

**African Migrants in South Africa:
an interactional perspective**

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I dedicate this study to my late father and mother,

TERNAL and GRACE CHIDYAMAKONO.

Your love, support and confidence in me,
has made me into the persistent woman that I am today.

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SUMMARY

The movement of African migrants from their countries of origin to other countries in search of a better future will continue to increase. However, such movement is accompanied by many challenges. Literature indicates that African migrants in South Africa face challenges such as cultural differences, exploitation and xenophobia. In the context of migration, migrants and citizens constantly interact with one another. The relational patterns between African migrants and citizens accordingly need to be understood in order to promote the well-being of both groups.

Various theories on human behaviour interactions on a community, systemic, interpersonal and relational level informed the present study with a view to casting light on the dynamic interactions between African migrants and citizens. These theories included community psychology theory, sense of community theory, socio-ecological systems theory, contact theory, psychological acculturation theory and complex responsive processes of relating theory. In this study, all the theories are based on the notion that the well-being of migrants and citizens depends on the quality of their relationships with each other and that patterns of meaning and relating are continuously self-organised in the course of human interaction. The theories further explain the relationships between people as well as the interactive dynamics and context that may contribute to their well-being as communities.

The present study is a secondary analysis of the data that were collected in a larger international research project in 2009. In the present study, the researcher did qualitative secondary analysis and thematic content analysis on the raw data collected in the larger 2009 study. The data were collected by means of the Mmogo-method™, focus group discussions, in-depth interviews, semi-structured interviews and narrative inquiry. Forty-four individual participants with ages ranging from 18 to 50 years and 10 families with ages ranging from 14 to 59 years were purposively selected for the larger 2009 study. All the participants were African migrants from other African countries who had migrated to South Africa. These migrants were residing in Gauteng and the North West Province when the initial data (2009) were collected.

In the initial study the aim was to understand African migration in a comparative context by exploring themes on citizenship, belonging and intergenerational relations of African migrants in South Africa, France and Britain. It was discovered that relational dimensions between the African migrants and black South African citizens were mentioned in the data

that were obtained from the larger 2009 study, but not reported on. The research question that guided the secondary analysis in the present study was therefore: What are the relational experiences of African migrants in respect of their fellow migrants and black South African citizens? Thus the aim was to understand the patterns of relating and interaction between African migrants and black South African citizens.

The findings of the present study indicated that in contexts of significant risks associated with migration, the relationships amongst migrants provided them with opportunities to belong, to share and to be human. Such nurturing relationships supported migrants and led to positive adaptation on the part of the migrants, despite abusive, restrictive and discriminative sociopolitical and economic environments. The study also describes the interactions between migrants and citizens in terms of relational qualities of African migrants' acculturation in a new cultural and social environment. Migrants with the relational quality of flexibility displayed sensitivity to the new context and were able to benefit on a personal level from the new cultural relations. However, migrants who displayed a rigidity as relational quality and who were insensitive to the new cultural context, experienced rejection, isolation, disillusionment and discord. Finally the findings revealed that the relational interactions between migrants and citizens are embedded in disabling socio-economic and political environments present in South Africa. Socio-economically, migrants are perceived as threats to available resources and on a political level they become the victims of xenophobia. The study describes the continuously self-organised relationships between migrants and citizens in terms of complementary relationships whereby citizens move towards a controlling position and migrants have to accept a submissive position in the relationship. Citizens adopt a linear approach by viewing the interaction with migrants only from their own perspective and migrants are expected to conform to the language used by citizens; to accept that they are not welcome; to accept that they are blamed for stealing jobs; and that they are often excluded from interactions with citizens. Migrants tend to be visible only in terms of their differences and due to this are often treated as invisible.

The present study contributed to the awareness that interactions between migrants and citizens are inevitable but, also, that these interactions can be optimised by concentrating on relational qualities that can promote positive interactions such as warmth and unconditional acceptance of one another and a reflective attitude towards how they as migrants and citizens

impact on one another. Migrants and citizens need to understand that their relationship is determined by how they interact with one another as complex systems. Migrants and citizens as individuals can construct ongoing interactions that promote their well-being and bring about positive relationships that can lead to new outcomes in the migration phenomenon.

Key words: Citizens, context, interactional, interpersonal styles, migration, migrants, relational qualities, relationships

OPSOMMING

Die beweging van Afrika-immigrante uit die lande van hulle herkoms na ander lande op soek na 'n beter toekoms, sal bly groei. Hierdie migrasies gaan egter gepaard met 'n aantal uitdagings. Die literatuur dui aan dat Afrika-immigrante in Suid-Afrika verskeie uitdagings die hoof moet bied soos kulturele verskille, uitbuiting en xenofobie. Binne die migrasiekonteks staan immigrante en landsburgers in konstante interaksie met mekaar. Wanneer die welstand van Afrika-immigrante en landsburgers bevorder wil word, ontstaan die behoefte daaraan om die verhoudingspatrone tussen die twee groepe te verstaan.

Verskillende teorieë oor menslike gedragsinteraksies op verskillende vlakke, insluitend gemeenskaps-, sistemiese, interpersoonlike en verhoudingsvlakke, is in hierdie studie benut ten einde die dinamiese interaksie te kan verstaan soos wat dit plaasvind tussen Afrika-immigrante en landsburgers. Die teorieë wat gebruik is, verwys na gemeenskapsielkunde, die sin van gemeenskap, sosio-ekologiese sisteme, kontakteorie, psigologiese akkulturasie en die komplekse deelnemende prosesse van verhoudingsteorie. In hierdie studie is al die teorieë gebaseer op die siening dat die welstand van immigrante en landsburgers afhang van die kwaliteit van hulle wedersydse verhoudings in die konteks waarbinne hulle funksioneer; en dat patrone van betekenis en verhoudings voortdurend as deel van die gang van menslike interaksie, hulself organiseer. Die teorieë verduidelik verder die verhoudings tussen mense, interaktiewe dinamiek, asook die kontekste wat 'n bydrae kan lewer tot die welstand as gemeenskappe.

In hierdie studie word 'n sekondêre analise gemaak van die data wat ingesamel is tydens 'n groter, internasionale navorsingsprojek, onderneem in 2009. In die huidige studie pas die navorser kwalitatiewe sekondêre analise en tematiese inhoudsanalise toe op die rou data wat in die aanvanklike, meer omvattende studie ingesamel is. Die data is ingesamel deur gebruik te maak van die Mmogo-metode™, fokusgroepbesprekings, in-diepte onderhoude, semi-gestruktureerde onderhoude en narratiewe ondersoek. Vier en veertig individuele deelnemers tussen 18 en 50 jaar oud, en 10 gesinne met gesinslede tussen 14 en 59 jaar, is vooraf doelbewus gekies in die meer omvattende 2009-studie. Al die deelnemers was immigrante uit ander Afrikalande wat na Suid-Afrika migreer het. Hierdie immigrante het ten tyde van die aanvanklike data-insameling (2009) in Gauteng en die Noordwes gewoon.

Met die aanvanklike navorsingsprojek was die doel om 'n vergelykende ondersoek te doen na temas oor burgerskap, om te behoort aan en tussengenerasie verhoudings van Afrika-

immigrante in Suid-Afrika, Frankryk en Brittanje. Daar is bevind dat die verhoudingsdimensies tussen Afrika-immigrante en swart Suid-Afrikaanse landsburgers genoem is in die data wat bekom is in die meer omvattende 2009-studie, maar dat daar nie daaroor verslag gedoen is nie. Om hierdie rede is die navorsingsvraag wat die sekondêre analise van hierdie studie gerig het, die volgende: Wat is Afrika-immigrante se ervaring van hulle verhoudings met beide hulle mede-immigrante asook swart Suid-Afrikaanse landsburgers? Die doel hiermee was om die patrone van die interaktiewe verhoudings tussen Afrika-immigrante en swart Suid-Afrikaners te verstaan.

Die studie se bevindinge dui daarop dat binne die konteks van beduidende risiko's wat met immigrasie verbind word, die onderlinge verhoudings tussen immigrante aan hulle die geleentheid bied om 'n gevoel van samehorigheid te beleef, met ander te deel en om mens te kan wees. Sodanige verhoudings van koestering dra by tot die veerkragtigheid en positiewe aanpassing van die immigrante wat aan hierdie studie deelgeneem het – en dit afgesien van die mishandelende, beperkende en diskriminerende sosio-politiese en ekonomiese omgewings. Die verhoudingsinteraksies tussen immigrante en landsburgers word ook beskryf in terme van Afrika-immigrante se verhoudingstyle asook hulle akkulturasie in 'n nuwe land. Immigrante wat 'n buigsame interpersoonlike styl beskryf het en sensitief was vir die nuwe omgewing, was in staat om persoonlike voordeel uit nuwe kulturele verhoudings te put. Daarteenoor het immigrante wat 'n rigiede interpersoonlike styl gehandhaaf het en onsensitief was vir die nuwe kulturele omgewing, verwerping, isolasie, ontnugtering en onmin beleef. Laastens is ook bevind dat die verhoudingsinteraksie tussen immigrante en landsburgers binne Suid-Afrikaanse sosio-ekonomiese en politieke omgewings wat nie bemagtigend is nie, plaasvind. Op 'n sosio-ekonomiese vlak word immigrante as 'n bedreiging vir beskikbare hulpbronne beskou en polities word hulle slagoffers van xenofobie. Die immer self-organiserende verhoudings tussen immigrante en landsburgers is beskryf in terme van komplementêre verhoudings waar die landsburgers hulle vir 'n beherende posisie beywer, terwyl die immigrante 'n ondergeskikte posisie in die verhouding moet aanvaar. Landsburgers het 'n liniêre benadering tot immigrante ingeneem en die interaksie met immigrante slegs vanuit hul eie perspektief geïnterpreteer, sodat van immigrante verwag is om te konformeer tot die landsburgers se taalgebruik; te aanvaar dat hulle onwelkom is; geblameer te word vir die besetting van werksgeleenthede; en dat hulle gereeld van interaksie

met landsburgers uitgesluit word. Immigrante is ook uitgesonder in terme van hulle verskille en dus gereeld as onsigbaar behandel.

Hierdie studie lewer 'n bydrae tot die bewuswording dat interaksie tussen immigrante en landsburgers onvermydelik is, maar dat hierdie interaksie optimaal verbeter kan word deur 'n bewussyn te skep van die verhoudingskwaliteite wat positiewe interaksie, soos warmte en onvoorwaardelike aanvaarding van mekaar, kan bevorder; asook 'n besinnende houding oor die wedersydse impak wat gemaak word. Die behoefte bestaan dat beide immigrante en landsburgers moet verstaan dat hulle verhouding beperk of in stand gehou word deur die manier waarop hulle met mekaar, as komplekse sisteme, in interaksie tree. As individue kan immigrante en landsburgers standhoudende interaksies opbou wat tot voordeel van hulle welstand strek; en ook positiewe verhoudings tot stand sal bring wat nuwe uitkomst vir die trekarbeiderfenomeen in die vooruitsig mag stel.

Slutelwoorde: Landsburgers, konteks, immigrante, interaksie, interpersoonlike style, migrasie, immigrante, verhoudingskwaliteite, verhoudings

PREFACE

PhD (Psychology) in article format

The thesis is presented in article format as indicated in rule A.14.4.2 of the North-West University, Potchefstroom Campus Yearbook. Chapters 2, 3 and 4 are manuscripts in form of articles. Three of the manuscripts were submitted for publication in peer reviewed journals with chapter 2 already published. Although the appropriate and relevant literature backgrounds are discussed in each separate manuscript, chapter 1 gives a more elaborate background literature. Chapter 5 provides the conclusion and recommendations based on the findings in all three manuscripts. In all the manuscripts the promoter is named as co-author. However the first author was responsible for most of the stages in each manuscript, including literature searches, secondary analysis and interpretation of results and writing of the manuscripts. This study is part of a larger international research project which was conducted in 2009. The first author used raw data from the larger project to conduct this study.

- ❖ Please note that the term ‘initial researchers’ refers to the primary researchers of the larger research project. ‘I’ or ‘present researcher’ refers to first author of this study.
- ❖ All three articles are formatted according to the requested guidelines for authors. In this study the three articles were submitted to different journals because the researcher had to find the most relevant journal for each article. The author guidelines for each journal are provided in the Appendix.
- ❖ A single reference list will be provided at the end of the whole thesis. American Psychology Association (APA) guidelines (6th edition), were used throughout the document.
- ❖ In the text reference referring to five and less authors, names of all the authors appear for the first time and when used for the second time only the name of the first author appears.
- ❖ Thematic content analysis applied in article 1, 2 and 3 are included in the Appendix.
- ❖ A letter of permission from the co-author to submit the articles for examination purposes is included on the next page.

LETTER OF PERMISSION

I the promoter, declare that the input and effort of Shingairai Chigeza, in writing these articles reflects research done by her. I hereby grant permission that she may submit these articles for examination purposes in fulfillment of the requirements for the degree Doctor Philosophiae in Psychology.

Prof Vera Roos

Promoter

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION TO AN INTERACTIONAL PERSPECTIVE OF AFRICAN MIGRANTS IN SOUTH AFRICA

INTRODUCTION TO AN INTERACTIONAL PERSPECTIVE OF AFRICAN MIGRANTS IN SOUTH AFRICA

Migration is a global phenomenon. Migration is defined as the movement of people from one location to another within and beyond a country of normal residence, and migrants are seen as people who move from their original country of residence in search of 'greener pastures' (Kok, 1999; Kok, Gelderblom, Oucho & van Zyl, 2006). A migrant can be a student, refugee, tourist, job seeker or trafficked person (Matlou & Mutanga, 2010). Students and professional job seekers usually migrate at their own discretion in search of better education, salaries and working conditions compared to those in their home country. However, some migrants are forced to relocate because of conditions beyond their control in their home country. These migrants usually leave their country of origin due to poverty, political unrest and war, and they often become refugees in the country of destination (Akokpari, 2000; Lucas, 2005; McDonald & Crush, 2000; Oucho, 2007).

More recently, it is families that tend to migrate while previously it was more an individual phenomenon (Posel, 2003). Often migrant workers migrate with, or are joined by, their spouses and children to places where they find employment. Also, more women than men migrate today while in the past, migration was more of a male-dominated undertaking (Kok et al., 2006; Zlotnik, 2003).

Migrants are described in terms of their status as permanent versus temporary or legal versus illegal. Permanent migrants are migrants who intend living in the new country with no intention of returning to their country of origin (Akokpari, 2000). Temporary migrants are migrants who want to return to their country of origin when the conditions that precipitated their initial movement have stabilised. Migrants can also be legal or illegal in the new country of residence. Legal migrants are those who are in possession of legal documentation to stay in the new country (Mawadza, 2008). Illegal migrants are those who do not have legal permits at the official port of entry in their country of destination (McDonald, 2000). Illegal migrants do not have valid travel documents or authorisation to remain in the new country of residence after their permits have expired (Cross, Gelderblom, Roux & Mafukidze, 2006; McDonald, 2000; Oucho, 2007). Illegal migrants face deportation as they are not permitted to reside in the particular country without the necessary documentation (Crush & Dodson, 2007).

Migration Pathways of African Migrants

Population movements from Africa in recent times could be among the largest in history of the world (Sandell, 2005). Almost one of every ten people living in developed countries is an African migrant (Kohnert, 2007; Lucas, 2005). According to the International Organization on Migration, African migrants originate from different parts of the African continent, especially from the west, north and sub-Saharan parts of Africa (IOM, 2005). These migrants are 'pushed' to migrate as a result of liberation wars, ongoing devastating economic conditions and political repression, or 'pulled' to migrate to countries with more stable economies such as those in the United States, England, France and Italy (IOM, 2006). Many developed countries in Europe have a long tradition of attracting African migrants (Lucas, 2005). It is also speculated that shortages in the labour markets in countries such as the United States and England encouraged African migrants to migrate (Barrett & McEvoy, 2005; Kohnert, 2007). Many African migrants are employed as care workers in the residential care facilities in these developed countries (IOM, 2005).

African migrants' migration history to South Africa. Numerous African migrants have also migrated to other African countries, specifically South Africa (McDonald, 2000; Zlotnik, 2003). South Africa has a long history of dependence on migrant workers in sectors such as agriculture and mining (Crush & James 1995; Crush, Jeeves & Yudelman, 1991). In the 1940s and the 1950s, foreign labourers played a key role in the mines, and in the 1970s they constituted about 78% of the labour force in South Africa (Crush et al., 1991). These migrants were generally unskilled and illiterate and had migrated from countries such as Namibia, Botswana, Zimbabwe, Lesotho, Mozambique, Swaziland, Zambia, Malawi and Southern Tanzania (Crush et al., 1991; McDonald, Gay, Zinyama, Mattes & Devletter, 1998).

Since 1994, after the end of apartheid, there has been constant increase of African migrants to South Africa. Skilled and unskilled migrants from Ghana, Nigeria and Somalia have entered South Africa in large numbers (McDonald et al., 1998). They came either to visit friends and relatives, or to buy and sell goods or to find employment. A flood of asylum seekers and illegal migrants also occurred after the democratisation of South Africa (Crush, 2011). According to the South African government, nearly 160 000 refugee claims were received between 1994 and 2004 from residents of other African countries (Crush, 2011; Zlotnik, 2003). South Africa continues to attract more migrants than other African countries

(Crush, 2011). Even though South Africa is a developing country with widespread poverty, its relative wealth and stable economy compared to other African countries still attracts African migrants from the rest of the continent who enter the country either legally or illegally (McConeell, 2009).

Challenges of African Migrants

Migrants are faced with many challenges (Crush, 2001; McDonald, 2000). Migrating to a new country disrupts families' cultural practices and requires the rebuilding of communities around cultural practices and ethnic identities (Maynard, Afshar, Franks & Wrays, 2008). Migration uproots people on a cultural, emotional and social level (Ansell & Van Blerk, 2007). The transmission of family values and traditions is threatened as migrants inevitably experience incongruence between the cultural values of the new country and those of the country of origin (King & Vullnetari, 2006). Migrations tend to weaken traditional family patterns and people's sense of belonging – migrant parents often struggle to uphold and transmit traditional values to their children in the new cultural environment (Cabrillo & Neruker, 2001; King & Vullnetari, 2006; Skrbis, 2007).

Migrants tend to be regarded as a vulnerable group in a new country, and they are frequently exploited by the employers who pay them low wages or de-skill them by giving them menial jobs (Bloch, 2010; Garcia & Duplat, 2007; Mawadza, 2008). The most extreme form of victimisation can be seen in the xenophobic assaults on migrants as a result of subtle or overt public hostility, violence and discrimination (Crush & Pendleton, 2007; Crush & Ramachandran, 2010).

In southern Africa, migrants are often perceived as competitors for jobs and scarce resources, which lead to attacks on them and verbal insults by local citizens (Dodson, 2010; Nell, 2008). African migrants are also increasingly abused by the police (Crush & Williams, 2003) and are often prime suspects in crimes committed in South Africa (Akokpari, 2000). They receive minimal legal protection from the police and are frequently brutalised and discriminated against by the police (Crush & Ramachandram, 2010).

PROBLEM STATEMENT

Migration has been well researched in terms of its consequences (Crush & Dodson, 2007; Crush & Ramachandran, 2010; Neocosmos, 2010; Steenkamp, 2009), but few studies

have been conducted on the interaction and relationships of African migrants and black citizens in South Africa. Knowledge of African migrants' experiences of South Africa is important because of the large number of such migrants in the country. African migrants continue to flow into South Africa because of its geographical proximity as well as the shared interests African people have with one another (Crush, 2011; Kok, O'Donovan, Bouare, & Zyl, 2003). African people feel at home with fellow black people in Africa (Mbiti, 1969). The present research is accordingly based on the assumption that people, irrespective of whether they are migrants or citizens, share different cultural, social, economic and political contexts (Wondwosen, 2006). The relationships between migrants and citizens are continuously constructed in their daily reciprocal interactions with one another (Stacey, Griffin & Shaw, 2001). These relationships are built through socialising and interacting with one another (Gergen, 1999). This research hopes to contribute to the literature on migration by creating new knowledge on the interactional patterns in the relationships between African migrants and citizens. It also hopes to help identify intervention strategies that will enhance the well-being of and the interactional relationships between migrants and citizens.

PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

The purpose of the research was to explore the interactional relationships between African migrants (both legal and illegal) and black South African citizens. The primary research question that guided the study was:

What are the relational experiences of African migrants with regard to their fellow migrants and black South African citizens?

The following sub-questions were also asked.

What are the relational experiences of migrants faced with multiple risks and adversities in South Africa compared to those of their fellow migrants?

What are the relational qualities displayed by African migrants in South Africa during their acculturation process in a new cultural and social environment?

What are the relational experiences of African migrants with regard to black South African citizens in the context of xenophobia?

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

The ontological assumption on which this research was based is that social reality is not fixed but is continuously built in the process of interaction (Giorgi & Giorgi, 2008; Snape & Spencer, 2003; Ritchie, 2009). The social world is constructed through shared meanings that people ascribe to relational interactions through ongoing communication in the context in which the interactions take place (Neuman, 2006; Snape & Spencer, 2003; Roos, 2012). The epistemology of the present study is that the researcher had to explore and understand the social world through the participants' perspectives in the context of the conditions and circumstances of their lives (Snape & Spencer, 2003). Thus, in reporting the research findings, the researcher had to be aware of how her own experience and perspectives might influence the study, especially in respect of the data provided by the participants (Snape & Spencer, 2003; Ritchie, 2009).

Relationships continuously develop as people interact with one another (Stacey, 2001; 2003). These relationships are thought to rise from the flow of everyday interactions between people (Josselson, 1996). Each time people communicate, relational patterns that define who people are with are constructed and modified (Stacey, 2007). Relationships are perceived as responses that evolve in the interactive process between migrants and citizens. In an attempt to understand the dynamic interactions between African migrants and citizens, the various theories on human behaviour and interactions on a community, systemic, interpersonal and relational level that informed this study will be discussed next.

A community psychology perspective provided the lens through which the research was planned and conducted (Blocher, 1987; Dalton, Elias & Wandersman, 2001; Duffy & Wong, 2000; 2001; Visser, 2007). Community as a construct refers to groups of people in particular geographical areas, or to people with shared interests who have relational connections (Blocher, 1987; Macmillan & Chavis, 1986). Community psychology is based on the notion of promotion, and, in this research, promotion refers to the optimisation of the well-being of migrants and citizens in their relations with one another (Schueller, 2009). The well-being of people depends largely on the quality of their relationships with other people in the contexts in which they function (Nelson & Prilleltensky 2005). Well-being is accordingly the positive state of affairs in which the personal, relational and collective needs and aspirations of individuals and communities are fulfilled (Evans & Prilleltensky, 2007). The relational well-

being of individuals in a community is created through a sense of community (Nelson & Prilleltensky 2005; Macmillan & Chavis 1986), which can often be threatened by migration.

According to Royal and Rossi (1997), a sense of community provides an environment that facilitates mental health and psychological well-being in migrants in host communities through caring interpersonal contact. Macmillan and Chavis (1986) describe sense of community in terms of four dimensions: membership, influence, integration and shared emotional connection. Membership refers to feelings of belonging and safety in the community. Influence refers to feelings of cohesion among community members. Integration refers to the integrative force created by common needs, goals and values among community members. Shared emotional connectedness refers to the bonds that develop among members based on the positive interactions between them. In the context of migration, sense of community refers to the behaviour exhibited in the relationships between migrant and citizen communities.

Communities are seen as dynamic, emergent systems in which people are interrelated and have the ability to influence one another (Foster-Fishman & Behrens, 2007). According to social ecological theory, people influence their environment while simultaneously being influenced by the environment (Dalton et al., 2001). The theory focuses on the relationships between people, interactive dynamics and contexts that can contribute to the well-being of people in a community (Bronfenbrenner, 1979). Communities can promote the well-being of individuals based on principles of interdependence, adaptation, succession and distribution of resources (Kelly, 1990; Visser, 2007). In terms of migration, communities of migrants and citizens can be described as emergent systems in which the members are interrelated and have the ability to influence one another (Foster-Fishman & Behrens, 2007). Communities are linked to social ecological theory, which holds that the facilitation of change requires change in individuals as well as social systems. Thus, in the context of migration, migrants as well as citizens have the potential to facilitate change through reciprocal interactional relationships with the environment as people involved in the environment (Hudson, 2000; Levine & Perkins, 1997). This view is endorsed by Gatrell (2005) who states that any element in a system influences and is influenced by other elements in the system. Systems are adaptive, evolve over time and are self-organising. This self-organising capacity leads to spontaneous generation of an emergent order in complex systems (Green & McDermott, 2010). Complex systems also display non-linear relationships between the interacting variables whereby

small, random changes in one area can lead to huge changes in other parts of the system (Higginbotham, Albrecht & Connor (2001). Change is thus understood as the emerging consequence of the interaction between people as open systems (Green & McDermott, 2010). The agents interacting in the systems can consequently produce new outcomes that none of them ever imagined (Bloch, 2005; Stacey, 1996). In the migration context, migrants and citizens as open systems can therefore create change in terms of their interactional relationships.

