School of Social Science

Migration and Diaspora: A Case Study Probing Socio-Cultural Challenges Experienced by African Migrants in Port Shepstone, Kwa-Zulu Natal

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DECLARATION

I **Mishack Siphosenkosi Dlamini** declare that this dissertation entitled: Migration and Diaspora: A Case Study Probing Socio-Cultural Challenges Experienced by African Migrants in Port Shepstone, Kwa-Zulu Natal is my own work. All the sources used have been fully acknowledged and included in the bibliography.

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ABSTRACT

Historically, human mobility and blended settlements have been a massive part of anthropological research. This prospect traces back to the era of hunter-gathers and the era of globalization and labour migration. Contemporary anthropologists have contributed to the understanding of globalization, diaspora, and migration patterns all over the world, paying attention to how deterritorialization and reterritorialization, migration pull and push factors, and migration patterns have an impact on humans and until today, new dynamics continue to emerge hence migration and diaspora as research themes in Anthropology have not reached the level of saturation. This qualitative study titled "Migration and Diaspora: A Case Study Probing Socio-cultural Challenges Experienced by African Migrants in Port Shepstone, Kwa-Zulu Natal. This master's project was conducted on twenty recruited African migrants living in Port Shepstone. The sampling method was snowballing sampling. From face-to-face interviews, data revealed that the movement of people in Africa continues due to economic challenges. The movement of people becomes means of escaping economic hardships that our state leaders have dismally failed to resolve. From the perspectives of the Migration Theory, this study proved that poverty and unemployment remain a prevalent socio-economic pandemic that most people want to escape to make ends meet for themselves and their families. Many Africans migrate to South Africa to benefit from a variety of economic opportunities available in the informal sector of the economy in the country. It emerged from the narratives of twenty (20) participants that many African diasporas are no longer interested in locating themselves in big cities and towns, but they mostly prefer rural communities because there is no economic competition; hence most of them own tuck-shops and other retailing stores. They are also celebrating that they have located themselves where there are less affected by municipality by-laws, which could have troubled their trading in big cities since they do not have citizenships and while others have lapsed visiting permits. The South African economic sector is much easier to penetrate for those without proper documentation. This study contributes to migration studies by revealing that rural communities are the economic hubs for Diasporas who can generate remittances for themselves and their families and escape poverty and other socio-economic hardships.

Receiving remittances is another pull factor that led diasporas to leave their origins to South African rural communities called "the promised land, filled with honey, corridors of informal economic emancipation". From the views of Group Conflict Theory, this study noted

immigrant economic celebration. Hence, most Diasporas endure constant xenophobic attacks and verbal abuse. The standard pejorative and derogatory label "*Amakwerekwere*" continue to be their cultural identity shock. They constantly live in fear of being attacked by those who believe they came to steal their economic opportunities. In contrast, they invented new economic corridors that even South Africans could have explored. The support of religious spaces provides psychosocial support for these Diasporas, and they have conducted advocacy awareness that fights against xenophobic attacks.

Through the perspectives of the Network Theory, this study also revealed that they have coped with xenophobic attacks. This notion extends to identity shocks and other forms of verbal abuse. As much as they established strong ties, irrespective of their lineage or places of origin, they are still subjected to similar experiences. The demonstration of communal support by immigrant groups has been another psychosocial structure seen in many aspects of their lives. For example, they all contribute to marriage preparations or a funeral; they bury them through their collective money contribution. These highlight elements of solidarity. This study concludes by recommending that Africa be the socio-economic hub of all those born in Africa. This approach will be approved if the heads of States remove border gates that maintain Africa's territorial division. This will allow all Africans to migrate freely for economic opportunities without being socially excluded or categorized as trespassers that need to be apprehended for illegal trespassing. No African citizen should be identically called a migrant, diaspora, a *kwerekwere* or experience xenophobia and face any other socio-cultural challenges if they locate themselves within the African landscape. The study advances the call to collapse borders in Africa to expand economic corridors that will allow Africans to share their African resources. This call will realize or deepen the African Renaissance Agenda, which is the African treasure of all Africans. By establishing psychosocial ties, the studied population is commended for taking care of each other during trying times. They have proved to be "*their brothers/sisters' keepers*", which Africans should be known about.

DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to my late grandmother, Mrs M.S Doncabe who fought to give me a second opportunity in life when my parents passed away. Rest in Peace MaJazi! I am on a journey to wear the third *Jazi* as your surname purports. Secondly, this study is dedicated to all the orphans out there who are refusing to give up in life, who are depressed and mentally stranded, yet they wake up every day with the same mentality and motivation that one day they will accomplish their goals – wearing *iJazi*.

"If a mind thinks with a believing attitude, one can do amazing things"

Norman Peale

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idea right now of the role that you have played in my life since the day you came into this world, but one day we will have time to have this conversation over a cup of coffee, but for now, thank you, my lovely daughter.

ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

AIDS	Acquired Immunodeficiency Virus
COVID-19	Coronavirus Disease 2019
CBD	Central Business District
CDE	Centre for Development and Enterprise
DRC	Democratic Republic of Congo
HIV	Human Immunodeficiency Syndrome
HSRC	Human Sciences Research Council
IOM	International Organization for Migration
KZN	Kwa-Zulu Natal
NPS	Natal Port Shepstone
SA	South Africa
SADC	Southern African Development Community
STATSSA	Statistics South Africa
UKZN	University of Kwa-Zulu Natal
UN	United Nations

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1.1 Introduction

While migration studies carry a wide range of focuses, from migrants to host societies and its actors, from migration-related policies and implications to public institutions, this study was primarily qualitative empirical research focusing on "Probing Socio-Cultural Challenges Experienced by African Migrants in Port Shepstone, Kwa-Zulu Natal". The primary objective of the study is to investigate the migration experiences of African migrants, probing more into socio-cultural challenges experienced by African migrants in peripheral areas of Port Shepstone, KZN. This Chapter delineates a brief introduction and background of the study. It also provides a detailed description of the problem statement, the aim of the study, research objectives, research questions and the definition of critical concepts. The later part of the Chapter outlines the structure of the dissertation.

1.2 Background to the study

As the study of humankind, anthropology has always been interested in human mobility as well as the forms of settlements. Early anthropologists started to document the mobility patterns of hunter-gathers the rise of agricultural settlements and later reported a massive movement of people from all parts of the world during the industrial revolution. Contemporary anthropologists have contributed to understanding globalization, Diaspora, and migration patterns worldwide. Mesoudi (2018: 2) agree that human mobility between different geographical areas is not a new experience because hunter-gatherers have been moving from one geographical area to the next in search of survival. Human migration has been an enduring phenomenon that began thousands of years ago as *Homo sapiens* migrated out of Africa (Mesoudi, 2018: 2), and migration continued within and between different geographical localities of the world. According to Bereka (2016), migration can be a movement within a country, such as moving from rural to an urban area, regional, intra-continental or intercontinental. From a South African context, migration to South Africa intensified in the 1860s when mineral resources such as platinum and gold were discovered in Witwatersrand and Orange Free State (Ngomane, 2010: 1) and posed a demand for labour migrants who were going to work in the mines. Therefore, the demand for labour migrants in South African mines

had a massive impact on increased intra-continental migration. In the modern era, migration has been made very easy by improved transportation infrastructure that connects different world areas.

On the other hand, Daswani (2013: 36) & Nurse (2018) define Diaspora as a group of people who live away from their homeland but are bound together by religion, ethnicity, and national identity. United Nations (2017) & IOM (2019) further describe that the strong connection with their homelands also defines Diaspora, known as dispersed populations, emigrants, or foreigners. Diasporas are defined by their ability to maintain a connection to their homeland. These links can be cultural, historical, linguistic, religious and affection. Diasporas are emigrants and their descendants, who live outside the country of their birth or ancestry, either on a temporary or permanent basis, yet still, maintain affective (emotional) and material ties to their countries of origin. While there is a dichotomous debate about how the Diaspora is linked to migration, emigration, or immigration, the IOM (2019) assert that all these terms carry a similar meaning, migration means to move; emigration means to leave one's country to live in another, while immigration means to come into another country. Birkhoff (2011: 116) states that "diasporas are immigrants who maintain a psychological or material connection to their place of origin". The common factor between all these concepts is the movement of people between different localities.

As human societies have experienced enormous transformations, Diaspora as a concept emerged during the classical period when Jewish people forcefully migrated out of Palestine and dispersed to different localities of the world (Tan, 2017). Diasporas of the modern era are characterized by voluntary migration. Anthropologists have always been interested in studying human migration as humans have constantly deterritorialized and reterritorialized from homelands to host communities with their unique cultures, backgrounds, and identities (Malkki, 2008 & Nzuza, 2012). Through these elements, humans develop strong social ties with localities that they deterritorialise from. Diasporas imagine and plant their roots in the host community to share homeland memories. Anthropologists have always been interested in people's geographical movements and research about people's rootedness and historical movements across space and time (Daswani, 2013: 36).

Cohen (1996:8) postulate that diasporas have the following standard features:
1. Dispersal from the centre of origin or homeland to two or more foreign regions.

2. For expansion purposes from a homeland in search of employment, in the quest for trade, or further colonial ambitions.

3. A common and collective memory about the homeland, including its setting, history, and accomplishments.

4. An idealization of the assumed ancestral home and a collective commitment to the maintenance, restoration, safety and prosperity, and creation.

5. The expansion of return movements that gains collective approval.

6. a full ethnic group awareness sustained over an extended period and based on a sense of distinctiveness, a shared history and belief in a common fate.

7. a troubled relationship with host communities signifying lack of acceptance or the possibility that another disaster might befall the group.

8. A sense of empathy and unity with co-ethnic members in other communities of settlement.

9. The possibility of a remarkable yet creative and enriching life in host countries with a tolerance for diversity.

Magocha (2020: 1) defines migrants as people that have migrated but still have a connection with their homeland. Diaspora relates to the study of migration, and it technically serves as an umbrella term that covers all types of migration. Iroegbu (2010) assert that migration or diaspora is substantially a human capital issue involving an individual or a group (cited in Magocha, 2020). As the dual market and migration theory suggests, it is also structural in terms of forces that push people around for safety and income. People move with the hope to be better off than they were before. Staying at home maintains their current living conditions, where process chances are more likely another place. Moving around brings about change, which directly benefits nuclear and extended families. Migration and diasporic create opportunities for fluidity seen in the expansion of cultures even though there are challenges attached to it. Migration and diaspora foster or advance the Renaissance Agenda, which most African countries hope to realize for Africans.

Scholars like Toninato (2009), Rois & Adiv (2010) and Phalatsi & Chipunza (2019) opines that diaspora and migration refer to the global phenomenon of the dispersion or scattering of people in various parts of the world, occurring either by a voluntary act or coerced conditions in domestic and global contexts. The migration facilitates geographical or demographical mobility that eventually results in diasporic conditions. It is important to view the inherent connection between Diaspora and migration because of their symbiotic relationship. In Africa,

diaspora movements have existed since the great trek of Nyatsimba Mutota, who moved from Great Zimbabwe to the north in search of salt reserves, and Lebengual and the great exodus from South Africa to Matebeleland in Zimbabwe. Ratha & Mohapatra (2011) & Mohamoud (2008) aver that Diaspora is one of the contemporary global forces shaping directions and trends in the 21st century Africa renaissance. This makes it essential to partner and join forces with them in the development efforts in their respective homelands. It is essential to stimulate the active participation of the Diaspora in the dialogue and the generation of ideas and policy insights to make their critical voices count in the discussion related to migration and development matters at different policy levels. This will allow Africans to constitute the renaissance part of Africa by Africans themselves, not by external forces; hence research on experiences of Diasporas and migration should be continued in Africa. Diasporas are the most critical strategic stakeholders in the migration and development field, and it is, therefore, essential that they should be involved in research as well as in policy discussion because the practical implementation of any policy proposal requires migrants to play a leading role in the process of shaping the Renaissance Agenda. The South African former president Thabo Mbeki is one of the most outstanding leaders that has recognized that African Diasporas and immigrants are not a threat to the South African economy (Ajulu, 2001). In his daily interactions with African leaders, he spoke mainly about the regeneration of the African identity that embraces all African irrespective of their borders. Mbeki believed that diasporas and migration patterns play a critical role in Africa's development, and they contribute remittances of about S45 billion each year. According to him, Diasporas and migration patterns in Africa achieve the transfer of intellectual resources and creative business practices by the African Diasporas, what a great wealth that Africans themselves stimulate.

1.2.1 Statement of the problem

Faist & Baubock (2010) assert that the concept of Diaspora has served as a prominent research lens to view the aftermath of international migration and the shifting of state borders across populations. Diaspora as a term and a group of people have become academic research subjects. This includes fields like anthropology, sociology, and political science because it is about a group of people who have advanced transnationalism or rather human migration; hence, much research is still needed in this area. Human migration affects population patterns and characteristics, social and cultural patterns and processes, economies, and physical environments. Such human migration has caused many disruptions, not to say they were not

meant to happen. However, because transnationals have not been accepted in the country of reception, the world has recorded many xenophobic unrests that create research corridors.

The problem that intrigued this study is that diaspora refers to a post-national space that problematizes the relationship between nation, soil, and identity (Ponzanesi, 2020: 979). Geographies or localities are sources of bitter experiences for migrants and diasporas (Rois & Adiv, 2010). The establishment of their network ties as well roots of their psychosocial support continue to be under-researched (Rois & Adiv, 2010). Their lack of integration in the host country; hence their coping and psychosocial support remains the apex of diasporic research (Toninato, 2009:2). Despite the growing call for deportation of immigrants (the rise of social media hashtags, #ForeignersMustleaveSouthAfrica) back into their home countries and xenophobic conflicts between natives and immigrants in South Africa, the number of African immigrants in South Africa is still growing tremendously. They have made entries in big cities and urban spaces and inserted themselves in rural and deep rural areas. According to Migration Data Portal, South Africa had 4.2 million migrants in 2019 while only 2.2 million in 2011. The Census 2011 concluded that 75% of immigrants in South Africa are from the African continent they are traders, have contributed to a hybridized community and remit their earnings to their places of origin (Heleta, 2018). South Africa, because of its economic position in Africa, tends to attract a lot of African immigrants fleeing economic decadence in their countries. However, beyond economic push and pull factors, are there other factors that make South Africa an attractive migration destination for other African nationals? There is evidence of migration stock that necessitates collecting socio-cultural factors that affect them (Ngwenya, 2010 cited in Isike & Isike, 2012).

Table 1: Migrant stock of top sending African countries to South Africa (Source: Ngwenya (2010) cited in Isike & Isike (2012)

Country	Migrant stock
Ghana***	208, 226
Ivory Coast**	24, 849
Malawi	10, 662
Mozambique*	269, 918
Swaziland	80, 593

Zimbabwe*	5, 109, 084

Explanation of the table above

* Represents countries with the highest number of migrant stocks

** Represents countries that fall outside the SADC region

*** Represents countries both with the highest number of migrant stocks that fall outside of SADC

Adedayo (2010) states that there is an intense competition between South Africans and immigrants and diasporas which necessitate research that will capture ongoing dynamics of intolerance and insubordination that is ingrained among South Africans. Another problem that intrigued this study is that African immigrants are expanding their territories within South Africa. African immigrants are penetrating deep into townships and rural areas of South Africa, moving further away from metros such as Durban, Cape Town, and Johannesburg. We have seen on the media that they even occupied one of the Methodist churches in Cape Town and pleaded to be supported by the South African government as they are in South Africa. The other part that intrigued this study is the growing number of foreign spaza and tuck shop owners in many peripheral areas of South Africa. Phalatsi & Chipunza (2019) have argued that migration patterns are not easy because some migrate as registered migrants, while others remain unregistered migrants. Those who migrate, migrate with a purpose in mind. Therefore, most immigrants in South Africa have not looked for only white-collar paying jobs in big companies' academic institutions, but what has been observed in their various economic engagements. This includes the opening or the revival of community spaza tuck-shops that have been unoccupied by South Africans for years, while others have created a competition with existing community spazas with low prices and other terms of payments. Secondly, migration and geographies are nuanced research focus on diasporic Research (Rois & Adiv, 2010).

The additional problem statement is that the sub-Sahara African diasporas face challenges with their integration and participation. Their challenges include legal rights for different categories of migrants, social exclusion, and possible lack of recognition as human beings. They are socially and economically excluded in host municipalities (Ong'ayo, 2019: 152). A study conducted by Dumba & Chirisa (2010) in Soshanguve about Zimbabwean illegal immigrants found that many African immigrants /diasporas are socially excluded because of the inability to access social services such as education and healthcare facilities. They also concluded that

African migrants/diasporas are marginalized; they are exploited for cheap labour due to difficulties finding employment. African migrants/diasporas have occupied many local spaza shops owners in South African communities; foreigners now own many salons in CBDs. The suspected increasing poverty and unemployment rate in South Africa has contributed to cross-cultural conflicts and a call for deportation. Such hatred has encouraged strong diasporic relations and social ties between African migrants as they are treated as 'others'.

1.2.2 Challenges of the diaspora in host/foreign countries/communities

As maintained by Serumaga-Zake (2017: 5-6), immigrants experience some of the following challenges:

- Exploitation. The large-scale underground movement of humans offers trans-border criminal networks with accomplices and easy prey. The condition of illegality forces migrants into criminalized and unlawful underground activities, where they suffer a variety of undesirable treatment. Immigrants expose themselves to dangers and mistreatment by smugglers and government officials during their passage across the state borders. In addition, immigrants are exposed to awful working conditions at rates that are way below domestic labour standards. Immigrants often move to towns and cities where they become 'invisible', become susceptible to exploitation, harassment, and dismissal.

- Accommodation. Some immigrants experience difficulties securing adequate shelter end up risking their lives in overcrowded, dilapidated, and unsafe informal settlements.

- Lack of Police protection. Many immigrants lack alternatives to police protection and are exposed to local crime syndicates.

- Illegal migrants sometimes find themselves trapped, with little possibility or capital to return home and several debts or responsibilities to local gangsters.

- Xenophobia. Immigrants are always susceptible targets of violent attacks by local vigilante community members, supposedly trying to preserve South African jobs and privileges (Webb, 1998; Oelofse & Gifford, 2001).

- Corruption. Immigrants are usually exposed to corruption carried out by controlling interventions. Frye & Shleifer (1997) propose two possible descriptions for this association: Firstly, corruption is part of an exchange between companies and administrations in which companies recompenses a bribe in return for less intrusive regulation. Secondly, corruption is linked to greedy regulatory practices, where

government entails a more significant number of independent democrats chasing their interests, such as taking bribes, with no respect for the influence of their actions on private sector activity (Bourguignon, Jacquet and Boris, 2007). According to Magocha (2010), the previous is organized to promote selected private sector activity. At the Lesotho, Mozambique and Zimbabwe borders, under-capacity, poor institutional incentive structures, and migrants' illegal vulnerability combine to create a highly susceptible to corruption and extra-legality. Police officials systematically exploit illegal migrants as eagerly accessible and indeed exploitable sources of cash.

