

According to Mullaly (2010), conditions of oppression, like participants' encounters with the police and volunteers lead to psychological distress. As per Bulhan (cited in Mullaly 2010) encounters with these officials also resulted in psychological violence, that is, living in constant fear of being arrested consequently lead to psychological violence. This is shown when speaking about the police and volunteers, participants used terms such as 'scared', 'fight', 'mistreat', 'worry' and 'fear. All these terms

show psychological distress. Talking about their experiences also appeared to cause retraumatization. I could identify signs of retraumatization as listed by the American Psychological Association (2013:277) such as 'reexperiencing' and 'hyperarousal, avoidance, negative cognitions and mood' (see Chapter 4.6). For instance, when Participant 6 was talking about what happened at a police roadblock, she was close to tears and after the interview revealed that the interview had brought back hurtful memories of the past. Also another example was when Participant 4, he was talking about the police he raised his voice and spoke passionately, and I could see that talking about the police and volunteers still made him angry, even though it had passed. Also, the encounters with the police were mostly spoken about in present tense: it was as if they were happening presently.

The above experiences affected the participants not only as individuals, but also as parents. Participant 1 shared that her fear of encounters with the police had the following meaning to her as a parent:

> *So every time I was walking down [the streets] … you will be scared of … police officers, and you will be scared of [the] volunteers, and you are even scared that if they arrest you, what is going to happen to your child. Like you know, my child will come back from school, he would be all alone, he wouldn't even know that 'my mother has been arrested'.*

This quote supports Ochocka and Janzen (2008:88) claims concerning the complexity of parenting in migration where parents have a double burden, that is, they are struggling to cope with the host environment themselves, while at the same time carrying the 'burden' of having to 'provide a stable environment' for their children. It also demonstrates how this complexity and burden are further increased under conditions of irregularity. In the case of Participant 1, she was worried not just for herself but also feared what would happen to her child should she have been arrested.

In understanding the experiences of the participants in relation to South Africa's law enforcement agencies, particularly the police, we have to bear in mind that the police are dealing with a group of people who, according to migration law, are not supposed to exist in South Africa. This is what Fraser (2008) refers to as *misframing*. Consequently, because they did not have permission to be in the country, participants did not claim even those rights that they had. In other words, they would do anything to maintain their invisibility, which may be interpreted as instances of internalised oppression (Mullaly 2010). As a result, their irregular migrant status rendered participants powerless (Young 1990) when members of the police took advantage of their marginal position to solicit bribes or to violated their dignity. This powerlessness resulted in social violence where participants were afraid of moving around and psychological violence where day in and day out, participants lived in fear of being arrested. While there were no reports of participants' children being violated directly, the participants' contributions made it

clear how the parents' exposure to violence, sense of voicelessness and subsequent trauma also affected their children. Against this background, the next section looks at how participants met their children's basic human needs, and how they accessed human services under conditions of irregularity.

5.2.2 Meeting basic needs and accessing human services

In Chapter 3.2.1, I discussed that because basic necessities are important for the everyday survival of children, the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa makes provision for every child's access to 'basic nutrition, shelter, basic health care and social services' (Section 28), and for the right to access to basic education (Section 29). For the same reason, the UNCRC (UN 1989) and ACRWC (OAU 1990) provide that these rights apply to all children regardless of migrant status. In South Africa, the Children's Act 38 of 2005 and the developmental social welfare model require social workers to assist those parents and families struggling to meet the basic necessities and other needs (Bosman-Sadie and Corrie 2010; Dutschke 2008). It is against this background that this section focuses on the study's participants' views on, and experiences around, meeting their children's basic needs and accessing human services.

All ten participants stated that providing for basic needs like safety, shelter, food and clothing, and ensuring that their children went to school and accessed health care services were their most important parental responsibilities. In this sub-theme, I first look at parents' experiences around meeting their children's basic human needs, and how these were affected by their status as irregular migrants. Thereafter, I explore their experiences around accessing those human services participants appeared to regard as most important, that is, hospitals and schools, considering again how access was affected by their irregular migrant status. In all respects there was a complete absence of social workers as social service providers in the lives of the struggling parents; however three participants expressed views on what social workers *could* contribute to their lives, and this is discussed towards the end of the section.

The following narrations highlight the general sense of priorities shared by the study's participants. Participant 2 stated that the following were the most important parental responsibilities for her as a mother:

> *I have to see that my children go to school, they have something to eat, and they have a place to live…*

Participant 1 linked her responsibilities regarding basic needs to her status as a single parent (see also Section 5.2.3 below). She had this to say:

> *Since I am single parent I kind of play double roles because I have to make sure that my child has got shelter, he has got clothing, he has got food, he has got an education and health...*

Similarly Participant 9, a father, stated the following about his parental responsibilities:

Like any reasonable parent … you know that Maslow's law is always: first things first. These are the basic… expectations: … shelter, it's [the] number one priority. Food... ahhh... Clothing, safety.

However, he explained that in view of his family's migrant status, he considered the issue of safety to be particularly important:

I call it … safety … in terms of … geographical positioning because … [as] a foreign national, you will now have to select where you live because I mean, of late … day in day out, we hear of xenophobic attacks and everything.

The accounts of Participants 2, 1 and 9 demonstrate two things. Firstly, providing for basic necessities such as food, clothing, shelter, education and health care were viewed as the most important parental responsibilities right across, for mothers, fathers and for single parents, thereby confirming Bornstein's (2002:11) observation that a key parental responsibility for parents is to ensure that children's 'physical, economic and psychosocial needs' are met (see Chapter 3.2.1). Secondly, Participant 9's concerns about shelter illustrate how providing for basic needs is affected by the environment in which parents raise their children: keeping in mind the 2008, 2015 and 2017 attacks on foreign nationals and the everyday unreported xenophobic attacks, it is indeed a necessity that parents consider how to provide safe accommodation for their families (Landau 2011; Misago 2017; Tandwa 2017; see Chapter 2.3).

As stated in the introduction to this sub-theme, participants' abilities to meet their children's basic needs was affected by their irregular migrant status. Participant 8 a mother of two shared that meeting her parental responsibilities was affected by poverty and financial difficulties affiliated to irregularity in the following way:

You think of nice schools...you find that no I am not affording…You only become a parent of providing food.

In light of Participant 8's account and bearing in mind the type of employment she held (general hand)it is unsurprising that she was unable to provide for a children's financial needs. Guo (2014) points out that Participant 8's experience is typical amongst migrant parents, who in most instances are unable to financially provide for their children's needs, as they cannot be gainfully employed because of their migrant status. The quote further suggests because of her inability to provide financially for all her children's needs, Participant 8 perceived herself as reduced to being a parent of 'only providing food'.

Unlike Participant 8, Participant 9 explicitly stated how his irregular migrant status prevented him as a father from providing for his children's needs:

When you find yourself… illegal, you know, [pause] the only way or mechanism in place for any government … [to] discharge its services… [is that] it follows the legal protocols … Even … the Constitution … says you should employ somebody who is actually legal … It means employment becomes an issue [be]cause you cannot get a formal job. Even if you have qualifications, you cannot get employed … Being illegal has affected me … in a very bad way, to the extent that I could not actually cater for the [children's] basics…

Together, Participant 8 and 9's experiences show that indeed, as stated by Bornstein (2002) and Berk (1998), parents can be rendered unable to provide for their children's needs because of the ecological environments in which families may exist (see 3.2.1). While Participant 8 focused on affordability, implying poverty, Participant 9 added to this by pointing to the interaction between poverty and irregularity. In this way, Participant 9's contribution demonstrates how the ecological environment of irregular migrants can interact to place them at a number of intersecting disadvantages (see Hölscher *et al.* 2012; Pease 2010): because the South African law aims to 'detect, track and act against' irregular migration (DHA 1999:1), it also prevents irregular migrants from accessing jobs that could help sustain their families.

While providing access to food, safe shelter and clothing did not appear to require any engagement with human service providers, accessing education and health care put this study's participants in contact with both public and private services. This interaction, too, is generally affected by the migrants' status in the host country (Browne *et al.* 2016; Caudra 2015; Jönsson 2014: see Chapter 3.2.2). Participants in this study shared that while they were all able to access human services, they did face barriers because of their irregular migrant status. One service that all participants had access to was hospitals. Five participants shared that they experienced barriers in accessing the hospital; the other five did not. Participant 1, who had problems in accessing the hospital, explained:

I took my son to a government hospital, and they demanded that I produce my own permit. By that time I was still illegal… They also demanded that I produce documents for my son of which I did not have, and we were turned back home. [He did not receive help] until I decided to take him to a private doctor.

Notwithstanding the fact that half of this study's participants did not appear to have experienced any difficulties in obtaining health services, Participant 1's experience thus supports Crush and Tawodzera's (2011) claim that migrant children sometimes face barriers in accessing hospitals (see Chapter 3.2.2). It also illustrates the point made above that the ecological system in which families exist affects people's abilities to meet their parenting responsibilities. In this context, the ecological environment at a macro level consists of exclusionary migration laws that at a meso level prevent irregular migrant parents and

their irregular migrant children from accessing healthcare services. Even so, Participant 1's child should have been assisted regardless migrant status because, as discussed above, access to basic health care must be provided for children regardless of status. According to Caudra (2015), this experience is typical among irregular migrants who, because of their status, are prevented from accessing rights such as health care for their children which they are entitled to.

Apart from the application of exclusionary rules (some of them illegal), barriers to accessing health care services also included outright hostilities. For example, Participant 6, who came across xenophobic attitudes, uttered the following during her interview:

> I went to the hospital to deliver. I could not find a bed to lay on while I waited … I told the nurses how I felt, and they shouted at me that, 'You left Zimbabwe and left your nurses and you are coming here to give us more work!' … They didn't give me a bed to wait on … I sat on the stoop until a time when I could feel the baby coming. I delivered the child on my own. The nurses were not there.

While fortunately, neither mother nor child were harmed as a result of the nurses' refusal to assist, Participant 6's experience provides a stark illustration of both Landau's (2011) and Misago's (2017) assertions that xenophobic attitudes are an everyday occurence in South Africa, even in government institutions (see Chapter 2.3). Similar to Segatti's (2011) and Vigneswaran's (2008b) findings in respect of the police (see Chapter 5.2.1), Participant 1 and 6's narrations suggest that even those rights that irregular migrants formally enjoy can be undermined if those working in government institutions, like hospitals, do not follow them. In addition, the words uttered by the nurse provide an example on how structural oppression works through the uncritical following of stereotypes. In this context the nurses' stereotypes were about foreign nationals straining health care systems (see Young 1990; Chapter 1.7 see also Crush and Dodson 2006; Chapter 2.3).

Still, half of the participants in this study had positive experiences when seeking health care for their children. For example, Participant 2 shared the following:

> At the hospital all they need is the child's date of birth and name; after getting that, they help the child. They don't ask for a birth certificate or any other documents. As long as you are carrying a health card and you provide them with a name and how old the child is, they help your child.

Contrary therefore to the findings of Segatti (2011) and Vigneswaran (2008b), Participant 2's experience shows that at least in the field of health, some government workers are in fact aware, and respect the rights, of irregular migrants and children's rights to access basic human services. More closely aligned with those of Segatti (2011) and Vigneswaran (2008b) are this study's findings concerning access to

education. Except for Participant 9 whose children were not of school going age, all participants stated that they had problems in accessing schools for their children. Participant 4 shared the following experience:

> *You know that at schools, they require birth certificates. So it is really difficult … [for] a child [who] is from Zimbabwe and with parents that are from Zimbabwe also, even if the child was born here in South Africa. It's really difficult because the child does not have a birth certificate … A child has to be registered with a birth certificate.*

Similarly, Participant 1 stated that:

> *Firstly when I came to South Africa, my child could not get a proper school; he spent the first month at home. We couldn't get a place at school because once we got there, they wanted papers, study permit and all ... My child didn't have that, and I also didn't have a permit.*

Noticeable from the accounts of both Participants 4 and 1 is that they had problems enrolling the children in schools because of permit and birth certificate requirements. Participant 1's experience is similar to those reported by participants in Crush and Tawodzera's (2011) study whose children ended up not going to school because of these requirements. Furthermore, the experiences of participants relate to the Eastleigh Primary School incident discussed by Amod (2017) and Evans (2017) (see Chapter 3.2.1). The accounts from this study's participants and the Eastleigh Primary School incident underscore that indeed, the DHA is enforcing its internal control measures to irregular migration through 'cooperation of other branches of government' like the Department of Education (see DHA 1999:1). Importantly, like access to basic health care, even though participants' children formally had the right to basic education, they did not enjoy this right in practice because of the irregular migrant status.