According to contact theory, increased contact between members of different groups and cultures can improve intergroup relations and reduce prejudice (Allport, 1954; Pittigrew, 1998). The opportunity thus exists to create friendly, cooperative interactions that can facilitate positive acculturation (Dovido, Kawakami & Gaertner, 2000). Contact theory also holds that intergroup contacts limit hidden bias and develop positive intergroup attitudes and relations (Tropp & Pittigrew, 2005).

In accordance with psychological acculturation theory, a person's frame of reference is compared to that of the new cultural context (Chirkov, 2009). In other words, human beings understand the world, other people and themselves. Meanings developed in their home cultural community are compared with those in the new cultural community (Graves, 1967). Thus, in the context of migration, traditional cultural teachings and values, as well as social systems and practices, influence people's conceptualisation of self and their relations with others (Kwak, 2010).

The complex responsive processes of relating (CRPR) theory informed this study in an attempt to better understand the relationship patterns and dynamic interactions between migrants and citizens. CRPR theory integrates insights from sociology, social constructionism and complexity to show how patterns of meaning and relating are continuously self-organised in the course of human interaction (Anthony, Suchman & Faapp, 2005; Griffin, 2002; Stacey, 2001; 2003; 2007). CRPR theory is accordingly a way of making sense of the relationship dynamics in which people find themselves (Stacey, 2001). It shows how people influence each other by how they perceive each other; thus patterns of meaning and relating are propagated or limited by how people act in each given moment (Anthony et al., 2005). According to CRPR theory, relational interactions are complex patterns of reciprocal interaction (Elias, 2000; Griffin, 2002; Stacey, 2001; 2003). Complex responsive

processes of relating are also seen as acts of communication, and the relations of power between migrants and citizens' choices arising from their acts of evaluation (Stacey, 2001). The iterative processes of communication, power and evaluation thus inform the relationships between migrants and citizens (Stacey & Griffin, 2006). CRPR theory also emphasises self-awareness and diversity among human beings (Anthony et al., 2005). CRPR theory enables researchers to observe the relational processes of people in different contexts. In the context of migration, migrants and citizens constantly relate and interact with one another (Manson, 2001). Relational patterns can therefore be understood only through exploring the interactional and relationship patterns of migrants and citizens. Because migrants and citizens constitute communities with different cultural backgrounds, understanding how they relate, interact and influence each other is important in explaining the migration phenomenon.

RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

This thesis constitutes three articles based on the secondary analysis of data obtained from a larger international research project conducted in 2009. The three articles are separate studies in addition to the initial larger study. The larger project was on African migrants who had migrated to South Africa, France and United Kingdom. This larger project was a comparative study that focused on citizenship, belonging and intergenerational relations in African migrants. The primary focus of the larger study was to identify both the significant commonalities and the specific differences in the way that intergenerational relations, citizenship and belonging play out across three countries. This larger study focused on intergenerational relations based on the belief that the findings will provide a rich base from which to understand how migrant families settle, provide support in a new country shaped by particular socio-political migration regimes and policy frameworks. The research question that guided the larger study was: "what are the experiences of African migrants who share similar cultural roots, but are now living in different socio-political contexts in Britain, France and South Africa? To examine the lens of intergenerational relationship across the three different national settings, the larger study covered three main aims

1. Firstly it explores the complexities of how different post-colonial and post-Apartheid migration policies and relations play out in lives of migrants.

2. Secondly, it examines the experiences across two generations within families, that is shared experiences of parents and children regarding their migration experiences, citizenship and belonging.
3. Thirdly, it examines the intergenerational relations, citizenship and belonging of African migrants as experienced across three different migration regimes to understand global processes of African migration.

The larger international used a qualitative research design based on the real experiences of the African migrants (Niewenhuis, 2007). Qualitative research promotes an inductive understanding of a particular phenomenon (Merriam, 2001) as well as a holistic understanding of the research participants' views and actions in the overall context of their lives (Snape & Spencer, 2003). Qualitative researchers can also explore the meaning different individuals attribute to their experiences of a phenomenon, which can enable the researchers to describe what the participants have in common as they experience the phenomenon (Creswell, 2007).

The researchers of the larger study used focus group discussions, in-depth interviews, and short biographical- and demographic questionnaires. Focus group discussions with the participants in Britain and France were organized according to gender, age and community, whereas the eight focus group discussions with participants in South Africa were organised according to gender and ethnicity, but not according to age. For the South Africa component, visual data were obtained by involving participants in the Mmogo-method® (Roos, 2008; 2012), as well as narratives from 10 two-generational families.

Over 200 participants from different African countries in all three studies done in Britain, France and South Africa participated in the larger study. These participants have lived in their host countries for at least two years. The participants in these studies are drawn from African nationalities which have historical relationship with the three countries of study. For the British and French studies the participants were drawn from former colonies or protectorate African migrants. The South African study included mostly participants from countries that have traditionally been a source of migrant labour and supportive in the anti-Apartheid struggle, such as Botswana, Malawi, Mozambique and Zimbabwe.

For the purpose of the present study the researcher focused on the data collected in South Africa only. The larger study focused more on the social and political influences on international migration.

A secondary analysis of the data was conducted in the present study to explore on these dimensions that had not been investigated in the previous larger research project (Burns & Grove, 2005). Secondary data analysis is the further analysis of existing data that enables interpretations and conclusions that are additional to or different from those arrived at in the earlier study (Heaton, 1998). In the initial larger research project, the relational dimensions were mentioned but not further explored. The secondary data were therefore analysed in the present study to explore the relational dimensions of the African migrants and citizens. New research questions were formulated for the present study (Thorne, 1994). Secondary analysis also opened up the possibility of exploring current themes on the basis of data collected in the past (Goodwin & O'Connor, 2006). The secondary analysis of the qualitative data led to a more in-depth investigation of the relational experiences of African migrants in South Africa and in respect of South African citizens. The present study is important since South Africa has witnessed a lot of hostility from citizens against a perceived flood of migrants, and this has shaped the nature of relationships, rights and status of African migrants from other countries (Attis-Donfut, Cook, Hoffman & Waite, 2012). Therefore it is interesting to find out how interactional relationships between African migrants and South African citizens unfold under such circumstances.

Procedure for the Secondary Data Analysis

The researcher gathered all materials and sources that contained any information related to the data gathered in the larger international research project. These materials included audio tapes, visual and textual transcripts, field notes and the letters of researchers who had been part of the larger project. The researcher familiarised herself with all the data collected during the larger research project. She listened to all the individual interviews as well as the focus group discussions on audio tapes in order to check the transcripts for errors and omissions. Listening to the audio tapes enabled her to add dimensions to the data that could not be obtained by reading the transcripts alone (Szabo & Strang, 1997). After going through all the sources and materials of the original data, the researcher could formulate a topic for the present study, which was to explore the relational interactions of African migrants in

South Africa. Data obtained from illegal as well as legal migrants were used, firstly, to describe the relational experiences of illegal migrants faced with multiple risks in South Africa and, secondly, to explore the acculturation experiences of African migrants in a new cultural context. Finally, the data were used to investigate the relational experiences of African migrants in the context of xenophobia.

Textual data obtained for the larger study were used in the three articles which constitutes dissertation of this study. The data included focus group discussions, in-depth individual interviews, semi-structured interviews and the Mmogo-method™®. All the above mentioned methods of data collection used by the initial researchers of the larger study were clearly explained in chapter 2, 3 and 4. The Mmogo-method® is a visual projective technique used to obtain insight into the lived experience of participants (Roos, 2008; 2012). It is based on symbolic interaction and depicts participants' experiences in different contexts through visual representations (Blumer, 1969; Roos, 2008; 2012). It reveals how meanings can emerge from people's interaction with others through symbols they can relate to (Klunkin & Greenwood, 2006; Roos, 2008). It gives the researcher a deeper understanding of the social, cultural and contextual factors underlying human behaviour, which may be difficult to obtain through direct techniques (Boddy, 2005; Roos, 2008). The Mmogo-method™® also enables the researcher to see things from participants' point of view through active engagement with them. It gives insight to sense of belonging, shared values and emotional connection of the participants (Roos, 2008, 2012).

In the present study, the visual pictures were analysed through thematic content analysis. The researcher went through all the transcripts and pictures to determine the relationship between the different objects in the visual representations (Roos, 2008). She then found patterns of meaning in the representations and identified themes. The textual data were analysed through thematic content analysis across the three articles in the present study. Thematic content analysis is appropriate for processing qualitative secondary data as it provides rich, tailed complex accounts of data (Braun & Clarke, 2006; Frankfort-Nachmias, 1996). Thematic content analysis is an inductive, iterative way of looking at data from different angles with the aim of identifying keys in the text that facilitate understanding and interpretation of the raw data (Niewenhuis, 2007). The thematic content analysis method is compatible with essentialist as well as constructionist paradigms in psychology (Roulston, 2001). It is also a realistic method that reports the experiences, meanings and reality of

participants in a broader social context (Braun & Clarke, 2006). The researcher used the following guidelines provided by Braun and Clarke (2006) to conduct the thematic content analysis in the present study. The researcher's analysis was, however, not a linear process of merely moving from one phase to another; she had to go back and forth as needed (Ely, Vinz, Downing & Anzul, 1997).

Step 1: Familiarisation with the data: Reading and re-reading the existing data from transcripts and noting initial ideas.

Step 2: Generating initial codes: Coding interesting features of the data systematically across the entire data set.

Step 3: Searching for themes: Collating codes into potential themes and gathering all relevant information for each potential theme to emerge.

Step 4: Reviewing themes: Verifying the themes in relation to the coded extracts and generating a thematic map of the analysis.

Step 5: Defining and naming themes: Refining the specifics of each theme and names for each theme.

Step 6: Final stage of analysis: Selecting compelling extract examples, doing final analysis of selected extracts and relating the analysis back to the research question and literature.

RIGOUR OF THE STUDY

The rigour of the study was enhanced through crystallisation. Crystallisation provides a way of achieving research depth through the compilation of details and the application of different methods of presenting data and analysis (Ellingsong, 2009; Richardson, 2000). The guidelines below by Ellingson (2009) were applied to ensure the credibility of the study.

- Producing knowledge through the creation of in-depth interpretation and concepts:

The qualitative research approach in the present study provided in-depth insight into the migration phenomenon. The combination of various methods of data collection in the study is described in detail to facilitate readers' understanding. The methods of analysis are also presented in such a way that readers will be able to better understand the experiences and emotions of the participants.

- Compiling numerous details and indicating different forms of reconstructing, organising and analysing:

The description of the background to the study promoted credibility as it helped readers understand the research context. This included information on what had been covered in the earlier larger international study as well as on the focus of the present study. The background information also set the scene for the topics to be investigated in the present study. Themes that emerged from the findings of the study in respect of all three articles were supported by verbatim quotes of the participants. This was done to give readers a better understanding of the participants' experiences as expressed through their emotions.

- Reflection during the research process:

To ensure the rigour of the qualitative secondary analysis, the researcher described the research process in detail as well as the link with the initial larger research project (Gladstone, Volpe & Boydell, 2007). The procedure for the secondary data analysis was explained so that readers could better understand the reasons for its use. The reflections of the researcher were recorded continuously during the research process in the form of journal notes.

- Reflections of the researcher:

As part of my self-reflection I used a journal to record my thoughts. I agree with Oucho (2011) that you cannot talk about migration if you are not a migrant yourself. I migrated to South Africa in 2005 to accompany my husband who was offered employment. Upon my arrival in South Africa, everything was not as rosy as I had expected. My hopes of finding employment and furthering my studies were not readily realised. As a foreigner, I had to contend with a lot of paper work in order to find a job and to further my studies. In 2007, I had the opportunity to continue my studies at a tertiary institution in the North West Province of South Africa. When I started my studies, my biggest challenge was the South African local languages, which made interactions with citizens and fellow students difficult. Most of the black South Africans would usually start conversations with me in their language assuming that I could understand them and became disappointed when I could not respond. I also encountered people who were really friendly and accommodating and others who were not. Some would ask me

questions such as when are you returning to your own country? After your studies, will you go back, or will you look for employment here? I have recorded many of the stories in my personal journal, which include some of the experiences indicated above. I used a personal reflective journal to record my own experiences as a migrant. This reflective journal contributed to my awareness when I engaged with the data as well as the manner in which I interacted with citizens. I had several reflexive discussions with my promotor which also assisted me to become aware of my own emotions and feelings about my experiences of migration,, and the observations of the researchers in the initial larger project also helped me evaluate my biases.

ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

Ethical approval for the initial larger research project study was obtained from the North-West University's Ethics Committee (05K14). Permission was also obtained from the participants. Contact was established with people who were known to the migrants – these people acted as gatekeepers (channels) for reaching the African migrants (Fraser, Lewis, Ding & Kellett, Robinson, 2004). The gatekeepers explained the proposed research to the migrants and arranged meetings to solicit their participation. The researchers in the initial larger research project told the migrants about the nature, goals and duration of the research after which the migrants gave their informed consent freely. In respect of children under the age of 18, the researchers obtained informed consent from the parents. The participants were informed that their participation was voluntary and that they could withdraw from the study at any time if they were not comfortable answering the research questions. Confidentiality and anonymity were maintained by protecting the identity of the African migrants who participated in the study. Care was also taken to ensure that no harm was done to any of the participants.

The researchers in the initial larger international research project agreed to allow the present researcher to conduct secondary analysis of the data as there was large amount of raw data that could be used for another study (Thorne, 1994). The present researcher ensured that the research questions in the secondary analysis did not violate the informed consent obtained from the participants in the initial larger project (Du Plessis, 2007). The information provided by the participants was also treated confidentially by the present researcher. The researchers

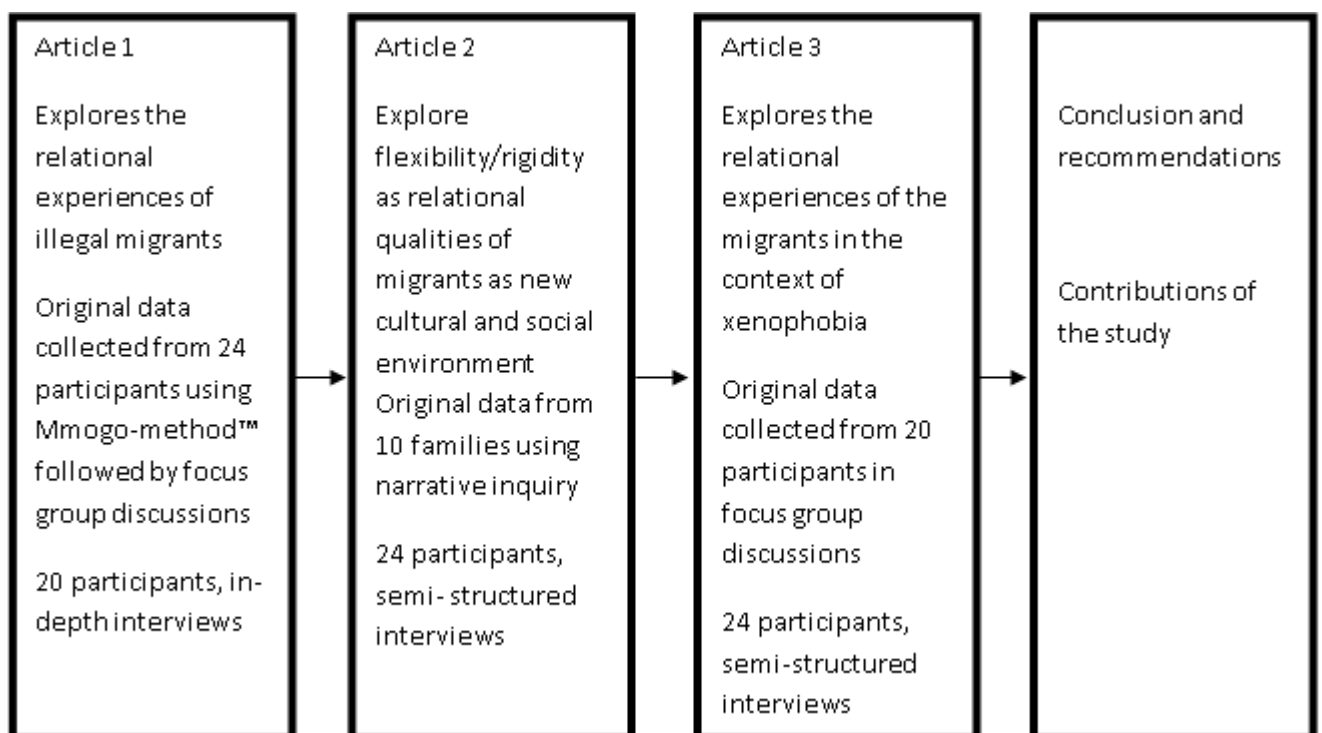
responsible for the data collection in the initial larger project were available to advise the present researcher throughout the analysis of the data.

STRUCTURE OF THE RESEARCH

The present study comprised three articles based on the raw data collected as part of the larger international project conducted in 2009. In the three articles, the researcher used variety methods of data to formulate research questions for the present study initial large study. Conclusion and recommendations were made based on the findings of the three articles in the present study. The diagram below shows the structure of the present study.

Diagram 1

Structure of the study



LAYOUT OF THE RESEARCH REPORT

Chapter 1

Introduction: Context, Conceptual Framework and Research Design

Chapter 2

Article 1: The Resilience of Illegal African Migrants in South Africa: A Relational Perspective

Chapter 3

Article 2: An Exploration of Flexibility/Rigidity as Relational Quality of African Migrants in South Africa as New Cultural and Social Environment

Chapter 4

Article 3: Relational Experiences of African Migrants in the Context of Xenophobia

Chapter 5

Conclusions and Recommendations

CHAPTER 2

ARTICLE 1

THE RESILIENCE OF ILLEGAL AFRICAN MIGRANTS IN SOUTH AFRICA: A RELATIONAL PERSPECTIVE

Reference of published article

Chigeza, S., & Roos, V. (2011). The resilience of illegal African migrants in South Africa: A Relational Perspective. *Australian Community Psychologist Special Resilience*, 23(2), 121-134.

The Resilience of Illegal African Migrants in South Africa: A Relational Perspective

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Abstract

This study explored the resilience of illegal African migrants subjected to significant risks in their home country as well as in South Africa. The study formed part of a larger international research project. Forty-four male and female migrants from Malawi, Mozambique and Zimbabwe between the ages of 18 and 50 years were recruited through purposive sampling. Data, obtained through individual interviews, the Mmogo-methodTM and focus group discussions, were thematically and visually analysed. The protective resources in the self (self-regulation, hope, optimism and autonomy) were expressed primarily in relation to other people. Relational context-bound interactions emerged in the definition of relationships, emotional closeness, transparency as well as the unconditional confirmation of migrants. Recommendations are made for social interventions and policy adjustments.

Key words: illegal migrants, positive adaptation, protective resources in the self, relational context-bound interactions, Mmogo-methodTM

Introduction

Historically, South Africa is a country that has attracted semi-skilled as well as highly skilled migrants from other African countries. South Africa is regarded by many African migrants as ‘the land of milk and honey’ (Maduna, 1995). From the early 1970s, most Africans who have migrated to South Africa have sought employment in the mining and agricultural sectors (Whitehead & Hashim, 2005). The number of African migrants to South Africa continues to increase owing to better economic opportunities compared to other African countries (McDonald, 2000; Posel, 2003).

Migrants to South Africa can be divided into those who were forced to migrate to South Africa because of the civil unrest, political instability and economic hardships in their own countries, and those who decided voluntarily to come to South Africa to pursue their careers, to further their education or to expand their personal boundaries (Cross, Gelderblom, Roux & Mafukidze, 2006; McDonald, 2000). For those in the first group, migrating to South Africa became a strategy to alleviate the risks associated with violence and poverty.

A further distinction between migrants to South Africa is their legality or illegality. Legal migrants have valid permits to stay in South Africa whereas illegal migrants enter South Africa at places other than official ports of entry (McDonald, 2000), do not have legal travel documents or remain in the country after their permits have expired (Cross et al., 2006). Somers (2008) describes illegal migrants as people who have “no real right to have rights” (p. 22), and they are therefore regarded as a vulnerable group. Most studies on illegal migrants consequently focus on the general challenges they face (Klaaren & Ramji, 2001). The study is distinct because it focuses on the resilience of illegal migrants after migration despite the adversities and challenges they face in South Africa. Resilience in this study refers to both a process and an outcome (Theron & Theron, 2010). In terms of an outcome, it seems as if illegal migrants ‘bounce back’ despite the risks and adversity they face in the contexts that initially ‘pushed’ them to migrate as well as in the new context to which they have migrated (Mawadza, 2008; Theron & Theron, 2010; Vulcetic, 2004). However, the transactional processes involved in the resilience of illegal migrants are not clear and so form the focus of this study.

Risks and Adversity Faced by Illegal Migrants

Migration is a phenomenon with many risks (Bloch 2010; Greeff & Holtzkamp, 2007; Mawadza, 2008), and this is even more true for illegal migration. Apart from the risks that force people to leave their home countries, many illegal migrants are subjected to abuse, theft and violence by the authorities in South Africa (Crush & Williams, 2003; Palmary, 2002). They constantly fear deportation (Klaaren & Ramji, 2001; Madsen, 2004) and are often victims of exploitation by the employers (Bloch, 2010). Most of the illegal migrants working in the domestic and construction sectors are paid very low wages (Mawadza, 2008), leaving many with no choice but to become de-skilled by accepting menial jobs (Garcia & Duplat, 2007). Recently, severe xenophobic attacks against migrants (and specifically illegal migrants) occurred in South Africa, which threatened them on various levels (Neocosmos, 2008).

However, despite the compound risks that illegal migrants are exposed to, many seem to cope and adapt in positive ways. This study is located in the sphere of positive community psychology. Positive community psychology is based on socio-ecological theory that holds that all people are open systems who continuously interact with others and the contexts in which they function (Bronfenbrenner, 1979). It is also in line with the literature that regards resilience as context-bound transaction (Theron & Theron, 2010). Context in this study refers to political, economic, geographic, cultural, social and relational circumstances.

In terms of positive community psychology, illegal migrants, as a relational community, are a group of people who share commonalities in that they are 'pushed' from their home countries due to the political and economic context there. They leave familiar geographical and cultural contexts; they have shared goals of ensuring the survival of their families (social context); and they are exposed to additional risks and adversity in the receiving communities (social and cultural contexts) in South Africa (geographical context). For the purposes of this study, the relational context is considered to consist of reciprocal interactions between migrants and other people (fellow-migrants, citizens or the authorities) that are either nurturing or restraining (Kitching, Roos & Ferreira, 2011). Nurturing interactions enable effective relationships while restraining interactions limit effective relationships.

Aim of the Study

The study was part of a larger international research project conducted in 2009 on African migrants who migrated to South Africa, France and the United Kingdom. The larger project focused on the experiences of African migrants by examining how familial intergenerational relationships were shaped by migration. The larger study revealed that the migrants in the study dealt adaptively with the risks and challenges associated with migration, including xenophobic attacks. However, the transactional processes associated with their resilient behaviour remains unclear. The following broad question therefore guided this study: What are the transactional, context-bound processes that enable illegal migrants in South Africa faced with compound risks and adversities to adapt in resilient ways? It is hoped that the findings of the study will contribute to an understanding of the adaptive processes as they are informed by relational context-bound interactions and also contribute to the theory on resilience.

Research Design and Method

A qualitative design was used in the initial larger research project. Qualitative designs provide opportunities for exploring participants' contextually embedded experiences (Klunklin & Greenwood, 2006). The experiences of migrants from various African countries were accessed in a natural setting so that greater insight could be gained into these experiences (Leedy & Ormrod, 2005). A phenomenological research design was applied to explore the lived experiences of the illegal migrants regarding migration. A phenomenological approach was considered suitable for this study as it enabled the researcher to describe commonalities in the participants' experience of the migration phenomenon (Creswell, 2007).

Research Context and Participants

The initial larger research project was conducted after the serious xenophobic attacks in South Africa in 2008. A secondary analysis was conducted based on the raw data from the initial large study, and this produced a further topic for investigation (Burns & Grove, 2005), namely the strengths that enabled the positive adaptation of the illegal migrants in South Africa despite the adversity and risks they faced. African migrants from various southern African countries and currently residing illegally in South Africa were purposively recruited

for the research. A sample of 44 participants between the ages of 18 and 50 years was eventually drawn. The participants included men and women from countries such as Malawi, Mozambique and Zimbabwe.