- The vulnerability situations migrants face can arise from a range of factors that intersect or coexist simultaneously, influencing and exacerbating each other and evolving or changing over time as circumstances change. The concept of vulnerability is a foundational element of the human rights framework. Together with the requirement to uphold human dignity, the need to recognize and address vulnerability underpins the legal obligation of States to respect, protect and fulfil human rights. Migrants and diasporas in vulnerable situations are thus unable to enjoy their human rights effectively and are at increased risk of violations and abuse. Factors that generate vulnerability may cause migrants and diasporas to fear for their lives and then relocate to other receiving countries or provinces. Therefore, the vulnerability in this context should be understood as both situational and personal. It is also important to note that being vulnerable does not mean that migrants and diasporas lack resilience and agency.

- Culture and discrimination. Culture is usually considered a driving force behind human behaviour and discrimination against immigrants and diasporas. Culture is also a multifaceted system of interconnected parts that must be understood holistically. Influencing humans from a particular culture to accept a business is a process that would vary on one's source of power, which could be legitimate, persuasive, network, information, expertise, or referent. Culture could be a leading cause of discrimination. Bryceson (2019) agrees that most immigrants and diasporas are discriminated against in host/foreign countries because of their unknown or unpopular culture; hence, they are given derogative identities. The spoken language is also what discriminates them from others. Other challenges comprise lengthy detention or ill-treatment, enslavement, murder, rape, racism, deprivation of full citizenship, facing extreme victimization and criminal trafficking. They are frightened or unable to request protection and relief from the authorities in countries of origin, transit or destination, children are banned from

classrooms or denied their fundamental rights of attending school, they are denied labour protection, due process guarantees, personal security and healthcare; gender-based violence, HIV transmission etc.

- Across the World, irregular migrants face many violations of their fundamental human rights. They are often subject to arbitrary and prolonged detention owing to restrictive migration detention policies and can be subject to inadequate conditions in detention.

The problem that prompted this study has been discussed above; hence, this study focuses on Probing Socio-cultural Challenges Experienced by African Migrants in Port Shepstone, Kwa-Zulu Natal. Variables studied within the anthropological discourse were socioeconomic challenges experienced by the already mentioned group of migrants who have also assimilated the identity of being diasporas in Port Shepstone. Studying socioeconomic challenges and related experiences have always been within the context of economic anthropology because anthropologists have had it in their minds that people will have different ways /fending strategies to sustain themselves or their nuclear and extended families. The study is located within a rural context because there is no evidence of research about experiences of African immigrants residing in peripheral areas of Port Shepstone, and this on its own is aimed at making a new contribution in rural migration.

1.2.3 The rationale or significance and continuation of the study

The rationale and significance of the study are supported by Rois & Adiv (2010: 2), who avert that researchers study diasporas in their specific geographies. Also, the work of Blunt (2003: 282) asserts that geography lies at the heart of diaspora both as a concept and as lived experience, encompassing the contested interplay of place, home, culture and identity through migration and resettlement expounds the rationale and significance of the study (Cited in Rois & Adiv, 2010). Faist & Baubock (2010: 50) indicates that diasporas trade their identities in mobility and locality or geography. Their formation is a result of these two interlinked variables. The faist and Baubock's (2010: 50) argument is that diaspora formations result from a combination of transnational mobility, on the one hand, and locality in the sending or/and receiving country, on the other. Mobility is to be understood here as the physical movement of people in transnational space. Locality means being rooted or anchored – socially, economically, or politically – in the country of immigration and the sending country; it means developing/having a set of social relations at specific places. As discussed by First and Blowback, the continuation of such studies is essential because social scientists have not

sufficiently incorporated the concepts of mobility and locality into their analyses of diaspora arrangements and their geographical settings. The contextual conditions that influence the emergence of specific spaces for diasporas depend on social, political, and legal factors that shape their daily experiences and coping skills. Cultural, socioeconomic, and political constraints block particular possibilities for diasporas' action and foster others. The need to continue studying diasporas' experiences is that their identity pre-exists place and tries to re-create it, to remodel it, to reproduce itself. Individuals or communities in diasporas live in places that they have not themselves laid out and that are suffused with other identities. The continuation of such studies is supported by Chih-Yun (2010: 23) who assert that diasporas as a product of transnationalism are grounded in systems of inequality, cultural dislocation, attacked identities and mostly excluded on the basis of their vernacular which sounds foreign to host countries. This makes their adaptation feel like hell as they constantly negotiate their identities in foreign or host countries hence more Research is needed to make sense of their experiences. Diasporic Research is particularly relevant as analytical categories through which researchers are able to record reasons for the dispersal, the relationship with the homeland and the host lands, interrelationships with other communities in the diaspora.

1.3 The anthropological understanding of migration and diaspora

Studying rural communities is also within the scope of anthropological ethnography because anthropologists recognize that people's geographical places define or contribute to shaping their daily experiences. These African immigrants are diasporas who have settled themselves around Port Shepstone, a small town that has not accelerated that much in terms of economic emancipation. Dumba and Chirisa (ibid) who studied experiences of migrants/diasporas in Limpopo further recommended a continuation of such studies in other geographical settings. Studying the impact of geography or the environment in which people find themselves is also within the scope of anthropology. As people move, their cultural traits and ideas diffuse along with them, creating and modifying cultural landscapes. The existing literature in anthropology depicts that between the 1950s and 1960s immigration-migration became a high-priority area for anthropologists. In the 1970s and 1980s, anthropology contributed to the study of migration by illuminating the implications of people's movements from rural, "non-developed" areas of the non-Western World to urban, industrialized centres in the West. During this time, in their fieldwork abroad (particularly in Africa and Latin America), anthropologists could not ignore the high rate of rural-to-urban migration. Anthropologists started looking at migration as a phenomenon that not only affected the communities, they studied but comprised an integral

part of their identities. Africa like all other developed and developing countries have experienced an influx of people from various parts of the World. South Africa has become a popular destination for African migrants (Isike & Isike, 2012: 93, Ojong, 2012:1). Immigrants descend from different African countries to South Africa for greener pastures, with expectations of benefiting from the growing economy of South Africa, which has proven to be one of the robust economies within the African continent.

Nzuza (2012) assert that lives of migrants is never easy. Those that are not within the cohort of chain migration find it difficult to establish networks when they arrive in host countries. They take very long to adapt and settle because everything is depended on how they negotiate with the new environment. These challenges become easy when there is a cohort of migrants that connect new and old migrants in foreign countries. Well settled migrants facilitate reception and full integration of migrants in host communities. Diasporas in foreign countries establish support networks that become their immediate psychosocial support. This network/ psychosocial support, therefore, plays a vital role in ensuring adaptation, navigation and in maintaining the identities of African migrants in South Africa. As argued by Segatti & Landau (2011: 11) immigrants are susceptible to growing xenophobic violence and growing calls for the deportation of immigrants back to their homelands hence they then become their brothers' keepers in foreign countries and this does not necessarily mean that should share a similar lineage, in most times, their ties are strengthened by knowing that they come from the same country of origin.

Daswani (2013) further states that contemporary anthropological discussions have expanded to incorporate transnationalism theories to better understand how cultures are diffused beyond national borders. This groups the perceptions of self between diasporas and the host communities and determines how they cope, trade, and assimilate their identities, how do they establish a network and psychosocial ties as part of the reterritorialization journey in foreign countries. The extensive influence of globalization across global communities, which has resulted in borderless societies in the 21st century, has also motivated scholars across different fields of study such as sociology, politics, geography, and anthropology to probe more into transnational and diaspora identities.

The implications of migration, such as adaptation challenges in host communities, have attracted many social scientists across different fields as humans are constantly migrating.

Anthropologists also take an interest in studying the migration process because they believe that migration represents a culture that needs to be studied in its own right. Anthropologists were also interested in knowing how people settled just after the era of hunter-gathers. Through the Ecological Theory, anthropologists recognized in their ethnographic recordings that people adapt differently in different settings as they apply survival and copying tactics; hence, I have focused on studying socioeconomic challenges experienced by migrants/diasporas in Port Shepstone. This study focuses on people who are not Africans by the birth of right (this is the inclusion and exclusion sampling criteria that the sampling technique of this thesis took). The intended data will geographically map where they come from in the World.

As argued in the International Organization for Migration (2019) & Ojong (2012), migrating from your ancestral land is not an easy decision to make. Those who decide to descend from their ancestral land embark on this journey with a purpose in mind. Ojong further avers that they are usually driven by pull and push factors. Ojong (ibid) further states that migrating to a new geographical area is made possible by recognizing networks that would possibly exist in host countries. She acknowledged this as one courage that migrants/diaspora will have before taking off their ancestral land. She further acknowledged that some migrants/diasporas risk their lives because they migrate without having lineage brotherhood networks but with the hope of creating new networks which will make settling in foreign countries meaningful. They create their networks and translation communities at the familial, social, business and trade levels. For China, Comoros, El Salvador, India, Mauritius, Mexico, Morocco, Nigeria, and many other countries, family ties are strong and are foundations of trust for other forms of cross-border interactions.

Port Shepstone has been identified as a study area for this study. Port Shepstone is situated 120km south of Durban, under Ray Nkonyeni Municipality at UGU district. Founded in 1867 by Sir Theophilus Shepstone, Norwegian immigrants played a pivotal role in developing the area and Marburg, a nearby interior village. The selection of Port Shepstone is motivated by the existing gap in the literature, and little has been said about the area, although the area is a commercial heart of Southern Natal. Port Shepstone is surrounded by many rural areas and is very diverse in terms of ethnicity.

As the principal investigator in this study, I acknowledge that migration varies from each other in terms of push and pull factors tied up to either political, economic as well as social

opportunities in their calculated destinations, incurred public reactions, perceptions of inclusion, discrimination/marginalization, networks, and resources they explore to respond to vast precarious conditions. The study aimed to study the migration experiences of African migrants in peripheral areas of Port Shepstone. The rationale of conducting this study was to meet academic criteria set for the registered degree and contribute to the literature taught in the module offered by the University of KwaZulu-Natal called Anth102 Culture and Society in Africa, as well as Anthropology 302 called Research plus special topics. These two modules talk about human mobility, and I think data analysis will help teach localized experiences.

1.4 Objectives of the study

The primary objective of the study is to investigate the migration experiences of African migrants, probing more into socio-cultural challenges experienced by African migrants in peripheral areas of Port Shepstone, KZN. The gap of the study in the existing literature is quite evident. From my literature search, I have not found any study trace that speaks to their socio-cultural challenges as they have located themselves in peripheral areas of Port Shepstone. This anthropological engagement will offer new insight into the existing discourse.

1.4.1 Secondary

The secondary objectives include recording push and pull factors associated with their decision to migrate, investigating types of social ties and their significance and diasporic relationships amongst them. The latter part deal with the reasons behind socio-cultural challenges and how these challenges can be mitigated.

- To record push and pull factors associated with their decision to migrate.
- To investigate social ties and their significance and diasporic relationships amongst African migrants and with host communities.
- To collect reasons behind socio-cultural challenges faced by African migrants in peripheral areas of Port Shepstone and measure that can be implemented to mitigate these challenges.

1.5 Key questions to be asked:

This study aimed to probe the broader question: What are socio-cultural challenges experienced by African migrants in peripheral areas of Port Shepstone, KZN.

1.5.1 Secondary questions include:

- What are push and pull factors associated with migration drive?
- What are the types of social ties and significance and diasporic relationships amongst African migrants in Port Shepstone?
- What are the reasons behind the experienced challenges, and how can these challenges be mitigated?

1.6 Definition of key concepts:

The following are important concepts that will be mostly used in the content of this thesis.

- **Socio-cultural challenges** are linked to a combination of social and cultural factors (Merriam-Webster). These factors include common traditions, habits, patterns, beliefs of a particular social group and a way of living. **Diaspora** is defined as a group of people who live away from the homeland but still strongly identify with it (IOM, 2019). Diaspora as a concept is linked to migration. In 2015, 244 million people lived outside their country of birth (International Organisation of Migration (IOM) 2016). Diaspora refers to migrants and their descendants who maintain strong connections with the country of origin (Simba & Ojong, 2018). Diaspora is also known as dispersion, emigration, or foreigner. Diasporas are defined by their ability to maintain a connection to their homeland. These links can be cultural, historical, linguistic, religious and affection.

  - Diasporas are emigrants and their descendants, who live outside the country of their birth or ancestry, either on a temporary or permanent basis, yet still maintain affective (emotional) and material ties to their countries of origin. At the same time, there is a dichotomous debate about how the diaspora is linked to migration, emigration, or immigration. The IOM (2019) asserts that all these terms mean the same: migration means moving, and emigration means leaving one's country to live in another. Immigration means to come into another country. Birkhoff (2011:116) states that "diasporas are immigrants who maintain a psychological or material connection to their place of origin". Cohen (1997:515) assert that diaspora is closely associated with immigrants who migrate for specific reasons or goals. Their features include (1) dispersal from an original homeland to two or more foreign regions or expansion from a homeland in search of work or various economic activities/ambitions; (2) they share a collective memory and an idealization of the homeland and a collective commitment to its maintenance, restoration, safety and prosperity, even to its creation; (3) the development of a return movement that gains collective approbation; (4) a full ethnic

group consciousness sustained over a long time and based on a sense of distinctiveness, a shared history and the belief in a common fate; (6) the share a sense of empathy and solidarity with co-ethnic members in other countries of settlement; lastly (7) the possibility of a remarkable creative, enriching life in host countries with a tolerance of pluralism. The value of the diaspora concept is that it shows sedimentation over time, often an extended period, of communities dispersed throughout the World, which vary considerably from one diaspora to another. These diasporas are characterized by searching for a specific cultural or religious unity at times, even political. Over time, they have been formed by several waves of migration, each of which could have different or several causes at once. This long-term sedimentation makes a diaspora First & Blowback (2010: 48). Diaspora refers to people who cross boundaries and settle in locations different from their origins. Diaspora is also a category that implies multiple connections across space and flows of ideas and information beyond a singular nation (Georgion, 2010: 6).

- **Xenophobia** is defined by Solomon & Kosaka (2009: 1) as fear and hatred of foreigners, characterized by discriminatory attitudes and behaviour, and often results in violence and other forms of abuse to prove hatred and fear towards foreigners. Maina et al. (2011: 2) expand the definition of xenophobia to incorporate acts of violence that causes harm and damage and not merely an attitude.

- *Amakwerekwere* is a pejorative term that suggests disapproval and often inhibit African immigrants from becoming or fully integrating into the society (Kgari-Masondo & Masondo, 2019: 88). Isikea & Isike (2012) assert that the term is used by South African for creating an imagined identity where foreigners are treated as despicable others.

- As defined by Direct Science, **Deterritorialization** and **Reterritorialization** is a population of people that is not restricted to one boundary or territory, a population on the move and not attached to one place. Deterritorialization is always linked with or accompanied by reterritorialization. Elden (2005: 2) defines the term as a relation between human thoughts and territorial placing, between external and internal exile, a *term* that relates to the idea of nomad thought, hybridity, and diaspora. He further states that deterritorialization is a valuable concept for understanding the complexities of language and cultural identity and is utilized to describe a cultural process where there is a break between social and geographic boundaries and the birth of new human

interaction. Reterritorialization, defined by dictionary sensagent, is a reformation of a place or territory that had previously experienced deterritorialization.

- **Migrant** at an international level has no universally accepted definition (IOM, 2011: 61). The term is usually understood to incorporate all cases where the decision to migrate is taken willingly by the individuals for personal convenience (IOM, 2011:61). A migrant is attributed to a person who moves away from a usual residence, whether locally or beyond international borders, on a temporal or permanent basis, for various reasons, including employment and economic benefits.

- **Port Shepstone** has been identified as a study area for this study. Port Shepstone is situated 120km south of Durban, under Ray Nkonyeni Municipality at UGU district. Founded in 1867 by Sir Theophilus Shepstone, Norwegian immigrants played a pivotal role in developing the area and Marburg, a nearby interior village. The selection of Port Shepstone is motivated by the existing gap in literature; little has been said about the area, although the area is a commercial heart of Southern Natal. Port Shepstone is surrounded by many rural areas and is very diverse in terms of ethnicity. The gatekeeper letter will be obtained from the office of the Registrar before the commencement of data collection, and the clearance letter will be attached to all data collection instruments.

1.7 Chapter summaries of the thesis:

Chapter 1: This chapter has already been discussed in the chapter.

Chapter 2: This chapter will focus on reviewing the literature. It will broadly look at the issue through a more detailed lens. The principal investigator will recognize what other scholars have contributed as part of the scholarship and identify the gap that this study is will bridge.

Chapter 3: Offers a detailed account of theoretical frameworks that are key to this study.

Chapter 4: The chapter will discuss the Research Methodology of this study.

Chapter 5: This chapter will be divided into two parts; Part 1 will involve data presentation. Part 2 will focus on data analysis and interpretation through thematic analysis and coding.

Chapter 6: This chapter will include key limitations of the study and recommendations and future research that stems from the present study and provide concluding remarks.

1.8 Conclusion

This chapter introduced the study by providing a general overview of migration, problem statement and rationale of the study. The chapter also outlined the aims and objectives of the study, research questions, definition of critical concepts, and the study's location. The structure of the thesis was also presented. The following chapter reviews the literature on migration and diasporas globally and locally.

CHAPTER TWO:
LITERATURE REVIEW ON MIGRATION AND DIASPORIC EXPERIENCES

2.1 Introduction

Migration and Diaspora are anthropological concepts. They depict how people live as part of a moving world and further discuss how people who migrate experience life in foreign countries. Migration and Diaspora allow anthropologists to speak about the "trans" and the "nation" in their study of cultural differences between people moving around the globe (Daswani, 2013: 29). As Baubock and Faist (2010: 49) argued, through migration and diasporic experiences, anthropological research reveals that diasporas pact with the risk of losing their material relationship with the territory of origin. However, they can still preserve their cultural or spiritual relationship through memory away from the homeland. The study aims to feed the existing gaps in the literature. The existing literature indicates that little research exists about the socio-cultural challenges faced by African migrants in South African disadvantaged communities, especially in city outskirts and in Port Shepstone. The large volume of literature focuses on challenges faced by African migrants in key cities such as Cape Town and Johannesburg, Pretoria, and Port Elizabeth (for example, Chetty & Sherefedin, 2018, Fihlani, 2011, Moyo, 2019 & Ncube et al., 2019). There remains little or no research that expands to cover challenges faced by African migrants in city outskirts and areas away from the metro cities such as Port Shepstone.