In the absence of their children's permits and birth certificates, eight out of ten participants could not access government schools. However, they all devised other means to ensure that their children accessed education. Eight participants opted to enrol their children in private schools, and Participant 2 whose children had access to government schools, shared that she had used other means to access them. She explained that:

> *So one my relatives helped me get South African documents, so that my children get birth certificates [pause]; South African birth certificates.*

Though not stated openly, there appears to be an insinuation that she acquired these birth certificates through illegal means. This experience supports Carciotto and Mavura (2016) who claim that because of restrictive measures placed on regularising the irregular migrant status of Zimbabweans in South Africa people like Participant 2 end up acquiring documentation illegally. The presumably illegal means resorted

to by Participant 2 are said by Lawyers for Human Rights *et al.* (2016) to be problematic because they end up creating children without formal identities, thereby ultimately creating stateless persons. In the context of this study however, resorting to irregular means not just to access education but also to document ones' children might well be considered to be an effort to parent responsibly. This points again to the complexities and contradictions between different the layers of the ecosystem within which irregular migrants in South Africa have to fulfil their parental roles.

Participant 1 was one of the eight participants who opted to take their children to a private school, and she had the following to say:

> [After] my child … spent the first month at home … me and my cousin brother, we [decided that] maybe, we should try private schools, and … the most affordable … private schools … were in town.

Participant 1's experience again shows the importance of social networks discussed in section 5.1.2. In this case, the participant's social network helped with information that assisted with the everyday survival in the host country (Roesternburg 2013). The quote also shows that private schools are an option because permits are not required there (see also Crush and Tawodzera 2011). However, as highlighted in Chapter 3.2.2, the recent developments in Eastleigh Primary School and accounts of other Zimbabweans suggest that this option may no longer be available as the DHA now appears to require permits from children in both public and private schools.

Besides looming documentation problems, the enrolment of children to private schools has other challenges as well. Participant 5 shared that:

> Another challenge we find at private schools is that they are very expensive. A month one pays for a child R750... So this money is a lot compared to a government school which are cheaper…

As seen in Appendix 1, most of the participants are employed as domestic workers and general hands, employment that is not paying much, and that would make private schools expensive. Similarly, Crush and Tawodzera (2011) state that the option of sending children to private schools is often not sustainable because of the type of employment most Zimbabweans in South Africa hold.

Participant 3 shared another problem that exists especially with private schools in inner city locations:

> Government schools are really better than private schools. For example, private schools have no playgrounds.

Again, this experience is similar to those reported by Crush and Tawodzera's (2011) participants who stated that unlike government schools, private schools have no recreational facilities.

Apart from problems related to parents' enrollment of children in school and issues affiliated with private schooling, participants' children experienced other problems as well. Participant 8, a Shona speaker, reported that her children faced language-related challenges at school:

> *The [main] challenge was really the issue of language ... There is even a letter sent to me [from] the school, stating] that, "We cannot really operate with your children because we cannot communicate because they are speaking the language we cannot understand" … My children's experience … [was] that people were laughing at them, like a booing thing, because of not [being] able to speak, [as if] a black skin is known to speak the native language, like speaking ... in Zulu.*

The quote above shows that indeed as stated by Siziba (2016) Shona speakers are sometimes victims of xenophobia because of their language. Again, this account supports Crush and Tawodzera's (2011) findings that their participants' children faced language barriers at schools. This experience also corroborates Crush and Tawodzera's (2011) and Londt *et al.*'s (2016) claims that their respective studies' participants struggled to fit in because of xenophobic attitudes at shelters and schools. At the same time, this account also draws attention to Valtonen's (2015:35) concern that it is necessity for foreign nationals to acculturate in host countries 'in order to function in a new society'. Contrary to Ambert (1994); Deng and Marlowe (2015) and Renzaho *et al.* (2011), it is not only the parents that have acculturation problems but also the children. While acculturation in a new country is important, the quote above shows that it can also be oppressive. Participant 8' children experienced cultural imperialism, when they were expected to speak isiZulu, a language spoken mainly in the KwaZulu Natal province, which was not their home language (see Young 1990; Chapter 1.7).

If access to public schooling was limited and accessing private education came with a wide range of challenges, access to social services was simply non-existent. Still, three participants spoke about their desire for social services. Participant 6 shared the following:

> *I have never had access to social workers. I have had problems though!*

Participant 2 stated that:

> *Another thing [is that] when a child has a problem, she has to be taken to social workers, but even [if] you as a parent have a problem, you cannot expose yourself to such things because you are scared that you are illegal.*

Finally, Participant 4 indicated that:

There is no way they [her children] can access the social work services [grants]. This side [i.e. South Africa], they are citizens and in Zimbabwe they also don't exist…There is the child support grant that helps out children that are from South Africa, they should also have access.

Participants 6, 2 and 4 all seemingly wished to access social workers and social services but for a number of reasons, they were unable to do so: Participant 6, who had been mistreated both by police officers (see Section 5.2.1) and by nurses (see above) was in need of trauma counselling but did not access them. Participant 2 was unable to seek help from social workers for her children because she feared detection from authorities, further proving Cuadra (2015)'s point that because of their status, irregular migrants fear to access services like social work services, which they are entitled to. Additionally, Participant 2's account further illustrates what was discussed in Section 5.1.1 and above, that is, irregular migrants are an invisible population that would do anything to maintain their invisibility. On the other hand, Participant 4 related access to social work services to citizenship. That is, she felt that since her children had been born in South Africa, they should have had access to benefits such as social grants distributed by social workers. However, benefits such as social grants can only be accessed through citizenship. It is therefore important to note that according to the Immigration Act, unless parents hold permanent residence, citizenship for foreign children is not acquired through birth but through a parents' citizenship. This means that even if born in South Africa, social grants were not available to the children of this study's participants.

Beyond the different reasons given by participants as to why they could not access social work services, the invisibility of social work in working with migrants is said by Blaauw *et al.* (2017) to be typical of social workers in South Africa (see Chapter 3.2.1). Where social work has been visible, for example the case of the deported Zimbabwean migrant children social workers helped enforce migration laws, rather than protect the children (see Chapter 3.2.2). Because as stated by the Global Definition of Social Work (IFSW/IASSW 2014), social work is guided by principles of social justice and human rights and has the responsibility to 'engage people and structures to address life challenges and enhance well-being', both social work's invisibility and roles played to help in the deportation of children, can be said to be problematic. I will return to the role of social work in the lives of irregular migrants in Chapter 6.

To conclude, even though the meeting of basic human needs such as access to basic nutrition, shelter and basic human services for all children who live in South Africa are provided for by the Constitution, as irregular migrants, most participants and their children were excluded from accessing public schools, some were excluded from accessing hospitals, and none had accessed social services. It is in these

experiences that it becomes evident how oppression is intertwined across different levels of the environment in that at a structural level, we see how migration policies and laws bred an opportunity for othering at an interpersonal level. There, we see 'othering' through stereotypes that led to discrimination against and the exclusion of several of this study's participants. The experiences narrated by this study's participants also illustrated how the different faces of oppression (Young 1990) played a central role in the lives of participants. Powerlessness, a recurring face of oppression, led to the other faces of oppression. As a powerless social group, participants appeared to have lacked 'bargaining power' needed to claim the rights their children which they were formally entitled to. Also as members of a powerless social group, participants continued to dwell in societal margins and would not access services for their children because they feared detection. Finally as a powerless social group, participants were exposed to exploitation as the hands of employers and experience psychological and social violence.

The study's participants also experienced forms of social injustice. In Fraser's (2008) terms, migration laws that use territorial boundaries as a frame to access to rights for children constitute misframing. Therefore, because of these laws participants' children were misrecognized, and resources were maldistributed. It is in relation to all these experiences that social workers could play a role in promoting social justice. While these findings pertain to those parental responsibilities that were acknowledged and attended to by participants, there were others that participants did not take care of. These are discussed in the following section.

5.2.3 Other Parenting Issues and Concerns

After discussing basic human needs, I asked participants if there were other responsibilities and tasks they would like to talk about. As noted in Section 5.2.2, all ten participants maintained that meeting basic human needs and accessing human services were their most important responsibilities. In asking the question again, I was hinting that there might be other responsibilities they had left out. Only three participants responded to this probe and revealed that indeed they felt they had other parental responsibilities as well. This sub-theme was developed based on what was revealed by these participants, as well as the non-verbal and verbal responses I observed from the four married participants. In this sub-theme firstly, I look at how parenting changes as the child develops through the lifespan and how irregularity affected how parents responded to their children's particular developmental needs. Secondly, I discuss how some parental responsibilities were at times omitted because of how issues like stress and fatigue affected the study's participants. Thirdly, though this was not openly discussed by any of the participants in this study, I look at traditional gender roles adopted in everyday parenting and how

these remained unchanged even under conditions of irregularity. Participant 2 spoke about what it was like parenting adolescent male children, and she uttered the following:

> *I also try, as a parent, considering these children are boys. When children are growing up there is a stage where you have to try and control them not to be exposed to drugs. So I think all these things are my responsibility as a mother, that my children are not exposed to those things.*

As revealed by Participant 2 and confirmed by Berger *et al.* (1996) and Berk (1998), the nature of parental responsibilities and tasks change as according to children's particular stage of development. Also similar to Berger *et al.*'s (1996) observation, Participant 2's account also reveals that the relationship between the family and ecological environment changes as the children develop.

Unlike Participant 2, Participant 6 linked her changing parenting responsibilities and tasks directly to the question of irregularity, and she had the following to say:

> *In the beginning … [my] responsibilities were not affected. I was able to take my child to crèche. At crèche, they do not require all these kinds of things like papers. Food was catered for from the money I got from piece jobs. I however faced challenges later when she had to go to school.*

Participant 6's account shows that not just parental tasks and responsibilities change as the child develops, but the resources required from the family and from the external environment also change (see Berger *et al.* 1996), and it is here that irregularity becomes an issue (see Chapter 3.1.1). To put it another way, Participant 6's parental responsibilities were to a large extent not directly affected by irregularity when her child was younger. Irregularity became an issue when the child had to go to school and a birth certificate she did not have was required.

As discussed by Bornstein (2002; see Chapter 3.1.1), parents' abilities to perform their parental roles is sometimes negatively affected by problems that affect the parent personally, for example stress. Participant 1 spoke about how stress and fatigue led to her neglecting some of her parental responsibilities:

> *I could not complain to my employer to say, 'Am I working long hours because I am a foreigner?' ... So you find that [when] I get home, I am very tired. I cannot even give my son attention. I have got a lot on my mind, and I even forget that he's got homework, he's got emotional needs that I need to take care of, and all that. I just find myself thinking, 'As long as he has got shelter and food and going to school' ... and leaving the other important things.*

In the context of this study, neglected parental tasks and responsibilities in respect of her child resulted from Participant 1's tiredness, which in turn was directly linked to her status as an irregular, foreign

migrant, that is, she felt unable to challenge an exploitative work situation. As a result and in spite of being aware of its importance, she felt unable to attend to those of her child's needs that might have seemed less pressing at the time, like his emotional and his scholastic needs. In terms of oppression, the participants' experience shows an intersection between powerlessness emanating from the irregular migrant status and exploitation.