Procedure

Ethical approval for the study was obtained from the North-West University's Ethics Committee. For the data-gathering events, rapport with the participants was established by entering the community of migrants with someone who was known to the migrants who acted as gatekeepers. Researchers in the initial large study told the gatekeepers about the research project and enquired if they would be willing to make contact with other illegal migrants. They agreed, and separate meetings were arranged to explain the aim of the research and to request the migrants' participation. A meeting was also held prior to the data collection to assure the migrants that the study was being conducted for research purposes only. They were informed that their participation was voluntary and that they could withdraw from the study at any stage. They were also assured that any information provided by them would be treated confidentially.

The original data were collected from 24 Malawian migrants using the Mmogo-methodTM followed by focus group discussions. These migrants were living in different communities of Gauteng Province in South Africa at the time of the study.

In-depth interviews were conducted in Rustenburg in the North West Province. Twenty participants from Mozambique and Zimbabwe participated. Each interview lasted between 30 and 45 minutes using open-ended questions. The questions included: What are your experiences of being migrants in South Africa? Why did you decide to migrate to South Africa? What were the challenges you had to deal with en route to South Africa as well as being here in South Africa? How do you deal with these challenges?

English was used as medium of communication as all the participants were able to express themselves comfortably in English. All the data were captured using audiotapes, and the visual representations were photographed.

Data Gathering

Data were gathered by means of the Mmogo-methodTM, focus group discussions and in-depth personal interviews.

The Mmogo-methodTM. This is a visual projective technique used to obtain insight into the lived experiences of participants. The Mmogo-methodTM is based on symbolic interaction and depicts participants' relationships in different contexts through visual constructions (Blumer, 1969; Roos, 2008; 2012). The Mmogo-methodTM was used as it enabled the researchers to gain an understanding of the implicit and often unconscious meanings of the migrants' transactional processes inherent in their resilience. Furthermore, the Mmogo-methodTM is regarded as a collaborative and participatory research method that is appropriate for researching vulnerable communities.

Twenty-four migrants from Malawi participated in the Mmogo-methodTM. They were divided into two groups of 12 each to optimise interactions. The participants were then handed malleable clay, dried grass stalks, colourful beads and round material cloths and asked to construct visual images of their experiences using the materials in response to the following open-ended request.

Please make a visual representation of your experiences as migrants here in South Africa.

After completing their visual representations, the participants were asked individually to explain the relevance of their images to the research questions after which the whole group was requested to verify, add or contribute to the discussion on the basis of their own experiences. The group spontaneously engaged in the focus group discussions during which all the visual representations were discussed and shared. The Mmogo-methodTM procedure and the focus group discussions lasted approximately three hours.

Focus group discussions. Focus group discussions were used to obtain more information following the Mmogo-methodTM. Creswell (2007) describes focus group discussions as a method that yields valuable information on how people respond in a situation where they are exposed to the views and experiences of others. The focus group discussions motivated the participants to provide additional information as they all shared the same experience of being illegal migrants in South Africa.

In-depth interviews. In-depth interviews were used in addition to the Mmogo-methodTM and the focus group discussions to ensure the integrity of the findings. Twenty migrants from Zimbabwe and Mozambique were interviewed individually. In-depth interviews are often helpful in accessing individuals' perceptions, opinions, facts and forecasts, and their reaction to initial findings and potential solutions (Seidman, 1998).

Data Analysis

Secondary analysis of the data of the larger international research project was conducted by the present researcher in an endeavour to discover dimensions that had not been explored in the larger study (Burns & Grove, 2005). Heaton (1998) defines secondary analysis as the use of existing data to pursue a research topic not covered in the original research. The re-analysis of qualitative data allows for re-interpretation of the data and may also generate new research questions (Corti & Bishop, 2005). Ackerstrom, Jacobsson and Wasterfors (2004) maintain that new analytical tools can highlight parts of the data that were ignored in the original analysis. The present researcher had to familiarise herself with the existing data before conducting the analysis. Thematic analysis was used in the present study.

Analysis of textual data. The in-depth interviews and focus group discussions were audio-recorded, transcribed and analysed using thematic content analysis. Thematic content analysis is a coherent way of organising research data in respect of a specific research question (Tuckett, 2005). In the present study, several important topics were identified in relation to the narrated experiences of particular illegal migrants in South Africa. The identified topics were organised into main and subthemes, which were defined, illustrated and integrated with verbatim quotations and visual representations.

Visual data analysis. The visual data obtained through the visual representations emanating from the Mmogo-methodTM were analysed according to the recommendations of Roos (2008):

- Step 1: Asking the participants about each object that was made to determine the literal meaning of the object.
- Step 2: Determining the relationships between the different objects in the visual representations.

Step 3: Applying the visual representations to the research question in order to provide insight into the migration experiences of the participants.

Step 4: Exploring the cultural meanings manifested in the symbolic use of objects.

Trustworthiness of the Study

Crystallisation was used to ensure that multiple perspectives of the resilience of the illegal migrants were obtained (Tobin & Begley, 2004). In the present study, three data collection methods were used: focus group discussions, in-depth interviews and the Mmogo-methodTM. The use of a variety of methods of data collection and analysis facilitates richer and more valid interpretations (Tuckett, 2005). The secondary data analysis was documented in detail, and a personal journal was kept in which reflections on the data analysis process were recorded. Thick description of the data was ensured through the inclusion of visual images of the lived experiences of the illegal migrants.

Findings

The table below shows the themes and subthemes derived from the data.

Table 1

Themes and subthemes of the positive adaptation of the illegal migrants

| Main themes | Subthemes |
|--|--|
| Vulnerability in relation to people in authority | Bribery Exploitation |
| Protective resources in the self in relation to others | Regulation of the self to benefit family Hope and optimism for a better future for family Autonomy to support family |
| Relational context-bound interactions | Relational context embedded in cultural context Definition of relationships Emotional closeness Transparency in relationships Relational context embedded in existential context Confirmation of illegal migrants |

The following sections indicate firstly the vulnerability of the illegal migrants' relational position in the context of migration, and the dynamic relational context-bound interactions.

Vulnerability in Relation to People in Authority

The police and migration officials apparently often misuse their power to the disadvantage of illegal migrants. The participants in the present study reported that the authorities received bribes and exploited as well as abused illegal migrants to the extent that they sometimes preferred not to report crimes against them.

Bribery. Some of the illegal migrants bribed police officers as a means of entering South Africa. According to one of the participants: *I came here to South Africa by bus, but I had to give police money for me to be here. I was paying throughout my journey. It was expensive for me but that was the only way I could reach to South Africa.*

On arriving in South Africa, the illegal migrants continued to use bribery as a means of remaining in the country. Most of them tried to be 'invisible' to avoid detection and deportation. If they were caught, some bribed officers to secure their stay in South Africa: *I need a job. Something to secure me from the police, not to be taken home. I need papers, for me to live here in South Africa. Some of the Home Affairs officers who are corrupt ask us to pay huge amounts of money we cannot afford. They take advantage because they know we do not have papers.*

Authors such as Crush and Williams (2003), Madsen (2004) and Palmary (2002) confirm that police bribery has become a crucial tactic employed by illegal migrants to stay in South Africa.

The vulnerability of the illegal migrants was also evident in their hesitation to report instances where they were victims of crimes. One of the migrants (participants) narrated his traumatic experience: *One day I was walking alone during the night. The robbers attacked me. They took my cell phone and a watch. I could not go to the police because I know I do not have protection, since I do not have papers.*

Exploitation. The study findings revealed that the illegal migrants were also often exploited by employers. Many of them performed hard labour tasks for very low wages or no

wages at all: *Some of the people here in South Africa, they take advantage of our situation. They give us little money because we are foreigners. Because we do not have papers, ID, so they just give us any amount they feel like giving.* Another participant reported: *I worked as a gardener for a week but the person refused to pay me for the job I had done. I went to report the case to the police and they told me that I will only get my money when I go back to my country since I was illegal.* Illegal migrants have limited legal rights to ensure their protection. Many are victims of exploitation and become de-skilled by accepting low-paying jobs (Bloch, 2010; Garcia & Duplat, 2007; Mawadza, 2008).

Although the illegal migrants in the present study faced many challenges, they seemed to cope with the challenges in an adaptive manner. Their strategies are discussed below.

Protective Resources in the Self in Relation to Others

Protective resources that the illegal migrants used to cope with the risks and challenges of residing illegally in South Africa included self-regulation, hope and optimism, and autonomy. Significantly, all these personal traits were described in terms of their relationships with other people.

Regulation of the self to benefit the family. Self-regulation was displayed in the ability of the illegal migrants to control themselves and not to retaliate to insults from South African citizens. For instance, although some local people called them names such as *makwerekwere*, which means foreigners, or said negative things about them, they did not retaliate. They remained focused on their goal of finding work so that they could provide for their families. These strategies are illustrated in the following extracts: *If they call us bad names we just ignore them because we know what we came here for. We did not come here to fight, so we just ignore them.* The migrants thus regulated their behaviour by ignoring the temptation to engage in fights and instead focused on their goals. *Myself personally, I just ignore them if they want to fight me. I am here to look for money, so if I fight with people it would mean that I would be derailed from my mission to find money.* The hardships in their countries of origin helped the migrants resist all forms of provocation: *Basically what pushed us from home is economic crises back home. We are here to look for employment and look after our families. We did not come here to fight.*

Self-regulation is an important asset that helps illegal migrants adapt positively to provocative situations. They apply self-regulatory skills by focusing on their future and long-term goals. Self-regulation helps illegal migrants avoid distractions that could divert them from the task at hand, which is to earn money for their families (Ommundsen, Haugen & Lund, 2005). Any deviation from this task would mean that not only they, but also their families back home, would bear the consequences. The illegal migrants in the study believed that if they did not control their anger, they would lose sight of their purpose in migrating to South Africa. Self-regulation enabled the participants to control their anger and thus promoted their ability to cope. This finding is supported in the literature (Narayanan, 2008; Ommundsen et al., 2005).

Hope and optimism for a better future for the family. Hope in this sense refers to the migrants' strong belief in the future. Most of the participants believed they would acquire wealth and prosperity – not only for themselves, but also for their families in their countries of origin – and that they would return home with the fruits of their efforts in South Africa. They described wealth as owning cars and cattle and having money. In respect of the visual representation below, the particular participant explained that he was enduring the hardships because he believed in a better future.



Figure 1. *Visual representation of a car symbolising wealth*

This is a car. I want to buy a car. Back home I cannot afford to buy a car because they are expensive and I am poor. But here if I get a good job I will be able to buy a car. The car will help me in terms of transport to and from my home country.

Being hopeful for the migrants meant looking forward to a better future. The migrants (participants) in the study were motivated to remain optimistic about their future in South Africa. Thinking about buying cows indicates that they were also planning for the future. It also suggests that they did not want to remain permanently in South Africa but that they wanted to return to their countries of origin one day.



Figure 2. *Visual representation of a herdsman*

This is I and a cow. I came to South Africa to work and get money. If I have enough money I want to buy cows. In Malawi, cows help us in many ways. We use them for ploughing and to get milk. With cows I know my family back home will have food.

Many of the illegal migrants did not have their families with them in South Africa. Some were very optimistic about bringing their families to South Africa if they could obtain legal documents. Most of them said that they missed their children and wives: *It is not easy to be without your family. I really hope I will get a job which gives me more money so that I can apply for the legal documents and bring my family here in South Africa.*

Hope and optimism about achieving future goals helps illegal migrants maintain their strength and focus on what makes life worth living (Sheldon & King, 2001). Seligman and Csikszentmihalyi (2000) suggest that hope and the ability to be positive about the future helps people adapt positively to challenging circumstances. In the present study, hope was clearly revealed in the visual representations of the wealth the participants still hoped to acquire despite being illegal migrants.

Autonomy to support the family. In this study, autonomy meant being independent and self-reliant. Most of the migrants said that they wanted to earn their own income and did not want to rely on donations from social welfare and the church. They said that they had to be self-reliant as they had an obligation to look after their families in their countries of origin: *I personally am not interested in getting free food; it makes me feel like a destitute. They say it is better to give a man a 'hook than a fish'. So I prefer to work than to beg.* Another participant remarked: *Yah, in terms of being given food I am not interested because I am not here for food. I am here to look for money and support my family. So if someone gives me food it is obvious my family gains nothing.* Despite their status as illegal migrants, they wanted to maintain their self-esteem and pride.

Autonomy is regarded as a dimension of well-being that increases self-esteem (Nelson & Prilleltensky, 2005). In the present study, the participants' striving for autonomy was expressed as a drive to be independent and to maintain their dignity and pride despite their illegal status. Cicchetti, Rogosch, Lynch and Holt (1993) confirm that autonomy improves self-esteem and helps people adapt positively to challenging situations.

Relational Context-Bound Interactions

The relational context in which migrants functioned facilitated their resilience. The themes that emerged from the study included the relational context embedded in the cultural context (definition of relationships, emotional closeness, and transparency in relationships) as well as in the existential context (confirmation of illegal migrants).

Relational context embedded in the cultural context. The relational context in which illegal migrants function is embedded in a shared cultural context. This means the migrants are from the same country, race and culture and share similar values and beliefs. The cultural values that underpin people's relational context contribute to feelings of belonging, mutual

concern and shared values with members of a particular group, which, in turn, contributes to their ability to deal with the challenges they face (Perkins & Long, 2002; Saegert & Winkel, 2004).

Definition of relationships. The relationship between illegal migrants is one of equality. Illegal migrants look after each other and accept each other – their relationship is regarded as nurturing (Kitching, Roos & Ferreira, 2011; Vorster, 2010). Such a relationship helps people deal with risk. A migrant (participant) from Malawi reported: *We meet together once a week as Malawians. Everybody cares for everyone here.*

The emotional closeness of the migrants results in the sharing of resources and the expression of care. A Mozambique migrant (participant) said: *We as Mozambicans, we understand each other better than other people will understand us. We are now closer because of the shared bond of Mozambique that other people do not have.*

Emotional closeness. This refers to the sharing openly in a transparent way between the migrants, who are specifically related to ethnically (Vorster, 2010). The illegal migrants' emotional closeness was noted in the sharing of resources. A migrant (participant) illustrated this by saying: *If someone comes from Malawi without accommodation we help him. We cannot let our brother sleeping outside. The fact that we come from the same country we just trust each other. Sometimes three to four people can share a room. We also share ideas on how best to support our families back home.* Another migrant from Mozambique confirmed: *We also assist each other financially... by borrowing each other money.* In support to this Altinyelken (2009) maintains that the availability of tangible help and receiving support from significant others contributes to positive adaptation. This emotional closeness is founded on a familiarity and a sameness that fulfils an important function in people's positive adaptation. Kivett (1990) and Greef and Holtzkamp (2007) describe communality, communication and strong social ties as important communal strengths that help people deal with adversity.

Transparency in relationships. Illegal migrants tend to become more transparent to each other, which can be seen in the unconditional trust they have for each other. A Malawian migrant (participant) reported: *We have a burial society we contribute to every month; in the event of death we use the money to transport the body to be buried at home.* Also, many of the migrants (participants) in the present study could not regularly visit their countries of origin as they risked deportation if they were caught without legal documents while trying to

cross the South African border. They assisted each other in sending remittances in the form of money and groceries to their families. One of the migrants said: *Next week there is a guy going home. I am going to give him R2 000 [\$250] and groceries to give my family. I know they are going to receive the goods. We trust each other here.* The safety and trust that the illegal migrants in the study experienced in relation to their compatriots helped them provide for their families in their countries of origin. Through their interdependency, the illegal migrants developed strong emotional bonds that encouraged them to adapt to the unfavourable conditions they had to deal with in South Africa.

Relational context embedded in existential context. The illegal migrants shared an existential context through the collective practice of spirituality. They regarded this existential context as important for effective relationships. A migrant (participant) expressed this sentiment as follows: *We go to church to pray every Sunday. It is very important for us to go and pray to God. Back home we go to church so there is no reason for us not to continue praying. We pray so that God may continue to guide us.* Worshipping together gave the migrants a feeling of comfort and contributed to the strong emotional bond between them.

Spirituality is considered an important facilitator of positive adaptation. Hall (2004) argues that spirituality enhances the general well-being of illegal migrants when they engage in spiritual activities and spiritual friendship. Roos (2011) reports that, older African people cope with challenges by practising spiritual activities collectively. Mbiti (1969) also notes that African people apply religion in all their life domains. It was evident in this study that spirituality and communal worship helped the illegal African migrants deal with risks in a resilient manner.

Confirmation of illegal migrants. This refers to the message that migrants receive from one another that they are accepted for who they are irrespective of their religious affiliation. In their collective spiritual meetings, illegal migrants focus on the similarities between them rather than on denominational differences. The illegal migrants in the study encouraged each other to have fellowship meetings once a week, and, although the migrants were often from different denominations, they came together on Sundays to worship together: *We are from different religion[s] such as, Roman Catholic, Presbyterian, Anglican and Methodist. We all meet here. As a community we just meet together in one area to pray. We are all Christians.*

Discussion

Despite the asymmetrical power relationships between illegal migrants and the authorities, employers and local citizens, as well as abusive control mechanisms used by legal officials to endorse the submissive position of illegal migrants, the migrants in the study adapted positively. The transactional processes involved in the migrants' resilience included protective resources within the self as well as relational context-bound interactions. However, intrapersonal as well as relational resources were relationally oriented. The protective resources of resilient illegal migrants, which include regulation of the self, hope, optimism and autonomy, are described in relation to significant others. The relational world-view is illustrated by the relational interactions that emerged on two contextual levels in the study, namely the cultural and the existential. In terms of the cultural context, which is underpinned by shared values and beliefs, it seems as if the illegal migrants defined their relationship with fellow migrants as one of equality – they confirmed one another; looked after one another; expressed empathy and emotional closeness (Vorster, 2010). These are all factors that nurture relationships and that are crucial for illegal migrants who constantly have to deal with uncertainty and limited resources. In these nurturing relationships, illegal migrants are included in the sheltering power (Hernandez, 2002; Kitching, Roos & Ferreira, 2011) of a relational community that is similar to the community at home.

Recommendations and Limitations

It is recommended that policy makers review immigration policies in respect of illegal migrants who can add value to the South African economy. Devising intervention strategies for legalising especially skilled illegal migrants rather than deporting them is essential. Policies are also needed to protect the human rights of illegal migrants – such policies would reduce the exploitation of such migrants by employers and South African citizens. Controlling the corruption of some police and Home Affairs officials would also help reduce the number of illegal migrants. A more conducive environment for skilled illegal migrants would help them maximise their potential thereby also benefiting the South African economy.

Owing to the xenophobic attacks, it was not easy to gain access to illegal migrants because of their suspicions about the nature of the research and their fear of deportation. The

research was consequently limited to a few participants who were willing to take part in the study

Conclusion

Illegal migration to South Africa is likely to continue or even increase. Understanding how these migrants adapt positively to the risks and challenges they face is therefore crucial to the health and well-being of the population of illegal migrants. Nurturing relationships provide a buffer to violent socio-political and uncertain cultural contexts. In contexts of significant risk, the relational context, embedded in cultural and existential contexts, provides opportunities to belong, to share and to be human. In a threatening external context, the relational context promotes resilience.

CHAPTER 3

ARTICLE 2

AN EXPLORATION OF FLEXIBILITY/RIGIDITY AS RELATIONAL QUALITY OF AFRICAN MIGRANTS IN SOUTH AFRICA AS NEW CULTURAL AND SOCIAL ENVIRONMENT

Reference of submitted article

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An Exploration of Flexibility/Rigidity as Relational Quality of African Migrants in South Africa as New Cultural and Social Environment

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Abstract

This article attempts to draw attention to the interpersonal interactions of African migrants and how the relational quality namely, flexibility/rigidity could potentially facilitate or limit their acculturation in South Africa. The study on which the article is based is part of a larger international research project on the commonalities and differences in the way that intergenerational relations, citizenship and belonging play out in three countries: the United Kingdom, France and South Africa. Ten families and 24 individual participants (men and women in the age range 18-59) from different African countries who had migrated to South Africa were selected through purposive sampling. The data were obtained through in-depth personal interviews that were thematically analysed using a secondary data analysis approach. Although more relational qualities would provide a comprehensive description of migrants' interpersonal styles, the relational quality of flexibility/rigidity of migrants who participated in this research, ranged on a continuum from being too flexible to being too close and some were in between. Migrants who were flexible could associate themselves with the new cultural and social environment and expand their behavioural repertoire. The migrants in the study, who were too flexible and too close, experienced discomfort. The study findings can be used as baseline for further research to support the adjustment of migrants in South Africa.

Key words: acculturation, African migrants, environment, flexibility, migrants; rigidity

Introduction

Acculturation has become a fertile area for research (Berry, 2008, Tadmor, Tetlock & Peng 2009). Acculturation is defined as the strategies adopted by migrants in responding to intercultural contact in new cultural environment (Berry, 2005; Bhatia & Ram, 2009; Gibson, 2001). Berry (1980) describes acculturation strategies as assimilation, integration, separation and marginalisation. Assimilation refers to migrants who do not maintain their cultural identity and, rather, seek daily interaction with other cultures. Integration refers to migrants who preserve their home culture yet become actively involved with the host culture. Separation refers to migrants who adhere to their original culture and avoid interaction with others. Marginalisation refers to migrants who lose cultural contact with their traditional culture as well as the host culture. Chirkov (2009) argues that acculturation is an open-ended, continuous process that includes progress and relapses.

It is accepted that despite being African and by migrating to another African country, migrants will express experiences similar to any other migrant from any nationality (Berry, 2005; Schwartz, Unger, Zamboanga & Szapocznik, 2010). There are also wide individual differences in acculturation even among people who live in the same acculturative environment, in other words, not every migrant enters into the new environment and acculturates in the same way (Berry, 2005; Schwartz et al., 2010).

Various factors can influence migrants' acculturation (Nelson & Prilleltensky, 2005; Piontkowski, Rohmann, Florack 2002; Schwartz et al., 2010) and different frameworks, mostly intrapsychic theories are used to explain the psychological acculturation of migrants in a new cultural environment (Chirkov, 2009; Durrheim & Dixon, 2004; Rademeyer, Wagner & Cassimjee, 2009). Very little attention has been paid to the interpersonal interactions between citizens and migrants. The interpersonal interactions are important, since they shape the degree of acculturation, intergroup relations as well as the acculturation options available to migrants (Nelson & Prilleltensky, 2005; Piontkowski et al., 2002; Renzaho & Burns, 2006; Schwartz et al., 2010).

Akhtar and Choi (2004) also believe that migrants integrate better into the receiving society when they receive encouragement and tangible support. Rogers (1951; 1957) described optimal relationships where people display unconditional acceptance, warmth and empathy. Warm and accepting relationships enhance the integration of migrants with

members of the host country (Berry 2005; Schwartz et al., 2010). Some migrants however, lack sensitivity to new contexts and do not realise that they contribute to the interactional dynamics between them and citizens thereby finding it difficult to adjust their behaviours to the new context and often eliciting rejection (Rohmann, Florack & Piontkowski, 2006; Schwartz et al., 2010). Migrants who experience rejection may find it difficult to integrate into the receiving country and may consequently resist adopting the practices, values and identities of the receiving culture (Berry & Kalin, 1995; Lebedeva & Tatarko, 2004; Portes & Rumbaut, 2001; 2006; Rumbaut, 2008).

Theories Underpinning Interpersonal Interactions

The research in the study under discussion falls in the ambit of systems-, contact and interpersonal communication theory. Systems theory holds that as migrants adapt to the new environment they also change the environment, which in turn influences them (Guidano, 1991). Migrants' relationship with people makes provision to observe the system as well as the interactions between the parts. The way individual migrants typically enter into another system and how they typically relate to others in this system show what happens in these interactions. Contact theory holds intergroup contact creates an opportunity for friendly and cooperative interactions that facilitate positive acculturation orientations (Allport, 1954; Pittigrew, 1998; Dovidio, Kawakami & Gaertner, 2000; Giovannini & Vezzali, 2011). Contact theory also emphasises the importance of intergroup contacts to limit judgments and to develop positive unconditional acceptance in intergroup relations (Tropp & Pittigrew, 2005).

According to the interpersonal communication theory, interpersonal interactions between migrants and residents are not linear but rather on going circular processes that see people mutually influence each other and the experiences they have with each other (Vorster, 2011). The relationships between migrants and citizens are complex and dynamic and a description of the relational qualities of migrants can raise awareness of their preferred interpersonal styles which could potentially assist or limit their acculturation. Migrants' preferred styles of interaction is observed in their expression of their lived experiences of their relationship with other people (Jackson, 1965). This preferred style of interaction consists of different relational qualities which could be effective contributing to meaningful

relationships or infective, contributing to isolation and rejection (Vorster, 2011; Watzlawick, Bavelas & Jackson, 2011).