This research seeks to close the gap in the literature by focusing on the fringe of KwaZulu Natal (KZN), Port Shepstone, by interviewing African migrants about socio-cultural challenges they experience daily. Anthropologists have the task of applying holistic methodologies to grasp and better understand migration complexities in different geographical areas of South Africa. This brings in an element of rurality to the discourse. An anthropologist must query into such matters and look for socio-cultural responses to issues that have dominated the era of globalization and mass migration. The broader theme for this chapter is Migration and Diasporic Experiences. Therefore, the reviewed literature focuses on contextual definitions of migration and Diaspora, a review of literature on migration both locally and internationally, and diasporic challenges that emerge because of migrating. A review of previous studies conducted in South Africa about the experience of African migrants is in this chapter. Mweetwa explains that literature review involves the identification of differences and similarities

between the existing body of knowledge and the subject that is being researched (2020: 1). The above author asserts that the literature review focuses on what has been said about the subject, helping researchers explore new themes that have not been studied.

2.2 Deterritorialization and Reterritorialization

There is an enormous linkage between people and their place. Most people trace their roots to their place of birth/origin. However, globalization and mass migration have resulted in colossal deterritorialization of people from their place of origin and immense reterritorialization away from their origin. Potulski (2014) asserts that as the world becomes more connected than ever before, nations, tribes and different ethnicities blend, civilizations are becoming more mobile. Mass media, migration, and globalization have deterritorialized cultures, which are no longer limited to local boundaries. Place as a geographical area has depreciated, modern humans are no longer constrained to spatial limits. Linking Lee's Migration Model, push factors often force people to deterritorialise, while pull factors attract people to reterritorialize in a particular foreign destination. The uprooted people from their homelands with their unique cultures defined by language, values, ideas, customs, traditions, and beliefs that are mostly different from those of the new territory; hence others are classified as migrants while others are classified as diasporas. Globalization and labour migration have been recorded and listed amongst pull factors contributing to migration and rising diasporas in foreign countries.

2.3 Unpacking Migration and associated experiences

Throughout human history, humans have always migrated between different geographical areas across the globe. Migration was not an area of interest for early anthropologists until the late 1950s when tribes, communities and cultures began to show signs of fluidity (Rashid, 2011). There is no universally accepted definition of migration; however, different definitions are accepted in different settings. Wickramasinghe and Wimalaratana (2016:15) define migration as a movement of people from one place to another for residence or work-related purposes. Migration can be local (between cities or regions) or international (Esses, 2018). Migration can also be voluntarily (e.g., work-related purposes) or involuntary (e.g., natural disasters, wars), temporary or permanent (Hlanga, 2017). Anthropological research on international migration usually follows the "underdeveloped to developed trajectory" (Rashid, 2011: 84), rural to urban bases as these are known to be the focal points of development and centres of attraction.

2.4 The Context of Migration Patterns in the World

Human migration is defined as a time-worn experience that can be traced back to the earliest period of human history. Some historians and archaeologists concluded that humans originated in the Great Rift Valley of Africa and gradually migrated to the rest of the world over time. The modern world, characterized by global interconnectedness, has witnessed an exacerbated cross-cultural contact due to a shrinking of space, permeability of state borders and shortening of distance as technological advancement has simplified contact between people of different nation-states. In 2013, more than 232 million people globally were projected to be migrants (IOM, 2018).

International migrants are defined as people living in any other country despite their birth and moving across borders (United Nations, 2019: 3). The majority of people migrate from their home countries for work-related purposes. However, millions have also been driven away from their home countries by conflicts and violence, mainly in Syria, Yemen, the Central African Republic, the Democratic Republic of Congo, and South Sudan (Wickramasinghe & Wimalaratana, 2016: 17). Environmental conditions such as climate change have also contributed to emigration in Mozambique, the Philippines, China, India, and the United States of America (IOM, 2020). International migration has a simple migration flow pattern; migrants flow from developing countries to rich countries or emerging economies (Centre for Development and Enterprise, 2011). The above author asserts that prosperous countries such as America, Britain, Thailand attract migrants from poor neighbouring countries like Mexico, Poland, and Myanmar. South Africa attracts many skilled and unskilled migrants from neighbouring countries, such as Zimbabwe.

In 2015, it was estimated that there were about 244 million international migrants across the globe, an increase from 155 million from the year 2000 (IOM, 2017: 1). The net international migration saw an increase of 89 million in fifteen years. A report by World Economic Forum (2020) indicated that in the year 2019, there were about 272 million international migrants globally. This is an increase of 28 million international migrants in four years. The increase in international migrants yields significant policy challenges in terms of integration, displacements, safe migration, and border management (IOM, 2017). Many skills and professions are lost for migrant-sending countries, resulting in brain drain as more people are moving out of the country. A large workforce is available for economic development for

migrant-receiving countries, but unrest and cross-cultural conflicts are likely to occur as people of different cultures come into contact.

2.5 Globalization

The transnational flow of people, goods, information, financial resources (e.g., remittances) and culture has increased drastically over the years. The increase has been directly linked to globalization, defined by Hassi and Stori (2012: 4) as a system that advocates for global interaction and interconnection among nations. *Globalization* is a multidimensional phenomenon that incorporates economic components and cultural, ideological, and political facets. Undoubtedly, globalization has contributed significantly to increased human mobility over the years; technological advancement made it much easier for people to travel over a long distance within a brief period. As people of different cultures encounter each other, the hybridization of cultures cannot be avoided (Hart, 2012). Industrialization allowed societies to have access to machines, and humans started producing cultural products for the outside world as capitalism of the Western world gained popularity, uniformity of cultures dominated (Hassi & Stori, 2012). The flow of humans between different geographical areas and across nation-states' borders is an issue of globalization. Humans have plenty of alternatives to choose from when travelling (e.g., trains, aeroplanes, ships etc.). The competition within the travelling industry has also made travelling much cheaper and more affordable for humans. Technological advancement, which results from globalization, has made human mobility more feasible and affordable.

2.6 The Context of Migration Patterns in Africa and South Africa

Out of the projected 232 million people who were migrants globally in 2013, 19 million were projected to be in Africa. International migration in South Africa has been active since the 1860s when gold was discovered in Witwatersrand and diamond in the Orange Free State. Migration patterns in South Africa cannot be studied separately from the history of colonization and Apartheid as these two systems played a significant role in navigating the flow of labour migrants from the Southern African Development Community (SADC) countries to South African mines during the Apartheid era, as labour migrants were used as a source of cheap labour. According to Ncube et al. (2019: 1), cross-border migration between Southern Africa and South Africa dates more than 150 years ago. They further assert that the flow of migrants from homelands to cities (rural-urban migration) and from the SADC countries to economic hubs such as Johannesburg, Durban, Cape Town, Port Elizabeth, and Pretoria has been

observable in pre-colonial and post-colonial South Africa. The discovery of gold in Johannesburg promoted international and internal migration in South Africa (Mlambo, 2018). South Africa attracts many immigrants due to its more robust economy in Southern Africa. Some immigrants are skilled while others are unskilled, legal, and illegal, long-term, and short-term visitors.

Industrial development, which dominated due to the industrial revolution, is a magnet for skilled and unskilled migrants in South Africa, Botswana, and Zambia. The development of industries that have contributed to the booming economy in South Africa has steered about 2.4 million migrants into the country. This is Africa's most extensive migration number (IOM, 2018). The flows of migrants are said to originate from the horn of Africa, Ethiopia and Somalia and are made up of refugees, asylum seekers, economic migrants, human trafficking victims, which consists of women and children (IOM, 2018).

Since establishing metropolitan cities in South Africa, there has been an exponential growth in rural-urban migration, as people move from disadvantaged areas to urban areas characterized by various opportunities. According to Statistics South Africa (2018), South Africa received net immigration of 1,02 million between 2016 and 2021. Most of these immigrants settle in Gauteng (47,5%) as the province is regarded as the economic hub of South Africa. Gauteng also attracts many internal/domestic migrants from rural provinces of South Africa such as Limpopo, Kwa-Zulu Natal, and Eastern Cape. Migrants from rural areas form a large cohort of temporary migrants in cities.

South Africa's urban population is growing rapidly, and United Nations projected that by 2030, 71.3% of South Africa's population would be living in urban areas (Mlambo, 2018). Rural-urban migration is caused by a lack of proper infrastructure in rural areas. People, therefore, move to urban areas hoping for improved living conditions and better opportunities. One of the challenges that have dominated due to the growing numbers of foreigners in South Africa is illegal or undocumented immigrants. Failure to issue identification and travel documents in some SADC countries has contributed to illegal cross-border movements. This has presented an overwhelming challenge for South African policymakers. However, this is not a new challenge as countries such as the United States of America have also struggled in implementing effective policies to manage illegal cross-border movements from Mexico to the USA (The Centre for Development and Enterprise, 2011).

2.7 Lee's Migration Model

A range of push factors usually triggers migration. Everett Lee proposed a theory of migration in 1966 where he outlined push and pull factors as reasons that probe emigration and immigration of humans (Faridi, 2018). According to World Atlas (2020), push-pull factors work together to influence migration numbers. Push factors force people away from one country/location to another and pull them into a new country/location. Factors associated with the place of origin- places of origin are usually defined with push factors that give people a reason to leave the area. These factors can be forceful (e.g., wars, famine, droughts). As factors force people to move away from an area, this is called forced migration. Factors associated with the destination areas- destination areas are usually characterized by positive aspects that encourage and attract people into that location (e.g., job opportunities, better education). Intervening obstacles- Lee noted the difficulties of migrating across national borders. These include financial crises and visa issues. South Africa is now faced with a rapid increase of illegal immigrants from many African countries. Due to financial difficulties, migrants end up entering South Africa illegally. Personal factors- people decide where to settle when migrating from their places of origin.

2.8 Unpacking Diaspora and associated experiences

Diaspora is defined as a group of people, "*different kinds of migrants groups*" (Daswani, 2013:36) who live away from the homeland but still strongly identify with it and share a religious, ethnonational, or national identity (IOM, 2019). Diasporas are also known as dispersed populations, emigrants, or foreigners. They are defined by their ability to maintain a solid connection to their homeland and boundary maintenance which involves the preservation of their identities in host societies (Serumaga-Zake, 2017, Tan, 2017: 1). These links can be cultural, historical, linguistic, religious and affection. Diasporas are emigrants and their descendants, who live outside the country of their birth or ancestry, either on a temporary or permanent basis, yet still, maintain affective (emotional) and material ties to their countries of origin. Diaspora is a term often used today to describe practically any population which is considered 'deterritorialize' or 'transnational'—that is, which has originated in a land other than which it currently resides and whose social, economic, and political networks across the borders of nation-states or, indeed, span the globe. Diasporas are complex social and cultural communities created out of real and imagined genealogies and geographies (cultural, racial, ethnic, national, continental, transnational) of belonging, displacement, and recreation,

constructed, and conceived at multiple temporal and spatial scales, at different moments and distances from the putative homeland. By thinking through Diaspora, we observed the qualities of space as lived. As context for identification and struggle, we imagined as dependent on memory, experience, and ideology of deterritorialization and reterritorialization, of mobility and contact or interruptions of contact with old and new others. Diasporic populations live within specific locales – urban places especially – and in national and transnational spaces. The social interaction and communication within the diasporic communities, among dispersed sections of the same Diaspora and beyond the limits of diasporic communities, all take place in space (Georgion, 2010: 20-21). Sideri (2008: 33) agree that time and space are the most important ingredients in the formation and the evocation of diasporas and their daily experiences. Diasporic research has concluded that diasporas meet a particular criterion , the population considered has been dispersed under pressure (e.g., disaster, catastrophe, famine, abject poverty) to several places and territories beyond the immediate neighbourhood of the territory of origin; the choice of countries and cities of destination is carried out in accordance with the structure of migratory chains which, beyond the oceans, link migrants with those already installed in the host countries, the latter thought of as conveyors towards the host society and the labour market, and guardians of the ethnic or national. However, such a choice may also be determined by the conditions of traumatic dispersal, in which case, even though there may be far less choice, previous migratory routes can be used. The population, integrated without being assimilated into the host countries, retains a relatively strong identity awareness linked to the memory of its territory and the society of origin – with its history. This implies the existence of a strong sense of community and community life. As in the case of a nation, it is an 'imagined community, relying on a collective narrative that links it to a territory and memory. Intergenerational transmission of identities is also at work. These dispersed groups of migrants (or groups stemming from migration) preserve and develop among themselves and with the society of origin, if one still exists, multiple exchange relations (people, goods of various natures, information, etc.) are organized through networks. In this networked space, which connects essentially non-hierarchical poles – even if some are more important than others – relations among groups dispersed over several destinations tend to be horizontal rather than vertical.   Diasporic migrants experience dispersion, including several generations after the first migration. They have transmitted their identity from one generation to the other in the Longue durée. Diaspora tend to be an autonomous social formation from the host and the origin societies thanks to its numerous cultural, political, religious, professional associations.

Lobbying in favour of their origin society is not uncommon among diasporas, but neither is resistance against instrumentalization by the homeland.

2.8.1 Diasporic pull and push factors: the rise of diasporic entrepreneurship in the world

The term 'African diaspora' has historical roots in the adventurous colonial era of slavery, but in contemporary migration discourse, it denotes people who migrate from Africa to live, work, and settle outside the African continent. Forced actions or voluntary decisions cause the contemporary migration of Africans. Research suggests that natural disasters, armed conflicts, human rights abuses, political persecution, and other harsh socio-economic reasons force people to flee from Africa and seek safe havens in their destination countries.

There is a debate about how the Diaspora is linked to migration, emigration, or immigration. The IOM (2019) assert that all these terms carry a similar meaning, migration means to move from one place to another, emigration means to leave one's country to live in another country, while immigration means to come into another country. Birkhoff (2011: 116) states that "diasporas are immigrants who maintain a psychological or material connection to their place of origin". Cohen (1997: 515) assert that Diaspora is closely associated with immigrants who migrate for specific reasons or goals. Their features include (i)) dispersal from an original homeland to two or more foreign regions or expansion from a homeland in search of work or various economic activities/ambitions; (ii) they share a collective memory and an idealization of the homeland and a collective commitment to its maintenance, restoration, safety and prosperity, even to its creation; (iii) the development of a return movement that gains collective approbation; (iv) a strong ethnic group consciousness sustained over a long time and based on a sense of distinctiveness, a shared history and the belief in a common fate; (v) the share a sense of empathy and solidarity with co-ethnic members in other countries of settlement; lastly (vi) the possibility of a remarkable creative, enriching life in host countries with a tolerance of pluralism. The work of Bryceson (2019) also adds that other push factors are encouraged or negotiated by family members as most want to escape poverty, economic hardship and other socio-economic advertise. Migration patterns thus become the only hope; hence, those permitted to migrate for economic opportunities are expected to send remittances back home, so that family members celebrate their earnings back home. This means that other migration patterns result from sacrifices that celebrate migrants with their families. Some can return home while others become diasporas responsible for remitting back to the family.

2.9. Socio-cultural challenges of diasporas

Socio-cultural experiences involve challenges in the areas of assimilation to the host society (also referred to as acculturation), linguistic adjustments (also referred to as ―the language used) and identity construction (how they identify themselves in the host society) (Chow, 2006; Wang & Phillion, 2007; Piedra & Engstrom, 2009 cited in Adedayo, 2010). Bhandari (2021) states that the Diaspora generally faces several socio-cultural challenges. This includes the loss of their cultural identity as they negotiate in host countries. Mike and Mike (2012: 93) agree that most migrants and diasporas have in South Africa have been treated badly as they have been given discriminating names/identities such as *amakwerekwere.* African immigrants are imagined and treated as despicable 'others. Indeed, migration raises all kinds of socio-cultural issues. For instance, it can lead to cultural advancement for the host country, given its diversity of cultures. On the other hand, it can also lead to cultural confusion and persecution depending on how cultural issues emanating from migration are managed. In South Africa, for example, there are two kinds of foreigners based on psychological differentiation; European foreigners are perceived and accepted as 'tourists' and 'investors' who have everything positive to offer South Africa, while African foreigners are perceived and rejected as '*Makwerekweres*' and 'throwaways' who have nothing good to offer South Africa**.** Gqola (2008) and Matsinhe (2011) state that *amakwerekwere* are defined or categorized as the 'smelly', 'hungry', 'poor', 'illiterate' and 'uncultured'. They also opine that *makwerekwere* from 'poor' Africa is judged guilty for 'crime, taking our jobs and our women' (Cited in Mike & Isike, 2012:96). The qualitative study that Isike and Isike (2012) conducted in Empangeni, Durban and Pietermaritzburg and a peri-urban area; Ngwelezana. The sample size of twenty (20) African immigrants, including medical practitioners, teachers, students and small business owners from Cameroun, DRC, Ghana, Mozambique, Nigeria and Zimbabwe, DRC, Ghana, Nigeria, Swaziland, and Zambia study findings revealed projected hatred hence xenophobic attacks have been mostly recording in these cities. South Africans imagine that African foreigners are different from them because they have big noses, big lips, and round heads …. they are 'too dark' or 'too black'; they dress funny, walk-in certain different ways and have inoculation marks. African foreigners are imagined as primitives who emit foul body odours. The dynamics of colonial group relations create power asymmetries between the 'established groups' (whites) and the 'outsider groups' (blacks) who often are culturally persecuted and economically deprived to the point of self-dehumanization. With time, such asymmetries produce an inferiority syndrome in the weaker outsider group 'wherein members of the former measure their personal and collective self-worth according to the social standards of the latter'. Immigrants are often excluded and considered with no human rights, making them vulnerable and indentured slaves (Matshine,

2011: 303 cited in Mike & Mike: 2012). Smith (2015) agree that hosting migrants is not a new experience for South Africa. Migrant workers from different Southern African countries have been an active part of the labour force in the South African mining and commercial agricultural sector. Many migrants arrive in South Africa hoping for an opportunity to rebuild their lives and regain stability. However, for many migrants, integration into host societies is not always a smooth process. Common challenges include difficulties in finding employment, lack of fluency in speaking local languages and "being on the receiving end of racism". Other socio-cultural factors are discussed below:

2.9.1 Xenophobia as Experience of the Diaspora

Xenophobia is defined as fear or hatred of foreigners characterized by discriminatory attitudes and behaviour (Solomon & Kosaka, 2013:5). Xenophobia is not merely an attitude of hatred but includes actions of violence that result in damage to property, bodily harm, and loss of life (Maina et al., 2011:2). African immigrants perceive South Africa as their new home, either permanently or temporarily (Smit, 2015). However, the tendency of '*othering*' African migrants in South Africa has caused fear and unsafety for many African immigrants. Isike and Isike (2012) employed Matsinhe's ideology of *makwerekwere*, which emphasizes a strong sense of non-belonging, a creation of imagined identities where Africans are treated as others within the African soil and have been used as a weapon for pushing afro-phobia in South Africa. *Amakwerekwere* is a pejorative term that suggests disapproval and often inhibit African immigrants from becoming or fully integrating into the society (Kgari-Masondo & Masondo, 2019:88). Another derogatory term used to inflict hatred towards immigrants is "amagrigamba" (Maina et al., 2011: 3). Chetty and Sherefedin (2018: 158), in their study about African migrants in South Africa, concluded that hatred towards Africans in South Africa has resulted in many immigrant entrepreneurs becoming victims of xenophobic attacks.