As highlighted in Chapter 3.1, Ambert (1998) and Berk (1998) note that the ways parental responsibilities are met are often gendered, as well as affected by parents' relational status. In this regard, Participant 1 had the following to say:

> *Since I am single parent, I kind of play double roles because I have to make sure that my child has got shelter, he has got clothing, he has got food, he has got an education and health.*

Together, Participant 1's two accounts support Berk (1998) who states that with single parents, the bulk of parenting tasks often lies with the mothers (see Chapter 3.2). This role lies with the mother even in irregularity.

More generally, Sabattini and Leaper (2004) note that mothers, rather than fathers, are the ones who assume the majority of child rearing responsibilities (see Chapter 3.1). Such gender divisions became apparent in the two interviews I held with married couples. While in these interviews, the gendered nature of parental roles were not talked about, I observed that certain questions were responded to, and particular issues talked about, by the mothers rather than by the fathers. In both cases, issues relating to accessing schools and hospitals were mostly responded to by mothers, suggesting that it was them who took predominant responsibility to ensuring that their children received education and health care. However, if mothers are the ones who are interfacing with institutions such as schools and hospitals, they, rather than the fathers, are also the ones who directly deal with migration and irregular migration issues when it comes to the children.

This then means that the oppressive conditions experienced by parents in accessing human services for the children discussed in sub-theme 5.2.2, which were characterised by exclusion, discrimination and institutionalised forms of oppression (xenophobia) were experienced by women. The gendered nature of parental roles and responsibilities as observed by Ambert (1994), point out that in African contexts because of culture parental roles and responsibilities still fall along patriarchal lines. The unequal distribution of roles can also be said to be oppressive because one parent is at the forefront of difficulties that come with the children's irregular migrant status, and the other is not. This suggests that mothers, are likely to be stressed as a result from having to perform as parents under conditions of irregularity. The next section looks at psychological distress and participants' coping mechanisms.

5.2.4 Psychological distress and coping mechanisms among irregular migrant parents

As highlighted in Section 5.2.1, participants' experiences were characterised by living in fear of the police and 'volunteers'. In Sections 5.2.1 and 5.2.2, it was also revealed that their experiences led to psychological distress that was displayed when talking about the encounters with the police and difficulties that arose with language barriers, xenophobia and documentation in accessing services for their children. Participants also underwent loss of status and were faced with realities where personal aspirations and dreams were often disappointed, issues that will be discussed further below in Section 5.3.2. All ten participants in this study talked about the irregular migration experience being hard to bear. Even though psychological effects were not discussed in detail, there were signs of thereof. For example, in taking about the police and their efforts to access human services, participants used emotive words such as 'stress', 'hard', 'uncertain', 'afraid', 'worried' and 'tired', as well as speaking about having 'too much' on their mind, and having lost confidence in themselves. In addition, as discussed in Section 5.2.1, there were changes in tone when talking about upsetting issues. All of this compounded with general responsibilities by creating additional challenges, and some parents felt a sense of inadequacy (see Sections 5.2.2 and 5.2.3). The task of parenting under conditions of irregularity appeared in this study as psychologically difficult.

In this section I firstly, look at how psychological distress impacted participants as individual irregular migrants. Secondly, I discuss how psychological distress affected participants in their parenting abilities. Thirdly, I look at the different coping mechanisms participants developed in response to psychological distress. In discussing the psychological impact of the irregular migration experience on the participants, it is important to note that there were many sore points raised during the interviews. One such point was when Participant 7 talked about his wife migrating to South Africa and how their living conditions affected him psychologically:

> So when she [my wife] came and saw me, I was a security guard ... [and she found that] where we were staying, the building was dilapidated [pause] that's where we stayed. So we survived. In fact, we were not surviving, we were just checking out the days passing by. So I lost all my confidence; it was hard for me.

Noted from the quote above is that the everyday living conditions in South Africa of Participant 7 and the type of employment he held as he expressed with the tone of his voice during the interview seemingly came as a shock to his wife who had just arrived from Zimbabwe. This experience supports Mallica's claim (cited in Idemudia *et al.* 2013:19) that for most migrants, the conditions experienced during the first

days in a host country can be described as a 'social earthquake'; in fact, I would like to extend this and call it a 'psychosocial earthquake'. The squalor living conditions of Participant 7 and his family also negatively impacted him psychologically, supporting Idemudia *et al.*'s (2013:13) observation of Zimbabwean participants who, beyond their first days in South Africa, experienced psychological distress because of 'lack of financial and tangible resources such as food, clothing, and shelter…' in South Africa (see Chapter 3.2.1).

Participants 1 and 9 focused on what the psychological effects of migration and the irregularity of their stay in South Africa meant for their parenting. Participant 1 shared how her everyday life was filled with fear and anxiety of being arrested:

> *So that was the kind of stress that you had once: you get to the workplace [and] it's the only time you are relieved that I got here safely. And by the time you get home in the evening you say, 'thank God I went to work and back, safe and sound', you know.*

Participant 1's psychological distress which resulted from anxiety and fear of being arrested relates directly to the question of parenting under conditions of irregularity. In Section 5.2.1, it was already discussed that Participant 1's fear of being arrested was of great concern to her as a single parent because she was worried about what would happen to her child. Furthermore, as discussed in Section 5.2.3, her constant fear led to her being too preoccupied and too exhausted to attend to much more than the basic needs of her child.

Participant 9 reflected on how the social, economic and political conditions led to uncertainty in his parenting:

> *We are not certain of how tomorrow is going to be. We having nothing to tell our kids and say, 'This is your future'. We cannot tell them because as parents … we … are … uncertain, and I would know how tomorrow is going to be… The fact that you are, I mean, [an] illegal immigrant, it impacts negatively, I mean, psychologically. You are just not healthy, it's not healthy; you need to be certain about your future. Like I have just said ... the [South African] Constitution will keep on evolving, it will keep on changing, you know, altering. So whether … [and] for how long they are gonna be accommodating us as illegal immigrants ... that is the question: Will they drive us into the sea or how … is it gonna be?*

From the above quote it emerges that psychological distress Participant 9 experienced as a parent was a result of an ever evolving 'legal' environment that made living under conditions of irregularity increasingly harder (see Chapter 2.3).

The question arising at this point is this: How did the participants cope with their fears, sense of uncertainty and psychological distress caused by their irregular migration experience? Participants in this study reported a number of coping mechanisms they used in dealing with these challenges. The practical measures employed in confronting the challenges of raising children in a hostile environment were discussed already in Section 5.2.2. These included seeking employment to cater for basic necessities; safe accommodation; private health care and enrolling their children in private schools. A different set of strategies were used in order to deal with loss of confidence, sense of inadequacy, uncertainty, anxiety, hopelessness and fear. Unlike the practical responses to their environmental challenges, participants were not explicit about how they dealt with psychological distress. However, I identified from their accounts that two of the participants used social networks as a coping mechanism, while the other eight seemed to have psychologically accepted the situation they were in: feeling that there was no way out. Participant 8 said she coped in the following way:

> *You know [when it comes to] socializing with others … Sometimes you just revive yourself by just attending services at church, and you find that ... sometimes … it's not about this issue of being a foreigner ... When you are in the church, you find that people, they love each other. So from there, it will [help you deal with some of] your ... anger issues … [People at the church] can relate to you much easier, and they can even support your neighbours. You find that you don't even come from the same countries, and there are even South Africans. But you see, [they] still have time to chat, and they will say that [they] share [your] experiences ... [For example] as women, our experiences [are alike]. Although we cannot come from the same county, you find that they are linking. So by that, it was [a matter] of also [relieving] stress and free and chatting. [So] that was good.*

Noticeable from this quote is that Participant 8 draws strongly on social networks as a form of support in dealing with her distress, showing that indeed social networks are key to countering negative effects of migration (Massey *et al.* 1998; Potocky-Tripodi 2002; see Chapter 2.1).

Participant 1 linked the importance of dealing with psychological adversity and parenting. She shared that as a parent she dealt with it in the following way:

> *Well you know sometimes in life you just try and be strong especially when you are parent. You try to be strong for your child so we have embraced the life we do make a living. …We are glad for that and we are even glad that we did have a job at that time. I did have a job at that time it's not like I was prostituting or something like that.*

This quote allows for a number of interpretations. On the one hand, this quote suggests that, like the majority of this study's participants, Participant 1 had accepted life as it was. According to Dominelli (2002), acceptance is one of the three main types of responses available to the oppressed in adverse circumstances (see Chapter 2.3). Acceptance can lead to fatalism, a response to oppression that is of great concern to social work that will be discussed in the conclusion for this chapter.

On the other hand, while the life of Participant 1 as an irregular migrant was stressful, parenting for her was used as a source of strength in dealing with adversity. Even though, Participant 1 and other participants have found ways to cope with psychological distress, a number of authors suggest that social work's support is necessary. They propose that as part of micro level interventions in the field of social work with migrants, practitioners should provide trauma counselling (Hugman 2010; Hölscher 2016b; Segal 2010; Valtonen 2008; see Chapter 3.2.1). The authors highlight that social workers providing trauma counselling should be aware of post-traumatic stress. Hugman (2010) and Lacroix (2006) add that social workers should be aware of loss of and attachment to home country experienced by migrants.

In sum, this section has demonstrated why Mullaly (2010:161) notes that 'the personal' and 'the political' are linked: the everyday living conditions of the study's participants, who, as irregular migrants, lived in fear of the police, experienced discrimination and exclusion in trying to access services, and had to cope with the low social status that came with being second class citizens negatively impacted them psychologically and affected the way they raised their children (see Chapter 1.7). It is against this backdrop that in the next section I evaluate the study participants' overall experiences of irregular migration.

5.3 Overall Evaluations of 'Irregular Migration Experiences'

In Section 5.1, I discussed participants' reflections on their reasons for migration and found that most had migrated, and brought their children, from Zimbabwe to South Africa because of the country's economic, social and political situation, as well as the hope that there were plenty of jobs in South Africa and, generally, a better life. Thereafter, in Section 5.2, I considered their actual experiences of living and raising children in South Africa. I found that all participants experienced considerable challenges, with several describing their lives generally, and their parental responsibilities more specifically, as stressful. Contrasting participants' reasons for migration with their actual migratory experience, I evaluate in this final section the extent to which their hopes, aspirations and dreams were met and how participants evaluated their respective life courses, including their personal successes and failures as parents. I first

look at the *Successes of irregular migrant parents* and then discuss what I call their *Broken dreams and disappointments*, following which I conclude, in Section 5.4, the chapter as a whole.

5.3.1 Successes of irregular migrant parents

All participants shared that regardless of their irregular migrant status and the difficulties they were going through, they had some successes. In talking about successes they experienced as irregular migrant parents participants provided a variety of answers. Firstly, my question of whether they had experienced any particular successes in their time in South Africa yielded some unexpected responses: Participants 3 and 6 asked what I meant, and I had to re-ask the question with added detail, and I could also see from their facial expressions that they experienced the question as offensive. Participant 6 had revealed horrible experiences in the interview, which I seemed to 'disregard' by asking this question. On the other hand, Participant 3 simply did not answer the question. However, except for Participant 3, all answered and shared a number of successes, with Participant 8 relating as many as four aspects in relation to which she was regarding her stay in South Africa to be a success. From a variety of responses I received, I selected three for discussion in this section, of which two relate to social networks, a recurrent issue in this chapter, and one relates to parenting.