Interpersonal interactions are experienced on a subjective level and demonstrated on a behavioural level (Hill, Watson, Rivers & Joyce, 2007). The behavioural level refers to the manifestation of clusters of relational qualities of people's preferred styles of interaction (Beukes, Roos & Vorster, 2012). Relational qualities are observed in the manner people speak about their subjective experiences. Beukes et al (2012) identified 16 relational qualities involved in interpersonal interactions, but for this study the focus will only be on the relational quality, flexibility/rigidity. The following question thus guided the study: What is the relational quality of flexibility/rigidity of the African migrants who part took in this study as they are faced with adjusting to a new cultural context?

Very little has however, been documented about the relational qualities of migrants in terms of their adaptability in a new cultural and social environment. This article does not attempt to describe the preferred interpersonal styles of individual migrants but is rather a first attempt to draw attention to the relevance of relational qualities in the adaptation of African migrants in the context of migration and acculturation.

Aim of the Study

This study was part of a larger international research project that was conducted in 2009 on African migrants who migrated to South Africa, France and the United Kingdom. The initial objective of this larger research project was to identify the significant commonalities as well as the specific differences in the way that intergenerational relations, citizenship and belonging play out in the three countries mentioned above. In this larger research project, migrants described experiences of interpersonal interactions which they perceived to be effective or limiting. Burns and Grove (2005) and Corti and Bishop (2005) state that secondary analysis of existing data enables researchers to generate new research questions for further research topics not covered in the original data. In the present study, the researchers explored the raw textual data in an attempt to understand the participants' lived experiences and thereby attempting to describe the relational quality of flexibility/rigidity. This article therefore aims to explore the relational quality of flexibility/rigidity in migrants' who entered a new cultural and social environment.

Research Method

The study was qualitative and enabled the researchers in the larger research project to describe the lived experiences of the participants' interactional experiences as they interacted with members of the receiving country (Creswell 2003; Niewenhuis, 2007). From an epistemological point of view, human beings are ascribing beings so in order to understand how individual migrants acculturate, qualitative approaches are needed to analyse their actions and interactions with the host society (Bhatia & Ram, 2009; Creswell 2003).

Research Context and Participants

The initial research was conducted in February 2009. For the purposes of the larger study, ten families of different African migrants residing in South Africa were recruited for the research. The participants included parents and their children from African countries such as Zimbabwe, Mozambique, Botswana, Malawi, Uganda, Ghana, Nigeria and Ethiopia. The participant age groups ranged from 14 to 59 years. These migrants were residing in the North West and Gauteng Provinces during the time the larger research project were conducted. For the purposes of this article, the researchers conducted secondary analysis of the initial data with the focus on the exploration of migrants' interactional experiences. The tables below show the participants' profiles.

Table 1
Family Participants

| Country of origin | Father/Mother | Age | Number of children whose ages ranged from 8-31 | Year of migration to South Africa |
|-------------------|---------------|-----|--|-----------------------------------|
| Zimbabwe | Father | 55 | 3 | 1986 |
| DRC | Father | 57 | 4 | 1994 |
| Nigeria | Father | 55 | 3 | 1995 |
| Ethiopia | Father | 44 | 3 | 1998 |
| Ghana | Father | 53 | 3 | 1985 |
| Botswana | Mother | 45 | 2 | 2004 |
| Uganda | Father | 49 | 3 | 1990 |
| Mozambique | Father | 43 | 2 | 1991 |
| Mozambique | Father | 59 | 3 | 1996 |
| Malawi | Father | 59 | 3 | 2001 |

Table 2

Individual Participants

| Country of origin | Female/Male | Age | Year of migration to South Africa |
|-------------------|-------------|-----|-----------------------------------|
| Uganda | Male | 51 | 1999 |
| Zimbabwe | Male | 37 | 2004 |
| DRC | Male | 58 | 1984 |
| Zimbabwe | Female | 38 | 2000 |
| Nigeria | Female | 43 | 2005 |
| Botswana | Female | 33 | 2003 |
| Zimbabwe | Male | 43 | 1998 |
| Mozambique | Male | 55 | 2001 |
| Zimbabwe | Male | 44 | 1999 |
| Mozambique | Female | 39 | 2002 |
| Malawi | Male | 57 | 1994 |
| Malawi | Female | 29 | 2006 |
| Zimbabwe | Female | 38 | 2005 |
| Malawi | Male | 41 | 1993 |
| Malawi | Male | 34 | 2003 |
| Mozambique | Male | 45 | 1997 |
| Uganda | Male | 46 | 2001 |
| Zimbabwe | Female | 39 | 1999 |
| Mozambique | Male | 28 | 2002 |
| Malawi | Male | 42 | 1996 |
| Zimbabwe | Male | 52 | 1985 |
| Zimbabwe | Female | 35 | 2004 |
| Malawi | Female | 50 | 1989 |
| Mozambique | Male | 49 | 1991 |

Procedure

Ethical approval for the initial larger international research project was obtained from the North-West University's Ethics Committee. Contact was established by people who were known to the migrants. These people acted as gatekeepers for reaching the African migrant

communities in the two provinces mentioned above. The gatekeepers explained the proposed research to the migrants and arranged meetings to solicit the migrants' participation. The participants were informed about the nature, goal and duration of the research after which they gave their informed consent. They were also told that their participation was voluntary and that they could withdraw from the study at any time. They were assured about the confidentiality of any information they provided. English was used as the medium of communication as all the participants could express themselves in this language. All the data were captured by means of audio tapes and field notes.

Data Gathering

The original data were collected from ten families' narratives and the semi-structured interviews of 24 individual participants. The different data gathering methods will be discussed in more depth.

Narrative inquiry. In the larger study, the stories of ten migrants' families were described in the form of narratives about their migration pathways. Different migration pathways were described by the migrants regarding their entrance into South Africa. Some of the migrants migrated as a family, while in some cases husbands migrated first and were then followed by their families. In the data collection of the larger study, the researchers interviewed parents and children who were old enough to participate in the study. These children's ages ranged from 14 years and older. In the case of families where the children were too young, the researchers interviewed only the parents after which transcripts were made.

Narrative inquiry is a qualitative method with roots in social constructionist epistemology theory. The theory holds that subjective meanings are negotiated socially and historically through interactions with others and through cultural norms that operate in individual lives (Neuman, 2006). This means that through narrative inquiry, researchers can capture individual interpretations of reality as well as shared social constructions in a given community (Riessman, 2002). As people often experience their lives as unfolding stories, researchers use narrative inquiry to uncover the invisible meanings embedded in the institutional life of migrants and to identify suppressed or competing narrative stories of their interactional relationship experiences of acculturation in a new cultural and social environment (Dodge, Ospina & Foldy, 2005).

Semi-structured interviews. Semi-structured interviews were used in an attempt to understand the experiences of the migrants and the meaning they ascribed to these experiences (Seidman, 1998). The individual interviews helped the researcher in the present study understand the intentions, beliefs, values and emotions of the African migrants in South Africa as they experienced acculturation (Dodge et al., 2005). Twenty four participants participated in interviews that lasted between 30 to 45 minutes. Open-ended questions guided the interviews.

Data Gathering and Analysis

The data were analysed thematically. Thematic analysis is described as a method of identifying, analysing and reporting patterns within and across data sets (Braun & Clarke, 2006). To apply thematic analysis, the researchers had to familiarise with all the data sets as suggested by Pope, Ziebland and Mays (2000). This involved reading the text to make sense of the meanings and patterns in the data on migrants' lived experiences. The researchers applied coding to find patterns in the migrants' experiences of interpersonal interactions (Dodge, Ospina & Foldy, 2005). The coding process made it possible for the researchers to organise the data into meaningful topics, which were subsequently organised into main themes and subthemes. The themes were then defined and integrated with the verbatim quotes of the participants.

Trustworthiness of the Study

Crystallisation is a methodological process that involves strategies to create a holistic picture of the phenomenon under investigation through multiple presentations by the research participants (Ellingson, 2009). Created themes supported by the participants' verbatim quotes provided a view of the context on the basis of stories of individual experiences, emotions and expressions. Crystallisation provides another way of achieving research depth through the compilation of how the migrants described their interpersonal interactions. The rigour of the data was enhanced by using the data obtained from personal interviews to describe relational qualities. Throughout the research process of the initial project, the researchers were encouraged to consider how their perceptions might influence the findings. By keeping track of the observations, emotions and notes, the researchers in the present study evaluated any bias she might have had towards a particular finding or response. As a migrant the present

researchers used a journal as part of self-reflection to record thoughts and experiences on migration to avoid potential bias.

Findings

The table below shows the main themes and subthemes derived from the data.

Table 3

Relational qualities in the new cultural and social context

| Themes | Subthemes |
|-----------------------------|--|
| Relational qualities | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Very flexible • Flexible relational quality • Association of self with both home culture and new cultural environment • Rigid interpersonal style • Subjective experiences of disillusionment and discord |

It should be noted that the relational quality of flexibility/rigidity is presented in isolation from other relational qualities to illustrate how migrants differ with regards to this relational quality. Relational qualities can be identified on a continuum and in this study, migrants' relational quality of flexibility/rigidity ranged from very flexible to too close and in between. People can differ from the one side of the continuum to the other side.

Very Flexible

Migrants with a very flexible relational quality tend to respond to the context in an inappropriately open manner and believed that they belonged neither to the country of origin nor to the host country. Two migrants from Nigeria and Uganda said the following:

Sometimes I feel like I am a lost generation because on the one hand I feel Nigerian but I am South African by citizenship and I do not feel South African so I am in between two worlds at the moment. And also: I say I am a South African because I grew up here but then again I am Ugandan. So I kind of have no background, basically. People who are too flexible often

struggle to adhere to the demands of many groups and could easily experience subjective feelings of being overwhelmed and lost. The subjective experiences expressed by the migrants are that they are torn between different group identities.

Flexible relational quality

Migrants with a flexible relational quality could move appropriately between contexts and in this research it emerged in the lived experiences of associating the self with both home culture and new cultural environment. Flexibility as relational quality contributed to the expansion of migrants' behavioural repertoire.

Association of self with both home culture and new cultural environment. The flexibility that some of the migrants demonstrate was to hold onto their culture and practices and, at the same, enjoy the new cultural environment. A migrant from Ethiopia shared his views on how he and his compatriots celebrated specific cultural holidays despite being in a different cultural environment: *Even though our children learn the South African culture we still celebrate our Ethiopian holidays.* A migrant from Mozambique also demonstrated this flexibility: *Well, I love Mozambique, I would always love Mozambique, It is in my veins ... in my blood. But I also love South Africa. So I had two cultures. We can keep the good of both.* Schwartz et al. (2010) also maintain that being in a receiving country does not stop migrants from practising the rituals of their country of origin. It all depends on the flexibility of the migrants.

Where the migrants were flexible in their approach to the new cultural environment, they benefited on a personal level, and their behavioural repertoire in their relationships was expanded. For example, the behaviour of the migrants who had been guided by their traditional norms changed because of context. A female migrant from Mozambique described the flexibility of her and her husband's as follows: *Where we come from, the women do all the housework, cooking, raising children. But here the men help with some of the housework like my husband. He [my husband] helps me with the chores, but in Mozambique it would not be like that.* For a female migrant from Botswana, this was also a new experience: *In Botswana traditionally my husband is not allowed to do the household chores, but here he is helping me with all the chores and child care. This is because we both go to work and have no other female relative to assist us, so we do not have specific roles anymore. We always assist each other when we get home. I like it, he spoils me a lot.* Migration brought about

behaviour changes and migrants who were flexible to adjust to the new context were able to benefit from the behavioural changes. The expansion of the behavioural repertoire is possible because migrants are open to accommodate new information, which is expressed by a migrant from Zimbabwe: *It is important to know each other and experience from other people from other countries, because if you sit only in one place you cannot even learn anything from outside.*

Rigidity

On the other extreme of the continuum, migrants tend to be too close for new information and become quite rigid. Rigidity was observed when migrants apparently hold on strongly to their cultural environment and resist adopting the practices of the receiving culture and (Rumbaut, 2008). Below are the verbatim comments of some of the migrants who felt more attached to their home countries than to the receiving country: *There is an old saying. I do not know if we call it ... we say "home is best". We would like to go back there.* A migrant from Mozambique said: *Some may say they are from Soweto or Pretoria but no matter where you come from, you can live in America for forty years or even England but you will know which village you belong to. So you can never go somewhere and that simply becomes your home. Although some migrants had spent many years in their host country, they still perceived themselves as rooted in their countries of origin.* According to a migrant from Malawi: *This is my twelfth year. In December I would have lived here for twelve years, but I will go back to my country.*

A migrant from Zimbabwe said the following: *Migrants do not experience a feeling of belonging in South Africa. Being in South Africa everyday you are reminded that this is not your home. So that feeling of going back is within me. I know I have got home somewhere.* Portes and Rumbaut (2001, 2006) argue that migrants who feel rejected and discriminated against may have difficulty in integrating with the receiving country. Consider, for example, the recent xenophobic attacks in South Africa where majority of the migrants were brutally attacked and houses and businesses destroyed (Crush & Ramachandran, 2010; Dodson, 2010).

However, when migrants rigidly applied the same cultural customs to the new cultural environment, they experienced dissolution of the relationship between them and other

Africans, despite their shared Africanness, and a discord between their cultural customs and traditions regarding gendered roles and their responsibilities in the new cultural environment.

Subjective experiences of disillusionment and discord. As migrants from one African country to another, and being part of a seemingly similar black community, some of the migrants expressed their disillusionment when they discovered the wide differences in their cultural assumptions. A migrant from Mozambique described an incident where he experienced disillusionment: *One day I saw this young man, he must have been 15 years who stays in my community. He was smoking in the street with his school uniform. I told him he should not do that as it does not show respect for his school and parents. And then his mother came out, and she started shouting at me. I calmly explained what was going on, and then she said I should mind my own business, because I am not even from this country.*

The findings revealed a disaccord between the cultural customs and traditions that guided gendered behaviour in the host country, which required adjustments to the new context on the part of the migrants. This was illustrated by the sentiments of a Malawian migrant: *Traditionally a man has to take care of the family and see that everyone has food to eat, here my wife is doing my job, it is bad, but there is nothing I can do because I am not working.* Some of the migrants thus felt uncomfortable with the shifting of gender roles from fixed to more open and unspecified roles. Marchetti-Mercer and Roos (2006) maintain that migrants can be severely affected if they are separated from their cultural norms. In the world view of many migrants, certain roles are defined by gender.

Discussion

In terms of interpersonal interactions, the isolation of one relational quality from the lived experiences of migrants could be regarded as superficial. However, for this purpose it was important to note that migrants' degree of flexibility was linked to their subjective experiences within an interpersonal context, which could ultimately have an influence on their acculturation. The subjective experiences of migrants (discomfort) are linked with their relational qualities (too flexible – too close) and their preferred interpersonal styles which are either effective or ineffective to address their needs in a new cultural and social environment. The migrants who expressed subjective experiences of being lost, discomfort, disillusionment and discord, displayed relational qualities on one of the extremes of the continuum – namely as too flexible or too close, while migrants who were more flexible reported receiving

support and were able to expand their behavioural repertoire. Migrants with relational qualities of too flexible and too close expressed subjective experiences that indicated that they do have the behavioural repertoire to deal effectively with interpersonal context associated with migration. Migrants with the relational quality of rigidity could be perceived as holding onto their own frame of reference and most likely elicit rejection from people. They lack the capacity to make adjustments and to display context appropriate behaviour. In contrast, those migrants who demonstrated flexibility as relational quality were able to adjust to the new context and experience support. Piontkowski et al. (2002) also believe that the interplay between migrants and residents determines intergroup relations in acculturation. This supports contact theory, which holds that intergroup contacts provide opportunities for friendly, cooperative interactions and facilitate positive acculturation (Allport, 1954; Pettigrew, 1998). Migrants who display flexible relational quality seem to have positive intergroup contact and relations with South African citizens.

The findings of this study should also be contextualised within intergroup dynamics. Migrants belong to groups with specific identities. Migrating to South Africa means that the context has changed and that African migrants enter into subgroups with their own norms and traditions, despite a shared Africaness. By being flexible, they adapt to the new interpersonal context and in their place in relation to the bigger group.

It is also noted in the findings that acculturation in a new cultural and social environment is not a linear process but it takes place through processes of negotiating and repositioning of both migrants and citizens. In the present study, the intergroup contacts appeared to have influenced some of the citizens to have a positive attitude towards the migrants and to provide a friendly and welcoming environment, which, in turn, encouraged the migrants to cultivate flexible relational quality as preferred interpersonal style. These migrants were open to accept information from the new environment, expand their behavioural repertoire and most likely be able to assimilate into the new social environment. Chirkov (2009) argues that acculturation is an open-ended, continuous process that includes progress and relapses, which makes it virtually impossible to predict and control migrants' adjustments. Therefore migrants' degree of flexibility/rigidity relational quality as preferred interpersonal style influences the way they experience belonging during their acculturation.

Recommendations and Limitations

It is recommended that comparative studies be conducted to determine the effect of relational qualities of African migrants' preferred styles of interaction and their ability to acculturate. It is also recommended that a specific study be conducted with the aim to identify more relational qualities in relation to migrant's adaptation. Person-centred interviews can also complement or verify the subjective experiences of African migrants. The findings of this and other research can be used to facilitate effective interpersonal contact between migrants and host country residents. Migrants and citizens should be sensitised to their preferred interpersonal styles in a new context, particularly in the context of migration. Both citizens and migrants can benefit from interpersonal relational workshops to understand their impact on each other and how both migrants and citizens contribute to the relational dynamics between them. A limitation of this research was that the accounts of migrants were used that were not specifically gathered to determine their interpersonal interactions, but that it was studied from a secondary analysis of the data obtained for another study. The interpersonal interactions were therefore identified tentatively.

Conclusion

The African migrants in this study have a need to belong, but the degree of their flexibility/rigidity influences the manner in which they experience belonging during their acculturation process. Migrants who displayed flexibility as relational quality of their preferred interpersonal styles were able to benefit from the new social environment on a personal as well as a relational level. However, the migrants who displayed over-flexibility and rigidity experienced rejection, isolation, disillusionment and discord. This relational quality hinders or helps African migrants to acculturate to a new group in a new cultural and social environment.

CHAPTER 4

ARTICLE 3

RELATIONAL EXPERIENCES OF AFRICAN MIGRANTS IN THE CONTEXT OF XENOPHOBIA

Reference of submitted article

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Relational Experiences of African Migrants in the Context of Xenophobia

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Abstract

This study explored the relational experiences of African migrants in the context of xenophobia. The study was part of a larger international research project conducted on African migrants who had migrated to South Africa, France and the United Kingdom. The 44 participants purposively selected for the study included men and women with ages ranging from 18 to 50 years. The data were obtained through focus group discussions and semi-structured interviews and thematically analysed through secondary data analysis. Prejudices against migrants, heightened by the media, were reflected in the interactions between South African citizens and the migrants. The power relationship between the migrants and citizens can be seen in the definition of the relationship as a complementary relationship as well as in the visibility of the migrants due to their migrant status and their 'invisibility' as human beings. The migrants in the study expressed their subjective experience of being unwelcome. Recommendations include portraying the relationships between migrants and citizens positively in the media as well as employing interventions aimed at emphasising the interrelatedness of migrants and citizens.

Key words: citizens, complementary relationships, definition of relationships, interactional relations, linear perceptions, migrants, prejudice, self-organising, xenophobia

Introduction

In 2008, severe xenophobic attacks erupted in South Africa, and black African migrants became the victims of rage and violence. Many of the African migrants were severely beaten, some were burnt alive, and some women were raped. More than 60 migrants were killed (Burns & Mohapatra, 2008; Dodson, 2010; Nell, 2008). The houses and businesses of the migrants were destroyed, leaving several thousand migrants homeless (McConnell, 2009; Steenkamp, 2009). Many of the migrants were also subjected to verbal slights and insults (Crush & Ramachandran, 2010). As the attacks escalated around the country, many migrants sought refuge in churches and police stations (Vromans, Schweitzer, Knoetze & Kagee, 2011). Xenophobia is still rife in some parts of South Africa, and African migrants continue to be murdered and discriminated against by their fellow black South Africans (Kruger & Osman, 2010; Mashaba, 2011).

Xenophobia is defined as hatred or fear of foreigners and strangers, which is expressed in murder, violence, discrimination, verbal abuse and public hostility by residents towards migrants (Crush & Pendleton, 2007). The xenophobic attacks of 2008 should be seen in the context of the transition to democracy in 1994, which led to many migrants from other parts of Africa flocking to South Africa in search of employment. These migrants believed that they could share in the new freedom after the end of apartheid (Dodson, 2010; Nell, 2008; Vale, 2002). However, black South Africans in particular saw them as competition for the available resources and employment opportunities and used them as scapegoats for the continued social and economic hardships of black South Africans (Steenkamp, 2009). Xenophobia thus appears to occur where expectations of delivery are high and yet acute inequalities and deprivation persevere (Burns & Mohapatra, 2008).

The consequences of xenophobia are well described in the literature, yet the interactions between citizens and migrants have not been widely researched. The aim of this study was therefore to explore the lived reality of migrants based on their interactions with South African citizens.

Migrants and citizens often share different cultural, social, economic and political contexts as relationships are socially constructed through connection and interaction with others (Allen, 1998; Chigeza & Roos, 2011; Gergen, 1999; Wondwosen, 2006). Relationships, for the purposes of the study, consist of the daily interactions between citizens and migrants (Stacey, Griffin & Shaw, 2001). These interactions always take place within a

particular context, which determines the meaning of all communication and behaviour in that context (Hargie, 2011; Watzlawick, Bavelas & Jackson, 1967). The study of the interactions between migrants and citizens is located in the field of complex responsive processes of relating (CRPR) theory. According to this theory, patterns of meaning and relating are continuously created through the self-organising processes of migrants and citizens and in the relationship between them (Mendenhall & Oddou, 1985; Stacey, 2007; Vorster, 2011). The theory of complex responsive processes of relating provides a strong relational perspective on a deeper process-orientated understanding of the relationship between migrants and citizens (Stacey et al., 2001). This relationship in the context of xenophobia is characterised principally by prejudice, which has cognitive (belief), affective (emotional) and conative (behavioural predisposition) components. The negative cognitive and affective beliefs of citizens towards migrants are characterised by a lack of empathy, covert rejection and significant levels of incongruence (De Wet, 2005).

Most research to date has contributed to an understanding of prejudice in terms of its cognitive and affective aspects, but relatively few studies have been done on the behavioural manifestations of prejudice between migrants and citizens.

Aim of the Study

This study was part of a larger international research project that was conducted in 2009 on African migrants who had migrated to South Africa, France and United Kingdom. The larger research project focused on the differences and similarities in the intergenerational relations, citizenship and belonging in the three countries. The secondary data analysis in the larger study revealed strained relational experiences between the migrants and the citizens, leading to the following question that guided the present study. What are the interactional experiences of African migrants and black South African citizens? It is hoped that the findings of the study will contribute to intervention strategies that will facilitate positive interpersonal relations between African migrants and black South Africans.

Research Design and Method

The initial larger research project was a qualitative research project in which the data were collected through focus group discussions and semi-structured interviews. These data were analysed inductively in an attempt to answer the research question on the migrants' experiences of the interactions between them and the citizens. It was through the secondary data analysis in the larger research project that the present researcher discovered the strained relationships between the migrants and the citizens. Secondary data analysis was also done in

the present study in terms of a research aim that was distinct from that of the larger research study (Heaton, 1998). The secondary data analysis of the existing data set yielded interpretations and conclusions that differed from those of the larger research project (Grinyer, 2009).

The ontological assumption, on which this research was based, is that social reality is not fixed but is constructed in the process of continuous communication and relationship (Giorgi & Giorgi, 2008). This is in line with Neuman's (2006) view that the social world is constructed through shared meanings that people ascribe to social interactions through ongoing communication.

Research Context and Participants

The larger research project was conducted in February 2009 after the serious xenophobic attacks in 2008 in South Africa. The participants were African migrants who resided in different provinces in South Africa. For the purposes of the larger study, the African migrants residing in the North West and Gauteng provinces were selected to participate in the study. A total of 44 participants, including men and women with ages ranging from 18 to 50 years, were purposively recruited for the study. These migrants were from different African countries such as Zimbabwe, Mozambique, Malawi, Botswana, Nigeria, Uganda and Ghana.