In 2005, approximately twenty Somali traders were killed by natives in Cape Town (Maina et al., 2011: 3). On the 11th of May 2008, Violent attacks broke out in Alexandra, north of Johannesburg, where natives attacked African immigrants from African countries, including Mozambique, Zimbabwe, Somalia, who are collectively referred to as "*amakwerekwere'* (Hickel, 2014). At least 62 people died, while about 670 were wounded (Segatti & Landau, 2011). This campaign was referred to as "*Buyelekhaya*", as immigrants were suspected to be the cause of increasing crime, sexual attacks, and a cause to increasing unemployment (Maina

et al., 2011: 3). Similar demonstrations spiralled over South African cities such as Durban and Cape Town.

These violent demonstrations resulted in the dismissal of 150 000 foreigners from South African soils as most fled because of fear (Segatti & Landau, 2011). The majority of those who remained behind were left without shelter, food, and clothing. Phake (2016) argues that Xenophobia as a stigma has been adopted by South Africans when they cannot find solutions to their problems such as increasing unemployment, crime, and human trafficking. Adedayo (2010) asserts that many scholars in Africa have documented that African immigrants and diaspora have experienced physical assaults and the looting of their possessions. Many scientific and media sources have accused the South African government authorities of victimizing immigrants. Immigrants have been recorded to be harassed verbally to return to their country, and —in some cases, verbal abuse led to physical attacks. Many immigrants were displaced, some killed, and a number ousted by physically and verbally imploring them to go back to their countries of origin. African foreigners are often perceived as kidnappers and drug traffickers, job stealers, and people who marry the natives for citizenship tenacities (Fihlani, 2011). South Africans feel that African foreigners bring disease with them to South Africa and are also a reason behind the escalating crime levels in the country. The difference in cultures and the reality that most immigrants are originally from poor African countries are the primary sources of such perceptions. The Afro-phobia towards migrants presents major setbacks for foreigners in different societies in South Africa. Language remains a key factor for excluding many African migrants and is often stigmatizing Africans in cities such as Johannesburg (Moyo, 2019; Okyere, 2018; Segatti & Landau, 2011). A finding from Okyere (2018) in his study about Ghanaian migrants living in Johannesburg designate that many African migrants are faced with difficulties in accessing proper accommodation. African migrants live in overcrowded settlements that do not host human beings. Okyere further highlights that African migrants' resort to building informal settlements due to failure to find proper shelter. Segatti and Landau (2011) assert that the South African healthcare system treats African immigrants as 'Others' without noticing that the host areas feel the negative consequence of this stigma. The limited access to healthcare facilities means migrants are more vulnerable to health-related crises (Okyere, 2018). From the above studies, it is almost clear that African migrants are still marginalized and are the most victims of social insecurity in South Africa. Their identity as migrants limits them to access services such as proper healthcare and accommodation.

Nurse (2018) assert that migration and diasporas have been immense in poverty reduction within the African continent. Diasporas are different migrant groups who left their homelands but continue to share a strong connection with the homeland (Daswani, 2013). Diasporas maintain a strong connection with their homelands through remittances, religious practices, and national identity. However, migrants face extreme situations in host countries ranging from stigmatization, Xenophobia, social marginalization, and exploitative working conditions (Nurse, 2018). South Africans exploit many African migrants economically; they are not paid fair wages when given employment. A study of Zimbabwean migrants living in Cape Town found that many female migrants get dismissed by their employers without getting their agreed payments (Idemudia et al., 2013). A counter-opinion from Hickel's study is that African immigrants are getting more jobs than residents because they can work for rates that are way below those of the labour market, for a wage of R25 per day (Hickel, 2014:106). Another finding is that many Zimbabwean female migrants face serious psychological impacting situations as they are sometimes forced to have sex with native men in exchange for a plate of food (Idemudia et al., 2013). Many illegal migrants face threats of arrest from the police and local workers, especially in the construction industry. They are arrested and forced to pay bribery to the police or station commanders to escape possible convictions when found without proper documents. In many rural areas, they also pay for their stay to ward councillors and other traditional leaders for accommodation, protection and conducting their businesses in the area (Idemudia et al., 2013). The literature above indicates exploitative, discriminatory, and dehumanizing conditions that many migrants live under in South Africa. From the above cases, it cannot be contested that African migrants find themselves living in fear in many South African societies because of the stereotypes that are projected to them by the natives. The study needs to investigate whether the same socio-cultural challenges are experienced in city outskirts as there is a dearth of literature in such a context.

2.9.2 Theorizing Xenophobia in South Africa

Many theorists have tried their best to theorize Xenophobia in South Africa. Different researchers and institutions have offered different theoretical explanations to analyze best the nature of the ongoing unrest between Africans and natives. Scholars have developed two fundamental theories, namely, scapegoating and isolation hypothesis, to best explain and contextualize Xenophobia in South Africa.

2.9.2.1 Scapegoating Hypothesis

The scapegoating hypothesis was developed by the Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC). This theory antedates that the hatred and rejection of African migrants in South Africa is due to limited resources such as employment opportunities, housing, and other essential services (Maina et al., 2011: 3). With the increasing unemployment in the country and government failures in providing basic services, natives often tend to place African immigrants employed in South Africa and benefit from its resources as scapegoats (HSRC, 2008).

2.9.2.2 Isolation Hypothesis

Isolation hypothesis view apartheid in South Africa as a cause of Xenophobia. The isolation and seclusion of South Africa from the global community during the apartheid era is seen as a cause of distrust and fear for South Africans towards foreigners in the country (Maina et al., 2011: 3). After South Africa gained its independence in 1994, citizens saw the need for the country to be protected from foreign interference and for South Africa to put its citizens first before anyone else.

2.10 Resource Competition

There is a substantial ongoing debate about whether immigrants contribute positively to the economy of South Africa or merely a drain on countries' resources, such as competing with the natives for job opportunities (Esses, 2018: 5). This debate can be shaped around statistics and the types of immigrants that South Africa receives from different African countries. Group conflict theory antedates that distressed socio-economic beings are more likely to express negative attitudes towards migrants due to competition for jobs, basic services, economic benefits, and community services (Lancee & Pardos-Prado, 2013). The ethnic competition for scarce resources, power and status often paves the way for division and cross-cultural conflicts. Immigrants who are in South Africa illegally and do not contribute to the country's economy are likely to be perceived as a threat to the resources of the country and its population. Claassen (2015:10) contended that competition for job opportunities and housing between natives and immigrants increases Xenophobia. Solomon and Kosaka (2013: 5) also assert that Xenophobia is highly likely to break out in areas where poverty and unemployment are rampant. Natives violently attack immigrants under arguments that they protect their jobs and entitlements (Serumaga-Zake, 2017: 17). With the increasing poverty in South Africa, the majority of the citizens being economically deprived, the blame is often shifted to African immigrants "*Amakwerekwere*", with the majority arguing that foreigners are taking away opportunities of South African citizens.

As most migrants in South Africa have found a niche in the informal sector of the economy, the competitiveness of Somali migrants has further fuelled Xenophobia (Hlanga, 2017). With the increasing unemployment rate, which has escalated to 32.5% in the year 2020 (Dludla, 2021), the ongoing cross-cultural conflict and xenophobic violence can be best understood as a socio-economic challenge that prevails as one group (natives) claim territory, superiority, and status over the other (immigrants) due to differences in cultures. As economic conditions deteriorate in South Africa, conflict and competition between citizens and foreigners are destined to intensify.

2.11 Language Barrier

South Africa is linguistically diverse, with eleven (11) official languages, and this is one of the reasons it is referred to as the rainbow nation. Kgari-Masondo & Masondo (2019: 87) argues that much of the attention to the growing Afro-phobia in South Africa should be paid to language as migrants are always susceptible to stigmatization, marginalization, and discrimination because of speaking a foreign language in South African soils. Many African migrants are often called derogative names because their languages are different from natives. Adedayo (2010) agrees that language is always a socio-cultural factor, and this is because language is not just a cultural issue but a political one. In essence, the inability of immigrant groups to communicate well in mainstream culture may lead to their exclusion in the host society. They experience cultural distance and discrimination from citizens of the host country. Siziba (2014) argues that post-apartheid South Africa has used language as a boundary marking tool to exclude other Africans who cannot master any of the South African indigenous languages. The term "*amakwerekwere*" mainly applies to Africans who speak other African '*stranger'* languages and are originally from impoverished African countries and often "*symbolizes lack of enoughness* (Siziba, 2014: 174) and do not have an ability to contribute to the development of South Africa.

Language is one of the culture shocks that makes it difficult for immigrants to adapt and integrate into host communities quickly. Reverting to the incident that occurred on the 11th of May 2008 in Alexandra township in Johannesburg, it is said that a group of Zulu-speaking people embarked on a door-to-door campaign, searching for African foreigners. Anyone incapable of providing a Zulu word for an 'elbow' was beaten (Claassen, 2015: 7). The inability to master South Africa's indigenous languages, especially IsiZulu, has resulted in many African immigrants being attacked by South Africans in metropolises such as Johannesburg, Durban,

Cape Town, and Port Elizabeth. Migration involves the loss of the familiar, including language (especially colloquial and dialect), attitudes, values, social structures, and support networks. Cultural changes in identity can be stressful and result in problems with self-esteem and mental health. Contacting the immigrant or minority community with the dominant or host community may lead to assimilation, rejection, integration or deculturation. Rejection, in which the individual or minority group withdraws from the majority group, can lead to Apartheid or segregation in extreme cases. Deculturation, in which the individual or minority group experiences a loss of cultural identity, alienation and acculturative stress, can lead to ethnocide. Post-migration stresses include culture shock and conflict, both of which may lead to a sense of cultural confusion, feelings of alienation and isolation, and depression. Host societies' attitudes, including racism, compounded by stresses of unemployment, a discrepancy between achievement and expectations, financial hardships, legal concerns, poor housing, and a general lack of opportunities for advancement within the host society.

2.12 Threat to Health and Safety

In addition to the above-mentioned socio-cultural challenges, African immigrants are sometimes and, in some areas, perceived as a threat to the health and safety of South Africans. Since the outbreak of diseases HIV/AIDS and Ebola in Africa, many African immigrants have been perceived as potential carriers and spreaders of infectious diseases in South Africa (Esses, 2018:6). Another challenge that South Africans have primarily associated with African immigrants is safety in the country. There are thousands of reports in the media about the ongoing unrest within African countries such as Ethiopia, Somalia, Nigeria that are closely linked with acts of terrorism and criminality (Esses, 2018: 6). This has created a level of distrust between the natives and immigrants, especially those coming from the Islamic states where Jihad is highly practised.

2.13 The psychosocial support/linkages of diasporas

 Karayianni et al., (2020) state that diasporas are mostly not accepted in the host area. Their daily task is to negotiate their selves and identities in the host area. Patterns of xenophobic attacks in most parts of the world proved that their survival resilience is dependent on established social ties and psychosocial networks/linkages of support that they establish or assimilate in foreign countries. While they establish contacts in the host countries as part of their migration experience, they keep drawing on resources and advice from friends, relatives,

and ethnic/cultural communities abroad and, more importantly, from the family in their home country. This fosters in-group solidarity and trust. The other aspect of psychosocial support comes through maintaining family ties with family members back home as they sing the song of hope during hard times. When immigrants maintain interaction with the host and their home country, integration is achieved through formed "linkages", combining dedication to the home country and commitment to the host country. Simba and Ojong (2018, 116:117) assert that diasporas tend to be key actors in diaspora networks; such networks are regarded as a tool that plays an essential role in reducing the costs of brain drain by fostering cooperation and the conveyance of knowledge and skills as well as collective and business investment' . Karayianni et al. (2020) further state that these linkages are important for creating diaspora networks. This is where members can access knowledge and trade channels in both host and home markets. These shifts from financial resources and opportunities to create and enhance business partnerships with other network members. Diasporas in the host and home countries provide financial capital, voluntary or cheap labour, and other forms of support include social capital if they want to start a business. Diasporas capitalize on their diasporic and transnational resources in language skills, cultural knowledge, business connections and management abilities.

Their psychosocial support/ linkages include cultural capital and religious belongingness. Through these capital's trust, collective action and the sense of community, entrepreneurial learning becomes the heart of their survival in host/foreign countries. Cheung and Phillimore (2013) also state that the forging of network/social/ psychosocial ties includes shared norms, trust, social connection – social bonds, reciprocity, and shared memories of the country of origin and hardship experienced in the host country. The other critical aspect of forging network ties/linkages and psychosocial ties is discussed by Epstein et al., (2016), who aver that many diasporas have sort of forging their relations with residents who then maximize security for them. Their research findings also revealed that numerous studies have shown that immigrants tend to settle in ethnic concentrations. As already noted, the immigrant arriving in the host country needs social support, job-search assistance, help in finding accommodations or temporary lodging, and information regarding the alien environment and the local culture. The immigrant can invest effort in the assimilation, such as acquiring the local language, and can obtain assistance from natives, or he or she can acquire such information from previous immigrants. Networks increase the relationship between the local population and the migrants from a particular location of origin in the Diaspora. Bucholtz (2019) diaspora is more likely to

trust each other, help out, and willingly establish and maintain mutual ties. Diasporas also accumulate their social capital through online interactions. The use of online communication platforms helps them maintain existing relationships, initiate new ones, and access information that helps them establish their lives in their new host country. States that participation in online communities provides members of a diaspora with a broader range of options to experiment with their identities and adapt 'hybrid identities' – a combination of elements of their homeland identity with those of their host society. This increased flexibility, in turn, aids the integration process in the host country through gradual or at least partial acceptance of the customs and norms prevalent in the host country. The availability of information and the ease of following others facilitates awareness among migrants of the presence of compatriots and promotes their sense of belonging to a dispersed community. Name Asiamah agrees that the contemporary migrants and diasporas of African descent have better socio-cultural interconnectedness with their native countries because of globalization and technological advancement, which allow migrants to retain their economic, psychological, social, and family ties (2020: 4).

The following image depicts transnational family migration and care trajectories between source and destination countries.
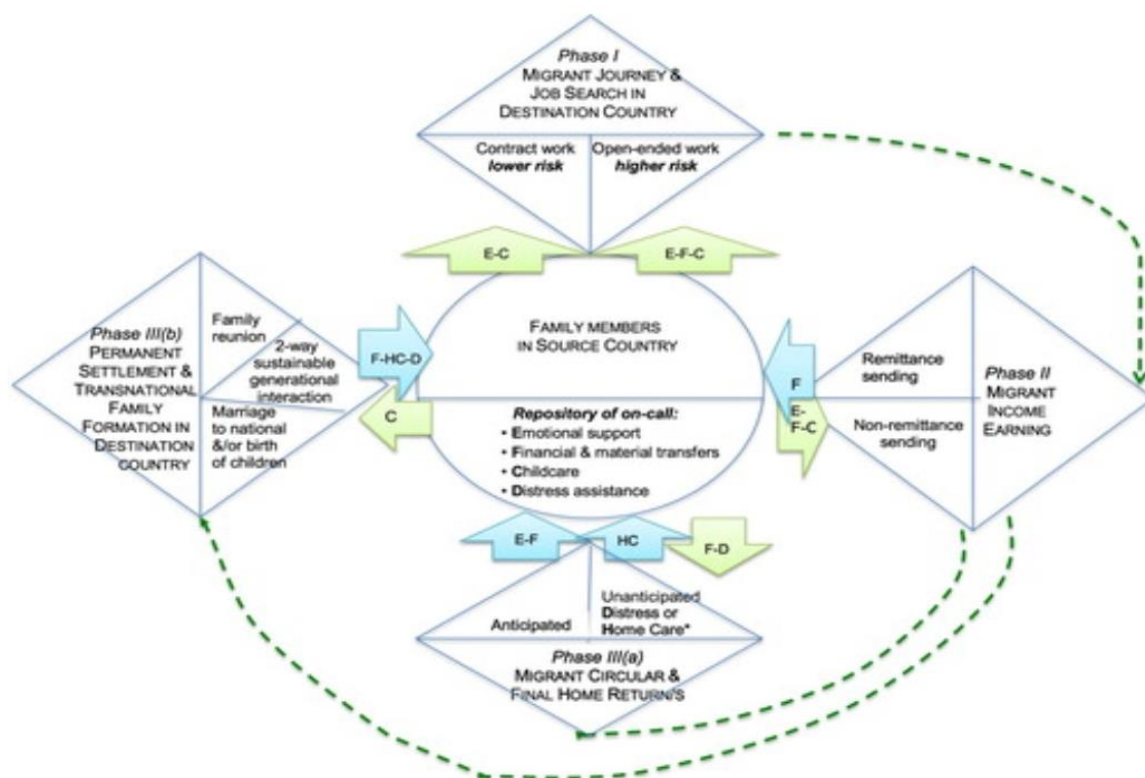
Figure 1: Transnational family migration and care trajectories (Image retrieved from Bryceson (2019: 10).

The above figure translates that families back home becomes a psychosocial well from their members in foreign countries. This psychosocial support happens through the advancement of technology that can cramp space and size, meaning it can connect people who are in different countries.

2.14 Conclusion

This chapter presented a literature review on migration locally and internationally and diasporic challenges that emerge from migrating. The chapter also provided contextual definitions of migration and diaspora and examined the relationship between these two terms. Using Lee's Migration Model, factors that encourage people to deterritorialise and reterritorialize were highlighted. Furthermore, the chapter emphasized that migration is a time-worn experience that is becoming more complex and dynamic due to the impact of globalization. Lastly, the reviewed literature indicates that although South Africa has a long history of attracting immigrants from various countries within the African continent, challenges persist, including xenophobia discrimination of Africans who cannot speak South African languages eloquently. Perceptions that Africans in South Africa are taking away opportunities and resources from natives are still dominating even in the 21st century in many metropolises of South Africa. However, it is noticeable that African migrants moving into rural areas of South Africa, away from metropolises, has not been explored. The following chapter offers a detailed account of theoretical frameworks that are key to this study.

Human migration from across African countries to South Africa has a long, multifaceted history. It emerged with gold and diamond in different parts of South Africa. Therefore, the African Diaspora moved to South Africa for greener pastures, for economic emancipation, as the country is known to have one of the robust economies in the African continent. Due to increased competition for scarce resources and increased unemployment in the country, African migrants are often susceptible to xenophobic violence and exploitation due to an increased level of desperateness. These challenges were further explained using the case of Cape Town in 2005, where there was a murder of twenty Somali traders, and a case of Alexandra, JHB, where about sixty-two African immigrants were killed while about six hundred and seventy were left wounded. The hypothesis that African scholars have adopted to understand the nature of the ongoing conflict between the natives and African immigrants was also used to understand the root cause of Xenophobia. Some of the other key challenges include

the inability to access education and health care. This adds language barriers that inhibit many African immigrants from fully integrating themselves into South African societies.