Participant 9, who is one of the two participants, who related their experience of success to a growing sense of belonging, uttered the following:

> *The biggest success … would be [that] as a human being, you belong to the society of that particular portion of … South Africa [that you find yourself in], and the ability to penetrate, or to blend in, or assimilate into the society, and you have actually managed to … break through the obstacles of language, race, and stuff. I mean social cohesion…*

Similarly, Participant 6 had the following to say:

> *What can I say? I have succeeded in [pause] I was working as a domestic worker for this old white lady … She used to help with many other things, not judging me about my illegal status.*

These participants shared their successes in relation to themselves, not about themselves as parents. Nonetheless, these successes matter in terms of their parental roles as well. This is because belonging and gaining acceptance must be seen as a protective factor for both migrants and their children, especially when considering the 2008, 2015 and 2017 attacks and the xenophobic attitudes and discriminatory that migrants are exposed to on an everyday basis (see Chapter 2.3). A sense of acceptance and belonging as alluded to by Participants 6 and 9 transcends boundaries that tend to be

drawn between what Dominelli (2002) and Young (1990) refer to as superior and inferior identities (see also Landau 2009; Landau and Misago 2009; Chapter 2.3). Similar to Landau's (2011) and Landau and Misago's (2009) observation in this study, these are the boundaries between citizens on the one hand and migrants, especially irregular migrants, on the other. Also considering the findings presented in Sections 5.2.1, 5.2.2 and 5.2.4, the fact that Participant 6 and 9 felt a sense of acceptance and belonging in South Africa can be assumed to counter the negative psychological effects they experienced as a result of their migration and irregular status. Furthermore, as shared by the participant during the interview, the ability to transcend these boundaries meant for Participant 9 that he eventually was able to access opportunities and resources that because of his irregular status, he had been prevented from accessing before (see Browne *et al.* 2016; Jonsson 2014; see Chapter 3.2.2). For these reasons, being able to gain acceptance and belonging are indeed a success for participants, both as individuals and as parents.

Participants 1 was explicit about her successes as a parent when she uttered the following:

> can say that we succeeded because the child got his education. [In spite of all the challenges,] he still managed to go to school, and I still managed to get a job ... It was not permanent, it was part time [but] we did get a job, and life went on as normal.

In light of participants' predominant views concerning their responsibilities and priorities as parents (see Sections 5.2.2), accessing education for their children and finding employment as means to look after the children must be seen as a success indeed. This is especially so when bearing in mind the difficulties faced by the participants in accessing education on behalf of their children (see Section 5.2.2) and the barriers that exist because of migration laws preventing access to employment (see Chapter 2.2, Chapter 3.2.1 and Section 5.2.2). Yet, even though participants' successes must be acknowledged and praised, questions however remain regarding the extent to which they were able fulfil their dreams and meet their aspirations. This the topic of discussion in the next section.

5.3.2 Broken dreams and disappointments

As highlighted in Section 5.1 where participants' initial hopes and aspirations were discussed, all ten left Zimbabwe because of a seemingly hopeless situation and came to South Africa in the hope of a better life. Even though nine of the ten participants spoke of successes they had achieved for themselves and their children, all ten expressed that their lives in South Africa were characterised by broken dreams and disappointments. Magnes (2016) describes how some migrants travel with their children and face tremendous difficulties together in the hope for a better life for themselves and their children only to find

that the things they had hoped for do not exist in the host country (see Chapter 1). Confirming this, Participant 8 expressed the depth of her disappointments as follows:

> *We come into this country through difficult means … You have to go through the bush, meet all horrible things … [But] when you get into South Africa, that's when you realize that life is now [pause] - What we have been hearing about, that life in South Africa is easy … In a foreign land, you put yourself under pressure [and] do things that you are not even to do.*

Similarly, Participant 2 reflected:

> *When you get into South Africa that's when you realise that life is not what we have been hearing about...You start facing challenges. On the way you are changed from car to car avoiding getting arrested by the police. That's when you really see that wherever we are going, life is difficult...*

In talking about their disappointed hopes, participants spoke of a range of issues, including that life was hard in South Africa, that the "good and easy" life they had expected was non-existent and that they were disappointed that they could not access resources such as schools and hospitals. However, the predominant topic was employment. Participant 6's description of her disappointed expectation of finding employment was typical:

> *I expected to get a job as soon as I arrived in South Africa …* [and yet] *I stayed almost 4 years unemployed.*

Similarly, Participant 3 reflected:

> *When I came to South Africa I expected to find a good job, good accommodation … Life is difficult here in South Africa … You end up taking any job … It's better to go back home and sell tomatoes.*

These two quotes show that the employment they had hoped for in South Africa was unavailable, with Participants 3 explaining how she had resolved to 'take any job' or 'settle for anything' because she was desperate. As seen in Appendix 1, all ten participants were employed informally, with Participant 6 being employed as domestic workers and Participant 3 as a waitress. These informal working environments, according to Idemudia *et al.* (2013), expose migrants to exploitation because they are largely unregulated (see Section 5.2.4). As stated by Young (1999), exploitation is a form of oppression because it leads to employers benefiting from the work of others because they have employed members of a powerless group. In the case of Participant 3, she was desperate and therefore could not complain because of her irregular status, leaving her powerless in the face of exploitation. Against this background, it seems unsurprising that in saying, 'it's better to go back home and sell tomatoes', Participant 3 insinuates the

loss of belonging she had felt in Zimbabwe and the loss of status she suffered in South Africa were too high a price to pay for what living as an irregular migrant in South Africa really meant.

Focusing on his role as a parent, Participant 7 expressed his disappointment in his children lacking a sense of belonging:

> *So at school they [the children] are not South African…If you are to say let's go to Zimbabwe they are not Zimbabwean … so in other words they are the missing middle. Are they South Africans? Are they Zimbabweans? So they are floating in the air. It's one thing that you wonder what is going to happen to them?*

The quote by Participant 7 brings out an important issue a sense of belonging discussed in the sub-theme above. Compared to adults, the quotes suggest that children might end up belonging neither in Zimbabwean nor in South Africa and therefore, unlike adults, might develop no sense of belonging at all.

To conclude, participants indeed experienced successes as irregular migrant parents. These were dominated by a sense of belonging and the ability to make life liveable for their children in South Africa. However, the issue of belonging was something only some participants experienced, while others did not. Though there were successes experienced by participants and many instances of resilience shown, the experiences of irregular migrants raising children under conditions of irregularity generally did not seem to meet the expectations participants had had when migrating to South Africa.

Chapter Summary and Conclusion

Upon analysis, the study's data revealed that participants left Zimbabwe and moved to South Africa as irregular migrants because their country was facing political, economic and social turmoil, leading to poverty. The analysis also showed that reasons for migration were intertwined at the micro, meso and macro levels of the environment. Furthermore, the data analysis demonstrated how, in attempting to control the movement and stay of those who come to South Africa, the DHA created an inferior social group. Because this group was inferior, they were excluded from and discriminated against when trying to access schools and sometimes hospitals. As a result, with citizenship being the frame for social justice claims, the analysis showed that there was misframing and therefore a social injustice was committed against irregular migrant parents in that resources such as schools and hospitals were not equally accessible to all children in South Africa.

As members of a social group thus rendered inferior, all ten participants were victims to Young (1990)'s five faces of oppression, that is, marginalisation, exploitation, cultural imperialism, powerlessness, and violence, and all these faces were intertwined. However, powerlessness was the recurrent one, and this

was most apparent in the encounters with the police and volunteers. Participants preferred to live on South Africa societal margins were they would not be identified as foreigners out of fear of xenophobic attacks and sometimes would forgo accessing services just to remain invisible. As result of this marginal status, participants were exploitable on the labour market, with several quotes included above regarding long working hours, poor wages, and a fear of speaking up in the face of exploitation. Participants' children sometimes had one of the South African languages imposed on them, and this led to cultural imperialism. In all these faces participants experienced psychological and social violence.

Several examples were provided of participants who seemed to have accepted and internalised this inferior social identity and thus, to have embraced life as it was, thinking that there is nothing they can do. The internalisation of their oppression goes to extent of them referring to themselves as illegal migrants in many quotes above. The internalisation of the inferior identity and oppression is evident when participants accept being excluded from accessing schools and hospitals. It also becomes apparent when they accommodated their condition when they use social networks to best deal with problems that arise from irregular migration and seeking support from the social networks. There aren't any examples of resistance.

The different, interconnected forms of oppression revealed in this Presentation and Discussion of Findings created, in the words of one this study's participants, *a basic needs parent*, that is, a parent who only puts food on the table and provides a the roof over his or her children's heads, who gets his or her children enrolled in some school and is able to get basic medical needs seen to, but who is not able to do much more than that that. Another participant was able to articulate how her irregular status and the psychological distress that arose from it turned her into *an emotionally unavailable parent* who, again, prioritised meeting basic needs but side-lined the emotional needs of the children. The oppressive conditions also created *a humiliated parent*, who is sometimes humiliated by officials. A humiliated parent is seen when a participant has to milk her breast at a police roadblock. Finally, the data revealed *the parent of the irregular child* who struggled to access anything on behalf of this child, as this could be shown in connection with access to schools and hospitals. In all these ways, the data analysis reveals that this study's participants' status as irregular migrants and the oppressive conditions in their lives created what could be called *the 'inadequate' yet unsupported parent*. The 'inadequate' parents was seen throughout, being unable to cater for all the needs of children. In all their struggles, social work remained invisible. And where available, as in the case of the deported Zimbabwe children discussed in Chapter 3.2.3, the parent still remains unsupported. The implications of this finding in particular is considered further in the concluding chapter of this dissertation.

Chapter 6: Summary of findings, conclusions and recommendations

In this chapter I present a summary of findings, conclusions and recommendations for the study: *The lived experiences of Zimbabwean migrants raising children under conditions of irregularity in South Africa.* In Section *6.1 Summary of findings*, I return to this study's research objectives. Here, I look at to what extent and in what ways the study's findings met the three research objectives. In Section 6.2 *Discussion of the study's underlying assumptions*, I discuss the study's findings in relation to the underlying assumptions. In the following Section 6.3 *Conclusions*, using the problem statement, I draw conclusions regarding the importance of the social work profession and anti-oppressive social work practice in the lives of irregular migrant parents. In this section I also consider the extent to which the study managed to fill in gaps that exist in social work literature with migrants and irregular migrant parents. This chapter concludes with Section 6.4 *Recommendations.* Based on the summary of findings, conclusions, discussion of the underlying assumptions, the literature review and research methodology, I provide recommendations for social work practice at micro, meso and macro levels of the environment and for further research in the field of social work with migrants and research education.

Before entering into this discussion, it is important that I again outline the research objectives and underlying assumptions of this study. The research objectives of this study were to explore:

1. How the study's participants have sustained themselves and their families under conditions of irregularity;
2. What the participants regarded as their parental responsibilities and tasks; and –
3. What participants considered to have been their successes and challenges in raising their children under conditions of irregularity.

The underlying assumptions of this study were:

1. A parents' irregular status affects the lives of their children negatively;
2. Such parents are facing social and economic challenges in raising their children in South Africa;
3. Their children are excluded from accessing adequate social, educational and health services, nutrition, and shelter.
4. For irregular migrants, the task of raising children with positive identities and values is difficult.

6.1 Summary of findings

As discussed in Chapter 4, semi-structured interviews were conducted with a sample of ten Zimbabwean nationals from Johannesburg and Durban. While they were of diverse backgrounds, all of them had been living and raising children in South Africa under conditions of irregularity. The data was analysed using thematic content analysis, and findings were presented in Chapter 5 along three themes and nine sub-themes. The first theme, 5.1 M*igration Causes: Initial Hopes and Aspirations of Irregular Migrant Parents in South Africa*, had sub-themes, 5.1.1 *Zimbabwe's social, political and economic instability and the 'push' to migrate*; 5.1.2 *Social networks and the 'pull of South Africa*; and 5.1.3 *Why do irregular migrant parents 'choose' to raise their children under conditions of irregularity?*. The second theme, 5.2 *Migration Experiences: Responsibilities, Tasks and Challenges of Irregular Migrant Parents*, had sub-themes, 5.2.1 *Parenting, migration and law enforcement agencies in South Africa*; 5.2.2 *Meeting basic needs and accessing human services;* 5.2.3 *Other parenting issues and concerns*; and 5.2.4 *Psychological distress and coping mechanisms among irregular migrant parents*. The third theme and final theme was, 5.3 *Overall Evaluations of 'Irregular Migration Experiences'*, with sub-themes, 5.3.1. *Successes of irregular migrant parents*; and 5.3.2 *Broken dreams and disappointments*. The purpose of this section is to consider the extent and ways in which these findings met the study's research objectives.