Procedure

The North-West University's Ethics Committee granted approval for the study. People who knew the migrants in the two provinces, Gauteng and North West, acted as gatekeepers to help the researchers in the larger study make contact with the migrants. The researchers, with the assistance of the gatekeepers, held meetings with the migrants to explain the nature and aim of the research and to request their participation. The migrants (participants) were assured of the confidentiality of any information provided by them. They were also informed that their participation was voluntary and that they could withdraw at any time if they if they were uncomfortable with the study. They were given the opportunity to ask questions about their involvement in the study. The researchers established rapport with the participants before proceeding with the data-gathering process. In most cases, the migrants (participants) preferred to participate in this process at a public venue as they were reluctant to reveal their home addresses for fear of victimisation. The informed consent form was in English as all participants were able to express themselves in English.

The original data from the larger study were collected from 20 migrants from Zimbabwe and Mozambique – men and women between 18 and 50 years old. The data were collected

through focus group discussions where the participants were split into two groups of ten in each group. The discussions lasted one and half hours for each group.

Data Gathering

The data for the larger research project were gathered through focus group discussions and semi-structured interviews. English was used as the medium of communication as all the participants were able to express themselves in English. The data were captured by means of audiotapes and field notes. The researchers of the initial larger study collected the data and the present researcher of this study did a secondary data analysis using the raw data of both the focus group discussions and semi-structured interviews.

Focus group discussions. They were 20 migrants from Zimbabwe and Mozambique – men and women between 18 and 50 years old participated in the focus group discussions. The participants were split into two groups of ten in each group. The discussions lasted one and half hours for each group. Some of questions that guided the focus group discussions were what were the most difficult things you faced on arrival to South Africa and how did you deal with them? How do you compare life here to your country of origin? What are your experiences of xenophobia? Focus group discussions were conducted to obtain more information on the experiences of the African migrants in South Africa (Berg, 2004). The migrants (participants) talked freely about their experiences which enabled the primary researchers to generate thick data (Wilkinson, 2004). The focus group discussions also encouraged other group members to ‘open up’ to each other as participants.

Semi-structured interviews. The semi-structured interviews were conducted individually to establish rapport between interviewer and interviewee. The rapport helped the migrants speak uninhibitedly about their experiences as xenophobia is a highly sensitive topic for many migrants (Willig, 2008). These semi-structured interviews enabled the researchers in the larger research project to elicit more information about the participants’ experiences through judicious probing. They also enabled the researchers to gain insight into the emotions associated with the participants’ experiences (Smith & Osborn, 2007). The semi-structured interviews allowed greater flexibility of coverage of the experiences of the participants, which led to the production of richer data. The interviews were conducted with 24 individual participants (13 men and 11 women) with ages ranging from 16 to 53 years. These migrants (participants) were originally from Nigeria, Ghana, Uganda, Malawi, Zimbabwe, Botswana and Mozambique. Each of the interviews lasted between 30 and 45 minutes. Some of the

questions were: “Why did you migrate to South Africa?” and “What are your experiences of xenophobia?”

Data Analysis

For the purposes of this article a secondary analysis of the data was carried out. This required the present researcher to familiarise herself with the primary data before finding a new topic and conducting an analysis for the present study. For the secondary data analysis, the researcher went through the transcripts and audio recordings of the focus group discussions and semi-structured interviews. Burns and Grove (2005) state that secondary analysis is used to pursue a research topic not covered in the original research. In this study, secondary data analysis and thematic content analysis were done to increase the credibility of the research findings using the primary data (Cowton, 1998; Insch, Moore, & Murphy, 1997). Content analysis is often more amenable to replication and validity and reliability checks than other methods used when dealing with secondary data (Frankfort-Nachmias & Nachmias, 1996).

Thematic analysis. In order to do the content analysis, the researcher read the data several times to make sense of the meanings and patterns in the data. Secondly, she coded the data according to the identified main features of the topic of the present study (Pope, Ziebland & Mays, 2000). The coding was done by marking recurring words and incidents in the transcripts and field notes and placing them in appropriate categories (Alvermann, Brien & Dillion, 1990). In order to continue refining the coding, the researcher had to move back and forth between the steps as new insights and understanding emerged from the data sources. The main and most frequently recurring features of the data were highlighted by hand. The coding helped the researcher understand the relationship between the categories as well as the phenomenon to which they related (Niewenhuis, 2007). Thirdly, the categorised codes were combined into themes, which, fourthly, were defined to present the essence of what had been captured. Fifthly, the subthemes, which were supported by the verbatim responses of the participants, were identified to give structure to the main themes. The main themes and subthemes were then organised into a coherent pattern.

Trustworthiness of the Study

Crystallisation was used to ensure the trustworthiness of the study. Crystallisation is a method that involves strategies that create a holistic picture of the phenomenon under investigation through multiple representations by the research participants (Ellingson, 2009).

Table 1 below shows trustworthiness of the study.

Table 1

Principles and strategies to enhance the rigour of the data through crystallisation

| Principles | Strategies | Application in the research |
|----------------------------------|--|---|
| Deepened complex interpretations | Data collection using multiple methods | The researchers in the larger research project used focus group discussions and semi-structured interviews with individual participants to collect data. They also produced dense descriptions of the data. |
| | | A secondary analysis of the data enabled reinterpretations of the data that had been ignored in the larger study (Ackerstrom et al., 2004). In the secondary data analysis, the data from the focus group discussions and semi-structured individual interviews were analysed thematically. |
| Genres of representation | Multiple forms of data collection and analysis | Through the inclusion of different methods of data collection and analysis, the researcher could combine, juxtapose and interweave the relational experiences of the migrants and citizens. Created themes were supported by the participants' verbatim responses in the present study. |
| Researcher reflections | Reflexivity | The researcher in the present study is also a migrant, and she reflected in her journal on how the perceptions of the migrants and hers might have influenced the findings. The observations of the researchers in the larger project helped the present researcher determine any possible bias the researchers in the larger research project might have had towards the findings or the participants. |

Findings and Discussion

The lived reality of the migrants’ experiences and their interactions with the citizens emerged in three interpersonal relational qualities. These relational qualities were influenced by the media and represented in the public narrative. The relational qualities that emerged in the migrants’ narratives were the definition of the relationship between the migrants and the citizens as a complementary relationship – irrespective of the relational context – and the over-visibility of the migrants due to their migrant status or to their invisibility as human beings. The interplay between these relational qualities seemingly inhibited effective relationships between the migrants in the study and local citizens.

The table below shows the themes and subthemes that emerged from the findings.

Table 2

Themes and subthemes

| Themes | Subthemes |
|--|--|
| Public narrative informs interaction between migrants and citizens | |
| Subjective feelings of being unwelcome | |
| Power | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Definition of relationships • Citizens ignoring migrants • Giving instructions irrespective of the context |
| Visibility of migrants due to being different and their invisibility as human beings | |

Influence of the public narrative on the interaction between migrants and citizens

Public perceptions of migrants are influenced by the media apparently often leading citizens to generalise these perceptions to all migrants and to influence their own interactions with migrants. One of the migrants referred to the degrading way in which the media represented African migrants: *Well, I know the News should report on everything important in the country, but the way they portrayed the whole thing, was like putting us foreigners in a spotlight while not finding a solution but rather speculate over the theoretical aspects of this ‘uncontrollable’ problem.* Yakushko (2009) also maintains that the media are full of stories in

which migrants are belittled, denigrated and discriminated against. Citizens' perceptions of migrants are illustrated in the following extracts.

A migrant from Zimbabwe: *I was in a taxi from town, South Africans were talking about Zimbabweans, that they are poor money-hungry people and just want to destroy their country.*

A migrant from Ghana: *Like at the university where I am studying, some people are nice, but some are afraid of me ... they quickly lock their doors when you walk across them. Yes! I'm not a tsotsi (criminal), but they treat me like one, and I don't understand why. Is it because I'm a foreigner? I will never do anything against the law ... it's like they don't know.*

A young migrant from Nigeria: *I was sent somewhere by my father with his car, a Benz and I was driving down William Nicol drive. I was stopped by the police because they saw a young black guy driving a Benz ... they told me that the car is stolen without even asking me anything you know. I told them I can prove that this car belongs to my father, it's my father's car, they didn't want to hear that, instead they pulled me out of the car and told me to lie on the ground with my hands behind my back pointing a gun at me. After they got a proof that they made a mistake. They said, the car just looks like the one that's stolen, and told me to go.* It appears that the public narrative about African migrants is extremely negative. The literature confirms that African migrants are often portrayed as criminals, poor, violent and uneducated (Munro, 2006; Yakushko, 2009). Neocosmos (2008) also maintains that migrants are treated as strangers with no social rights and are regularly harassed by the law enforcement agencies as crime suspects in South Africa.

Subjective Experiences of Feeling Unwelcome

The present study found that old and young citizens tended to relate to migrants in a manner that made them feel unwelcome. A professional nurse, a migrant from Zimbabwe, had the following experience: *One day this frantic old lady started screaming that I should go home, that I am stealing her sons and daughters and their jobs. I know it was only because she was in very much pain and I was a type of outlet. I understand, but still, it hurt.* The same professional nurse had a similar experience with a young citizen: *The other day I spoke to one of the older children, he was about 15 years, and he asked me why I am living here while some people don't like me. I answered that it was that we as a family wanted a better life, and then he said something I will never forget. He said: "But you are not from here, so why do think this land is yours?" I told him this land belongs to God, and then he said: "No, just because you're nice doesn't mean you can come and take my dad's work, now he can't even*

pay the medical bill". I tried not to take it personally, but what struck me afterwards, is the fact that this is just a young boy. Migrants are often accused of taking citizens' jobs. Even though citizens may not be interested in a specific job opportunity, they still regard migrants as job thieves as can be seen in the following account of a Mozambique migrant (participant): One day the other man saw me watching the cars ... he told me I am stealing his job; I asked him if he wants to watch the cars as well, but he said no it pays too little, I cannot do such a job.

Power

Power is ever-present in relationships, but citizens seemingly always take a one-up position in relation to migrants in all relational contexts by ignoring and excluding them. Many citizens also give instructions and orders to migrants.

Definition of a relationship. The relationship between migrants and citizens is defined as a complementary relationship where citizens ignore migrants and order them although the relational context calls for a different definition of the relationship. A relationship can be defined either as a parallel relationship (between equals), a complementary relationship (a leader-follower relationship) or a symmetrical relationship (continuous power struggle) (Beukes, Roos & Vorster, 2012; Vorster, 2011). Citizens seemingly consider themselves to be in a superior leadership position in relation to migrants. This relational definition is apparently accepted by migrants who tolerate a submissive position.

Citizens ignoring migrants. According to the migrants, local citizens maneuver for control in their relationships with migrants by ignoring them. A migrant (participant) from Malawi described his experience as follows: *When you ride in the taxi, they do not talk to you. When you go into the shops they do not want to help you.* Migrants are even ignored in contexts where they are supposed to receive care. For example, a migrant from Mozambique related how she had been ignored by health care professionals: *I went to the clinic for treatment one day. I arrived very early in the morning. The nurse told me to go outside and wait until they call me. Many South Africans who came after me were treated first. I was just outside at the bench waiting for my turn. Later in the afternoon that's when they called me inside to receive the treatment.* The power relations the migrants (participants) experienced in their relationships with citizens also manifested in their exclusion by citizens who spoke languages the migrants did not understand.

A Zimbabwean migrant (participant) used the following example to illustrate how language was used to exclude him from interacting with citizens even though the context

required a parallel relational definition: *I went to a team dinner, the whites were speaking Afrikaans when I moved to the blacks they were also speaking in their own language which I could not understand. I really felt left out and lost. All of them expect me to be able to speak in their own language.* A migrant (participant) from Malawi related his experience of a similar situation: *I attended another party they were many South Africans speaking different languages, Xhosa, Tswana, Zulu and Afrikaans. Each group I tried to join they asked why don't you learn Xhosa, the other group will also ask me so can you speak, Tswana.* The citizens apparently expected the African migrants to expand their repertoire so that they could be assimilated into the new cultural context (Chigeza & Roos, 2011; Wondwosen, 2006). However, the prevention of people from interacting could be a power relations strategy to limit the possibility of any meaningful reciprocal interaction between migrants and citizens (Voster, 2011).

Giving instructions irrespective of the context. Migrants are often forced into a submissive position when citizens instruct them to do certain things irrespective of the context. A migrant from Zimbabwe spoke about an experience she and her mother had in a shop: *One day we were shopping with my mother. We went into another shop and we were speaking our language (Shona). And you know what the woman who is the owner actually threw us out of her shop, because we were Zimbabweans. It was terrible. I did not think people would ever do that, I was shocked.* The complementary relational definition was also expressed by a migrant from Ghana: *As a foreigner here you are dealt with suspicion or you are looked down upon.*

Visibility of migrants due to them being different and invisibility as human beings

Visibility means that migrants are visible only in terms of their foreign status and not in terms of their humanness. A Malawian migrant said: *When you are standing in a queue together with other South Africans. For example in a traffic queue, they will say "Hey you, I mean you", and you will see that he is looking at my complexion.* Another migrant (participant) from Zimbabwe spoke about a similar experience he had in his work context: *At the hospital I work, I sometimes have a few patients that will ask me where I am from, because they can hear and see I'm not from SA, and then I would tell them.* The participants were also aware of their differences in relation to local citizens. According to a migrant (participant) from Mozambique: *When we meet somewhere talking in our language, they know that this is a foreigner, we cannot run away from it neither can we hide from them, so*

must I explain to them that yes I am a foreigner who is legal here, I did not come here to cause problem. I came here to look for job and support my family.

People in South Africa are apparently very aware of their ethnic identity, almost as if they are pre-occupied with being different. A migrant (participant) from Botswana remarked: *To be quite honest, I never really thought about my colour or my race until I came to South Africa. Here I was made aware that I am black and a foreigner.*

Implications for Relationships between Migrants and Citizens in South Africa

The private and public conversations as well as the relational qualities displayed in the interactions between the migrants and citizens indicated the negative portrayal of migrants. Stacey (2001) also states that interactional relationships are influenced by how people perceive each other.

In terms of the complex response processes of relating theory, relationships are continuously self-organised in the course of interactions between migrants and citizens. In these interactions, complementary relationships are defined whereby citizens manoeuvre for a controlling position and migrants have to accept a submissive position in the relationship (*Beukes Roos Vorster, 2012; Roos, 2012*). In the one-up position, citizens adopt a linear approach by viewing the interaction with migrants only from their own. Migrants are expected to conform to the language used by citizens; they have to accept that they are not welcome and they are often excluded from interactions with citizens.

Migrants tend to be visible only in terms of their differences, and they are often treated as invisible due to these differences. Migrants are generally treated as a homogeneous group in terms of their foreign status and not on an inter-individual basis in terms of their humanness. Citizens often appear not to be seen taking part in their interaction with migrants, and mistrust, blame and prejudice seem to characterise the interaction between them and migrants.

In the context of xenophobia, it appears that citizens who are members of a higher status group blame migrants who are members of a less powerful group, for taking citizens' jobs and the high crime rate in South Africa. De Wet (2005) explains that intergroup hostility and prejudice result from inter-group competition. Thus, the inter-group competition appeared to leave no room for migrants and citizens to have meaningful interactions. Instead, they had to accept their differences and learn from each other.

Recommendations and Limitations

Interventions aimed at promoting positive relationships between citizens and migrants should focus on individual interactions. Preventative interventions should focus people's attention on their share/role in the interactive processes between them and other people, particularly in the case of the strained relationships between migrants and citizens. Also, the media should be encouraged to report stories that promote solidarity in order to bring about positive relationships between migrants and citizens. An understanding of the relational qualities that migrants and citizens exhibit in the context of xenophobia can contribute to theories on prejudice. Future research should focus more on the relational qualities in the interactions between migrants and citizens. The use of focus groups could have inhibited the participants' disclosure of more experiences of xenophobia as some of the participants might have felt uncomfortable discussing the topic in public.

Conclusion

Xenophobia is embedded in social, political and economic contexts. Migrants should therefore negotiate their relationships with citizens more strategically as such relationships are constructed through interacting with each other. Migrants as well as citizens accordingly need to develop relational qualities that promote positive interactional relationships.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This study explored the relational experiences of African migrants with black citizens of South Africa. As stated in the literature, African people feel at home with fellow black people in an African context. It was therefore interesting to explore African migrants' interactional relational experiences with fellow black South Africans following the emergence of xenophobia.

In the first article, the researcher explored the relational experiences of illegal African migrants faced with multiple risks and adversity in South Africa. Relational context consists of reciprocal interactions between migrants and citizens that are either nurturing or restraining. Nurturing relationships are described as enabling relationships, and restraining interactions are described as limiting relationships (Kitching, Roos & Ferreira, 2011). The findings of the present study revealed that despite the asymmetrical power relationships between the illegal migrants and the authorities, employers and local citizens, as well as the abusive control mechanisms used by officials that endorsed the submissive position of the illegal migrants, the migrants actually adapted positively. The relational processes that enabled the illegal migrants to deal with risks and adversities emerged on two contextual levels – the cultural and the existential. In terms of the cultural context, the illegal migrants shared values and beliefs in terms of the definition of their relationship with fellow migrants as an equal relationship. In the relationship with fellow migrants, the migrants looked after one another and expressed empathy and emotional closeness. The relational qualities exhibited by the community of illegal migrants showed similarities with the signs of well-being as expressed by Evans and Prilleltensky (2007). In terms of the existential context, the illegal migrants demonstrated a collective practicing of spirituality. They confirmed one another irrespective of their religious affiliation. These relational interactions seemingly contributed to the coping ability of the illegal migrants.

The present study revealed that nurturing relational interactions provided a buffer for dealing with the challenges associated with migration, which were often due to being pushed from a violent sociopolitical and uncertain economic home country and being received by a unwelcoming host country. Nurturing interactions can promote the coping and positive adaptation of illegal migrants despite an abusive, restrictive and discriminative socio-political and economic context.

In an attempt to further understand migrants' relational interactions in a new context, the second study explored flexibility/rigidity as relational quality of African migrants in South Africa as new cultural and social environment. In this study, the focus was on how the migrants in the study related to and interacted with citizens in the new cultural environment. For this purpose one relational quality was isolated to illustrate how migrants' flexibility or rigidity was linked to their subjective experiences within an interpersonal context, and which ultimately influence on their acculturation in new social and cultural environments. It appeared that when the migrants held onto their cultural and traditional roles in a rigid manner, irrespective of the new context, they experienced discord and disillusionment. Conversely, those migrants who were able to adjust to the new cultural and social environment displayed flexibility and acculturated successfully by integrating new customs and behaviour. Intergroup relations that emerged as self-organising patterns between the migrants and citizens informed the acculturation strategy adopted by the migrants. This is in line with the views of Allport (1954) and Piontkowski, Rohman and Florack (2002) who maintain that contact between different groups of people is influenced by intergroup relationships. The migrants who interacted with citizens who were open and accommodating were able to integrate and assimilate in terms of their acculturation while the migrants who experienced rejection from citizens responded with rejection and isolation. This study showed that simply being African did not mean all African people were the same and could adapt easily in other African countries.

This study revealed that migrants need to redefine their relationships and cultural norms in accordance with the new context. This finding is supported by Sriramesh and Verčič (2009) who believe that culture is an environmental variable that influences relationships. Migrants also need to negotiate their relationship with citizens so that both groups can have a positive reciprocal relationship. In the third article, the researcher explored the relational experiences of African migrants in the context of xenophobia. The findings revealed that the media portrayed African migrants in a negative manner, which influenced the interactions between migrants and citizens. The relational definition between migrants and citizens was defined as a complementary relationship where citizens move towards a controlling position and migrants accepted a submissive position in the relationship. Citizens also seem to have adopted a linear approach to view the position of migrants and their interaction with them only from their own perspective. Citizens also do not always make themselves visible in their

interactions with migrants and consequently mistrust, blame and prejudice often inform the interactions between them and migrants. It seems that migrants often constitute the lowest level in the social hierarchy. This study suggested that because of their position in the hierarchy, migrants were vulnerable and bore the blame for the economic, social and political problems in the host country. The prejudice against migrants therefore seems to be based on their migrant status.

Interactions between migrants and citizens in the migration context are inevitable. Cilliers (1998, p. 60) states that “no relationship between self and the other is possible, that the other is absolutely other”. Migrants and citizens as human beings constantly interact with one another, but it is how they reach out to each other that either creates a nurturing or disabling environment for relationship growth. The way migrants and citizens relate and interact is therefore influenced by how they open up to each other. Adopting relational qualities such as warmth and unconditional acceptance will promote migrants and citizens’ well-being as well as allow self-organising, meaningful relational patterns to evolve. Intervention strategies are consequently needed that promote positive relational qualities, which, in turn, can enhance interactional relationships between migrants and citizens.

RECOMMENDATIONS FROM THE STUDY

The findings in all three articles indicated that migrants and citizens cannot disregard their relatedness as humans. The interactions between migrants and citizens are continuously created and co-created through everyday ways of relating and interacting (Stacey, 2001) and these interactions are embedded in the socio-economic and political environment in South Africa. Mendenhall and Oddou (1985) and Vorster (2011) also state that daily interactions give migrants and citizens the opportunity to learn about and accept each other and bring stability into their relationships. However, efforts to build and maintain stable relationships may be confounded as migrants and citizens are complex systems and their interactions consisting of multiple relational qualities (Gilpin & Murphy, 2010). Migrants and citizens need to realise that their relationship is promoted or limited by how they respond to each other through their interactions. Migrants as well as citizens need to cultivate unconditional acceptance and warmth relationships in order to enhance positive interactions between them.

Recommendations concerning intervention strategies

Ethnodramas should be used as an induction programme for all migrants to sensitise them to new cultural traditions that differ from the traditions in their home countries. Ethnodramas can help migrants learn about and accept other people's culture and thereby contribute to their acculturation as well as promote better interactional relationships between migrants and citizens.

The media should report on stories that reduce bias and promote good relationships between migrants and citizens. The media should broadcast programmes that create awareness of how violence can be manifested in abusive power and how conflict can be resolved. Journalists should be encouraged to write articles on the acceptance of migrants rather than always portraying them in a negative light. More educational programmes on the importance of interactional relationships between migrants and citizens should be broadcast on television and radio. Kent (2008) states that, the media are designed to support the human need for social interaction.

Effective interpersonal contact should be promoted by making migrants and citizens aware of how they both can contribute to the acculturation of migrants. This could be done through debates in the media where migrants as well as citizens could talk about their experiences in the migration context and also explore ways of creating positive relationships.

Recommendations concerning research practice

As most research to date seems to have focused on understanding prejudice in terms of cognitive and affective factors, more research is needed on the behavioural manifestations of prejudice as they seem to have an effect on the interactional relationships of migrants and citizens. Recommendations concerning South African immigration policies and the authorities

Policy reviewers should devise intervention strategies that legalise skilled illegal migrants, especially, rather than just deport them, as they can add value to the South African economy. Most illegal skilled migrants have difficulties in finding paid work commensurate with their experience and qualifications (Cook, Dwyer, & Waite, 2011). Therefore, by legalising skilled illegal migrants it would reduce the process of deskilling professional migrants who have potential of finding better employment to match their qualifications.

Policies are also needed to prevent the exploitation and to protect human rights of all migrants including illegal migrants. The authorities need to control corrupt police officers and Home Affairs officials in order to reduce the number of unskilled illegal migrants in South Africa.

LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

A secondary data analysis always poses challenges. The documentation of some data sets was incomplete and ambiguous, which made it difficult for the researcher of the present study to interpret the transcripts. Thorne (1994) also states that secondary analysis is not easy in cases where there is insufficient documentation of the original data thereby complicating the interpretation and reporting of the results. In such cases, the researcher had to go through the voice recorders several times in an attempt to understand the whole concept on the transcripts. Additional questions could have been asked in the initial data collection of the larger research project that could have provided rich information for the secondary analysis of the present study.

From an ethical perspective, finding new research questions for the present study that would not infringe the privacy of the participants in the initial larger study was a challenge. Separating my own experiences from those of the participants in such a way that they would not influence the study was also a challenge as I am a migrant myself.

CONTRIBUTIONS OF THE STUDY

The present study confirmed that interactions between migrants and citizens are inevitable but that these interactions can be optimised by creating awareness of the relational qualities that can promote effective interactions. Such qualities include warmth and unconditional acceptance of one another as well as a reflective attitude towards how migrants and citizens impact on one another. If migrants and citizens can interact and display more effective relational qualities, prejudice and antagonism can be limited and hopefully replaced with meaningful relationships.

In terms of praxis, the study contributed to new knowledge on the behavioural manifestations of prejudice and on how these behaviours can be changed to create meaningful and stable interactions between migrants and citizens. The study also contributed to resilience theory by providing some understanding of the adaptive processes as informed

by relational context-bound interactions. Relational context bound interactions enhance the quality of life of migrants of the same ethnic group who have to deal with uncertainty and limited resources in the host country. In support to this Moriarty and Butt (2004) expressed that, interactions among members from the same ethnic group provide social support that may promote a positive quality of life.