CHAPTER THREE:

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

3.1 Introduction

Magocha (2020) asserts that theories are crucial in light of what other scholars have highlighted in their research concerning the issue under discussion. This study embodied three theoretical frameworks: migration theory, social network theory, and group conflict theory. These three theoretical frameworks befitted this anthropological study because *anthropology* as an area of speciality as well is defined as the study of humankind and is always concerned with human beings as well as their mobility patterns, how they negotiate their daily interactions with others as well as the social construction of their identities. These three theories chosen for this research are fundamental in providing theoretical lenses for understanding factors that promote human mobility, issues that govern mobility trends, and networks established as people of different homelands come into contact.

3.2 Migration Theory

Anthropologists are interested in understanding the cultural and social dimensions of migration. Migration refers to a movement of people from one geographical location to another, either local or international (Esses, 2018). Anthropologists are concerned with how societies perceive immigrants. This also assesses how they are settling into and how immigrants respond to these perceptions. Anthropologists further look at this cross-cultural contact's impact in both cultures. According to Horevitz (2009), anthropologists have played a pivotal role in studying immigration theoretically, primarily through a theory of transnationalism. Ernest Ravenstein, an Anglo-American Geographer, is considered the earliest migration theorist who developed Migration Laws in 1889. He published papers that focused on local and international migration in Britain, Europe, and North America between 1876, 1885 and 1889. Ravenstein generalized his findings as 'Laws of Migration' where he concluded that migration was governed by a combination of push and pull factors known as drivers of migration. These factors motivate people to move from one location to another. He also added that most migrants move only a short distance (internal migration) and usually "*towards centres of commerce and industries"* (Rees & Lomax, 2020: 351). He argued that migration was motivated by economic, political, environmental, and social reasons but economic factors are the main factors that promote human mobility. He further proposed the process of absorption, which states that

inhabitants flock into areas of rapid growth. The gaps thus left behind in the city outskirts are filled up by migrants from underdeveloped and remote areas (Rees & Lomax, 2020: 353). Ernest Ravenstein's generalized findings have influenced migration research (Rees & Lomax, 2020: 351).

Figure 2: Castelli perfectly summarised the Migration theory, where she has discussed macro, meso and micro drivers/push and push factors of migration (2018: 3).
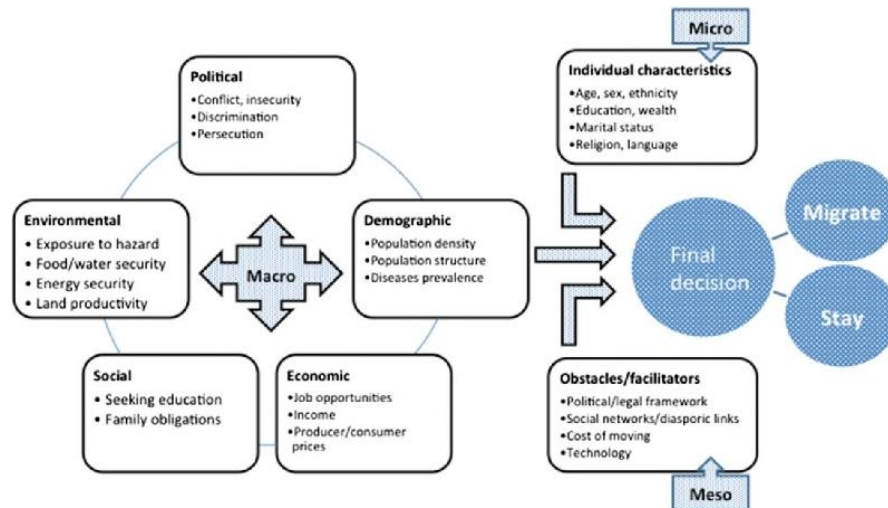
The explanation depicted by the above illustration is that the decision of an individual to migrate is subdivided into macro-elements, meso-elements, and micro-element. It is widely acknowledged in most of the literature that African migrants migrate to South Africa for greener pastures. The migration theory is pivotal to the study because it provides a theoretical lens for further probing push-pull factor analysis, as these are driving factors behind human mobility. However, human mobility away from homelands can be stressful, with psychological implications as the amount of support away from the homeland cannot be compared to that of the homeland.

3.2.1 The Relevance of Migration Theory in the Research Design of this Study

The selection of migration theory as lenses through which migration narratives were collected was suitable for this qualitative case study research. The theory allowed the principal investigator to collect factors that promote African migrants to descend to South African territories continuously. From the collected qualitative data, it was clear that the migration theory argues that humans mainly migrate "towards centres of commerce and industries" (Rees

& Lomax, 2020: 351) and mainly for economic reasons can be validated. The theory was mainly selected to probe more into reasons for migration to South Africa and reasons that motivate African diaspora to come to South Africa.

3.3 Social Network Theory

Jacob Moreno coined the Social Network Theory in the 1930s to understand how people, social groups and organizations interact with each another with their networking spaces. In anthropology, social network theory developed through the work of Bronislaw Malinowski, Claude Levi-Strauss and Alfred Radcliffe-Brown. They conducted ethnographic studies in collaboration with social anthropologists such as Max Gluckman, John Barnes and Clyde Mitchell to better understand social network relationships in Southern Africa, the United Kingdom, and India. Networks, as defined by Borgatti, Everett & Johnson (2018), are a means of thinking about social systems that put much focus on the relationships between entities (individuals) that make up a system (society). These systems are referred to as actors and nodes (links/ties). Nodes contain characteristics/attributes that differentiate these entities. Links/ties, therefore, create an interconnected web that is usually referred to as a network.

The aspects of social network theory include the relationships between individuals, clans, villages, organizations, or nations (Grosser & Borgatti, 2013). Social life is often created by relations and patterns formed by these relations (Marin & Wellman, 2011). Social life is therefore regarded as the building block of a social world. Employing social network theory for this study's development is critical because it provides theoretical lenses for understanding how immigrants negotiate with natives and integrate themselves into societies away from their homeland. Social Network Theory will be fundamental in understanding social ties between African migrants away from the homeland and forming relationships with the native people.

3.3.1 The Relevance of Social Network Theory in the Research Design of the Study

To capture the experiences of African migration in phases of attempting to insert and occupy spaces in Port Shepstone, a predominantly Zulu space ethnically, the theory helped capture means and strategies that African migrants employ to ensure continuity and peaceful existence. The theory helped collect qualitative data that speaks of the relations between migrants and the natives the relations between African migrant workers and business people with the natives. These relations gave an idea of social relations between the migrants and the natives and the

possibilities of conflicts as they often compete within the same space. The qualitative nature of the study allowed participants to give a detailed narrative of their experiences.

3.4 Group Conflict Theory

Group conflict theory originated through the work of Karl Marx, a German philosopher, economist, sociologist, historian, and political theorist who was concerned with the class conflict between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat (Lancee & Pardos-Prado, 2013). Group conflict theory is regarded as one of the most well-established approaches. It is significant in studying behaviour and attitude towards immigrants. Karl Marx theorized that class conflict was caused by a widened gap between the rich and the poor regarding access and distribution. Group conflict theory argues that undesirable attitudes towards another group in society arise from the opinion that these groups threaten some social group members. Group conflict theory foresees that socio-economic distress beings are more likely to express negative attitudes towards migrants due to competition with them for scarce resources such as jobs, essential services, economic benefits, and community services (Lancee & Pardos-Prado, 2013). The ethnic competition for scarce resources, power and status often leads to division and cross-cultural conflicts. With the worsening economic situation in South Africa and the devastating impacts of COVID-19 on the economy, negative attitudes towards immigrants are highly likely to increase.

3.4.1 The Relevance of the Group Conflict Theory in the Research Design of the Study

Group conflict theory, as the last theory, was aimed at analysing how failed the African migrants deal with social relations negotiations as they are the ones who are placed at a disadvantage position. Such data can be accurately presented and described narratively; therefore, qualitative case study research allowed research participants to voice their experiences and the principal investigator to provide a detailed narrative of the research findings. The three theories were chosen because they have a robust connection with migrant experiences in host countries. Migration Theory mainly focuses on factors that promote migration. Therefore, the theory will be significant in understanding factors that push migrants away from their home countries and reasons for the selection of their destination. Social Network Theory focuses on social network relations between different entities and nodes that connect them. Social Network Theory will be pivotal in understanding the web of networks (different actors with different nodes) of social relationships among migrants. Perhaps the community members by which migrants support one another, adjust to foreign environments,

and co-exist with a different node. Lastly, Group conflict theory is critical in understanding why South Africans perceive African migrants as competitors for scarce resources and how power dynamics favour the natives and often operate as a tool for violent attacks on migrants.

3.5 Conclusion

This chapter presented theoretical framework that was used in this study. The three outlined theories were very central to the development of this study and helped in bettering the understanding of collected data.

CHAPTER FOUR:

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

4.1 Introduction

Research methodology is a set of systematic techniques used in research (Igwenagu, 2016). It is a guide to research that clearly outlines how the research will be conducted. This chapter discusses research design, research site, sampling technique, data collection method, data analysis and ethical considerations.

4.2 Research methodology

This study utilized qualitative research methodology as a research method. The significance of the qualitative research approach within social sciences and anthropology is supported by its emphasis on a dynamic, holistic approach and detailed description of human experiences. It allows researchers to collect people's experiences ethnographically, and it puts research participants at the centre of data collection as they lead in narrating their experiences. According to Rahman (2016), one of the advantages of using a qualitative research approach is its ability to yield a thick description of participants' feelings, views, experiences and attached meanings.

The relevance of the qualitative research approach in anthropology lies in its multidisciplinary approach, which compiles together a collection of epistemological viewpoints and its interpretive techniques for a sound knowledge of human experiences (Denzin & Lincoln, 2002). Therefore, a qualitative case study research design was appropriate for this study because the study was about human experiences, experiences of foreign nationals in Port Shepstone outskirts. Creswell (2013: 48) asserts that qualitative research is very relevant in studying problems that cannot be measured, and it enhances the social constriction of knowledge from the views of the researched.

4.3 Research Design

Creswell (2013: 97) defined case study research as a kind of research design in qualitative research *"that may be an object of study, as well as the product of the inquiry"*. Research design is intended at providing an appropriate framework for the study, and it offers a framework that defines the type of data to be collected, sources and procedures to be utilized

for the development of a study (Sileyew, 2019). Creswell (2013: 97) further states that case study research includes studying a case in its real-life context. He further defines *case study research* as a qualitative approach in which the principal investigator investigates a real-life contemporary bounded system/a case. A case study is an empirical research strategy, and it is an intensive study about an individual or a small group of people (Heale & Tywcross, 2017), an organization or a partnership (Creswell, 2013: 98). This case study investigated the experiences of African migrants living in Port Shepstone, a small group of people who are considered as outsiders and foreigners, whose identities are different to those of the majority within the area. The selection of case study as a research design was motivated by the fact that this study dealt with a minority group of people and their daily experiences as they exist within a majority of people who often perceive them as outsiders and threat to their existentiality. Case studies are typically considered a qualitative method (Elman et al., 2016) and are highly utilized in social and life sciences (Heale & Tywcross, 2017). One of the most famous case study types of research in Anthropology is the work of Bronislaw Malinowski amongst the Trobiand Islanders (Creswell, 2013: 98).

4.4 Research Paradigm

This study used an interpretive, social constructivism research paradigm. With the interpretive paradigm, individuals develop a subjective understanding of their experiences to understand better the world they live in (Creswell, 2013: 24). This simple suggest that meanings are different, and realities are multiple. Researchers, therefore, look for complexities of views rather than narrowed meanings. This forces researchers to rely extensively on the participant's views of their participants.

4.5 Research site

A research site or research setting is a physical, social, and cultural site where a researcher conducts the study (Given, 2008). Port Shepstone is the study area. *Port Shepstone* is situated 120km south of Durban. This is under Ray Nkonyeni Municipality at UGU district. The town was founded in 1867 by Sir Theophilus Shepstone. Norwegian immigrants played a pivotal role in developing the area and Marburg, a nearby interior village. The selection of Port Shepstone was motivated by the existing gap in the literature; little has been said about the area, although the area is a commercial heart of Port Shepstone. This study did not warrant gatekeeper clearance as it was not about an institution or an organization. As a principal investigator, I was conducting ethnographic research on individuals. The mentioning of a case

study was a delimitation on its own, or it guided that the study was not going to sample South Africans but research participants who have migrated from other countries I spotted in Port Shepstone. As the principal investigator, this implied that I was to solicit consent forms from research participants, not a gatekeeper clearance. The ethical clearance letter was attached to all data collection instruments.

Figure 3: Map of Port Shepstone (available at bing.com/maps)

4.6 Sampling technique

According to Kirchherr and Charles, snowball sampling is the most commonly utilized sampling technique in medical science, political science, sociology, and anthropology (2018: 1). They further define snowball sampling as a sampling method in which one participant suggests at least one potential interviewee for the researcher. The targeted population in this study were African migrants living in Port Shepstone, KZN. For this study, twenty (20) African migrants were recruited voluntarily through snowball sampling. Kirchherr and Charles (2018: 2) further state that snowball sampling is relevant in a study where a sampling frame cannot be constructed due to a *'difficult-to-reach'* of the targeted population of participants such as illegal migrants drug dealers, and prostitutes. This sampling technique was very suitable for this study as the principal investigator only communicated with a few African migrants' community members in Port Shepstone. The first sample of interviewees suggested other participants.

According to Boddy (2016), qualitative studies about a homogenous population can reach a data saturation level with 20 to 30 participants.

4.6.1 Inclusion

The targeted population is comprised of African migrants residing in Port Shepstone outskirts. Secondly, the study was focused on all African migrants and was not gender exclusive. All foreign cultures and genders stood an equal chance of being purposively snowballed as a recruitment strategy to confirm the sample size that I intended to reach. Snowball sampling refers to identifying an accessible cohort of participants, thereby allowing them to recommend other participants who can help in the development of the study (Sedgwick, 2013). Although snowball sampling was the primary sampling technique for this study, the first five (5) participants were purposively sampled as they played the role of critical informants and helped snowball the other participants who qualified to be interviewed in this study. The five key informants were selected based on convenience; they operated their businesses within the targeted research site. Purposive sampling involves the identification and selection of individuals that are much knowledgeable and experienced in the area of interest (Palinkas et al., 2015). Although the key informants were the entry point to the field, they also consented to participate in this study. Data collection was gathered from all 20 research participants. The sets of possible questions also included demographic details of the participants as means of ensuring that the participants were indeed foreign nationals.

4.6.2 Exclusion

The criteria of data collection excluded South Africans who could have migrated from other provinces to Port Shepstone because the focus of the study was strictly on foreign nationals/ or foreign cultures who migrated from outside of South Africa to South Africa for various purposes. African migrants below the age of eighteen (18) were also not included in the study as they are considered children.

4.7 Data collection methods

Data collection is collecting data from relevant sources to find answers to a research problem (Kabir, 2016). During interviews, an observant of 1,5m distance and wearing the mask was achieved. As the principal investigator, I ensured that I brought new extra face masks to cater to participants who pitched without having masks. The researcher also ensured that a hand sanitiser was available. Cohen (2008) agreed that semi-structured interviews are usually

conducted in qualitative research. She further mentioned that semi-structured interviews involve both interviews and observations. Blandford (2013) asserted that the researcher could study the explicit nature of an experience by asking questions that are not entirely structured but open-ended questions. Semi-structured interviews allow a researcher to probe for more information, mainly open-ended questions. They allow for the collection of people's narratives concerning their real-life experiences. Semi-structured interviews remain a crucial method for developing rapport in ethnographic studies. All responses were written on the data collection instrument. This allowed for recording responses/narratives, which informed data analysis.

4.8 Philosophical Position of the Study

The philosophical position of the study is very significant as it helps shape the research problem and research questions that are fundamental in responding to the challenge at hand. Philosophical assumptions are fundamental in qualitative research as they depict researchers' beliefs during the qualitative enquiry.

4.8.1 Epistemological Position

This philosophical position demands researchers who conduct qualitative research to try and get as close as possible to the research participants (Creswell, 2013: 20). This position holds that subjective evidence is collected from the research participants' views, thus conclusively stating that knowledge can be best obtained and understood from their situations' experiences and views. The principal investigator tried to establish rapport with the participants by engaging with the participants and blending through casual conversations. This ensured that the participants were comfortable and accessible, therefore increasing the possibilities of rich and detailed explanations. The principal investigator ensured that subjective data was collected by avoiding going native with the participants.

4.8.2 Ontological Position

This philosophical position holds that research is driven by multiple realities between the researchers, participants, and the readers of qualitative knowledge (Creswell, 2013: 20). The principal investigator of this study reported the participants' realities in the manner in which they experience and understand them differently. Since data were analysed thematically, it was easy for the principal investigator to present the experiences of the research participants through direct quotations. The researcher presented the collected data objectively, without influencing personal feelings and opinions.

4.9 Advantages of Semi-Structured Interviews

According to Zohrabi semi-structured interviews allow the researcher to probe participants. This is because semi-structured interviews consist of open-ended questions that allow the participants to speak more and openly. He further states that semi-structured interviews can provide rich and in-depth information during data collection. Semi-structured interviews also allow for good interpretative validity (2013: 255). Due to the open nature of questions asked, semi-structured interviews tend to yield a very high response rate from the participants. Lastly, semi-structured interviews are beneficial for exploring and confirming research problems within human societies.

4.10 Data collection plan

Data collection spanned two months. The principal investigator first booked appointments based on the availability of the participants. Therefore, after the appointments were made, data collection commenced on the 27th of July 2021. The last participants were interviewed on the 23rd of September 2021. A maximum of five participants were interviewed per day, with at least two participants per day interviewed.

4.11 Storage of the data, access, and dissemination

All the research data collection instruments will be kept in a safe and secured location in a lockable cupboard in my supervisor's office. Only relevant bodies such as the supervisor and the UKZN research offices access the recordings and transcripts. My research will be accessible through the UKZN Pietermaritzburg library and be regulated by the university library. I am aware that the final product of this research study will remain the intellectual property of the University of Kwa-Zulu Natal. I will inform all participants to request access to the final product through the library, where all literature sources are kept.

4.12 Data analysis

The data was analysed and interpreted thematically. Thematic analysis can be defined as a process of identifying themes within a qualitative dataset (Maguire et al., 2017). Braun and Clarke (2006) argued that thematic analysis provides crucial skills for conducting many other qualitative analysis forms. The thematic analysis identifies key and exciting data that is of importance to the development of the study. The thematic analysis also outlines co-relation in data, making it even easier to do data coding. The relevance of thematic analysis in this study

was very simple. The study was qualitative and was based on qualitative research techniques to understand best the challenges experienced by African migrants in Port Shepstone. The processes I followed in analysing is that I first familiarised myself with the data. Upon the completion of data collection, the principal investigator re-read through all the transcripts, making notes to blend with the data obtained from the participants. Then, generating initial codes - after familiarising with the dataset, the principal investigator commenced with data organization intending to reduce data portions into smaller and easily digestible chunks. Coding involved highlighting key parts of the dataset from all the interviews and giving it labels for content description. Thereafter the process was to search for themes by looking for interesting patterns within the generated codes and fitting them together into themes. This stage involved ensuring that the themes accurately described the dataset. After this process themes were defined by identifying the essence of each theme, eliminating data that did not belong to that particular theme. The last stage was the write-up – whereby after all the data was organized into themes, the principal investigator started to write up an analysis of the collected data. While writing I made sure that I introduced each section with a reminder of research questions, aims, objectives and approaches to data collection. Therefore, the data was linked to the research methodology, literature review, and theoretical framework.