The first research objective was to explore how the study's participants sustained themselves and their families under conditions of irregularity. Findings presented in the introduction of Chapter 5, Sections 5.2.2 and 5.3.2 revealed that three participants were employed as domestic workers, five general hands and one as a waitress, and this was a means of sustenance for themselves and their families. It was also revealed that one participant was unemployed, and she was dependent on her extended for her family's sustenance. The findings in these sections showed that even though nine participants managed to secure employment for sustenance for themselves and their families it was not enough. All ten participants alluded to this, and it became apparent that the type of employment they held paid so little that they were able only to cater for the most basic needs, that is, food, shelter, school fees and occasional medical expenses. It was also found in Section 5.2.2 that because of their marginal and invisible status, as well as their real and perceived sense of powerlessness, participants accepted exploitation at the hand of employers in order to sustain themselves and their families.

The second objective of this study was to explore what participants regarded as their parental responsibilities and tasks. Participants' responses to this concern were discussed in sub-theme 5.2.2*.* In this sub-theme I reported that meeting their children's basic needs such as food, shelter and clothing were every participants' most important parental responsibilities. In theme 5.1 it was revealed that

participants left Zimbabwe because of social, economic and political instability and migrated to South Africa because of the country's social, political and economic attractiveness. Nine out of ten participants therefore left Zimbabwe because they could not even provide for basic necessities. It was found in Section 5.2.2 that all participants considered finding employment to be a parental task as this enabled them to provide for these necessities. In terms of shelter, participants in their responses revealed that they not only had the responsibility to provide shelter but also had the task to ensure that this accommodation was safe from dangers such as xenophobic attacks. Protecting their children from these kinds of challenges then became an additional parental responsibility.

Findings presented in sub-theme 5.2.2 also showed that all participants considered accessing healthcare services and schools to be two other key parental responsibilities. Meeting these responsibilities proved difficult, however, and this was due to lack of documentation, and exclusionary and discriminatory attitudes of those working in these institutions. Accessing social services was not considered a parental responsibility. However as explained by two participants, this was not due to the fact that participants did not see any need for intervention, but because social work was invisible, and participants' fear of having their irregular status detected prevented them from actively seeking out such services.

However, other sub-themes and themes also provided information concerning this objective, even if less explicitly so. It was found in Section 5.3.1 that migrating the children from Zimbabwe to South Africa formed part of parental responsibilities. The responses of participants in Section 5.2.1 show that providing safety, stability and security in the face of xenophobic violence and threats from 'volunteers' and police was part of participants' parental responsibilities and tasks for those people parenting under conditions of irregularity. Findings in Section 5.2.3 point out that is was the responsibility and task of participants, to provide emotional support; to ensure that that their children not only go to school but also do well and supported them in relation to particular developmental risks, for example negative pressures such as doing drugs. Findings presented in this section revealed that even though these other parental responsibilities and tasks were acknowledged by three participants, there was a tendency of prioritising basic needs and accessing human services and the sidelining of other responsibilities as seen in the case of a participant who tended to pit emotional and basic needs against each other.

I reported Section 5.2.3 that resources required from the external environment changed as the children developed, therefore, parental tasks changed as the children developed. For example as the children developed parents came into contact with institutions such as schools in the external environment that required birth certificates and permits that were not required for younger children. I concluded that it is when parents and children come into contact with their external environment that the children are

discriminated and excluded on the grounds of lack of documentation and social group identity and irregularity becomes a tool for oppression. Responses of the two couples in the same section showed that the task of accessing schools and hospitals was the responsibility of mothers more than fathers. From this I deduced that parental tasks and responsibilities for these participants patterns of patriarchy remained unaffected even in conditions of irregularity. Finally, in theme 5.3 it was revealed that parental responsibilities and tasks included giving hope and enabling a future where their children could do well and be successful.

The study's third objective was to explore what participants considered to have been their successes and challenges in raising children under conditions of irregularity. In Section 5.3.1 it was found that because of their heterogeneity, irregular migrant parents experienced a variety of successes as individuals and parents. Importantly two participants expressed that for them, the ability to belong, being accepted and being part of South African society was a success because it served as a potential protective factor to irregular migrant parents and families in times of xenophobic attacks. Unsurprisingly given the findings in respect of Objective 1, the ability to find employment and cater for their children's basic necessities, including providing access to educational and healthcare services under harsh circumstances was said to be a success by all participants.

Even though irregular migrant parents experienced successes both as individuals and as parents, findings in relation to the third objective were dominated by challenges that arose from raising children under conditions of irregularity. Findings relevant to the challenges experienced by participants were discussed in Sections 5.2.1; 5.2.2; 5.2.4 and 5.3.2. The challenges experienced by participants were interlinked and multi-layered. Findings related to challenges experienced by participants in raising children under conditions of irregularity are looked at in relation to theme 5.1. Where participants in challenges were at least in part also linked to their expectations of what life was going to be like in South Africa.

Findings presented in Section 5.2.1 revealed that those residing in Johannesburg lived in fear of being identified, arrested by the police and volunteers and deported by the DHA. Durban-based participants did not appear to experience the same levels of fear. In the cases where participants were arrested, their experiences revealed that some paid bribes to the police, others experienced human rights violations at the hands of the police, which in turn affected the parenting experience negatively in that it appeared to have left at least one participant traumatised and, as a result, emotionally less available to her child than she would have liked to have been (see Section 5.2.3). Secondly regarding challenges experienced by participants in relation to law enforcement agencies, I reported that one of the participants feared to report

a crime committed against her and her child out fear of being detected by the police. This fear showed the marginality and powerlessness that comes with the irregular migrant status.

As part of the challenges faced by participants in raising children under conditions of irregularity, Section 5.2.2 revealed that the children of nine participants were excluded from accessing basic services like education and five from healthcare services because both parents and their children were undocumented. It is against this background that one participant resolved this challenge by using illegal means to acquire documentation. Also to address this challenge it was found that other participants opted to enrol their children in private schools, and these schools came with their own challenges. Private schools were expensive, especially given the poor wages earned by all of the participants, and lacked facilities that were needed by the children. The option of enrolling children in private schools as a means to address challenges related to documentation is slowly becoming unavailable: as shown in the Eastleigh Primary School Incident, the South African government is trying to close the door on the option of private schools. Besides challenges related to documentation of children, some children of Shona speaking participants at schools faced xenophobic attitudes and language barriers at schools. While the majority of the participants were excluded from accessing public schools because they were undocumented, it was found in section 5.2.2 that in accessing health care services they had a different experience as some were excluded and others were not.

Exclusion and discrimination of children of irregular migrants from accessing basic services that they were supposed to have access to is illustrated when one participant gives birth on a stoop. This incident added with another incident where the same participant had to milk her breast at a police roadblock also show violation of human dignity. Besides challenges pertaining to service provision, in Section 5.3.2, it was found that the exploitation reportedly experienced by three participants at the hands of the employers added onto the psychological distress parents had. Indeed, when considering both verbal and nonverbal communication in the interviews, experiences of psychological distress emerged as a serious challenge that afflicted all participants, that is, all challenges faced by participants weighed heavily psychologically on participants.

6.2 Discussion of the study's underlying assumptions

In this section I return to the four underlying assumptions formulated for this study. The four underlying assumptions were intertwined and interrelated, thus, are discussed in conjunction.

The first underlying assumption stated that, a parent's irregular migrant status affected the lives of their children negatively. As revealed by findings in Chapter 5, Sections 5.2.1; 5.2.2; 5.2.3 and 5.2.4, the

irregular migrant status of parents negatively affected the lives of the children being parented both directly and indirectly. The three other underlying assumptions illustrate how the parents irregular migrant status affects the lives of their children. The major issue, as revealed by findings, is that children of irregular migrants, who formerly enjoy certain rights in South Africa, were treated like their parents, whose rights according to the law were limited. What was shown by this study goes back to the point discussed in *Chapter 1.1 Background and rationale* that within a family there are people with rights (children) and those who do not have the same level of rights (parents). Yet it is those who do not have rights who must access rights on behalf of those who have. Because of that, everyone in the family is affected.

The second underlying assumption stated that irregular migrant parents faced social and economic challenges in raising their children under conditions of irregularity. This underlying assumption is linked to the third underlying assumption, which was that children of irregular migrants would be discriminated against and excluded from accessing adequate social, educational and health care services, adequate nutrition and shelter. As part of the challenges faced by irregular migrant parents firstly, it was found in Section 5.2.1 that participants lived in fear of being identified, attacked, arrested and deported. It was further revealed that this fear affected parents ability to meet their children's needs such as shelter. Secondly responses presented in Section 5.2.2 illustrated that because of their social group identity, children were discriminated against and excluded by some service providers from accessing educational and health care services. It is here that the irregular migrant status of participants affected the lives of their children negatively. This prevented children of irregular migrants from accessing their rights regardless of their status.

In terms of the economic challenges faced by irregular migrant parents, findings in Section 5.2.2 revealed that participants faced financial difficulties. These emanated from their irregular migrant status. Here again, the social group that participants were identified with, resulted in some participants who were professionally trained being excluded from professional paying jobs they were trained for. The findings illustrated that both professionally trained and participants with no professional qualifications were dependent on the informal sector on the social margins where jobs were unregulated. These types of employment were menial, paid little and were exploitative. This then confirms underlying assumption three that because of financial challenges, participants were sometimes unable to meet their children's nutritional, educational, shelter and healthcare needs.

The fourth underlying assumption stated that it was difficult for irregular migrant parents to raise children with positive identities. This assumption was concerned with how the irregular migrant status of parents indirectly impacted the children being parented. Findings in Section 5. 2.1 illustrated that some

participants faced human rights violations at the hands of the police because they were irregular migrants. Because of their status they felt unable to challenge the violations. Again because of fear of being identified one participant did not report crime committed against her and her child. It was also revealed in Sections 5.2.1 and 5.2.2 that participants and their children were an invisible population that lived on South Africa's societal margins and would do anything to maintain to maintain that invisibility. It was also found in Section 5.2.2 that children of irregular migrant participants were excluded from accessing educational and sometimes healthcare services. It was shown throughout the study that participants did not challenge such discrimination and exclusion, but instead accommodated and accepted the status quo. All of the above are examples of an internalisation of second class citizenship and internalisation of oppression. After having high hopes of South Africa (see Section 5.1), there was also a sense of hopelessness about the future, and this also impacted the ability of participants to raise children with positive identities. It must be assumed that children would bear witness to this, and this would affect the entire family's mood, identity and culture in which they were growing up. However, the values passed on to the children were not all negative: in all experiences discussed above, parents sacrificed for their families and showed resilience in all the difficulties they faced. In Section 5.3.1, it was shown that participants considered these to be successes they took pride in. These constituted positive values that participants too, passed on to their children.

6.3 Conclusions

This Section concludes the study by returning to the study's problem statement which stated that because the living conditions of irregular migrants could be assumed to affect parenting in a negative way, this was of concern for social work. Yet, and in spite of the existence of a considerable body of literature on migration in South Africa, only a few local studies were available that dealt with the field of social work with migrants. In addition, I noted at the onset of the study that globally, there was a dearth of research on the effect of migration on families and parenting, and that the question of migrant parents raising children under conditions of irregularity was under-explored. This I considered to be a problem because social work is deeply concerned with the well-being of children, and has also recognised its responsibility towards migrants. Thus, this study aimed to contribute to filling the knowledge gaps that currently exist in the field.

As seen in Sections 6.1 and 6.2, the study managed to bring out the challenges faced by irregular migrant parents in South Africa. In all sections of Chapter 5, I managed to point out the different types of services that could have been rendered for this group. The importance of social work in the lives of those parenting under irregular conditions was brought into light when pointing out where social services could have been

rendered. In other words, social work's importance was shown when it was revealed throughout the findings that the irregular status led to social, economic and political exclusion of irregular migrants and their children, and it was at these points that social work should have intervened. Unfortunately, regardless of this and of the desire among some participants to access social work service, social services were unavailable. Although social work should be an essential profession in the day-to-day lives of people, by being invisible in the lives of irregular migrant parents, the profession rendered itself irrelevant.