In terms of contributing to the literature on migration, the present study contributed to understand that acculturation is a non-linear and continuous process which makes it almost impossible to predict and control migrants' adaptation in a new host society. The acculturation process is complex process and takes place through processes of negotiation and repositioning. The relational quality of flexibility/rigidity assists or limits migrants' ability to adapt in a new cultural and social environment.

In terms of complex responsive processes of relating theory, the present study contributed to understand the interpersonal behavior that emerged in the relationships between migrants and citizens in the context of migration. In the context of migration there is an on-going circular interactional relationship between the migrants and citizens. This seemed that the relationship between migrants and citizens is informed by their experiences of their interactions with one another. Thus iterative processes of communication, power and acts of evolution informs the relationship between the migrants and citizens.

In the context of migration, both migrants and citizens have to be aware of how they relate to one another during the course of their interactions. Migrants and citizens also need to be able to understand the position of the other and to respond with empathy towards the other. In this manner, they would be able to negotiate their needs in a respectfully manner.

FINAL WORDS

African migrants and citizens continuously interact with one another in the context of migration. Responsive dialogue creates mutually beneficial relationships that promote their well-being and bring about positive interactional relationships. Through positive interactional relationships, migrants and citizens as interacting agents in the social system will be able to resolve their differences, deal effectively with socio-economic and political problems, and bring about new outcomes in the migration phenomenon.

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APPENDIX A

Journal submitted for publication article 1

Thematic content analysis of article 1

Journal submitted for publication article 1

The Australian Community Psychology

Instructions to authors

The Australian Community Psychologist publishes work that is of relevance to community psychologists and others interested in the field. Research reports should be methodologically sound. Theoretical or area review papers are welcomed, as are letters, brief reports and papers by newer contributors to the discipline. Contributions towards the four sections of the journal are sought.

The following constitutes advice to contributors that is relevant generally to all journal sections.

Every submission must include:

A cover letter stating the section of the journal to which the author(s) wish to submit the article. The complete manuscript including title page, abstract, text, tables, acknowledgements, references and illustrations. Written permission from the publisher (copyright holder) to reproduce any previously published tables, illustrations or photographs.

Manuscripts should be arranged as follows:

Title page

Abstract and keywords

Text

Acknowledgements

Disclosures if required

References

Short biography of author/s

Address for correspondence from readers (e.g., an email address)

Tables and figures should be placed in the correct position within the body of the text.

Number pages consecutively, beginning with the Title page as page 1.

Sections of the Manuscript

Title Page should contain:

Title: Should be short and informative. Recommended length is between 10 and 12 words.

Short title with a maximum of 50 characters

Author: This should include the author's name in the preferred form of given name, family

name.

Institution and Affiliations: This identifies the location where the author(s) undertook the investigation.

Corresponding Author: Provide the name, exact postal address with post code, telephone number, fax number and email address of the author to whom communications and requests for reprints should be sent.

Specific Formatting Requirements

Paper Size, Margins, Alignment A4 page, ALL margins 2.5cm.

Spacing

All text double spacing, left aligned (not justified) unless otherwise specified.

Font & Size

Times New Roman, 12pt unless otherwise specified.

Paper Title

14pt, bold, centred, sentence case.

Place one line after the paper title.

Abstract and Keywords

12pt, italics, left aligned.

Place one blank line before and after the abstract.

The abstract must be no more than 200 words.

Place up to 6 (six) keywords.

Normal Text

12pt, Times New Roman double line-spacing, left aligned (not justified)

Do not leave line spaces between paragraphs but indent the first line of each paragraph.

Long Quotes (roughly, quotes of 30 words or more)

12pt, italics, indented 1 cm left and right

1st Level Heading

Sentence case, bold, centred, not italics.

1st Level of Subheading

12pt, italics, sentence case, left aligned.

Leave one line space before this level of subheading.

Do not number subheadings.

2nd Level of Subheading

12pt, italics, sentence case, left aligned. Text should continue on the same line.

Leave one line space before this level of subheading.

Tables, Figures, and Diagrams

Captions in 12pt and typed below the figure. These should be black and white and inserted in the correct place within the body of the text. Do not allow a figure or table to be split over two pages or to be separated from its label or caption.

Diagrams, illustrations, graphs, etc, must be 'screen readable'. This means fully legible and readable on screen when displayed at widths that ideally do not exceed about 750 pixels and certainly should not exceed 1000 pixels.

Page Numbers

Insert page numbers at the top of the page, right aligned, beginning with the title page.

Footnotes

Avoid using footnotes.

References and Citations

Use the Publication Manual of the American Psychological Association Sixth Edition citation and reference style. List references under the 1st level subheading.

Thematic Analysis of Article 1


Generating initial codes:

| Data extract | Open coding |
|---|--|
| <i>I came here to South Africa by bus, but I had to give police money for me to be here. I was paying throughout my journey. It was expensive for me but that was the only way I could reach to South Africa.</i> | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Authorities accept bribery 2. Desperate to enter the country |
| <i>Some of the people here in South Africa, they take advantage of our situation. They give us little money because we are foreigners. Because we do not have papers, ID, so they just give us any amount they feel like giving.</i> | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Vulnerability due to being illegal 2. Exploitation by employers |
| <i>I worked as a gardener for a week but the person refused to pay me for the job I had done. I went to report the case to the police and they told me that I will only get my money when I go back to my country since I was illegal</i> | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. No legal rights as an illegal migrants 2. No protection from the police officers |
| <i>If they call us bad names we just ignore them because we know what we came here for. We did not come here to fight, so we just ignore them</i> | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Name calling 2. Resist provocation, fight and insults 3. Focus on the reason to come to South Africa. |
| <i>Basically what pushed us from home is economic crises back home. We are here to look for employment and look after our families. We did not come here to fight.</i> | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Determined due to the push factors of economic crises 2. Responsibility of looking after families |
| <i>It is not easy to be without your family. I really hope I will get a job which gives me more money so that I can apply for the legal documents and bring my family</i> | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Missing the family back home 2. Hope to get employment |

| | |
|---|--|
| <i>here in South Africa.</i> | and bring the family to join him. |
| <i>I personally am not interested in getting free food; it makes me feel like a destitute. They say it is better to give a man a 'hook than a fish'. So I prefer to work than to beg.</i> | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Want to be self reliant\ 2. Do not want to live as a destitute |
| <i>Yah, in terms of being given food I am not interested because I am not here for food. I am here to look for money and support my family. So if someone gives me food it is obvious my family gains nothing.</i> | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Want to work for survival 2. Cannot accept anything for free because of responsibility back home. 3. Donation are not sustainable |
| <i>We as Mozambicans, we understand each other better than other people will understand us. We are now closer because of the shared bond of Mozambique that other people do not have.</i> | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Shared experiences 2. Emotional bond |
| <i>If someone comes from Malawi without accommodation we help him. We cannot let our brother sleeping outside. The fact that we come from the same country we just trust each other. Sometimes three to four people can share a room. We also share ideas on how best to support our families back home</i> | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Share resources and ideas on supporting families 2. Ethnicity relationship 3. Support each other 4. Trust each other |
| <i>We meet together once a week as Malawians. Everybody cares for everyone here</i> | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Mutual concern for one another 2. Shared cultural values |
| <i>We have a burial society we contribute to every month; in the event of death we use the money to transport the body to be buried at home</i> | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Communal strengths 2. Strong social ties 3. Interdependency |
| <i>Next week there is a guy going home. I am going to give him R2000{\$250} and groceries to give my</i> | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Unconditional trust for one another |

| | |
|--|--|
| <p><i>family. I know they are going to receive the goods. We trust each other here.</i></p> | <p>2. Help each other to send remittances back home.</p> |
| <p><i>We go to church to pray every Sunday. It is very important for us to go and pray to God. Back home we go to church so there is no reason for us not to continue praying. We pray so that God may continue to guide us.</i></p> | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Collective spirituality 2. Feeling comforted through worshiping as a group 3. Worshiping collectively as a coping mechanism |

Visual data

| Data extract | Open coding |
|--|---|
|  <p data-bbox="204 958 874 1043">A visual representation of a car symbolising wealth</p> <p data-bbox="204 1093 916 1350"><i>“This is a car. I want to buy a car. Back home I cannot afford to buy a car because they are expensive and I am poor. But here if I get a good job I will be able to buy a car. The car will help me in terms of transport to and from my home country.”</i></p> | <ol data-bbox="995 499 1394 779" style="list-style-type: none">1. A car a symbol of wealth which he need to acquire2. Hopes of buying the car he could not afford in the home country. |



A visual presentation of a family, car and a cow

“This is my family, I, my wife and two children back home. I also made a car and a cow because these are the things I want to acquire before I go back home.”

1. Misses his family left back in the country of origin.
2. A car that he hope to buy.
3. Wish to buy a cow as part of his wealth back home



A visual presentation of money

“I made a picture of money because I came here to South Africa to make money. If I get the money I will be able to support my family back home.”

1. Determined to get money
2. Responsibility to support the family back home



A visual presentation of a car

“When I have enough money I will buy a car like this. This is a single cab. A car like this will help me carry a lot of goods when I go home.”

1. Hope to buy a car as and use it transport goods to his home country.

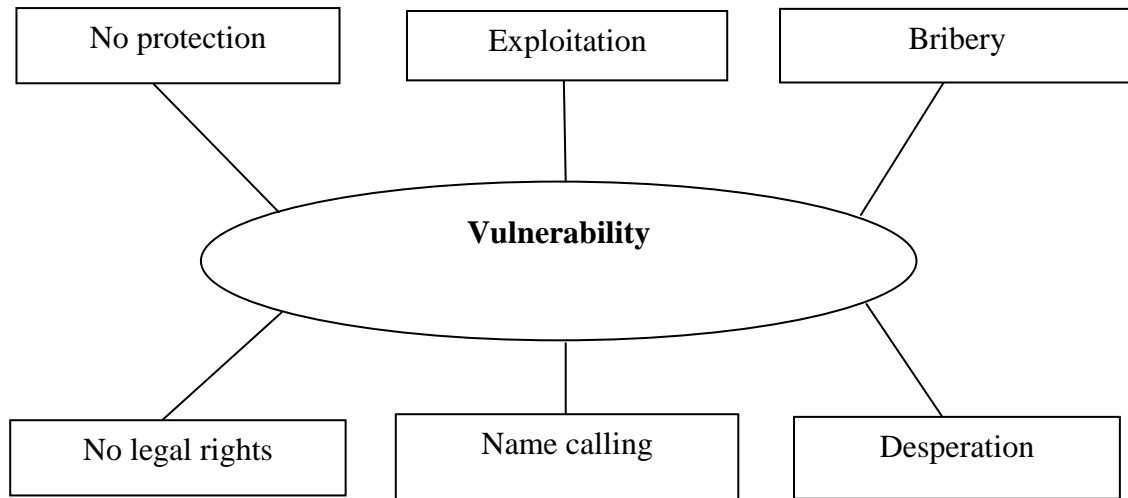


A visual presentation of a clay pot

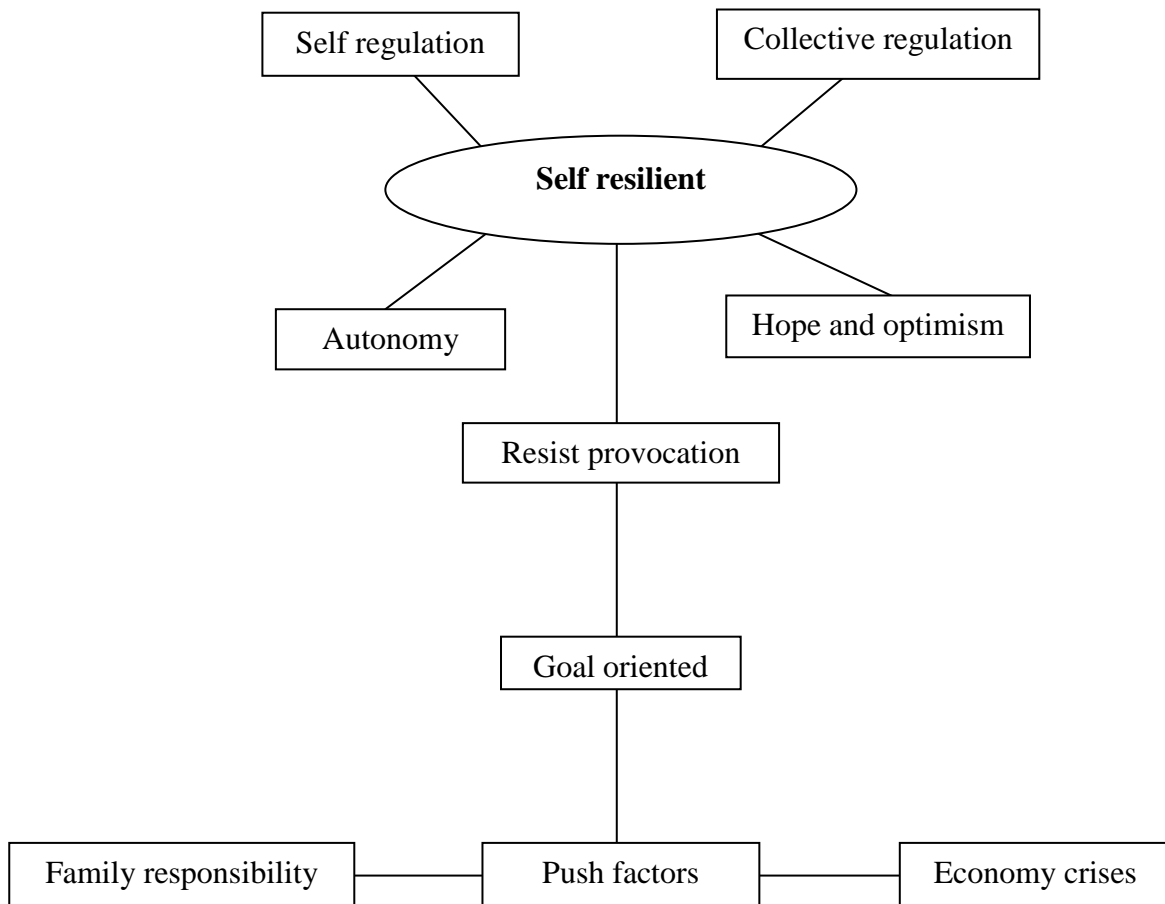
- *“I made this pot because it reminds of the pots that we use when cooking. These types of pots are very special to us and they cook nice food.”*

1. Reminiscing on what she use to do home
2. Culture appreciation

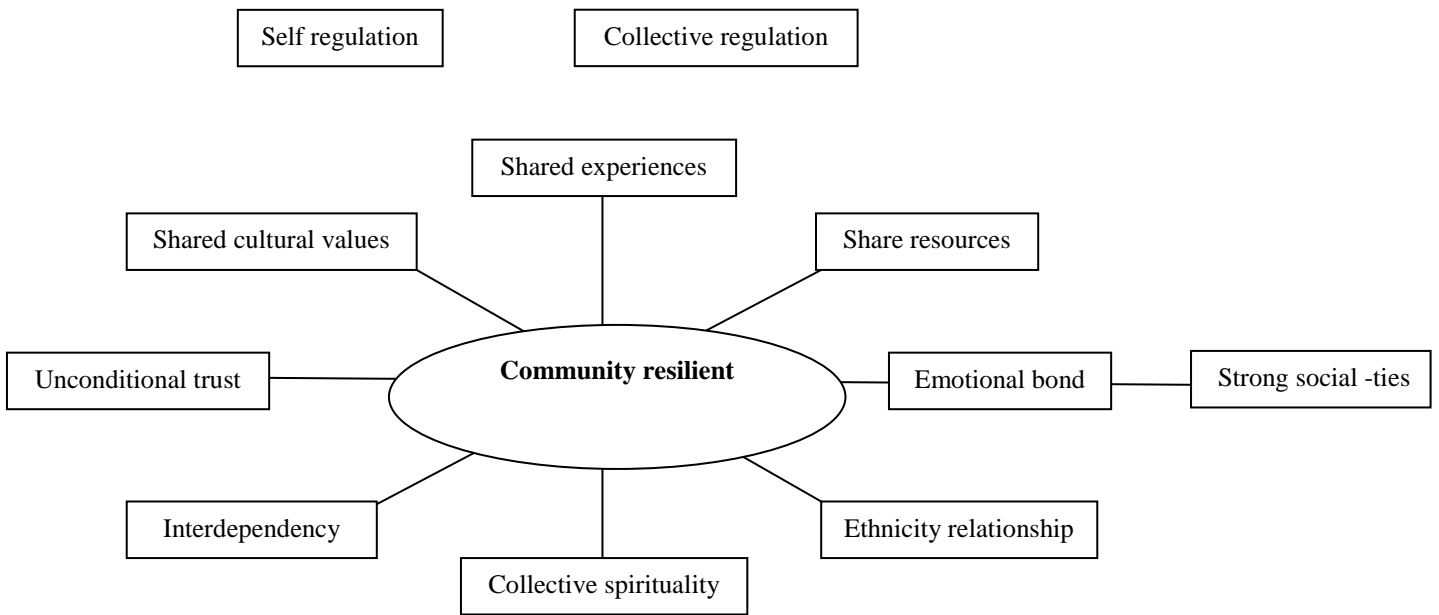
Searching for themes: initial thematic map



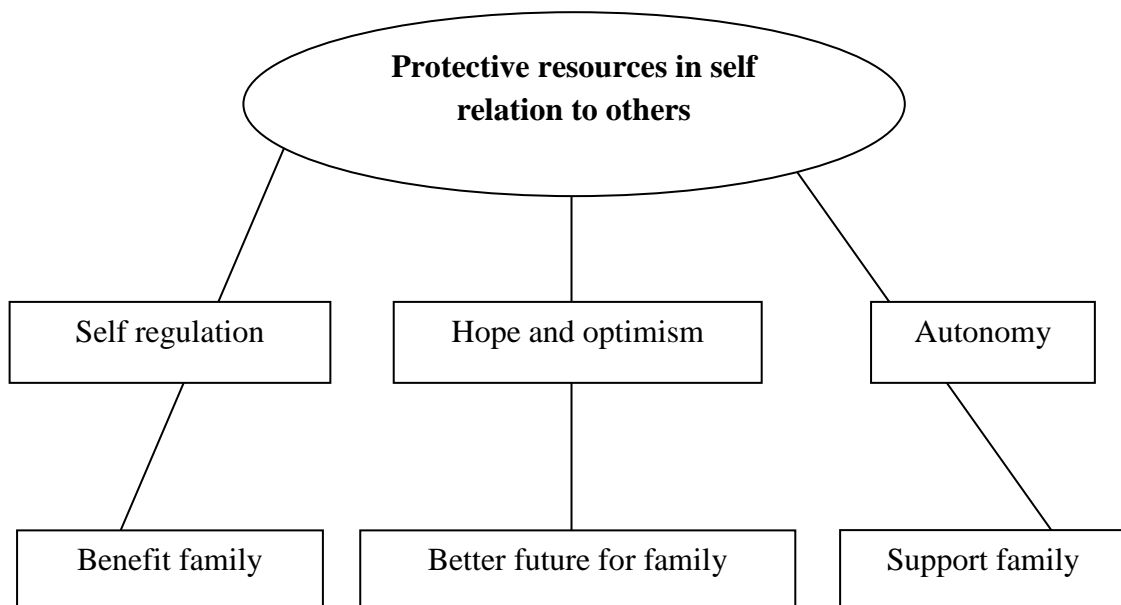
Searching for themes: initial thematic map

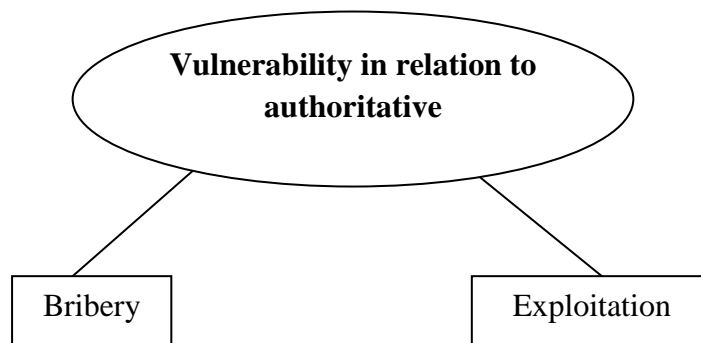
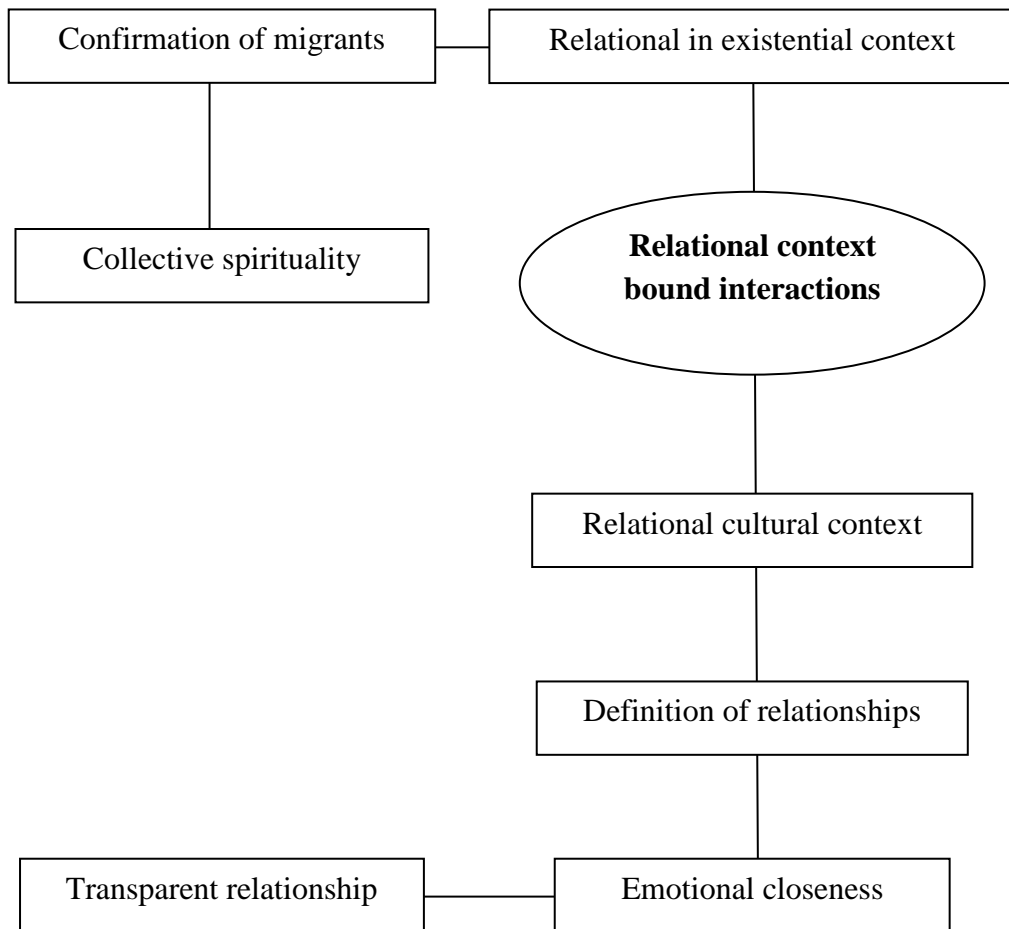


Searching for themes: initial thematic map



Final thematic map with three main themes





APPENDIX B

Journal submitted for publication article 2

Examples of narrative summarized stories of African migrants' families

Thematic content analysis of article 2

Journal submitted for publication article 2

South African Journal of Psychology

Instructions to authors

Submission of a manuscript

SAJP is a peer-reviewed journal publishing empirical, theoretical, and review articles on all aspects of psychology. Articles may focus on South African, African, or international issues. Manuscripts to be considered for publication should be e-mailed to sajp@up.ac.za. A covering letter with postal address, e-mail address, and telephone number should be included. The covering letter should indicate that the manuscript has not been published elsewhere and is not under consideration for publication in another journal. An acknowledgement of receipt will be e-mailed to the author (within seven days, if possible) and the manuscript will be sent for review by three independent reviewers.

The manuscript number must always be quoted in ALL correspondence to the editor.

Only one article per author will be published per calendar year. Exceptions to this rule will be at the sole discretion of the editor (with the associate editors) in the case of an exceptional article that needs to be published, a special issue where the specific article will make a significant contribution, or a written response to a *riposte*, etc.

Where authors are invited to revise their manuscripts for re-submission, the editor must be notified (by e-mail) of the author's intention to resubmit and the revised manuscript re-submitted within six weeks. After a longer period, it will be treated as a completely new submission.

Manuscript structure

Manuscripts (including references and tables) should be no longer than 20 pages (5 000 words), and must include the full title of the manuscript, the name(s) of the author(s) and their affiliations, and the name, postal address, and e-mail address of the corresponding author.