4.13 Ethical consideration

Creswell (2013: 56) states that it is vital for researchers to consider some of the ethical issues that might prevail due and how these issues can be addressed. Ethics in research are crucial for researchers as they explain a good way of conducting research that is not harmful to participants. Ethics in research ensures that the dignity of the research subjects is respected. Ethical considerations are essential in anthropology because anthropological studies are mainly qualitative and rely upon fieldwork. This means that anthropologists are frequently involved with people when conducting research; thus, there is a need for careful measures that ensure that the research does not harm and exploit the participants in any manner.

4.13.1 Recruitment and withdrawal

Principal investigators must disclose the purpose of the study (Creswell, 2013: 57). Participants were recruited and updated that participation in the study is voluntary, that they were not getting paid for participation. As a principal investigator, I did not force them to participate in the study if they were not willing. Their withdrawal from the study was also allowed at any time.

4.13.2 Confidentiality and Anonymity

Participants were given pseudo-names to protect their identities. It was indicated in research ethics that the original names of participants should not be used even if they had given permission.

4.13.3 Informed consent

Creswell (2013: 60) states that the research participants should not be deceived about the nature and the role they are supposed to play in research. The consent form was worded in English. Research participants were encouraged to sign before the data collection session began. The consent form included particulars of my supervisors and Ethical Clearance officers for verification and complaints if participants felt that they were mistreated.

4.13.4 Recruitment

To ensure ethical research Creswell (2013: 57) states that the participants should first sign a consent form which states that the participation is voluntary Participants were snowballed to participate in the study and were told about their role in the study, their rights and that participation was voluntary. The participants were also told that they could exit at any time if they don't feel comfortable about being in the study anymore.

4.13.5 Beneficence

In conceptualising the word beneficence, it refers to avoiding Harm. Hence Creswell (2013: 56) states that researchers must be sensitive towards vulnerable populations, take notes of the cases of imbalanced power relations and try their best not to place their research participants at risk. The harm was avoided through the best articulation of questions to participants, and racist, xenophobic and gender provoking concepts were avoided. I observed their facial expression to read their emotions and allow for breaks where a participant was no longer stable emotionally. Semi-structured interviews were held in closed spaces where the participants were not be exposed to other people.

4.13.6 Confidentiality

It is imperative to ensure that participants' privacy is respected. This can be done by using fictitious names (Creswell, 2013: 59). Confidentiality was popularized to ensure the safety and freedom of participants, whereby all information remained confidential, and participants

remained unknown to the public. Participants were given pseudo-names to protect their identity, and this was communicated and written on the consent form.

4.13.7 Storage

The data was stored in the supervisor's steel cabinet shelf in her office, and access is highly controlled. Only relevant bodies such as my supervisor and the research offices will have access. Data storage ensures the protection of interviewees' true identities addition, it helps in terms of when the data is required as evidence for validation of information if requested in terms of any eventuality by the researchers, examiners, or university officials.

4.13.8 Validity

Zohrabi (2013: 255) asserts that validity concerns whether the research findings are realistic and true and whether the research is evaluating what it is supposed to evaluate. The findings presented in this study were solely collected during the interviews with the participants. Field notes and consent forms containing the participants' information were all kept as means of proving the validity of the study.

4.13.9 Reliability

Zohrabi defines reliability as "consistency, dependability and replicability of the results obtained from a piece of research" (2013: 255). The presented findings in this research are mainly narratives of the participants and are highly subjective. As the principal investigator, I am not affiliated with any members of the sampled population, I stood in an investigator position for the entire data collection process.

4.13.10 Generalizability

The findings of this study cannot apply to African migrants who are living in a different area, e.g., an urban area. This is because urban areas are administered differently from rural areas, which are still under a particular influence of traditional leadership, while urban areas are largely affected by municipal regulations.

4.14 Psychosocial Support

Data collection is not intended to invoke sensitivity. However, if that happens because I am aware that migration is not an easy journey as a student in anthropology, I will inform my supervisors (Dr Zondi and Dr Kgari-Masondo) to arrange debriefing counselling sessions from

the Student Support Services. I commit to observing their body language during data collection to immediately identify if they will need counselling before, during, or after data collection.

4.15 Conclusion

This chapter presented the research methodology that was utilized in conducting this research. Secondly, this chapter also presented ethical considerations, highlighting how the principal investigator protected the participants' identity and how data was collected, stored, and kept safe.

CHAPTER FIVE:

DATA PRESENTATION

5.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses how data was analysed. The data was analysed and interpreted thematically by identifying critical themes within a qualitative dataset (Maguire et al., 2017). Braun & Clarke (2006) maintained that thematic analysis provides crucial skills for conducting many other qualitative analysis forms. The thematic analysis identifies key and interesting data that is of importance to the development of the study. The thematic analysis also outlines co-relation within a dataset, making it even easier to do data coding. The relevance of thematic analysis in this study was unquestionable as the study was qualitative and was based on the utilization of qualitative research techniques to understand best the socio-cultural challenges experienced by African migrants in Port Shepstone.

After data was collected through semi-structured interviews, the data was translated and transcribed. The data was translated because some participants could respond in IsiZulu, although non-eloquently. This was because the participants had spent much time interacting with IsiZulu speaking customers and community members on a day-to-day basis. The principal investigator had to adopt a flexible method of continuing with the interviews, moving between IsiZulu and the English language. Since the principal investigator heavily relied on memorizing some parts of data during the interviews, I transcribed much of the conversations after the interviews, although field notes were also taken. This was done to ensure that not much of the time was spent taking field notes but rather interacting and probing more from the participants. It was also important to establish casual conversations with the participants to create rapport, especially since most of the participants were still living in fear after what had happened in many parts of Port Shepstone during the looting spree. In July 2021, many parts of Kwa-Zulu Natal were affected by looting events motivated by many economic and political factors. Audio recording of the participant's responses was not utilized as the principal investigator felt that the participants would reject participating in the study if they were to be recorded. The alteration of audio recording devices proved to be a correct approach that perfectly matched. The data was collected just after the looting spree for many of the participants.

Face to face semi-structured interviews was conducted to ensure that the research complied with the government regulations. These were one-on-one sessions between the principal investigator and the participant in an open space, outside their workplace or residence.

Disposable masks were provided in cases where a participant pitched without a face mask. The investigator also had a bottle of hand sanitiser, and social distancing was also observed during the interviews.

The findings of this study are shaped by the topic of this investigation which is Probing Socio-Cultural Challenges Experienced by African Migrants in Port Shepstone, Kwa-Zulu Natal. The study's main objective was to investigate migration experiences of African migrants, probing more into socio-cultural challenges experienced by African migrants in peripheral areas of Port Shepstone, KZN. The secondary objectives include recording push and pull factors associated with their decision to migrate, investigating types of social ties and their significance and diasporic relationships amongst them.

Therefore, this chapter presents qualitative data collected from the research participants through semi-structured interviews. Data were collected from twenty (20) African migrants currently living in Port Shepstone. The following themes were generated from the dataset. The negotiating migration, challenges of migrating to South Africa, influences of migration from different African countries, the influence of migrating to South Africa, settling in South Africa, and identifying a habitable and profitable space, socio-cultural challenges experienced by African migrants in Port Shepstone.

5.2. Demographics of Participants

Names of Participants (Pseudo-names)	Country of Origin	Economic Activity
Nathain e	Zimbabwe	Salesman
Gloria	Zimbabwe	Salesman
Taira	Zimbabwe	Salesman
Amos	Mozambique	Spaza Shop Owner
Peter	Zimbabwe	Bricklayer
Kevin	Malawi	Shop Assistant
Carlos	Ethiopia	Spaza Shop Owner
Moses	Malawi	Shop Assistant
John	Malawi	Mechanic
David	Ghana	Salon Owner
King	Zimbabwe	Shop Assistant

Amanda	Malawi	Spaza Shop Owner
Boy	Mozambique	Bricklayer
Ben	Zimbabwe	Spaza Shop Owner
Solomon	Ethiopia	Shop Assistant
Jonathan	Zambia	General worker
Max	Zimbabwe	Bricklayer
Surprise	Zimbabwe	Salesman
Vincent	Congo	General worker
Wendy	Zimbabwe	General worker

Table 2: Demographics of Participants

The demographic representation of research findings indicates that many of the participants come from the Southern African Development Community (SADC) region. These SADC states include Zimbabwe (9), Malawi (4), Zambia (1), Mozambique (2) and the Democratic Republic of Congo (1). These demographics confirm contributions of the migration theory, which state that migration patterns result from the mobility of people from different contexts, regions, countries whose migration patterns are induced by both push and pull factors. The data further depict that migration patterns create job opportunities and economic corridors unavailable in places of origin. This presented data validates critical debates discussed in chapter one, chapter two and those that stem from the migration theory in the third chapter. These chapters have outlined that the ultimate migration drive is to seek better economic opportunities to support families back home through remittances.

While the present data depict economic corridors, which have benefited diasporas in Port Shepstone, the study reveals that participants have secured economic opportunities themselves in the informal economy sector as the government does not regulate this sector. This sector is easy to exploit (accessible corridor of employment) as most African immigrants do not have proper documents that legalize their presence in the country. What is also critical to note from the analysed data is that most participants are self-employed. They make a living through bricklaying, spaza shop ownership, shop assistants, while others are employed as general workers, mechanics, and salespeople, among many professions.

These demographic analyses were necessary because there is a depiction of economic elements of migration. Africans migrate to South Africa solely for economic opportunities. This data portion allowed the principal investigator to reflect on the literature review and theoretical

framework. Faridi (2018) stated that factors associated with the destination areas are usually characterized by positive aspects that encourage and attract people into that location (e.g., job opportunities, better education). Smit (2015) contends that migrants arrive in South Africa hoping for opportunities to pave the way to reconstruct and regain stability. Raveinstein's theory of migration contends that migration is motivated by economic, political, environmental, and social reasons but economic factors are the main factors that promote human mobility. Data collected depicts that African migrant migrate to Port Shepstone for market availability since other competitors from African countries already occupy most urban areas. Secondly, African migrants identify Port Shepstone rural areas as hiding places for government officials in the city who usually demand passports and harass them. Lastly, Port Shepstone rural areas have non-taxable resources such as water and electricity, which makes life much easier for them as they cannot register with the municipalities for such resources in urban areas.

5.2.1. Gender of Participants

Gender of Participants	Total number of Participants per gender
Male	17
Female	3

Table 3: Gender of Participants

The above table depicts that although this study was inclusive to all genders, there are many male migrants in Port Shepstone compared to females. The presentation of these data does not dispute that migration patterns have enhanced females' migration for several socio-economic corridors outside their places of origin.

5.2.2 Estimated Age of Arrival in Port Shepstone

Approximated age of arrival categories	Total number of Participants per category
15-19	0
20-29	16
30-39	4
40+	0

Table 4: Estimated age of arrival in Port Shepstone by migrants

The above table depicts the approximated age of arrival of the participants in Port Shepstone. This data is vital for the following reasons:

- The data indicates that many African migrants fall within the youth bracket, a younger generation still trying to shape their future and make ends meet for themselves and their families.
- Older people are less involved in migration as compared to the younger generation.

The following data is presented in themes derived from the qualitative data gathered from data collection. These themes depict socio-cultural challenges experienced by African migrants in Port Shepstone. The first theme focuses on the negotiation of migration.

5.3 Negotiating migration

Bryceson (2019) discussed in her publication that families usually negotiate other migrations patterns. Other factors contributing to such negotiations are related poverty and other socio-economic challenges that cage families. Study findings revealed that most participants came from nuclear families because respondents stated that they had informed their parents, either mother/father or both, before moving to South Africa. This means that their migration patterns were not out of their will but carried familial responsibility. Nathaine, a salesman who is originally from Zimbabwe, gave me a glimpse of how this happens during a casual conversation on the day of our interview:

.... In my country (Zimbabwe), once you have a child with a girl, you are treated as a husband because both of you have assumed the role of being parents in society. You are bound to get married; we strongly believe that a kid should be raised by both parents under the same roof.

On the same note, Taira mentioned that "I informed my parents; they were excited because they knew that I would finally be able to make more money and support my family". Through such practices, most of the participants in this study come from nuclear families. It should also be noted that most of the participants in this study (9) are also originally from Zimbabwe. For some respondents, negotiating migration with their families was made easy because some of their family members had migrated before them to South Africa.

..... I was joining my elderly sister who has been in this country for many years, my parents were very happy because they knew that we will be able to look after one another", stated Moses, a shop assistant at one of his sister's shops, during our interview.

Although negotiating migration was not a huge challenge for many male respondents, one female respondent Gloria highlighted that it is not an easy task for them especially when one has kids and a husband. She stated,

I first informed my mother, she was happy and did not object to my request, while on the other hand, my mother-in-law objected due to a belief that as a woman, you should stay at home and look after your kids. She later accepted because I was joining my husband, who had migrated to South Africa a year earlier. My mother told me to look after myself and do not forget where I come from.

It was clear from Gloria's statement that migration still has an element of patriarchy attached to it because in some societies women are still perceived as people who should stay behind to look after kids and the rest of the family. This increases the number of male migrants while subjugating women to male dominance and dependency.

5.4 Challenges of migrating to South Africa

The majority of respondents indicated that they had established some network systems that facilitated their arrival and reception in the country. Most of the respondents either had family members who migrated before them to South Africa or relatives and friends who ensured that the migration process was somehow very smooth and not too challenging. Peter, a bricklayer who is originally from Zimbabwe, stated during an interview:

… I also have relatives here (Oshabeni), we are related by blood, they have always been there for me, they supported me a lot, especially with getting a place to stay and creating a strong customer base for me since I was a foreigner and people were still getting used to this idea of living with outsiders in their community, they even introduced me to the late chief who also protected me until people accepted me.

Some respondents came to South Africa through chain migration, they were invited or contacted by their family members who had migrated before them or friends and relatives.

I came here to work as an assistant at one of my sister's shops, she is now in Durban and I am making business this side, some of my brothers are also here in the country, we help each other with an aim of making as much profit as possible", stated Moses during an interview.

For respondents coming from the SADC region, migrating to South Africa was not a massive challenge for them since the distance is much shorter than they are coming from South Africa's

neighbouring countries. For respondents who had to travel a relatively long distance, such as Vincent, originally from the Democratic Republic of Congo, it was a challenging journey, characterized by fear of being stranded in a foreign country without contacts and strong networks.

> *I had to live my country due to ongoing unrest and civil wars, I am here to make money and get proper home for all of us, I am planning to fetch them because my country is bleeding as you always see in the media", stated Vincent during an interview.*

Although some respondents had no contacts coming to South Africa, they hoped that the other foreigners who are originally from their home countries would never desert them. This is corroborated in the words of Surprise during the interview as indicated that: "Zimbabweans are united by the spirit of ubuntu, we strongly believe in brotherhood and sisterhood. I knew that one of my home brothers will help me once I am in South Africa".

5.5 Influences of migration from different African countries

As depicted by the migration theory, migrants have migrated because of pull and push factors. The most prominent reason that motivates people to live in their homelands for different destinations worldwide is socio-economic factors. Lee's migration model denotes that place of origin usually has factors that force people to migrate to other areas (World Atlas, 2020). From an African context, many Africans migrate to different destinations in search of socio-economic opportunities, thus escaping hardships that have dominated many African countries. African migration can be understood through migration theory. It states that human mobility is dictated by varying push and pull factors. All participants identified poverty, deteriorating economy, unemployment, and conflicts such as civil wars as the main reasons that forced them to live in their home countries for South Africa. Participants were asked to narrate reasons that influenced them to move to South Africa. All participants responded by stating that the economic situations of their home countries are the main factors that influenced them to migrate to South Africa. They wanted to earn income to remit those earnings to their families. Remittances have proved to be lifting most African families from the poverty grave. Nathaine, a male salesman who is originally from Zimbabwe, stated during an interview:

> *I am self-employed, I make and sell my art, I left Zimbabwe because of the weaker currency, people have no money to support our businesses in Zimbabwe because of the economic situation in the country.*

Nathaine was backed by his wife Gloria who is also originally from Zimbabwe during the interview who stated that the Zimbabwean economy collapsed a long time ago, for them, migrating to other countries is a must if they are to make it in the business sector. As explicitly put by Gloria:

> *The economy of Zimbabwe is one of the poorest and the weakest in the continent, for people who are self-employed like us, there is no market at all, we must look for options somewhere else.*

Another participant, Carlos who is a spaza shop owner and originally from Ethiopia, a country in East Africa asserted that Ethiopians have a strong affection for the rainbow nation. He maintained that:

> *As someone who is coming from Ethiopia, this country is beautiful and is full of economic opportunities that are not available in my home country, making money in Ethiopia is very difficult.*

Ernest Ravenstein, who coined the early migration theories, argued that migration was driven by a combination of economic, political, and environmental factors. However, the economic factor is usually the main reason for human mobility. All participants were influenced by the economic situations of their home countries to migrate to South Africa. Push and pull factors work collaboratively. Push factors force people away from one country/location to another and pull them into a new country/location (World Atlas, 2020). From Gloria's response, it is noticeable that some migrants are pulled to South Africa by the role of remittances sent back home by migrants who are living in South Africa.

5.6 Influences of migrating to South Africa

For many respondents, choosing South Africa as their next destination was solely based on economic opportunities available in the country and chain migration networks that made it easier for migrants to settle in the country. South Africa has become an economic hub for most African countries. South Africa appears to be a Jerusalem for most African countries; hence most Africans have identified it as their economic destination. Migration theory also explains its pull factors as attractors that pull people from their homelands to a particular foreign destination (Rees & Lomax, 2020: 351). Migrants are pulled to South Africa by the country's robust economy that competes with other top African nations, the political landscape of South Africa that has relaxed regulations of foreigners in the country, and the availability of abundant

opportunities in the informal sector of the economy. Narratives from Nathaine, Gloria, Peter, and Moses revealed that; "South Africa is a very rich country, other African destinations such as Mozambique and Zambia are no longer a viable option to us because of political unrest in these countries". Gloria further stated during the interview that South Africa is very rich and is often perceived as the United States in Africa. She elaborated that:

> *South Africa is very rich, it is like the United States of America in Zimbabwe, it is easy to conduct business here, there is a strong market for informal businesses, a lot of Zimbabweans who came to South Africa when I was still a little girl have big houses now back at home.*

5.7. Settling in South Africa and identifying a habitable and profitable space

Before settling in Port Shepstone, most participants started by arriving at different destinations across the country before navigating towards Port Shepstone. These arrival destinations included Pretoria, Johannesburg, Mpumalanga province and Durban. Amos, a male spaza shop owner who is originally from Mozambique stated during an interview that:

> *I started in Joburg since it is a popular destination, but I realized that there were too many foreigners there and their businesses, so I had to search for an area that is not yet been fully occupied.*

Another interviewee Gloria also raised the same sentiments of what led her to move to Port Shepstone. She spoke

> *When I first arrived in South Africa, I lived in Pretoria because it was closer to home and therefore it was very cheaper that side when I wanted to travel to Zimbabwe. Due to extensive competition, as there are many foreigners on that side who are also doing the same business as mine, I decided to move further from them, that is when I was introduced by some of my church friends to this place.*

Due to extensive competition in bigger cities, migrants are moving to less occupied spaces, such as villages and rural areas. These are areas located in city outskirts, where the government has little to no interference in business activities.