The study aimed to explore issues faced by irregular migrant parents from an anti-oppressive view. In this regard, it revealed the following: Sections 5.2.1 and 5.2.2 showed that access to rights for children of irregular migrants was based on citizenship, which arguably constituted misframing. Looking at the 'who' should make social justice claims and against 'whom', it could be shown that by framing social justice claims along the lines of citizenship, irregular migrant parents and their children were eliminated from all social justice claims. This meant that resources were not distributed to them, they were eliminated from ordinary political representation and were also not recognized. The findings in reference to the theory frame also illustrated the 'five faces of oppression' that existed in the lives of irregular migrants. In Theme 5.1, we saw a people who entered South Africa as an already powerless and marginal position. Because of this, powerlessness and marginalisation remained recurrent faces of oppression throughout the findings. The findings in Sections 5.2.2 and 5.3.1 revealed that participants were exploited, and in Section 5.2.1 it was discussed that one of the participant's children experienced cultural imperialism. Sections 5.2.1; 5.2.2 and 5.2.3 showed that participants were subjected to different forms of violence, for example interpersonal violence at the hands of the police, and institutional and structural violence when their children were prevented from accessing government schools. This all resulted in psychological violence which was discussed in Section 5.2.4. The findings illustrated that the five faces of oppression intersected and led to participants' acceptance and accommodation of oppression, as seen especially in Section 5.2.1; 5.2.2 and 5.3.2. I shall return to this discussion to recommend the roles social work should assume in terms of anti-oppressive practice, both in direct practice and in terms of policy.

As highlighted above, Section 5.2.2 showed that social work did not exist in the lives of irregular migrant parents. The literature reviewed had revealed that this is characteristic of social work in the field of migration in South Africa. I found that sadly, not only was social work invisible in the lives of participants in the face of glaring human rights violations and injustices faced by the study's participants. As brought to the fore in the case of the deported Zimbabwean irregular migrant children (see the literature review in Chapter 3.2.2), unlike members of the legal profession, social workers were involved in the concerning treatment of the children at the hands of the South African state, rather than objecting, or even

participating in the resistance, to this treatment. Therefore, while the study helped identify what the issues are in practice with irregular migrant families, it can be concluded that in terms of anti-oppressive practice, South African social work still has a long way to go. It is against the background of these conclusions that the following section provides recommendations for the profession at different levels of intervention, in research education.

6.4 Recommendations

Based on the study's findings and conclusions I would like to recommend the following:

Macro level practice

At a macro level of practice, I recommend that social work should participate in efforts to influence legislation and policy as follows:

- The protections provided for irregular migrants and their children by the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa should translate into practice.
  - Social workers should advocate for the police to observe their human rights when arresting irregular migrants for violating the Immigration Act 13 of 2002 by staying in the country irregularly.
  - Social workers should also advocate for irregular migrants to be safe from arrest when reporting crimes committed against them and their children to the police.

- The study's findings and literature review showed that there are contradictions in legislation dealing with children of irregular migrants and the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa. For example, the Constitution and the Schools Act 84 of 1996 provide for access to basic education in South Africa, while the Immigrations Act prescribes that institutions enrolling irregular migrants should be charged with contravening the Act.

  - I recommend that social workers advocate for uniformity right across all legislation dealing with children of irregular migrants, and that this legislation be guided by the Constitution. Since the Constitution provides for access to basic services for all children in South Africa, I recommend that social workers advocate for children of irregular migrants to have equal access and not be excluded from available services provided.

- As seen in the study's findings, children of irregular migrants face barriers when accessing to basic services mainly because they do not have birth certificates.

○ I therefore recommend that social workers lobby the DHA to provide for a birth certificate system for children of irregular migrants that would allow access to services. Since South Africa citizenship is not acquired through birth for a large number of migrant children, including those into irregularity, I recommend that those birth certificates should stipulate that the birth certificates will not lead to citizenship but are to allow for access to basic services until the child turns 18.

Meso and micro level practice: direct social work practice with irregular migrant families

● Findings revealed that in social work was invisible in terms of service provision for irregular migrant parents. In addition, the literature review highlighted that where they were visible, social workers participated in the victimisation of irregular migrant parents and their children. Therefore I recommend that:

○ Social work service providers should try to become visible and accessible as should be the case with other services, for example schools and hospitals. Visibility can be achieved through intervention methods like community work. Through community outreach projects, social workers can make themselves and the services they provide known to irregular migrants. Social workers can also make themselves visible through networking with other organisations in the field, including migrant organisations like the African Diaspora Forum, legal and advocacy organisations such as Lawyers for Human Rights and the Legal Resources Centre.

○ Where visible, social work should not be seen as directly involved in the separation of irregular migrant families and deportation of children. Even though social work is in a precarious position because the profession works within the confines of state laws, I recommend that social work in working with irregular migrants should be at all times be guided by its principles of social justice and human rights and should not participate in mistreatment of irregular migrants.

● The findings revealed that the children of irregular migrants are an invisible group that lives on the margins of South African society. On these margins, parents are struggling to cater even for their children's basic needs.

○ I recommend that social workers build relationships with members of these invisible communities and where necessary, intervene according to the developmental social welfare model.

Social Work education and continuous professional development

● The findings illustrated that from an anti-oppressive social work view participants experienced exclusion based on social group identity. As a result were misframed consequently experienced maldistribution, misrecognition and misrepresentation. They also experienced exploitation; powerlessness; cultural imperialism; marginalisation and cultural violence, and a result internalised their oppression.

   ○ I recommend for anti-oppressive social work theory and practice to be taught at universities and also be offered through continuous professional development (CPD) offerings to practicing social workers.

   ○ I further recommend that both at universities and through CPD offerings, social work students and practitioners learn about migration, irregular migration, and about social work with international service users. This should include learning both about international professional standards, the South African Constitution and different Acts dealing with different types of migrants.

   ○ Both at universities and through CPD offerings, students and practitioners should learn more about how to apply the social work principles of human rights and social justice in practice.

Social work research

● As discussed in Section 6.3, in South Africa there is not enough research in the field of social work with migrants in South Africa, and about irregular migrant parents. This study managed to identify some of the challenges faced by irregular migrant parents and the types of services that could be rendered. However, this was an exploratory-descriptive study with a sample of only ten Zimbabwean parents.

   ○ I recommend that larger studies be done by social workers on the experiences of those parenting under conditions of irregularity, and that future studies also include other nationalities to investigate further how social work services could be delivered to them.

- ○ Further research should also be done on the experiences of social workers in this field, and the challenges they face.

- In Chapter 4.6 *Ethics* it was revealed that it is not only the research participants that can be harmed by research, but the researchers also need to be protected from harm. This is especially important when research is done on groups that exist irregularly and are hard to access as this often requires researchers who are directly affected by what they are researching, and this makes them vulnerable to trauma as well. Yet, research ethics committees focus mostly on the rights and needs of participants.

  - ○ Based on this observation I recommend that research ethics committees also pay attention to how researchers can be supported and protected from harm during research.

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Appendix 1: Biographical Details of Participants

Participant	Sex	Age	Marital Status	Highest Level of Education	Type of employment	Ages and sexes of the children	Person who the children live with	Home language	Period of illegality	Current status
1	F	29	Single	Degree	Domestic Worker	Male 7	Mother	Ndebele	2 years	Asylum seeker permit
2	F	27	Single	High School	Unemployed	Male 8 Male 10	Mother	Ndebele	4 years	Asylum seeker permit
3	F	40	Married	High School	Waitress	Female 12, Male 7, 2 male	Mother and Father	Ndebele	5 years	Asylum seeker's permit
4	F	30	Married	High School	General Hand	Female 11 Male 7	Mother and Father	Ndebele	3 years	Asylum seeker's permit
5	M	33	Married	High School	General Hand	Female 11 Male 7	Mother and Father	Ndebele	4 years	ZSP
6	F	32	Married	High School	Domestic Worker	Female 7	Mother and Father	Ndebele	5 years	ZSP
7	M	40	Married	Degree	General Hand	Female 11 Male 9, Male 5	Mother and Father	Shona	6 years	ZSP
8	F	38	Married	Degree	Domestic Worker	Female 11, Male 9, Male 5	Mother and Father	Shona	5 years	Student Permit
9	M	30	Married	Degree	General Hand	Female 2 Female 4	Mother and Father	Shona	1 year	ZSP
10	F	45	Single	Degree	General Hand	Male 27 Male 23	Mother and Father	Shona	1 year	ZSP

Appendix 2: Semi-Structured Interview Guide

Biographical Details

1. Code Name:

2. Gender:

3. Age:

4. Language:

5. Children's ages and genders:

6. Period of illegality in South Africa:

7. Person the children live with (if multiple caregivers, ask for the periods in which children were in different persons' care)

Questions to be explored:

1. What caused you to come to South Africa?
2. What made you decide to move your children from Zimbabwe to South Africa?
3. What did you and family expect of South Africa?
4. How did you and your family survive upon arrival in South Africa and in the time you were living irregularly?
5. What are do you consider your most important tasks and responsibilities as a parent?
6. Were these tasks and responsibilities affected by your irregular status in South Africa?
7. What are some of the challenges have you experienced as a [single/married, female/male] parent with an illegal status? [Use whichever applies.]
   - Probe for challenges in ensuring the children's access to:
     - Basic shelter, health care, education and social services;
     - Adequate nutrition;
     - Protection from degradation and exploitation;
     - Protection from exploitative labour practices;

8. How did you cope with these challenges?

9. What are some of the successes you have experienced as a [single/married, female/male] parent with an illegal status? [Use whichever applies.]

10. Do you have anything else you want to share?

Appendix 3: Informed Consent Forms

Sheron Mpofu
School of Applied Human Sciences, College of Humanities
University of KwaZulu Natal
Howard College Campus
Mazisi Kunene Road
Durban
4001

29 August 2016

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN

My name is Sheron Mpofu. I am master's social work student candidate at the University of KwaZulu Natal. I am conducting a research on irregular (illegal) migrants, my topic is **'The lived experiences of Zimbabwe migrants raising children under conditions of irregularity in South Africa'**

You are invited to consider participating in this study. The study aims to explore your experiences of raising children in South Africa. The research will concentrate on the period before you received your Zimbabwean Special Dispensation Permit, that is, the time when your stay in South Africa was still illegal. The study is expected to enroll eight to ten participants from Berea, Hillbrow and Yeoville.

Please note that:
- Your participation is for academic purposes only, and there are no financial benefits involved.
- Your participation in this study is voluntary.
- Your interview will last for about an hour, adjustments can be made depending on your preferences.
- Should you have any discomforts or feel like you no longer want to participate you have a right to withdraw at any stage of the study.
- Your withdrawal does not mean you will face a penalty or incur any loss.
- Should you want to withdraw, you may ask the researcher to stop recording.
- You might have to spend money travelling to the place where the interviews will be done. You will be reimbursed for the transport money that you will use.
- You name and personal information will remain confidential. When writing the research report I will use pseudonyms such as 'participant 1', 'participant 2', etc.
- The recorded material will be kept safely at the university for 5 years thereafter destroyed

Consent:
If you are interested in participating, please indicate by ticking if you are willing or not to have your interview audio-recorded and sign the consent form below:

Audio record my interview	YES	NO

I ....have been informed about the study entitled '**The lived experiences of Zimbabwean migrants raising children under conditions of irregularity in South Africa**' by Sheron Mpofu.
- I understood the purpose and procedures of the study.

- I have been given an opportunity to ask questions about the study and the answers were to my satisfaction.
- If I have any further questions about the study, I understand that I can contact the researcher and the university.

Signature of participant: **…………………………………….**   Date: …………………………….