An abstract, no longer than 300 words, and an alphabetical list of at least six keywords should be provided. The introduction to the article does not require a heading. Tables and figures, with suitable headings/captions and numbered consecutively, should follow the reference list, with their approximate positions in the text indicated.

The manuscript should be an MS Word document in 12-point Times Roman font with 1.5 line spacing. The American Psychological Association (APA, ver. 5) style guidelines and referencing format should be adhered to

Short submissions

SAJP invites short reports on any aspect of theory and practice in psychology. We encourage manuscripts which either showcase preliminary findings of research in progress or focus on larger studies. Reports (of no more than 2 500 words) should be presented in a manner that will make the research accessible to our readership.

Language

Manuscripts should be written in English. It is compulsory that manuscripts be accompanied by a declaration that the language has been properly edited, together with the name and address of the person who undertook the language editing.

Ethics

Authors should take great care to spell out the steps taken to facilitate ethical clearance, i.e. how they went about complying with all the ethical issues alluded to in their study, either directly or indirectly, including informed consent and permission to report the findings. If, for example, permission was not obtained from all respondents or participants, the authors should carefully explain why this was not done.

Examples of narrative summarized stories of African migrants' families

Narrative Ethiopian Family 1

This father had a stable job as a teacher in Ethiopia, but was forced to leave his country in 1998 due to political reasons. He narrates how he was suspected of being an activist for an opposition party and because of that he faced possible prosecution. He never intended to come to South Africa, in fact he planned to go to Canada or Australia, but he needed to act quickly to escape harm and then the easiest was to head for South Africa. The circumstances surrounding his departure were quite sad, as he had to leave secretly informing only his wife and two close friends which he trusted with the lives of his wife and son. He left behind everything and everyone.

Upon arriving in South Africa he found it hard to make ends meet. His only relative in South Africa, a brother who was a student at the time could barely survive by himself, so together they struggled to meet their basic needs. But determined to make a life in South Africa, this father started selling various clothing and small accessories on the street as a hawker.

The experience of being a migrant is explained as somewhat different and difficult. Finding schools for the children was very challenging, because they had to learn in English and probably needed a lot of attention. Thus, private schooling was a better option. However, a private school accommodating foreigners they opted for was quite a distance away from where they lived. This father also felt that the education system in Ethiopia is more advanced than here in South Africa. Often children who come here feel like they are repeating work that they have done in earlier grades, hence they find schooling here very easy. Also, the family here felt lonely, removed from both their wider extended family and friends. Coping on these levels was tough both for the parents and children alike.

On comparing Ethiopia with South Africa, he feels that the social life in South Africa is not as free and enjoyable. Here one must constantly be on the lookout for criminals when going out and one hardly knows the people who live next door to you. Whereas, in Ethiopia cultural activities offer opportunities for socializing and children are free to go out without any worries. He also recognizes how children are raised differently in Ethiopia and here in South Africa. For him children are exposed to things that would be considered forbidden in his culture, doing things they see in movies. In Ethiopia there is a strong emphasis on exposing children to religion and the way of life dictated in their religion. Therefore to remain

consistent in exposing their children to such practices, this father is more reluctant when it comes to letting his children sleep over at friends.

Migrants expressed a strong emotional bond with the country of origin. Having left Ethiopia as a grown man, the cultures and traditions of his homeland is firmly part of him. Still 'a fugitive from justice' he took a chance to visit his family on an important occasion when his sister got married. Keeping contact with everyone is challenging because it is expensive to make phone calls, thus he only calls the family he is closest to, as a result others feel neglected and their relations have become less cohesive. Language, this parent concluded was a key means to help familiarise his children with their fatherland.

He reminisced about the older people in his country, the sense of community and the way of life he enjoys. Therefore the traditions and culture of Ethiopia is very much a part of his everyday life here in South Africa. Doing things like dressing in their traditional clothes, celebrating with their current friends on holidays as if they were at home, and also drinking their trademark coffees is how this family keeps their culture and traditions alive here in South Africa.

He concluded that a westernised place like South Africa is not an ideal place for someone like him to retire. Even if he had no family left in Ethiopia, his culture and traditions make all people feel related, and that he will always miss. Therefore he hopes the political tensions that have tormented him for years would be resolved in order for him to be able to return home to his beloved country.

For the son socializing and becoming accustomed to the South African way of life was almost natural as he literally grew up in South Africa. Thus, he did not have to reconcile his cultural/traditional identity in order to adapt in South Africa. The most difficult for this child migrant was learning English. Therefore when he was enrolled in school he was put back a couple of grades in order to learn the language. In conclusion this son does not appear to have such a great need to keep contact or visit Ethiopia as his father, thus has no intention to return to Ethiopia.

Narrative Mozambican Family 2

The Manishowa family migrated to South Africa in 2001. Although Mrs Manishowa (51 years old) recognised that poverty exists in South Africa as well, she still maintained that the quality of life is better in South Africa and thus the reason for migrating with her husband (59 years old) and their daughter Precious (33 years old). Obtaining basic food supplements was a challenge in Mozambique, and even when they do, the quality of it may be so poor that it could pose health risks consuming it. Here in South Africa they have excess to such basic necessities without the struggle or risk. Also for Mr Manishowa, in terms of ensuring a better future for his child and future generations, he thought it best to move his family to South Africa.

Settling in and making new friends was reasonably easy as the people in their neighbourhood were friendly and open. However, the more challenging part was adapting to the differences in the forms of socialising. Also, not having as many friends as she used to in Mozambique made interacting the social sphere somewhat difficult for precious, but it seemed to get easier after a while. Mrs Manishowa observed that the practicalities of life have changed for their family, but the fundamental elements that define their character have remained the same after their migration. For example, it was hard for her to understand the values taught to children in South Africa. In Mozambique there is a communal responsibility towards teaching children values, something she discovered not necessarily done here in South Africa.

For this migrant family it was very important to keep contact with their family in Mozambique, despite the distance involve. Cellular communication helped them keep regular contact with each other which is crucial in the bonds they maintain with each other. Although the family is living together, including her daughter's South African husband and their one year old baby, this family has to every extend possible tried to survive on their own here in South Africa. On a practical, financial level and also emotionally and Mrs Manishowa is thankful for her daughter's support financially and emotionally.

Mrs Manishowa sees herself as predominantly South African. Mozambique is in her past, and South Africa informs her present awareness. She and her family are settled in South Africa, although it took some time for adaptations. They do uphold some traditions from Mozambique, but they are aware that they do have to change somewhat to fit in. Even though

there was reformation of identity, there is still and always will be an element of uniqueness, a touch of home that makes them a little different from their other South African countrymen. This difference fosters a sense of community in their Mozambican migrant clique, and at the end of the day Mrs Manishowa sees the unity of all Africans in a spiritual or religious dimension. To her, Africa belongs to God and not to the people in it. All the people come from God, and therefore, the differences e.g. political boundaries and skin colour are not important.

Precious confirmed that the reason why she, her mother and father migrated to South Africa was because South Africa offered better opportunities and a better life in general than in Mozambique. Here she met her South African husband and they have a one year old child now. For her the route to South Africa was traumatising as many people on the bus were travelling illegally and as a result faced hostility from the police.

In comparing Mozambique to South Africa, her country of origin is a lot poorer than South Africa, people in Mozambique live in grinding poverty. Despite this she observes some fundamental differences between people from home and the South African citizens, for instance poor people don't beg because it is against their cultural norms, they work hard and are very protective of each other. In her opinion, here in South Africa people are less concerned with each others wellbeing, the crime is high and there are a lot of rules governing friendships and how to pursue friendships. Nonetheless, she does enjoy the fast-pace life South Africa has to offer.

Like for so many migrants xenophobia was the biggest challenge to deal with for Precious. What made it more difficult for her is the fact that she is a legal South African who is married to a South African citizen and she is a qualified nurse who serves the public. However, not even this spared her the brunt of xenophobia, often from the patients she was helping to treat and their families. For her it was very upsetting that even young children take on xenophobic attitudes expressed by the older generations. She echoed feelings of betrayal from the government whose passive tolerance did not do much to help the many victims of xenophobia. But as shown with so many migrants, their religion has always informed the way to cope with the difficulties of migrant life. Maintaining a passive resistance, but a firm belief in their religion and actively practising its rituals as well has helped this family endure the struggles on their way.

There is a very loving and respectful relationship between parent and child in this migrant family, even a special connection of being from the same country of origin that allows for an understanding that transcends that of other relations with people from South Africa. Life with the new extended family members proved to be challenging at first, and great deal of trust it seems needed to be garnered before these people from different backgrounds would consider themselves to be a family. And with time their relations transcended the language barrier and compromises were made for the sake of their new family. When it comes to raising her child, she likes to use the best of both cultures to her benefit. Being far away from the extended family in Mozambique has placed a strain on maintaining relations, but Precious feels that both sides seem to have accepted it and in their own way dealt with it. In as much as they have tried to change their practical ways of life, being Mozambican will always be part of this family's life. Precious describes herself and her family as South African, but the value system experienced here in South Africa confronts them with the fact in that regard they are still Mozambican. However, having two cultural frames she believes has its benefits, because in both they can live out the good it offers. For Precious South Africa has become her home and where she intends to spend the rest of her life.

Thematic Analysis of article 2

Generating initial codes:

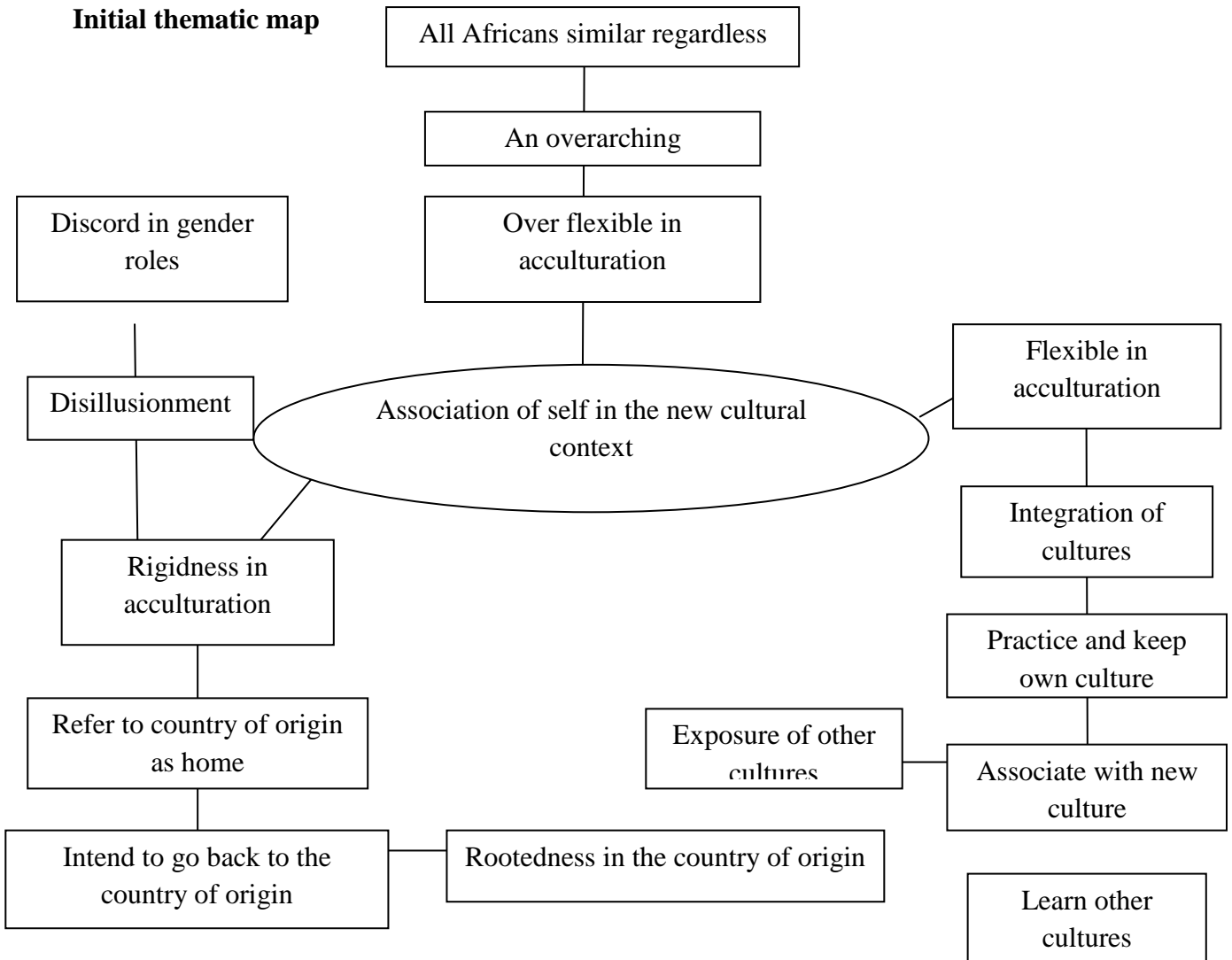
| Data extract | Open coding |
|--|---|
| <p><i>Africans as people have to work together. I do not care if you are black or white, we are all the same. We are all Africans</i></p> | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. An overarching Africanness 2. Accept other cultures |
| <p><i>I am an African, I belong to Africa, I was born in Congo but I feel myself to be African. I do not have a country.</i></p> | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Over flexible in belonging |
| <p><i>We are all Africans; let us belong to each other. We are all human beings, we are all Africans.</i></p> | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Regard all Africans similar regardless of ethnicities |
| <p><i>Sometimes I feel like I am a lost generation because on the one hand I feel Nigerian but I am South African by citizenship and I do not feel South African so I am in between two worlds at the moment. I say I am a South African because I grew up here but then again I am Ugandan. It is kind of hard because I know the Ugandan traditions, culture and the language, but I do not know any South African culture or traditions. So I kind of have no background, basically my parents have that whole background, myself I do not have identity of my own because we are just jumping between countries you know.</i></p> <p><i>Well we still celebrate our holidays. During the</i></p> | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Belong neither of the country of origin or host country 2. Regard both countries as home 3. Integration in terms of acculturation <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Keep and practice the culture of the country of origin in the host country 2. Relationships due to |

| | |
|---|---|
| <p><i>celebration days we prepare our traditional coffees in the mornings and prepare our traditional meals. We wear our traditional clothes when celebrating holidays. We take turns on hosting these celebrations with my family and friends. If I host this holiday, next holiday it will be my other friend to host the celebrations. We do the celebrations just as we would do if we were at home in Ethiopia</i></p> | <p>ethnicity</p> |
| <p><i>Well, I love Mozambique, I would always love Mozambique, It is in my veins ... in my blood. But I also love South Africa. So, if I think of Mozambique, I think of a place where I was born, the place where I grew up. I have many good memories of Mozambique. So I had two cultures. We can keep the good of both.</i></p> | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Keep the good of both cultures, the host and country of origin 2. Flexibility in terms of belonging |
| <p><i>I am a South African ... proudly South African. The thing is what I like is that I am not ashamed to go anywhere and declare that I am a South African. If I go to conferences and elsewhere I am a South African. People are afraid to mention their nationalities because of what is going on in those countries, but South Africa the economy is good. People look to you respectfully when you tell them that you come from South Africa.</i></p> | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Assimilation, have adopted new culture and not want to be associated with country of origin 2. Choice in belonging due to the benefits from the country |
| <p><i>It is important to know each other and experience from other people from other countries, because if you sit only in one place you cannot even learn anything from</i></p> | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Learn to appreciate other cultures through exposure |

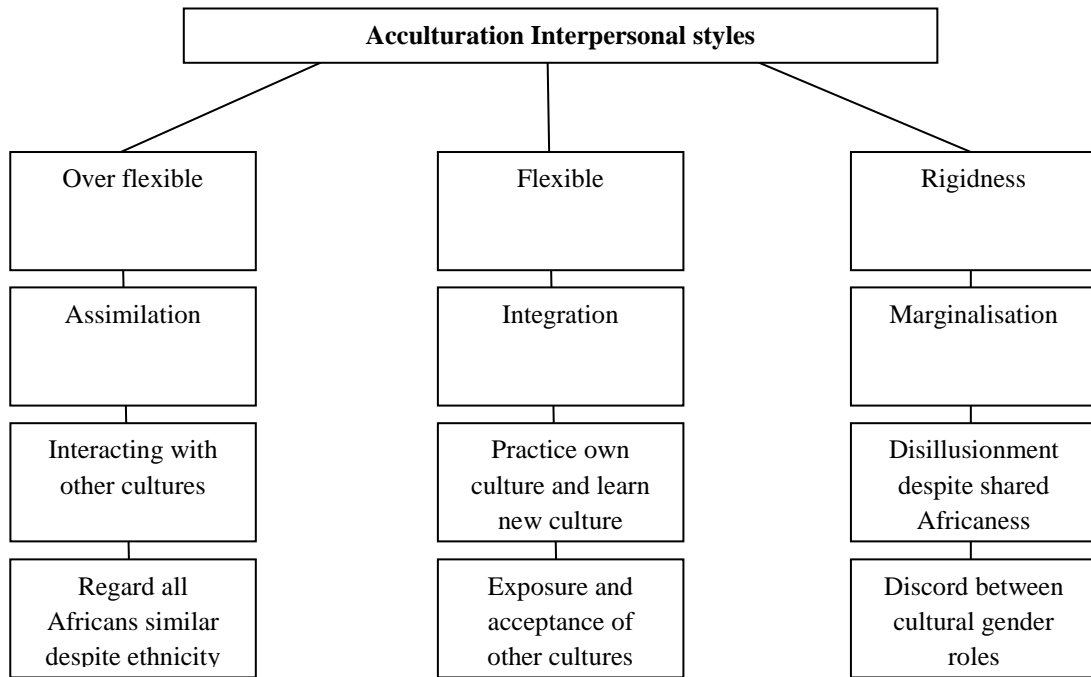
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| <i>outside.</i> | |
| <i>It is important to know each other and experience from other people from other countries, because if you sit only in one place you cannot even learn anything from outside.</i> | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Emphasis of exposure to different cultures and countries |
| <i>In Botswana traditionally my husband is not allowed to do the household chores, but here he is helping me with all the chores and child care. This is because we both go to work and have no other female relative to assist us, so we do not have specific roles anymore. We always assist each other when we get home. I like it, he spoils me a lot. So maybe it is good in the sense that the bondage between us and the children stays in place.</i> | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Shift in the gender roles 2. Both women and men sharing household chores to help each other 3. Shifts in gender custom roles provides unity in families |
| <i>Some may say they are from Soweto or Pretoria but no matter where you come from, you can live in America for forty years or even England but you will know which village you belong to, there is always a link back to that home. So you can never go somewhere and that simply becomes your home.</i> | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Rootedness in the country of origin 2. Holding to the culture in country of origin and not able to adapt |
| <i>This is my twelfth year. In December I would have lived here for twelve years, but I will go back to my country.</i> | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Failure to adapt in the host country |
| <i>Migrants do not experience a feeling of belonging in South Africa. It is just a home; I mean you have it in your heart. Being in South Africa everyday you are reminded that this is not your home. So that feeling of going back is within me. I know I have got home</i> | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Rejection 2. Isolation |

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| <i>somewhere</i> | |
| <i>There is an old saying. I do not know if we call it ... we say "home is best". We would like to go back there</i> | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Want to go back to the country of origin |
| <i>In our Tswana tradition there is what we call "Rokotuwuthe". If I am to explain it in English, it means that when you are born there is an umbilical cord. And that cord which was cut is part of me left in my country. So I belong to my country and I will always be part of my country.</i> | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Separation in terms of acculturation 2. Adhere to the original culture and avoid interactions with host society |
| <i>One day I saw this young man, he must have been 15 years who stays in my community. He was smoking in the street with his school uniform. I told him he should not do that as it does not show respect for his school and parents. And then his mother came out, and she started shouting at me. I calmly explained what was going on, and then she said I should mind my own business, because I am not even from this country.</i> | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Cultures vary with context. 2. Behaviour also vary with the context |

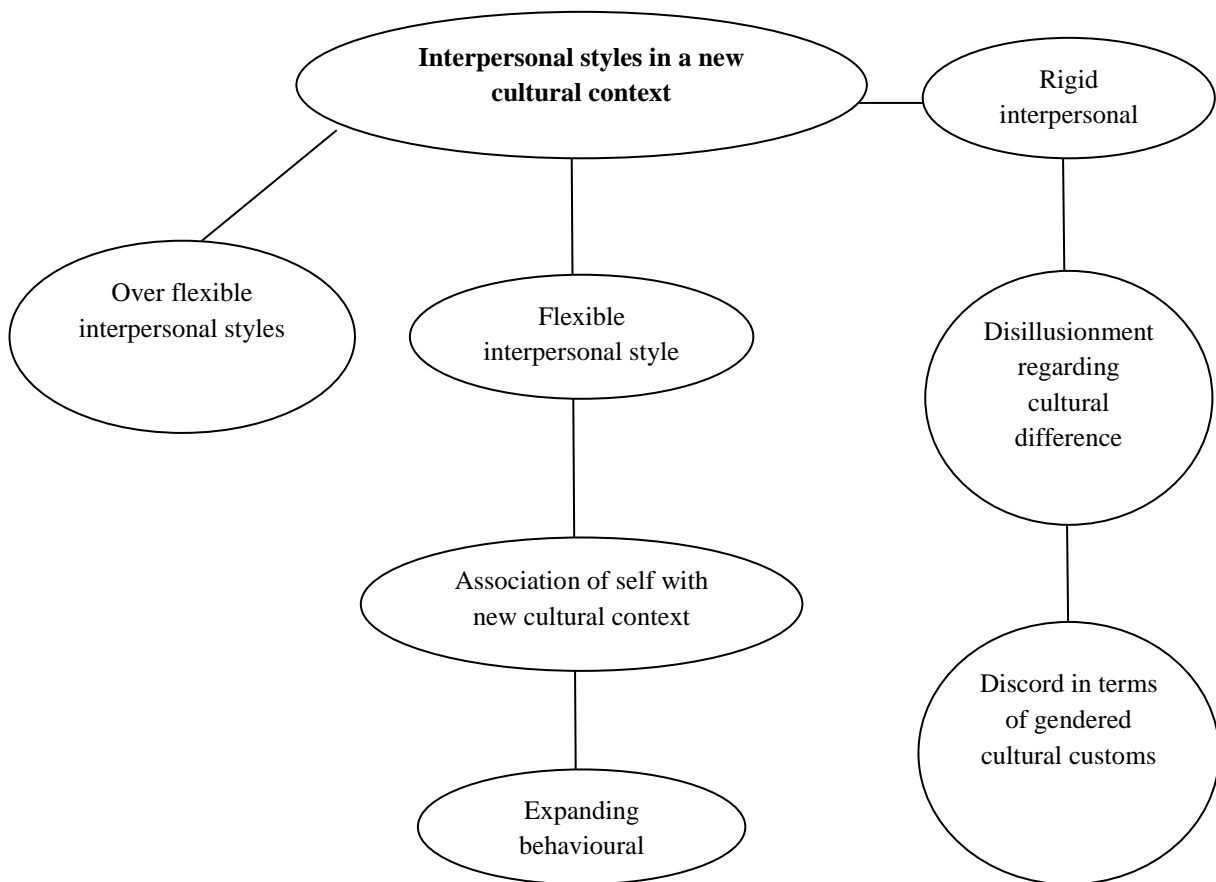
Initial thematic map



Developed thematic map



Final thematic map



APPENDIX C

Journal submitted for publication article 3

Thematic content analysis of article 3

Journal submitted for publication article 3

Journal of Interpersonal Violence

Instructions to authors

Concerned with the Study and Treatment of Victims and Perpetrators of Physical and Sexual Violence

Manuscripts should be submitted electronically to <http://mc.manuscriptcentral.com/jiv> where authors will be required to set up an online account on the Sage Track system powered by Scholar One. Manuscripts should not exceed 22 typed double-spaced pages, including references, tables, and figures. References must conform to the Publication Manual of the American Psychological Association (Sixth Edition). All artwork must be camera-ready. Authors should include their name, affiliation, mailing address, email address, telephone number, and a brief biographical statement on a separate title page. Each manuscript should include an abstract and 3-5 keywords. Submission of a manuscript implies commitment to publish in the journal. Authors submitting manuscripts to the journal should not simultaneously submit them to another journal, nor should manuscripts have been published elsewhere in substantially similar form or with substantially similar content. Authors in doubt about what constitutes prior publication should consult the editor.

Authors who want to refine the use of English in their manuscripts might consider utilizing the services of SPi, a non-affiliated company that offers Professional Editing Services to authors of journal articles in the areas of science, technology, medicine or the social sciences. SPi specializes in editing and correcting English-language manuscripts written by authors with a primary language other than English. Visit <http://www.prof-editing.com> for more information about SPi's Professional Editing Services, pricing, and turn-around times, or to obtain a free quote or submit a manuscript for language polishing.