> *It is easy to conduct businesses here since there are no police roaming around the streets that will harass me and take my items and threaten to arrest me, in big cities most of us (African migrants) are getting killed but here it is much safer for us"*, stated Jonathan during the interview.

Smit (2015) antedates that African immigrants perceive South Africa as their new home away from home, either permanently or temporarily. This is confirmed in the words of an interviewee Gloria a female participant who is a mother of two children, a boy, and a girl she mentioned that:

> *... I remember the other day when I was doing the washing for my kids, I picked a spot in the washing line where the sunlight was striking directly at that moment. Later that day, the landlord came by my room and told me to not use that spot again because the other tenants (locals) want the space to be strictly reserved for them. I am sometimes blamed for water shortage, they are complaining that I do the washing every day, failing to understand that I have kids. I only feel safe when I am in my room, I have accepted that this will never be home, especially for my kids.*

Although participants agreed to the fact that finding a settlement was not a challenging task, the sad reality was that the spaces they are living in are unhabitable because of the treatment they often receive from the landlords and other local tenants.

Nathaine, who is married to Gloria also stated during an interview:

> *It is very hard to get a room to rent because some of the landlords do not rent out to foreigners who do not have proper documents. Another challenge for us is that we cannot buy a site to build our homes here, especially people like us (him and his wife) who have kids to raise properly in a place called home and not just a house.*

5.8 Socio-cultural Challenges experienced by African migrants in Port Shepstone

African migrants face challenges daily. The scapegoating hypothesis, a theory by the HSRC that aim to theorize xenophobia, antedates that the hatred and rejection of African migrants in South Africa is due to limited resources such as employment opportunities, housing, and other essential services (Maina et al., 2011: 3). There is an emergence of the perception that migrants take resources meant for the locals. Many migrants live in fear daily, as opined by an interviewee Peter during the interview. Some participants knew that migrating to a foreign country will always be accompanied by some socio-cultural challenges prior to migrating, either within the community or in their jobs (Interviews: Peter, King). The majority of participants asserted that although they have not yet faced any form of physical violence, they have been called all kinds of derogatory names (Interviews: Carlos, Wendy, Boy).

5.8.1 Derogatory labels as means of expressing xenophobia

All participants homologated that they have experienced xenophobia, either physically or verbally. Respondents agreed that they are all called similar derogatory names, irrespective of their country of origin. As clearly put by the interviewee Peter, a male bricklayer who is originally from Zimbabwe: "I am always called *ikwerekwere*, but it does not matter anymore, I have accepted that I will always be called with such names as long as I am not in my home country".

Another participant, Carlos, a spaza shop owner, also asserted that they have learned to accept and live with xenophobia under the terms and conditions that it is not extreme compared to other parts of the country, such as Johannesburg. He said that;

> *I have not experienced any extreme kind of xenophobia except being called with all these kinds of nasty names such as ikwerekwere or izay'zayi, it does not matter anymore, if we are not attacked.*

The same sentiments were echoed by an informant John, a mechanic who is originally from Malawi who said: "Some community members do not have a problem with us, but some individuals always say nasty stuff like amakwerekwere ayanuka, saying we must go back home*". Phake (2016) added in his study that SAPS use sniffing methods when identifying African foreigners because of a belief that foreigners have a terrible smell. Hlanga (2017) asserts that migrants are constantly exposed to some form of stigma, marginalization, and discrimination. It was evident from the findings that xenophobia in rural areas is not extreme and does not resort to violence in most cases. However, African migrants must live with the sad reality that they will always be called all sorts of derogatory and dehumanizing names. However, Peter, a bricklayer who arrived in 2008, coming from Zimbabwe, made a crucial statement about the changing nature of xenophobia in South Africa.

> *When I first arrived in South Africa in 2008, people were very xenophobic, I fought with them on so many occasions in self-defense but now that the presence of foreigners in their area is growing rapidly, they have accepted us, I have even made so many friends here, we are like brothers and sisters.*

Chetty and Sherefedin (2018:158) asserted that hatred towards African migrants in South Africa has resulted in many immigrant entrepreneurs becoming victims of xenophobic attacks. African migrants who arrived in Port Shepstone around 2008 when xenophobic violence

dominated in key cities such as Johannesburg and Durban also faced some forms of xenophobic attacks in Port Shepstone. However, as time went by, and the number of foreigners started growing rapidly. People started to accept the reality that they must learn to co-exist with foreigners in their homeland. Participants who arrived later tend to experience an improved society that does not violently attack foreigners, although they still utter some derogatory names. As echoed by Carlos during the interview; "I have not experienced any extreme kind of xenophobia except being called ikwerekwere or izayizayi".

5.8.2 Competition for scarce resources with the locals

The Group conflict theory antedate that socio-economic distress society is likely to react discriminatory towards migrants due to competition with them for minimal resources such as jobs, housing, and other resources (Lancee & Pardos-Prado, 2013). Claassen (2015:10) asserted that the competition for job opportunities and housing between natives and immigrants increases xenophobia, while Solomon and Kosaka (2013:5) also assert that xenophobia is highly likely to break out in poverty areas and unemployment are rampant. South Africans violently attack African migrants under the argument that they *(South Africans)* are protecting their jobs and entitlements (Serumaga-Zake, 2017:17). Peter continued to comment on his experiences of conducting a business competing with the local bricklayers:

> *... As a foreign bricklayer, I am always accused by the local bricklayers of stealing their jobs and customers, I always clash with them, the situation is very tough for me but understandable at the same time. People love me because I am not too expensive, I always dedicate time and effort to my work, so I end up attracting a lot of customers.*

Phake (2016) asserted that xenophobia as a stigma had been adopted by South Africans when they could not find solutions to their problems such as increasing unemployment, crime, and human trafficking. With the increasing unemployment in the country and government failures in providing essential services, South Africans often tend to place African immigrants who are making a living for themselves through various means in South Africa and benefiting from its resources as scapegoats (HSRC, 2008). This is explicitly put by the statement from an interviewee Amanda, a spaza shop owner from Malawi:

> *Most of our so-called customers do not pay us. They do not pay us as per agreement when asking for our money, they tell us that we are foreigners, they call us with all sorts of names, if we keep on coming back to ask for our money, they tell us that they will*

send amaphara to kill us. I have witnessed a lot of people like me (African foreigners) getting killed and killers getting away with it because some of us do not even have papers, we are in this country illegally".

This statement was further supported by another interviewee Ben, a Zimbabwean spaza shop owner who stated that:

Some of the customers do not want to pay us, they tell us that this is their country, they will report us to the police because we do not have papers. Amaphara looted our stores around 2008-2012, but this is no longer happening, this was an issue because we were still new in the area.

The government failed to properly manage South African borders and control the flow of migrants into the country is used as a tool for exacerbating xenophobia in many parts of the country. Many South Africans have now scapegoated to imputing African migrants for the state's issues. This is well articulated in the words of Solomon, a shop assistant from Ethiopia.

Some customers take goods on credit and do not pay back for the products, when you ask for your money, they will respond very rude, saying those xenophobic words. If you do not agree to give them on credit anymore, they tell you directly that they will loot and burn down your shop.

Xenophobia is not merely an attitude or hatred but includes actions of violence that result in damage to property, bodily harm, and loss of life (Maina et al, 2011: 2). Many African migrants have had their goods looted from their stores, if not, they have received threats from South Africans who do not want to honour their debts. King during the interview mentioned the same views by stating: "Some of our customers do not want to pay us, they tell us that this is their country, and they will report us to the police because we do not have papers". On the same, not some African migrants who arrived early in Port Shepstone indicate that they have witnessed the looting of their stores. Some African migrants have experienced the killings of other foreigners around Port Shepstone. This is evidenced in the words of Nathaine during an interview:

…. When asking for our money, they tell us that we are foreigners, they call us with all sorts of names…I have witnessed a lot of people like me getting killed and killers getting away with it because some do not even have papers.

5.8.3 Ramifications of Language barrier for African migrants

Perspectives of the Conflict Theory revealed that migration patterns have led to victimization and stigmatization of diasporas and migrants. These are elements of being discriminated against and not wanted by those who believe they belong in that geographical space. From the interviews, it was clear that language is often used to define an outsider within a society. Moreover, constant mocking and judgement of African migrants might be due to the language barrier. This often creates a corridor for acculturation. This is because they are indirectly forced to speak the language of the majority for social engagements and business purposes.

5.8.3.1 Language barrier as a parameter for othering African migrants

Kgari-Masondo & Masondo (2019: 87) asserted that much of the attention to the growing Afro-phobia in South Africa should be paid to language as migrants are always susceptible to stigmatization, marginalization, and discrimination because of speaking a foreign language in South African soils. During the analysis, the data study shows African migrants are discriminated against and labelled with all these prejudiced terms such as *amakwerekwere* and *amazay'zayi* because of failure to master any South African languages. This is summed up by an interview with Max, a bricklayer from Malawi: *... Sometimes when I am speaking my home language with my friends or over the phone, they will laugh at me as if I am making a joke, it is painful because we (foreigners) are also humans. Some of my customers even laugh at me for trying to speak IsiZulu, they often call me izay'zayi but I always choose to be silent.*

David, a Ghanaian salon owner also stated that much of the discrimination is always projected towards them whenever something bad happens but when they do something, they are never applauded. He said:

... When something is stolen where I stay, you will hear them (local tenants) saying such things did not happen before, but now that amakwerekwere are living in the property, their stuff goes missing".

It was clear from the research findings that foreigners are often judged, discriminated against, marginalized, and stigmatized against based on their language. Language is used as a parameter for treating the minority as others. Siziba (2014) contended that the post-apartheid South Africa had used language to mark boundaries and exclude African foreigners who could not eloquently speak any of South African indigenous languages. The term "*amakwerekwere"* is

mainly projected to Africans who speak other African '*stranger*' languages. This group of African migrants predominately originate from impoverished African countries and often *"symbolizes lack of enoughness"* (Siziba, 2014: 174). They contribute to the development of South Africa. The data analysed suggests the contrary is that their country's economic development happens through them employing some members of the community to work as shop assistants. For example, this takes place in their spaza shops, and they can sell their goods on credit (this minimizes the number of people who end up borrowing money from loan sharks).

5.8.3.2. Language barrier as a corridor to acculturation

Acculturation is defined as how psychological and cultural changes occur due to contact between people of different cultures and their members (Berry, 2017). Acculturation usually occurs when an individual member from a minority group constantly interacts with people from the majority culture (Blume, 2013). This process is used to adapt through the adoption of the language, dress code, diet, topics of conversation, approach to religious worship, marriage patterns (Bhui & Gavrilovic, 2012). As argued by Nathaine during the interview *"There is a slight difference in diet, lot of food that we eat at home (Zimbabwe) is locally produced while here a lot of products are imported from other countries"*.

Gloria also stated during the interview that

> *there is a difference in some items such as bread and meat. A lot of meat that we eat at home is locally produced. Juices are also different, if I were to come back with it and make it for you, you will instantly feel the difference.*

Although diet is one example through which African migrants are accultured into a dominant culture, the majority of participants homologated to the fact that a language barrier was a central challenge for them as they are forced to constantly interact with their Zulu speaking customers. To overcome this barrier, they were forced to adapt through the adoption of the Isizulu language, which led to acculturation.

> *When we speak our home languages, they often laugh at us, they will demand your services using their home languages so we are forced to speak Zulu so that we will be able to effectively communicate with them"*, added the participant, King during the interview.

Language is one huge corridor through which most individual members of a particular culture are accultured to a way of living of the majority within a territory. As humans are constantly and frequently engaged in deterritorialization and reterritorialization, it is clear that the process of entering a territory as a minority group is accompanied by a process of acculturation. As opined by Max one of the participants

> *… Sometimes when I am speaking my home language with my friends or over the phone, they will laugh at me as if I am making a joke, it is painful because we (foreigners) are also humans. Some of my customers even laugh at me for trying to speak IsiZulu, they often call me izay'zayi but I always choose to be silent'',*

5.9 Psychosocial Support: Copying mechanisms and support systems available to African migrants and diasporas at Port Shepstone

It was evident from the interviews that African migrants heavily rely on one another for support. Due to similar experiences that all African migrants are exposed to, they have developed powerful social ties. This is translated from the network theory that this study employed to learn how diasporas and migrants cope in host countries. This study revealed that although much of the support is received within the group, other notable structures include multicultural churches and traditional leadership, which have maximized the needed support.

5.9.1 Social ties as a support system for the African diaspora

Research findings revealed that African diasporas and migrants continue to receive several hardships in receiving countries. This study revealed that rural communities have contributed to such hardships for diasporas and migrants who have located themselves at Port Shepstone for various economic opportunities. Data analysis analysed through the network theory revealed that these diasporas/migrants have established psychosocial ties, which comes in the form of protecting each other from any form of attacks that they get from those rejecting them in their geographical errors. Another psychosocial tie comes in the form of sharing food and residential areas while trying to rehabilitate themselves from victimization and xenophobic threats that some South Africans project at them. Due to marginalization and exclusion from society, African migrants are bonded together by similar experiences of being called derogatory names and exploited and harassed when conducting their businesses. Therefore, social ties between all African migrants who participated in the study are formulated based on

commonalities in migration experiences, perceptions by the receiving community, culture shocks, and day-to-day challenges.

5.9.2 The role of multicultural churches and traditional leaders in the provision of support to African migrants

Although African migrants can support one another in overcoming all sorts of challenges that they face daily, the support that multicultural churches provide has been one of the strongest and most consistent support systems for African migrants. Naidoo (2021:1) states that multicultural churches such as Anglican and Pentecostal churches that were crucial during the Apartheid era are again demonstrating a huge potential in providing support to African migrants in SA by providing creating racially integrated spaces with a diversity of racial and cultural variations. Most of the participants highlighted the amount of support they have received from the catholic churches they have attended. "We connect a lot via the church, that is where a strong support is coming from for many of us when we are facing any challenge", stated Nathaine during the interview. Gloria also stated during the interview, "I have even received financial support from some of the people that I go to church with". Multi-cultural churches go beyond spiritual enrichment and provide emotional to financial support to many of the African migrants.

The participants were dwelling in rural areas that are mainly administered by traditional leaders and ward councillors. However, some participants like Peter noted the significant role of traditional leaders in offering protection and accommodation.

> *I received amazing support from many traditional leaders in the area including the Inkosi Lushaba, especially when I wanted accommodation. He ensured that I was offered a place to rent and often came to the rescue whenever I had clashed with some of the locals and competitors.*

5.10 Conclusion

The collected data revealed that the participants settled in Port Shepstone for many reasons. Firstly, they settled in the area because of municipal by-laws that pushed them away from the city centres. Secondly, they settled in the area because of little competition with the other African migrants. Thirdly, African migrants have been constantly attacked and killed in bigger cities, but there are fewer cases of xenophobic attacks in Port Shepstone. African migrants face many challenges in the area, such as being called derogatory names, competition for scarce

resources with the locals and language barriers. They are therefore forced to unite and support one another to ensure continuity. Although they are kept together by strong social ties, multi-cultural churches and traditional leaders are community structures that also support African migrants in Port Shepstone.

CHAPTER SIX:

DISCUSSION, CONTRIBUTIONS, RECOMMENDATIONS AND THE CONCLUSION

6.1 Introduction

This study was about the experiences of African migrants living in Port Shepstone. The study's primary objectives were to investigate migration experiences of African migrants, probing more into socio-cultural challenges experienced by African migrants in peripheral areas of Port Shepstone, KZN. Secondly, the study aimed at recording push and pull factors associated with their decision to migrate and, lastly, investigating types of social ties and their significance and diasporic relationships amongst them. This study was shaped by three theoretical lenses: migration theory, social network theory, and group conflict theory. Anthropologists have heavily utilized these theories in understanding human behaviour in cross-cultural contact settings. This was a qualitative case study inquiry. This chapter offers discussions, contributions, recommendations, and conclusions that were generated from the collected qualitative data. The chapter unfolds by focusing on the review of the study, thereafter, the summary of research findings, then it will be contributions of the study, recommendations that stems from findings of the study, reflections on the study and the last part of the chapter will be the concluding remarks.

6.2 Review of the Study

This qualitative case study research aimed to research the socio-cultural challenges that African migrants experience in Port Shepstone. The study was conducted in the area of Port Shepstone. It included a sample size of twenty (20) African migrants living in the area. The research was outlined as follows to achieve the aims and objectives of the study:

Chapter One: This chapter introduced the background of the study, problem statement, rationale of the study, aims and objectives, key questions to be asked and the definition of key concepts used in the study.

Chapter Two: This chapter presented a review of the literature. The reviewed literature focused on the historical overview of migration patterns globally and locally, deterritorialization and reterritorialization, migration, and experiences of African diaspora across the African continent and locally, socio-cultural challenges of African migrants in South

Africa, xenophobia, and its theorization, and lastly, the issue of language. From the reviewed literature, it was clear that African migrants experience some challenges in South Africa, ranging from hatred due to language and origin. African migrants are also exploited and harassed by government officials because of their inability to provide relevant documents such as passports and work permits.

Chapter Three: The chapter dealt with theoretical frameworks. Migration theory, social network theory and group conflict theory were used as lenses through which experiences of African migrants living in Port Shepstone can be understood.

Chapter Four: The chapter dealt with the research methodology of the study. This was a qualitative case study research that used an interpretive research paradigm. The study was conducted in Port Shepstone. Twenty (20) African migrants in the area were part of the snowballed participants. The data was collected through semi-structured interviews. The chapter also presented the philosophical position of the study and the advantages of using semi-structured interviews. The chapter also presented a data collection plan, ethical considerations, and analysis of data through thematic analysis.

Chapter Five dealt with how data was presented, analysed, and interpreted. The data collected through semi-structured interviews was sorted, coded, grouped into themes, analysed, and interpreted. The study consisted of twenty (20) African migrants. The aim was to understand the socio-cultural challenges experienced by African migrants in Port Shepstone.

Chapter Six: The last chapter dealt with concluding the study by providing an executive summary of the main findings, contributions of the study, recommendations, reflections, and the review of the study.