For any further information please feel free to contact me or my research supervisor Dr. Dorothee Hölscher. If you have any queries with regards to the rights of the research participants, please contact the Ethics Administration Office**.**

Contact Details

Sheron Mpofu   Dr. Dorothee Hölscher
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Email: HSSREC@ukzn.ac.za

Ndebele version of informed consent form:

Sheron Mpofu

School of Applied Human Sciences, College

of Humanities

University of KwaZulu Natal

Howard College Campus

Mazisi Kunene Road

Durban

4001

29 Ncwabakazi 2016,

KULOWO OKUQONDANE LAYE

Ibizo lami nguSheron Mpofu. Ngingumfundi we masters kuphiko lwenzenhlalakahle eUniversity of KwaZulu Natal. Ngenza ucwiningo ngabantu abahleli okungekho emthethweni eSouth Africa. Isihloko salolu salolucwaningo sami sithi **'The lived experiences of Zimbabwean migrants raising children under conditions of irregularity in South Africa'.**

Uyamenya ukuba yingxenye yalolu ucwaningo. Ucwaningo lolu luzakhangelilisisa ubunzima lokunqoba owuke wahlanga lakho ekhuliseni abantwabakho ngaphandle kokuba emthethweni eSouth Africa. Lolucwaningo luzakhangela isikhathi ungakatholi iZimbabwean Special Dispensation Permit yakho. Lolucwaningo lukhangelele ukuthi luzaba labantu abaylitshumi abayingxenye yalo.

Nanzelela Lokhu:

- Awusoze uthole imali kumbe eminye imivuzo ngokuba yingxenye yalolucwaningo. Lolucwaningo ngolomsebenzi wesikolo kuphela.
- Awusoze njalo akumelanga ubanjwe ngamandla ukuba yingxenye yalolucwaningo.
- I-interview yakho izakuba yihola kuphela kodwa amalungiselelo engenziwa nxa kusenzeka kusiba lobunye ubunzima.
- Ulelungelo lokuthi nxa ungezwa ungasafuni loba ungasathandi ukuba yingxenye yalolucwaningo loku kuphuma kulolucwaningo
- Awusoze wajezwiswa kumbe wabhadaliselwa ukuphuma kwakho
- Kungenzeka usebenzise imali yakho ubuya kuma interview. Imali yakho ozayisebenzisa izabhadalwa.
- Ibizo lakho kanye lezinye izinto eziyimfihlo ngawe zizanakekelwa. Ekubhaleni ireport ngizasebenzisa isibonelo umuntu wokuqala, umuntu wesibili kanjalo
- Amacasset lamaCD alama-interview azagcwinwa euniversity okweminyaka emihlanu besetshiswa amaphepha okuyabe kubhale ngawo ngama interview adatshulwe.

Isivumelwano:

- Nxa uvuma ukuba yingxenye yalolucwaningo njalo nxa ukuvuma ukurekhodwa ku-interview ngerekhoda. Maka kuyebo kumbe hayi.

| Ukurekhodwaa kwe-interview yami | Yebo | Hayi |

Mina……………………………………………. ngitsheliwe kabanzi ngalolucwaningo oluthi '**The lived experiences of Zimbabwean migrants raising children under conditions of irregularity in South Africa'** nguSheron Mpofu.

- Ngizwisisile ukuthi lolucwaningo ngolwani njalo luzenziwa njani.
- Ngiphiwe ithuba lokubuza imibuzo ngalo njalo ngisuthisekile ngempendulo engizitholilelo
- Nxa kwenzakala ukuthi ngileminye imibuzo ngiyazwisisa ukuthi ngingathinta umfundi, utitsha wakhe omphetheyo loba i-university

Isiginitsha…………………………………………   Date…………………

Nxa ulemibuzo ngamalungelo alabo abayingxenye yalolucwaningo ungathinta mina, utitsha wami ongiphetheyo kumbe iEthics Administration.

Sitholakala lapha:

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Shona version informed consent form

Sheron Mpofu

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of Humanities

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Durban

4001

29 Nyamavhuvu 2016

KUNE ANECHEKUITA NEGWARO RINO

Zita rangu ndinoitwa Sheron Mpofu. Ndiri mudzidzi wefundo yepamusoro ndichiita masters yezvemabasa emararamiro nemagariro evanhu (Masters in Social Work) paUniversity of KwaZulu Natal. Ndirikuita tsvakirudzo yevapoteri vasiri pamutemo, musoro wetsvakirudzo yangu unoti '**The lived experiences of Zimbabwean migrants raising children under conditions of irregularity in South Africa'.**

Munotenderwa kufunga pamusoro pekuve nechekuita kwenyu mutsvakirudzo ino. Tsvakirudzo ino chinangwa chayo ndechekupenengura matambudziko nebudiriro (kana iripo) yamungange makasangana nayo mukukudza nekurera vana muSouth Africa. Tsvakirudzo ino ichange yakanyanyo Nangana nenguva iyo yamakanga musati matambira magwaro enyu eZimbabwean Special Dispensation Permit, zvichireva kuti,panguva hwugaro hwenyu hwemuSouth Africa pahwanga usiri pamutemo. Tsvakirudzo iyi inotarisirwa kunge ichive nevanhu gumi vachave nechekuita nayo vachibva munzvimbo dzinoti Berea,Hillbrow ne Yeoville.

Zvamunotarisirwa kucherechedza:

- Kuve nechekuita kwenyu mutsvakirudzo ino kwakanangana chete nezvefundo, uyewo hakuna muripo wemari mukati.
- Kuve nechekuita kwenyu mutsvakirudzo iyi kunobva mukuzvidira kwenyu kubatsira.
- Mibvunzo yatichabvunzana mutsvakirudzo ino ichatora nguva ingangosvike awa rimwe,asi zvinobva uye zvichienderana nezvamunenge muchida imi.
- Kana pane zvamusiri kufara nazvo kana kusagutsikana nazvo uye mukanzwa kuti hamuchadi kuenderera mberi mune chekuita netsvakirudzo iyi munemvumo yekuramba uye kumisa kushandiswa kwerubatsiro rwenyu paneipi zvayo nguva yetsvakirudzo ino.
- Kuramwa kana kubuda mutsvakurudzo iyi hakurevi kuti pane mitongo kana zvamucharuza.
- Kana mafunga kuti hamuchada kuramba muchibatsira muno gona kuudza munyori wetsvakurudzo kuti hamuchada uye amire zvaangadai achinyora kana kutapa pamibvunzo yaangange achibvunza.
- Kana muchinge mashandisa mari yenyu muchiuya kunzvimbo yamuri kubvunzwa nezvetsvakirudzo ino makasungirwa kudzoserwa mari yamashandisa parwendo rwenyu.
- Zita renyu nezvimwe zvinechekuita nemi hazvisi zveruzhinji zviri pakati penyu chete nemunyori wetsvakurudzo ino. Kana chinyorwa chetsvakirudzo chevekunyorwa ndichashandisa mazita emadunhurirwa sekuti 'Munhu wekutanga', 'Munhu wepiri' zvichingoenda zvakadaro.

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- Zvatashandisa mukukubvunzai uye nepamanyora kana kutaura mhinduro dzenyu pachange pakachengetwa neUniversity of KwaZulu Natal kwemakore mashanu mushure mekupedzwa kwetsvakirudzo ino pozoparadzwa.

Tenderano kana Bvumirano:

Kana muchinge mabvuma kuve nechekuita mutsvakirudzo ino, tinokumbirawo kuti mutiratidze kuti mungada here kuti mibvunzo yatichabvunza inge ichitapiwa mazwi ayo mobva matiisirawo runyoro rwenyu pagwaro retenderano riri pazasi.

Tapai mazwi emibvunzo yandichabvunzwa   ndinobvuma-handibvume

Ini……………………………………………….ndaudzwa pamusoro pezvetsvakirudzo ino inoti **'The lived experiences of Zimbabwean migrants raising children under conditions of irregularity in South Africa'** Ikuitwa naSheron Mpofu.

- Ndanzwisisa chinangwa nemafambiro achaita tsvakurudzo ino.
- Ndapiwa mukana wekubvunza mibvunzo yakanangana nezvetsvakurudzo ino uyewo ndagutsikana nemhinduro dzandapihwa.
- Kana ndikazoita mibvunzo yandingazode kubvunza, ndanzwisisa kuti ndinokwanisa kubata munyori wetsvakurudzo kana University.

Runyoro Rwemubvunzwi:……………………………………….   Zuva:……………………………..

Pane zvimwe zvamungade kuziva sunungukai kubata munyori wetsvakurudzo kana mukuru anoona nezvetsvakurudzo ino vanoitwa Chiremba Dorothee Holsher. Kana mukave nezvichemo zvinechekuita nezve mvumo yenyu yaminayo sevanhu vatenda kuve mutsvakurudzo, munotenderwa kubata hofisi yezvemirau wetsvakurudzo inove ye Ethics Administration Office.

Tinowanikwa ku:

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Appendix 4: Semi-structured Individual Interview

This interview was selected as an example as an example of a semi-structured individual interview. The underlined parts are quoted in the data analysis chapter.

Interviewer: What are some of the challenges did you experienced like you said as a single mother in South Africa with an illegal status?

Participant 1: hmmm…firstly <u>when I came to South Africa my child could not get a proper school. He spent the first month at home we couldn't get a place at school because once we got there they wanted papers, study permit and all and my child didn't have that and I also didn't have a permit. So it became a challenge he spent the first month at home and then me and my cousin brother said we maybe we should try private schools and then private schools were, the most affordable were in town.</u> So I now had to move from where I was staying moved to town Joburg town. So we moved to Jo'burg town and then we looked for a school we got a school then that meant we had to find accommodation in town which is quite expensive of which with my salary it became very difficult ...

Interviewer: Besides going to school, having difficulties getting into school have you ever had other challenges like maybe the child, you know challenges in the hospital, taking the child to the hospital. Challenges to do with the child having access to social services as in South Africa there are social services for children. Have you ever had such challenges besides access to education?

Participant 1: yah!<u> I remember this one time when he was sick. I took him to a government hospitals and they demanded that I produce my own permit and by that time I was still illegal and they also demanded that I produce documents for my son of which I did not have and we were turned back home until I decided to take him to a private doctor for him to be treated.</u>

Interviewer: Is there anything else you want to share with me before I stop recording.

Participant 1: May be I can say when I got here like when we moved to Jo'burg CBD. Usually in the morning when I was going to my part time jobs-you would meet police-police officers doing their patrols in the morning arresting people. You know and in the afternoon round about the time I was coming from work you would find there are those volunteers they were also be arresting people. So everytime, I was walking down-you would be scared of theives, <u>police officers and you would be scared of volunteers and, you are even scared that if they arrest me what is going to happen to my child. Like my child would come back from school, he would be alone alone, he wouldn't know that my mother has been arrested...</u>

Appendix 5: Semi-structured couple interview

This interview was selected as an example of a semi-structured interview between husband and wife (couple). The underlined parts are quoted in Chapter 5.

Interviewer: Thank you very much participant number 7 and 8 for being a part of my research. I would like to start off by asking as like ah! What caused you as Zimbabweans to come to South Africa?

Participant 7: <u>The reason why I came to South as a teacher it was unbearable to be in Zimbabwe in 2006-around 2005, 06, 07 in terms of financial survival.</u> So we had hoped that coming to South Africa it was a way of greener pastures. So basically I came to look for a job but hmmm we knew it was difficult to get permits so the only solution was to come illegally and look for a job cause by then if you were getting R1000 it was more than a teacher's salary in Zimbabwe so we came here to look for money.