6.3 Summary of research findings

The key research findings are summarized below:

6.3.1 Socio-Cultural Challenges Experienced by African Migrants in Port Shepstone

From the collected data, it was clear that African migrants have faced many challenges in Port Shepstone. The participants outlined many challenges ranging from the issue of accommodation and hatred from local tenants, being called with derogatory labels, unhealthy competition for resources with the locals and issues of the language barrier. Although there are several challenges as highlighted by the participants, advantages include the fact that xenophobia does not spiral to physical violence, there are no municipal bylaws since the area

is rural. Competition is minimal since most African migrants are still mainly concentrated in urban areas and key cities.

6.3.2 Derogatory labels as means of expressing xenophobia

Chetty and Sherefedin asserted that hatred towards African migrants in South Africa has resulted in many immigrant entrepreneurs becoming victims of xenophobic attacks (2018:158). All participants had experienced some form of xenophobia, either verbally or physically. They are called derogatory terms such as *ikwerekwere, izay'zayi,* while some have been dehumanized with sentiments such as *Amakwerekwere ayanuka.* The participants asserted that they have come to terms with the fact that they will be called all sorts of names as they are not in their home country. This is summarised in the interview with Carlos who said:

> *I have not experienced any extreme kind of xenophobia except being called with all these kinds of nasty names such as ikwerekwere or izay'zayi, and it does not matter anymore, as long as we are not attacked.*

6.3.3 Competition for scarce resources with the locals

Claassen (2015: 10) asserted that the competition for job opportunities and housing between natives and immigrants increases xenophobia, while Solomon & Kosaka (2013: 5) also asserts that xenophobia is highly likely to break out in poverty areas and unemployment are rampant. Some of the participants asserted that the locals have accused them of stealing their jobs and customers. Some participants stated that some local customers take goods on credit and do not pay back as agreed. Some participants who are spaza shop owners have had their shops looted by the locals and threatened them if they are questioning their evil acts.

> *As a foreign bricklayer, I am always accused by the local bricklayers of stealing their jobs and customers, and I constantly clash with them. The situation is very tough for me but understandable at the same time. People love me because I am not too expensive, I always dedicate time and effort to my work, so I end up attracting many customers (Interview: Peter).*

6.3.4 Language barrier as a parameter for othering African migrants

Kgari-Masondo & Masondo (2019: 87) asserted that much of the attention to the growing Afro-phobia in South Africa should be paid to language as migrants are always susceptible to

stigmatization, marginalization, and discrimination because of speaking a foreign language in South African soils. Most participants have been discriminated against and labelled with pejorative terms because they failed to master any South African native languages. Most participants stated that they had been mocked for speaking their home languages. The findings indicated that African migrants are often judged, discriminated against, marginalized, and stigmatized against based on their language. Language is therefore used as a parameter for treating the minority as others.

> *... Sometimes, when I speak my home language with my friends or over the phone, they will laugh at me as if I am making a joke. It is painful because we (foreigners) are also humans. Some of my customers even laugh at me for trying to speak IsiZulu, they often call me izay'zayi, but I always choose to be silent (Interview: Max).*

6.3.5 Language barrier as a corridor to acculturation

Acculturation usually occurs when an individual member from a minority group constantly interacts with people from the majority culture (Blume, 2013). The language was highlighted as a corridor through which most of the participants submerged into a dominant culture within the area. The other aspects of culture, such as diet, did not indicate any huge differences, while language was the central aspect of boundaries between migrants and natives. Data analysis also revealed that language is a source of vulnerability that immigrants and diasporas have endured in host/foreign countries. King an informant explicitly put this issue.

> *When we speak our home languages, they often laugh at us, they will demand your services using their home languages, so we are forced to speak Zulu so that we will be able to communicate with them effectively.*

6.3.6 The role of psychosocial ties as a benefit to diaspora and migrants during trying times

Data analysis analysed through the network theory revealed that these diasporas/migrants have established psychosocial ties, which comes in the form of protecting each other from any form of attacks that they get from those rejecting them in their geographical errors. Another psychosocial tie comes in the form of sharing food and residential areas while trying to rehabilitate themselves from victimization and xenophobic threats that some South Africans project at them. Due to marginalization and exclusion from society, African migrants are

bonded together by similar experiences of being called derogatory names and exploited and harassed when conducting their businesses.

6.4 Contributions of the Study

This study contributes the following to the existing body of literature:

- The research findings indicate a growing trend of African migrants moving away from urban cities due to municipal bylaws towards rural areas where there are no municipal bylaws.

- The findings also indicate that the experiences of African migrants in urban and rural areas are somehow different. Rural areas are not as hostile as urban areas, where cases of xenophobic violence tend to dominate the most.

- In rural areas of Africa migrants can build homes because of the less hostile ethos that exist as compared to the urban context.

- As such rural areas are becoming homes for African migrants who do not have legal papers as it is easy to hide in such settlements without being discovered by the law officials.

- There are psychosocial ties that bind the African migrants as 'others' – those who are vilified, discriminated against. These ties developed their psychosocial support structure among them – providing each other shelter, food, protection from harm. And financial support.

- In rural areas most locals practice the values of ubuntu towards the African migrants – they show love, respect, care, hospitality, social justice and allow them to even participate in the local issues. As illustrated by Peter one of the African immigrants who mentioned traditional leaders who offered protection and accommodation to them:

  > *I received amazing support from many traditional leaders in the area including the Inkosi Lushaba, especially when I wanted accommodation. He ensured that I was offered a place to rent and often came to the rescue whenever I had clashed with some of the locals and competitors.*

6.5 Recommendations and Way forward

This anthropological study speaks to the issue of borders within the African continent which have caused divisions amongst Africans and resulted in stigmatization and exclusion of

Africans within the African continent. The erected border gates are the leading cause of fragmentation and division. They exclude some Africans within the African continent, especially African migrants from underdeveloped African countries. The level of prejudice projected to African migrants by South Africans is incomparable to the level of prejudice projected to other non-African migrants who are making a living for themselves in South Africa. South Africa comprises a diverse population of migrants who descends from across the globe, aiming to claim spaces for themselves and fully integrate into our societies. Unlikely, African migrants from underdeveloped countries are always on the receiving end of xenophobic violence. African migrants call for unity amongst Africans to accomplish the *'United States of Africa'* dream within the African continent.

This study concludes by recommending that the African continent be the socio-economic hub of all those born in Africa. This will be approved if all heads of States remove border gates that were colonially imposed to divide Africa and allow all Africans to migrate freely for economic opportunities without being socio-culturally excluded or categorized as a trespasser that needs to be apprehended for illegal trespassing. This act will be the practical application of decolonization in Africa as the current debates in academia and anthropology navigate how decolonisation can occur. This study is a springboard on how migration issues in the diaspora can be managed to ensure peace, harmony, and economic development in Africa. Secondly, the adoption of one language that will enable Africans to communicate effectively will play a key role in minimizing xenophobic violence within the African continent.

Many cases of xenophobia are usually determined based on failing to correctly pronounce some of the Zulu or any South African words. Introducing a continental language will break down the barrier of ineffective communication between Africans within the African continent, thus acting as a unifying element that will bring together Africans from different ethnicities. There this study proposes a pilgrimage towards "buntulising" African diasporic migration – where migrants will be humanised in the hosts' countries and treated with love, care, hospitality, respect, and are allowed to freely participate in the nation-building and economic development of South Africa in line with the democratic principles that our country purports (Chimbunde & Kgari-Masondo, 2020).

6.6 Reflections on the study

This study proved to be anthropological in its scope. It prioritized studying migration and diaspora as critical concepts in anthropology and gathered themes that depict experiences of diasporas and immigrants in anthropology. Embodied theoretical frameworks and qualitative research methods enhanced the anthropological contribution in these interrelated concepts of diaspora and migrants. This study achieved research objectives as well study questions. Research findings are contributed as the experience of diasporas and migrants in Port Shepstone, and their experiences should not be generalized as the experience of others in rural communities. Scholars are permitted to make inferences to broaden their scope for further research.

6.6.1 Implications for further studies

I suggest that other researchers look at the experiences of African migrants across different settlement types as migrants' experiences tend to differ as they move across different areas, e.g., experiences of African migrants in urban areas are different to those that are living in rural areas as rurality is still rooted in the *Ubuntu* spirit. Researchers should further look at the experiences of African migrants living in villages, farms, under chiefdoms etc. Future research should also consider gendered experiences of African migrants as there seems to be a difference, e.g., some female African migrants end up engaging in sexual activities with the native man to make ends meet for themselves; what about males?

6.7 Conclusion

Research findings presented experiences of migrants and Diasporas in Port Shepstone in the Province of KwaZulu-Natal. This particular research revealed drivers/push and pull factors that have encouraged Diasporas and migrants to advance to South Africa. The findings revealed that South Africa is full of economic possibilities. These possibilities include the economic wealth of rural communities through which these diasporas and migrants have started tuck-shops to generate earnings are remittance in their families back home. This study further noted adversities that are daily encountered by Diasporas and migrants due to not being identified as South Africans. Research findings revealed that while drivers of migrations are meant to allow Africans to escape poverty and other economic hardships, people in recipient countries are not at all welcoming. They use derogatory names to discriminate against African migrants in South Africa. The term *amakwerekwere'* has been inserted into the minds of African migrants and forced them to accept that this is a culture shock that they must live with throughout their stay in this country.

On the other hand, this study revealed that in rural areas like Port Shepstone the hostility is better than what literature depicts about scenarios of xenophobia in an urban area. Some of the participants interviewed in this study like Peter revealed how chiefs and some community leaders supported African diasporic immigrants with accommodation and protection. This indicates that there is the hope of fighting xenophobia since currently in academia there are debates about decolonisation and such discussions will enforce supporting positive actions revealed in this study and ensure that soon xenophobia will be the story of the past. Therefore, the study proposes that it is important as the whole globe discusses issues of peace, that they entrench the values of *ubuntu* as part of the United Nations constitutions to safeguard peace and fight xenophobic attacks and treatments.

The theoretical framework helped us develop a better understanding of the motivations of migration, experiences of African migrants in key city outskirts and rural areas, and how such challenges are dealt with daily. The research design gave us a clear picture of their experiences as semi-structured interviews allowed participants to speak broadly about their day-to-day experiences as outsiders in Port Shepstone societies. Recommendations made by the study include the collapsing of borders so that Africans will embrace each other and stop fighting over resources that they should share under being African. This study concludes that the collapsing of borders will halt hatred and discriminations that most South Africans have towards Diasporas and migrant dwellers in South Africa. The collapse of borders will stimulate economic flows that benefit all Africans and thus realize or deepen the African Renaissance Agenda.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A: Humanities and Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee (HSSREC) Ethical Clearance

UNIVERSITY OF KWAZULU-NATAL ™
INYUVESI YAKWAZULU-NATALI

11 May 2021

Mr Mishack Siphosenkosi Dlamini (216000453)
School of Social Sciences
Pietermaritzburg Campus

Dear Mr Dlamini,

Protocol reference number: HSSREC/00002697/2021
Project title: Migration and Diaspora: A Case Study Probing Socio-cultural Challenges Experienced by African Migrants in Port Shepstone, Kwa-Zulu Natal
Degree: Masters

Approval Notification – Expedited Application

This letter serves to notify you that your application received on 26 March 2021 in connection with the above, was reviewed by the Humanities and Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee (HSSREC) and the protocol has been granted **FULL APPROVAL**.

Any alteration/s to the approved research protocol i.e. Questionnaire/Interview Schedule, Informed Consent Form, Title of the Project, Location of the Study, Research Approach and Methods must be reviewed and approved through the amendment/modification prior to its implementation. In case you have further queries, please quote the above reference number. PLEASE NOTE: Research data should be securely stored in the discipline/department for a period of 5 years.

This approval is valid until 11 May 2022.
To ensure uninterrupted approval of this study beyond the approval expiry date, a progress report must be submitted to the Research Office on the appropriate form 2 - 3 months before the expiry date. A close-out report to be submitted when study is finished.

All research conducted during the COVID-19 period must adhere to the national and UKZN guidelines.

HSSREC is registered with the South African National Research Ethics Council (REC-040414-040).

Yours sincerely,
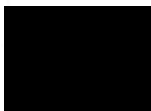
Professor Dipane Hlalele (Chair)

/dd

Humanities and Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee
Postal Address: Private Bag X54001, Durban, 4000, South Africa
Telephone: +27 (0)31 260 8350/4557/3587 **Email:** hssrec@ukzn.ac.za **Website:** http://research.ukzn.ac.za/Research-Ethics

Founding Campuses: ■ Edgewood ■ Howard College ■ Medical School ■ Pietermaritzburg ■ Westville

INSPIRING GREATNESS

Appendix B: Information Sheet

Master of Social Science-Anthropology
Researcher: Mishack Siphosenkosi Dlamini

Student Number: 216000453

Telephone number: 073 8182 920

Email address: 216000453@stu.ukzn.ac.za

Co-Supervisor: Dr Maserole Kgari-Masondo

Office Telephone number: 031 260 2059

Email address: Kgarimasondo@ukzn.ac.za

Supervisor: Dr Balungile Zondi

Office Telephone number: 033 260 5289

Email address: zondil4@ukzn.ac.za

Dear Respondent,

Information Sheet

I, Mishack Siphosenkosi Dlamini, a Masters student in Anthropology, in the School of Social Sciences, University of KwaZulu-Natal, Pietermaritzburg Campus, invite you to participate in my research project entitled 'Migration and Diaspora: A Case Study Probing Socio-cultural Challenges Experienced by African Migrants in Port Shepstone, Kwa-Zulu Natal'.

The primary objective of the study is to investigate migration experiences of African migrants, probing more into socio-cultural challenges experienced by African migrants in Port Shepstone, KZN. The other involve the collection of reasons behind socio-cultural challenges

and how these challenges can be mitigated. The secondary objectives include the recording of push and pull factors associated with their decision to migrate, and to investigate types of social ties and their significance and diasporic relationships amongst them.

Your participation in this project is voluntary. You may refuse to participate or withdraw from the project at any time with no negative consequence. There will be no monetary gain from participating in these interviews. I will maintain confidentiality and anonymity of records identifying you as a participant in this study.

If you have any questions or concerns about participating in this study, please contact me or my supervisors at the numbers and emails listed above.

It should take you not more than an hour to complete the interviews. I hope you will take the time to participate.

Sincerely,
M.S Dlamini

_____   _____   _____

Signature of Researcher   *Date*   *Place*

Ethics contact details are as follows:

HUMANITIES & SOCIAL SCIENCES RESEARCH ETHICS ADMINISTRATION

Research Office, Westville Campus

Govan Mbeki Building

Private Bag X 54001
Durban
4000

KwaZulu-Natal, SOUTH AFRICA

Tel: 27 31 2604557- Fax: 27 31 2604609

Email: HSSREC@ukzn.ac.za

Appendix C: Consent Form

Master of Social Science-Anthropology
Researcher: Mishack Siphosenkosi Dlamini

Student Number: 216000453

Telephone number: 073 8182 920

Email address: 216000453@stu.ukzn.ac.za

Co-Supervisor: Dr Maserole Kgari-Masondo

Office Telephone number: 031 260 2059

Email address: Kgarimasondo@ukzn.ac.za

Supervisor: Dr Balungile Zondi

Office Telephone number: 033 260 5289

Email address: zondil4@ukzn.ac.za

<u>Consent</u>

I_____ have been informed about the study entitled Migration and Diaspora: A Case Study Probing Socio-cultural Challenges Experienced by African Migrants in Port Shepstone, Kwa-Zulu Natal.

- **I understand the purpose and procedures of the study.**
- **I have been given an opportunity to answer questions about the study and have had answers to my satisfaction. I consent to the use of a recording device for my interview.**
- **I declare that my participation in this study is entirely voluntary and that I may withdraw at any time without affecting any of the benefits that I usually am entitled to.**

- **I have been informed that my identity will be kept confidential and pseudo-names will be used in any correspondence.**
- **I have been informed that this study will not include tape-recording devices.**
- **If I have any questions or concerns about the legitimacy of the study, I can make use of the information provided above about supervisors. Alternatively, verify the legitimacy of the study by using the following Ethics Committee Contact details listed below.**

HUMANITIES & SOCIAL SCIENCES RESEARCH ETHICS ADMINISTRATION

Research Office, Westville Campus

Govan Mbeki Building

Private Bag X 54001
Durban
4000

KwaZulu-Natal, SOUTH AFRICA

Tel: 27 31 2604557- Fax: 27 31 2604609

Email: HSSREC@ukzn.ac.za

_____   _____   _____

Signature of Participant   *Date*   *Place*

_____   _____   _____

Signature of Researcher   *Date*   *Place*

_____   _____   _____

Signature of Witness   *Date*   *Place*
(Where applicable)

_____   _____   _____

Appendix D: Data collection instrument

Natural or geographical trace:
- Can you please tell me about your natural or geographical trace, as in where do you come from?

  _____
  _____
  _____
  _____

- At what age did you decide to leave your natural/geographical country?

  _____
  _____
  _____
  _____

- Understanding that we are all tied in families/lineages/friendship, did you discuss this migration plan with those you consider as close to you, if yes, what was their advice?

  _____
  _____
  _____
  _____

Push and pull factors

- What pushed (encouraged) you to migrate to South Africa?

  _____
  _____
  _____
  _____

- What are the pull factors that motivated you to choose South Africa?

  _____
  _____
  _____
  _____

Ecological experiences
- How have you settled in Port Shepstone?

  _____
  _____
  _____
  _____

- How easy or challenging was it to locate a settlement in a foreign country?

  _____
  _____
  _____
  _____

- How have you managed to overcome personal fears related with the surrounding since arriving in Port Shepstone?

  _____
  _____

_____
_____

Economic/survival opportunities

- Considering that you are considered as a "foreigner", someone with infringed socio-economic challenges in a foreign country, please allow me to ask, how do you make your daily survival?
_____
_____
_____
_____

Socio-cultural and diasporic challenges experienced by African migrants in Port Shepstone?

- What are socio-cultural challenges experienced by African migrants in Port Shepstone?
_____
_____
_____
_____

- What are the migration and diasporic experiences of African migrants in Port Shepstone?
_____
_____
_____
_____

- Please tell me about your food experience when you settled in Port Shepstone?
_____
_____
_____
_____

- What are the demeaning identity labels that have been used towards migrants in Port Shepstone?
_____
_____
_____
_____

Social ties in a foreign country

- Are you the first person in your country to be in South Africa especially here in Port Shepstone? This question will enable me as the principal researcher to probe should the respondent says "no"

☐ YES
☐ NO

Since your previous response was no, who did you join and how related are you with that person?

89

_____
_____
_____
_____

- What are the psychosocial ties and diasporic relationships between migrants that have established any form of survival in Port Shepstone?

_____
_____
_____
_____

- What other challenges have you experienced in settling and continuing with your life on a daily basis?

_____
_____
_____
_____

- Would you like to go back to your country of origin?
  ☐ YES,
  because

_____
_____
_____
_____

  ☐ NO,
  because

_____
_____
_____
_____