Participants 8: <u>As for me I can say that I didn't have a chance to stay in Zimbabwe for so long since my husband-you know the issue of families as a couple we believe that we need to be together so that the family can stand firm cause we believe that when men can come to South Africa alone it's not a good thing. Yet you as a wife will in be Zimbabwe sometimes you feel like I will be forgotten</u>. So it's something that I think, it's something that makes me to say that I have to be in South Africa regardless I didn't know the situation that I might face there cause what I used to think but when I got to South Africa my life will change than where I am, I don't know how but it's much better to be in South Africa so I had to come. I didn't come in a way that I was knowing, I came without even having a visa so the time I noticed that they said you not going to cross using the border I was surprised [be]cause I didn't know a lot about it since I came without qualification at that time. So I had to use the road in the crocodile way (laughs). Yes you know *dabulaphu ...* It was difficult at time so I had to leave everything follow and by that time I was having one child so he was two years. So I had to carry her to South Africa and leave our home as it is we didn't have many belongings there but to leave and my child in the road there. There the experience was not good cause I was travelling walking long distance with men only I was the only female yes, the only female with a child so they were scaring me that if your husband didn't pay they are going to kill me that's what they told me and they said you have to agree that if your child die in the way either we will kill both of you cause we don't want to be recognized by the police....

Interviewer: Ok, thank you. What made you-oh you came to South Africa with your child-what made you decide to come with your child in South Africa?

Participant 8: Since I find that we were struggling if I was there with my child-without-we were failing to even afford three meals a day with family with my child there. <u>So I thought as much if I carry my child</u>

with me it's much better than to go and with me alone leaving people with a burden with them yet they also struggle yet we were the breadwinners at that time they used to depend on us. So if you go to them this is my child. You find that it going to be another burden and you will be knowing where am going you are not sure what time it might to come for me to have a breakthrough in South Africa because there were many stories that things fall apart sometimes things they go right. So I said I have to be with my own luggage. That is the reason.

Interviewer: Participant 7 what made you want to-what made you decide to move your child to South Africa?

Participants 7: I just wanted both of them to be here in South Africa so I made a call that they must come and join me.

Interviewer: And then what did you and your family expect of South Africa when you left Zimbabwe coming to South Africa? What did you expect out of South Africa?

Participant 8: For me you know to being with my hope was the only husband cause he was a qualified person. So we used to hear that teachers they are paid a lot of money and you won't be- will be changed. There will be like heaven on earth that people can just tell about that tell you that is the kind of life. There will be no suffering in South Africa but it was a thought of other people. It was not what I was about face when I reached South Africa. Yes things didn't go the way I used to think supposed to be.

Interviewer: What did you participant number 7 expect of South Africa when you left Zimbabwe?

Participant 7: I was expecting to get a good paying job by then a salary here R1000 was equivalent to 4 months' salary in Zimbabwe so to me it was like- I had done my research found that teachers were getting paid more than R5000. So I used to see myself driving a car owning houses taking care of my family all those things

Appendix 6: Notes taken during an interview

The notes below where extracted from two pages of notes taken during interviews

February 14: Participant 4 and 5 (husband and wife)

- I am surprised that the couple seems excited to have the interview done
- There seems to be a tendency for the wife to answer more questions about going to school and the hospital
- The husband tends to speak more about the financial wellbeing of the family
- Volunteers come up again perfect opportunity to ask who they are
- Husband and wife tend to add more information and respond to issues discussed by the other
- More experiences after the recorder was turned off
- ❖ It is important to keep close ties with a few people in this flat. In this flat I don't speak to many people, the lesser people you know the better. My wife speaks to one person. I suppose it attracts less attention.
- ❖ You know not all South Africans are bad and xenophobic some are quiet wonderful (participant 5).

28 July 2017: Participant 10 (mother)

- Participant seems at ease and like others eager to share her experiences
- She is laughing a lot and surprisingly laughing in sharing all the difficult experiences she has gone through
- Wrong place to conduct an interview these knocks keep on disturbing the flow of conversation between the participant and I.
- What a refreshing interview, less emotional and with a lots of laughter.

Appendix 7: Steps taken to Analyse Data

The three pictures taken as an example of the data analysis process (coded data)

Theme 2 Migration Experiences: Responsibilities and Tasks of Undocumented Migrant Parents

Sub-theme 1: Parenting and Law Enforcement Agencies in South Africa

Participant 8

Upon my arrival in South Africa ... I was alarmed that.. .If you are illegal you have to walk outside the police will just take you home. So that fear was always in me-I didn't even go to seek contraceptives so that I will be a contraceptive for birth control.

Participant 2

What I would like to share is that life is really hard when you are illegal. You can even go anywhere because the police will arrest you ...life is really hard when you are illegal. You can't even go to the store to buy...The police really look at your arm, they know that there is scar from BCG injections from Zimbabwe.

Participant 6

I used to use my child as my passport. Whenever I had a place to go to I would take my child with me, I knew that the child was my protection. Even if they were to ask for documents from me and if I did not have they would let me go because I would have a small child. I can't go to the police station with a small child.

Participant 5

There are people called volunteers..... There people who work under the police and the government. These people really mistreat us sometimes you feel like fighting them. Sometimes meet them in civilian and they ask for identity documents. You know what really surprises me is that these people are Zimbabweans. You clearly identify that this person is from Zimbabwe and you wonder why this person is asking for an identity document from me. They mistreat us sometimes you really want to fight but then they move the police.

Participant 6

Yah! I am speaking from experience- I remember that I was arrested when I arrested when I was from work. I found a roadblock and I had left my child where I lived. So I explained that to them. I was really touched when I explained that I have a child they did not understand and I was carrying pampers. I showed them the bag of pampers and they said someone sent me to buy for them. I tried to explain and this other officer suggested that I milk my breast in front of a female police officer to prove that I have a child. I did that and that's when the let me go. I was mistreated, imagine I had to open my breasts for ... so that I could prove that I have a child at home.

Theme 1 Migration Causes: Initial Hopes and Aspirations of Irregular Migrant Parents in South Africa

Sub-theme 1 Pull Factors- Zimbabwean political and economic situation

Participant 7

The reason why I came to South Africa as a teacher it was unbearable in Zimbabwe in 2006-around 2005, 06, 07 in terms of financial survival.

Participant 4

It was generally because of the food crisis/starvation situation and the economic situation, there were no supplies at stores, there were no jobs. Even if you were to go to school you would graduate, there still would be no jobs.

Participant 9

It's a politically motivated thing I mean after experiencing economic meltdown in Zimbabwe... fleeing form the political, socio-political instability which is definitely detrimental to the economic lapsing in Zimbabwe so well yah! That's why we are here.

Participant 6

I came to South Africa because I wanted to look for a job so that my parents can have a better life. We were suffering at home, we go without food. So I migrated so that I could look for a job look after them because in Zimbabwe there are no jobs.

Theme 3: Overall Evaluations of "Migration Experiences"

Sub-theme 2. Broken Dreams and Disappointments

Participant 3

When I came to South Africa I expected to find a good job, good accommodation. Life is difficult here in South Africa when you up seeing that this person is from Zimbabwe and the other person is from South Africa. When you are illegal also you end up taking any job. Sometimes. ..its better to go back home and sell tomatoes ...

Participant 8

We come into this country through difficult means. When you don't have papers you have to got through the bush meet all horrible things ..When you get into South Africa that when you realize that life is now what we have been hearing about, that life in South Africa is easy. You start facing challenges. On the way you changed from car to car avoiding being arrested by police. Then you really see wherever we going life is difficult.

Participant 9

By then we had moved to Durban 2009. We were working in these private colleges. We knew teachers we were getting paid more than R10 000 but we were working for two and half thousands to R3000 and the contracts were vague. You can work from January to November when it is school holidays you were not paid. So to us-me I thought it was exploitative by nature cause they knew that we were despite the fact that we were over qualified in fact we were despite the fact that we were adequately qualifies I found that they were fighting.

Participant 6

I expected to get a job as soon as I arrived in South Africa. You know people who come from South Africa seemed to be living better lives. So after seeing them I told myself that there would be plenty of jobs....I stayed almost 4 years unemployed.

Participant 8

In a foreign land....you put yourself under pressure do things that you are not even to do.

Participant 1

Well coming to South Africa was a hope for a better life and all but I guess it was j... dream because once we got here we never got all of that. Here we could see peo... living large and all that but life was not we expected it to be.

Appendix 8: Peer Review

The reviewer raised the following issues from my data:

Data analysis

Sheron have you realised that in your interviews there is a recurrent theme social networks this theme comes in three ways. Your participants left Zimbabwe because of the things they had heard from social networks, social networks were used as a means of survival during their difficult times and also used as a means to cope with stress. Please look into it I see you don't have it in your possible themes.

Although I did not make social networks a separate theme. Issues raised by my peer in relation to social networks are reflected in the different sub-themes.

Style and clarity

I think you need to reference othering

I followed this suggestion

State the subtheme first before referring to it

I followed this suggestion closely too. In relation to parental roles between two couples interviewed she had this to say

This is a good observation Sheron, however I am not sure it is safe to assume that such is normally the case among mothers who are irregular migrants. A lot of factors come into play regarding such things, including race culture, education etc. So I am not saying disregard it, but think about it more and maybe specify that you acknowledge that there are other factors that could result in such a response from the two couples you interviewed.

I expanded my analysis and added the cultural issues that arise with parental; role sharing in African contexts.

Hloniphile Khuzwayo

Appendix 9: Member Checks

I gave all the participants the first draft of my data analysis chapter. Only two commented on my analysis and had the following to say.

Participant 9

A well written chapter Sheron. I really enjoyed reading it. I do not have anything to add or subtract to your analysis.

Participant 1

This is the dilemma that I am going through. Seems stupid to stick around in a foreign land and be hopeful yet you have a place you can call home. But if the foreign land it at least meeting the above half of the needs, even it is better.

Appendix 10: Reflexive Diary

Below is a sample of notes extracted from a 20 page reflexive diary and, from a whats app conversation between me and my supervisor.

22-02-2-17: You know sometimes you write about something that is so close to you. I wonder if I am the right person to write about this. You wonder how you remain objective in such situations. But again my prior knowledge of the Zimbabwean and me being a Zimbabwean and me knowing about the lives of Zimbabweans should not affect the study. Even though sometimes people in talking to me are assuming that I know what they are talking about because I am a Zimbabwean.

2017-05-05: I managed to do one more interview the husband and wife. Husband and wife are both unemployed. Husband and wife are both unemployed...what I saw today....there was not even a drop of food its bad...are there services for migrants that give food. Its stressful.

2017-05-30: I am in a bit of a dilemma. As I writing and looking at migration legislation in South Africa and the amendments to the Immigrations Act and the Green Paper. There seems to be a trend of tightening more and more of laws and departing and departing more and more from constitutional ideals. I feel like I am walking on landmines. I am a foreigner writing about migration governance in South Africa. I feel like who I am to write about it.

2017-04-12: One of the participants said you know Sheron our children don't exist in South Africa and they also don't exist in Zimbabwe. After one of the participants spoke about it over and over. I googled it and I was surprised that citizenship is not acquired through birth. It creates a stateless children especially from undocumented parents.

07 February 2017

Ms Sheron Mpofu 211508634
School of Applied Human Sciences – Social Work
Howard College Campus

Dear Ms Mpofu

Protocol reference number: HSS/1878/016M
Project title: The lived experiences of Zimbabwean migrants raising children under conditions of illegality in Johannesburg South Africa.

Full Approval – Committee Reviewed Protocol

With regards to your response to queries received 06 February 2017 to our letter of 21 December 2016, the Humanities & Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee has considered the above mentioned application and the protocol has been granted Full Approval.

Any alterations to the approved research protocol i.e. Questionnaire/Interview Schedule, Informed Consent Form, Title of the Project; Location of the Study, Research Approach/Methods must be reviewed and approved through an amendment/modification prior to its implementation. Please quote the above reference number for all queries relating to this study. Please note: Research data should be securely stored in the discipline/department for a period of 5 years.

The ethical clearance certificate is only valid for a period of 3 years from the date of issue. Thereafter Recertification must be applied for on an annual basis.

Best wishes for the successful completion of your research protocol.

Yours faithfully

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Dr Shenuka Singh (Chair)

/px

cc Supervisor: Dr Dorothee Holscher
cc Academic Leader Research: Dr Jean Steyn
cc School Administrators: Ms Ayanda Ntuli