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Thematic Analysis of Article 3

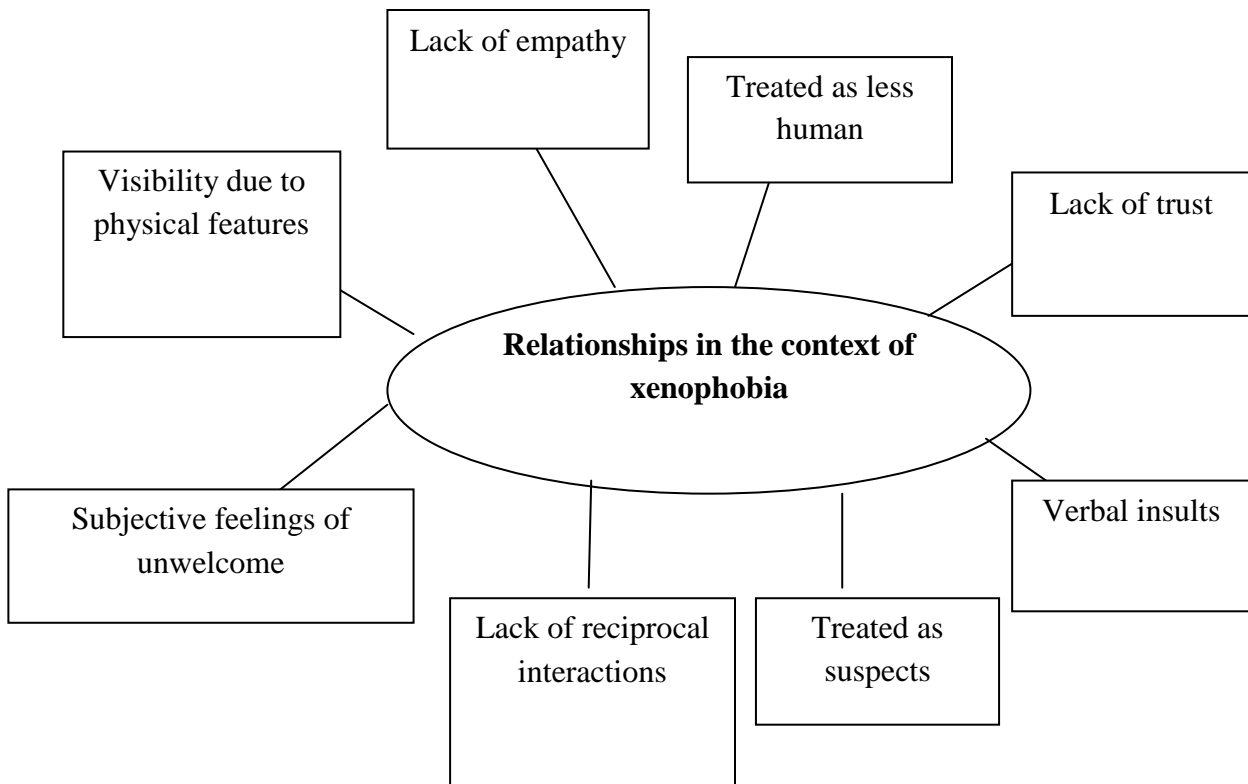
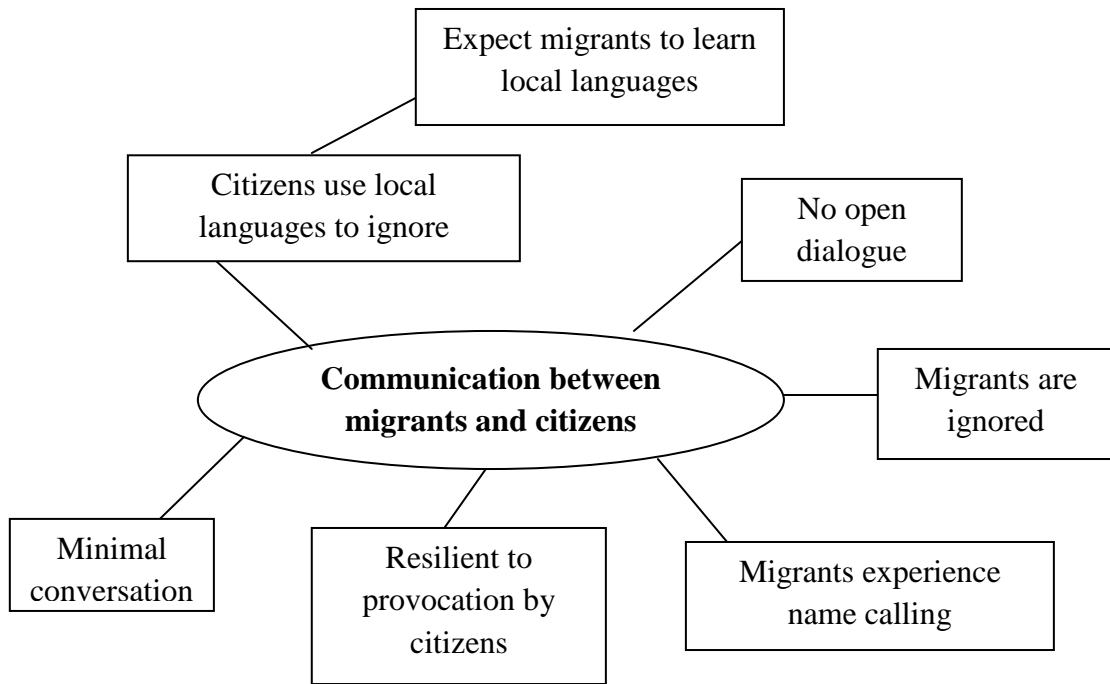
Generating initial codes:

| Data extract | Open coding |
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| <p><i>Well, I know the News should report on everything important in the country, but the way they portrayed the whole thing, was like putting us foreigners in a spotlight while not finding a solution but rather speculate over the theoretical aspects of this 'uncontrollable' problem</i></p> | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Public narrative through media 2. Negative portrayal of migrants by the media |
| <p><i>Like at the university where I am studying, some people are nice, but some are afraid of me ... they quickly lock their doors when you walk across them. Yes! I'm not a tsotsi (criminal), but they treat me like one, and I don't understand why. Is it because I'm a foreigner? I will never do anything against the law ... it's like they don't know.</i></p> | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Migrants treated as criminals 2. Negative suspicion |
| <p><i>One day this frantic old lady started screaming that I should go home, that I am stealing her sons and daughters and their jobs. I know it was only because she was in very much pain and I was a type of outlet. I understand, but still, it hurt.</i></p> | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Accused of stealing job 2. Feelings of being unwanted |
| <p><i>The other day I spoke to one of the older children, he was about 15 years, and he asked me why I am living here while some people don't like me. I answered that it was that we as a family wanted a better life, and then he said something I will never forget. He said: "But you are not from here, so why do think this land is yours?" I told him this land belongs to God, and then he said: "No, just because you're nice doesn't mean you can come and take my dad's work, now he can't even pay the medical bill". I tried not to take it</i></p> | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Subjective feelings of unwelcome even by young citizens 2. Migrants resist the provocation and insults by the citizens |

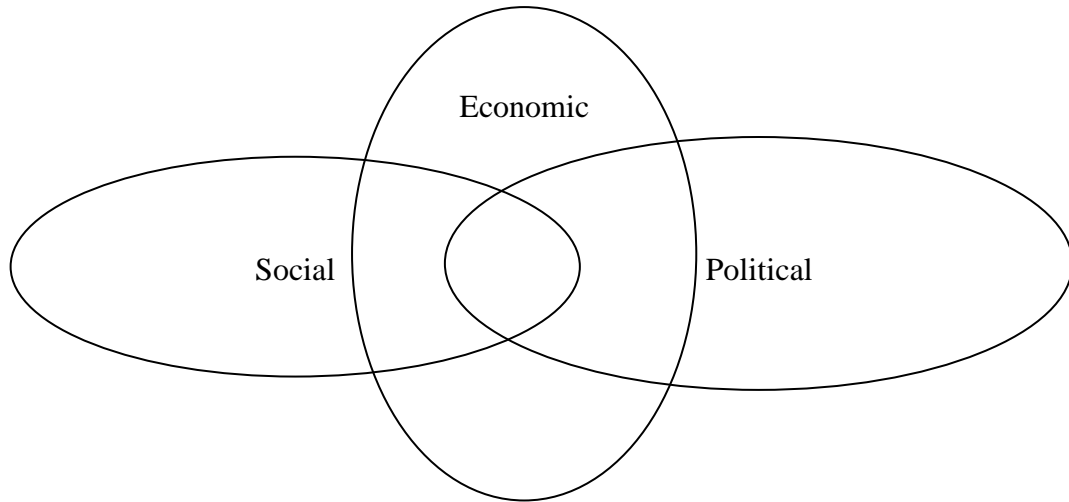
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| <p><i>personally, but what struck me afterwards, is the fact that this is just a young boy.</i></p> | |
| <p><i>One day the other man saw me watching the cars ... he told me I am stealing his job; I asked him if he wants to watch the cars as well, but he said no it pays too little, I cannot do such a job.</i></p> | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Migrants accused of stealing the jobs even when migrants are not interested in the types of jobs |
| <p><i>When you ride in the taxi, they do not talk to you. When you go into the shops they do not want to help you.</i></p> | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Migrants are ignored by migrants 2. No open dialogue between migrants and citizens |
| <p><i>I went to the clinic for treatment one day. I arrived very early in the morning. The nurse told me to go outside and wait until they call me. Many South Africans who came after me were treated first. I was just outside at the bench waiting for my turn. Later in the afternoon that's when they called me inside to receive the treatment.</i></p> | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Ignoring of migrants in settings they should be provided with help. 2. Migrants are attended last after the citizens |
| <p><i>I went to a team dinner, the whites were speaking Afrikaans when I moved to the blacks they were also speaking in their own language which I could not understand. I really felt left out and lost. All of them expect me to be able to speak in their own language.</i></p> | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Excluding of migrants irrespective of the social setting 2. Using local languages as a way to exclude migrants |
| <p><i>I attended another party they were many South Africans speaking different languages, Xhosa, Tswana, Zulu and Afrikaans. Each group I tried to join they asked why don't you learn Xhosa, the other group will also ask me so can you speak, Tswana</i></p> | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Migrants ignored due to language barrier 2. Citizens expects migrants to learn all the official local languages in South Africa |

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| <p><i>When you are standing in a queue together with other South Africans. For example in a traffic queue, they will say “Hey you, I mean you”, and you will see that he is looking at my complexion.</i></p> | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Physibility of the migrants due to their physical features |
| <p><i>At the hospital I work, I sometimes have a few patients that will ask me where I am from, because they can hear and see I’m not from SA, and then I would tell them.</i></p> | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Preoccupation with the visibility of the migrants |
| <p><i>When we meet somewhere talking in our language, they know that this is a foreigner, we cannot run away from it neither can we hide from them, so must I explain to them that yes I am a foreigner who is legal here, I did not come here to cause problem. I came here to look for job and support my family.</i></p> | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Emphasis on being different 2. Visible to the citizens due to the foreign language |
| <p><i>To be quite honest, I never really thought about my colour or my race until I came to South Africa. Here I was made aware that I am black and a foreigner.</i></p> | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Feelings of being unwelcome 2. Feelings of not belonging |

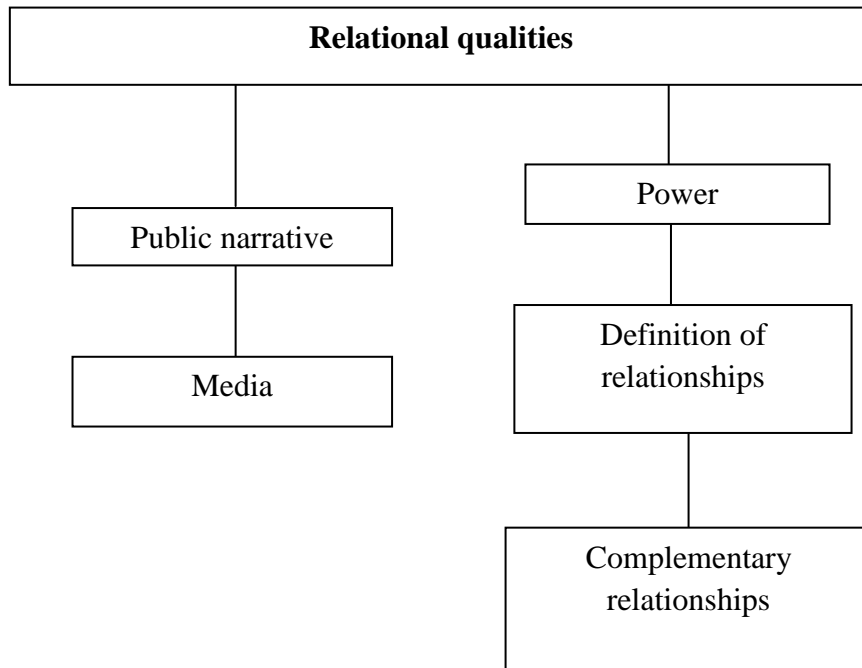
Searching for themes: Initial thematic map



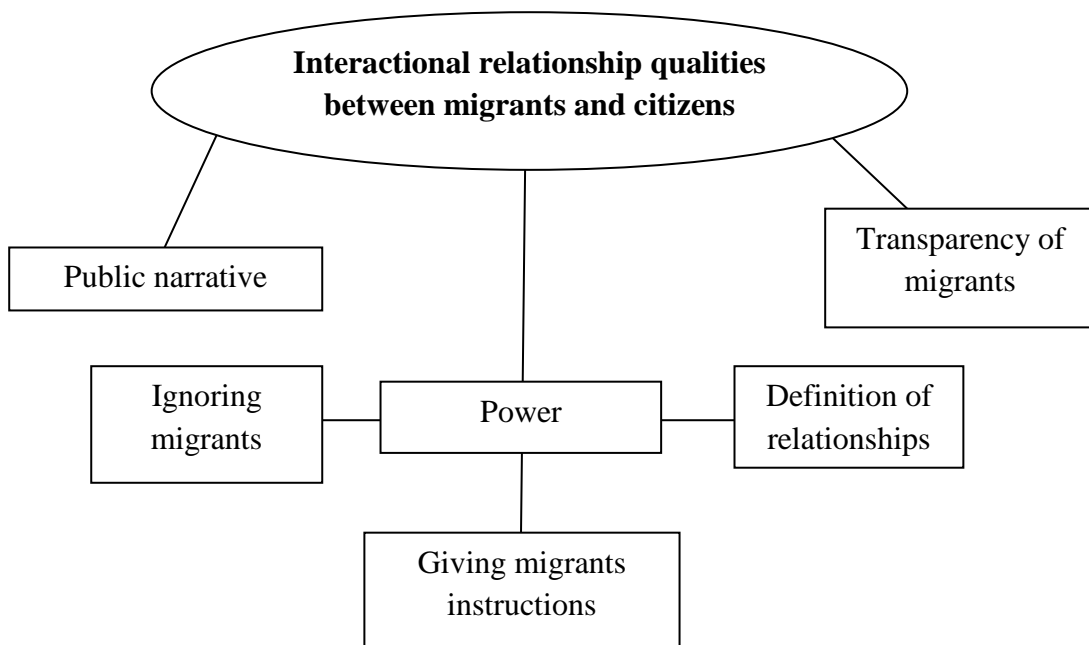
Relationships of migrants and migrants seemed to be embedded in social, political and economic context.



Developed thematic map



Final thematic map, with themes



APPENDIX D

Children's questionnaire

Parents' questionnaire

Focus group questionnaire

Children's questionnaire

CHILDREN QUESTIONS

Introduce yourself

Thank you for being here, you are helping me a lot, and I hope that we can help you as well.

Introductions – what is the study about, and where does the participants fit in?

Consent Form

Tell me a bit about yourself...

History of Migration and Relationship with Country of Origin

“Please tell me more about your life journey.” (SA & COO)

- Where were you born?
- What is your educational background?
- When you arrived here, were you at school, studying, work etc.
- When did you arrive here in SA?
- With whom did you migrate ? (parents, alone etc.)
- Why is it that you came to live in South Africa?
- Did you receive any help to come to South Africa and if yes what kind of help?
- Do you have family in your country of origin? (Parents, children, others?)
- Do you still have contacts/relationships in your COO? If yes, how are these maintained?
- How do you exchange by post: food, clothes, money etc?
- Do you ever visit your country of origin?
- What impression do you have of your COO?
- What impact has migration had on your life / your family's life?
- How does life compare here to COO?
- Do you intend to return to your COO?

Family

“Tell me about your family?”

- How do you experience being part of your family in SA?
- How do you experience being away from your family?
- What was it like growing up here (SA)?
- What do you think about how your parents brought you up?
- Would difficulties be handled differently in your COO during the same period?
- What kind of upbringing did you have?
- How were children raised? (difference between boys/girls?)
- What difficulties in growing up have you experienced? (Importance of culture / heritage / community?)
- Do you visit your parents in your COO often?
- Do you speak the language of your parents/grand parents? (Do they?)
- How do you imagine the future of your children / next generation?
- How do you relate to your parents?
- How do you think your life compares to that of your parents? (e.g. standard of living, social mobility)
- What would you do if your father or mother had health problems? (Would they live with you? How would you support your parents into their old age, how would you care for them?)

Life in South Africa

“How do you experience life in South Africa?”

- How are you settling in SA?
- What are your experiences of education in SA?
- Please describe your satisfaction/dissatisfaction of your work life a bit.
- What is your experience of welfare services?
- How do/don't they meet your/your community's needs?
- Do you help your parents in a specific way in regard to living in SA? (language / informal support / financial support?)

Friends, socialising, community, networks

“Tel me about your friends and how do you support each other?”

- What things do you like doing / what activities are you involved in?
- If you do take part in cultural or community group activities, what value does this bring to you?
- Who do you normally socialise with?
- Where do your friends tend to come from?
- Do you have more contact/socialise with African or SA people?
- What kind of neighbourhood do you live in?
- How do you socialise with locals and friends?
- Who would you ask if you needed help, due to health, money and other issues?
- Where do you go for information and support?
- What family do you have living in SA?

Faith

“Please tell me more about your religious life here in South Africa.”

- Do you have a religion/faith that is important to you? What is it?
- Did you grow up with it or how did you form part of it?
- Do you feel free to practice your faith?

Culture and tradition:

“How has your and your parents culture and traditions changed over the years here in South Africa?”

- Do you continue your parents/grandparents’ traditions and cultural practices? How?
- How has your family life changed in SA?
- Have your parents changed in the COO over the years?
- What do you usually do together as a family?

Xenophobia/racism

“Do you know what xenophobia means? / What is xenophobia?”

- If you have experienced xenophobia or any related unfair treatment, please tell me about it?”
- Have you ever experienced unfair treatment because of your ethnicity/heritage? In what circumstances?
- On what grounds are people discriminating against you?
- What have you done in reaction to unfair treatment?
- How has your perception of South Africa changed since all the xenophobic attacks?
- Do you see a peaceful future for yourself in South Africa for the years to come, tell me more about it....

Identity

“How would you best describe yourself?” (Who are you in your heart?)

- How would you characterise your identity?
- Do you feel SA or African or belonging to a tribal group?
- How do you feel about the community / ethnic / tribal background of your parents?
- How do you think others perceive you?
- Where do you feel home is?
- Where would you prefer to retire, and to be buried?
- Would you like to settle in another country?
- How do you see your future?

Parents' questionnaire

LIFE STORY QUESTION FRAME – PARENTAL GENERATION

Introduce yourself

Thank you for being here, you are helping me a lot, and I hope that we can help you as well.

Introductions – what is the study about and where does the participant fit in?

Consent Form

Tell me a bit about yourself...

Arrival

“Please tell me about your experiences of coming to South Africa”

- Where is your COO?
- Can you tell us about your experiences of coming to live in SA?
- What were your reasons for migration and coming to live in SA
- How does your life here compare to your life in COO?
- Describe the support you had when you arrived in SA.
- How do you think migration has impacted on your life / your family's life?
- When you arrived here, were you at school, studying, at work etc.?
- Who migrated with you? (alone, parents, children etc.)

Family in COO

“Tell me about your family in your COO?”

- Do you have family left in your COO? (Parents, Children, others?)
- How do you maintain these?
- How, do you exchange by post: food, clothes, money etc?
- What kind of ties do you retain with your household of origin?
- What are the implications for those who stay behind?
- Who cares for those family members in need of care/help for e.g. the older people?

Intentions in regard to COO, property and ownership

“Where do you see yourself once you have retired?”

- Do you have any business, property or land in your COO? (house, land, life stock etc)
- Do you intend to return to your country of origin?
- In which country would you like to retire and be buried? Why
- Who will one day care for you when you are old?

Family

“How do you compare the family life cycle between SA and your COO?”

- Marital Status
 - Does your spouse/partner live in your household?
 - What is the home country of your spouse?
 - What family do you have living in SA?
 - What language do you speak together?
 - Where do they live and what do they do?
 - How many people live with you?
 - Is it different bringing up children here to within your COO?
 - Could you tell us a bit about your children? (Where are they, how old, what are they doing?)
 - Did you experience any difficulties raising children?
 - How do you think they have settled in here?
 - Are girls and boys in the same way in your culture? Have you raise your daughters/sons in the same way?
 - Have you taken your children to your country of origin? If yes, did they feel that they fit in?
 - Do you think they live better than you/or are they better off now in COO?
 - How do you imagine their future?
 - Do you feel close to your children?
 - How do you imagine the future of your grand children?
 - How has migration affected your relationships with your friends/family from SA/COO?
 - Do you receive help from your children in regard to living in SA? (language / informal support / financial support?)

- What would you do if yours or your partners health deteriorated. Would you rely upon family for care?

Impact of migration experience on family life

“How has migration shaped or influenced your family as a whole?”

- What has migration meant to you and your family?
- Has the migration experience influenced your relationships with your family? How? What changes?

Culture and tradition

“How has your culture and traditions changed over the years due to your migrating here to SA?”

- Do you continue your culture/traditions since moving? How?
- Thinking back to life in your COO – did you do things differently there with your family?
- How has your family practices changed?

Settlement

“Please tell me about your future plans for you and your family in terms of country of residence”

- When did you migrate to SA and when did you settle in?
- How have you approached settling in SA and how have your children approached it?
- Do you support each other and how?
- In your opinion is it better to grow old in your COO or SA?
- Is temporary migration a precursor for permanent migration?
- Where is “HOME”?

Life in SA?

“Tell me about your daily life here in South Africa.”

- What do you value most about your life in SA?
- What do you find most different to life in your COO?
- What is your experience of welfare services? Do you feel they meet your needs/your community’s needs?

- Do you feel that you get support / help from the younger generations in your family?
- What are your experiences of education in SA?
- Please describe your satisfaction/dissatisfaction with your work life a bit.

Friends/socialising/community/network

“Tel me about your friends and how do you support each other?”

- Please let me know your experience of the local community and your neighbourhood.
- What kind of neighbourhood do you live in?
- How do you interact with locals and friends and where do you socialise most?
- Do you socialise by yourself or at family events with partner and children?
- Who is your circle of friends, Africans or also SA?
- Who are the people you see more often? (SA/African)
- Who would you ask if you needed help, due to health, money and other issues?
- Where do you get information and support?

Faith

“Please tell me more about your religious life here in South Africa.”

- Do you have a religion/faith that is important to you? What is it?
- Did you grow up with it or how did you form part of it?
- Do you feel free to practice your faith?

Xenophobia/racism

“Do you know what xenophobia means? / What is xenophobia?”

- If you have experienced xenophobia or any related unfair treatment, please tell me about it?”
- Have you ever experienced unfair treatment because of your ethnicity/heritage? In what circumstances?
- On what grounds are people discriminating against you?
- What have you done in reaction to unfair treatment?
- How has your perception of South Africa changed since all the xenophobic attacks?
- Do you see a peaceful future for yourself in South Africa for the years to come, tell me more about it....

Identity

“How would you best describe yourself?” (Who are you in your heart?)

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- How do you feel about the community / ethnic / tribal background of your parents?
- How do you think others perceive you?
- Where do you feel home is?
- Where would you prefer to retire, and to be buried?
- Would you like to settle in another country?
- How do you see your future?

Focus Group Questions

(younger and older generations)

Introduce yourself

Thank You for being here, you are helping me a lot, and I hope that we can help you as well.

Introductions – what is the study about, and where do the participants fit in?

Consent Form

Very briefly, why did you come to live in SA & How is it to live in SA?

Conditions of Arrival

“What did you find when you came here? Or How was it for you?”

- When did you first come to live here?
- If positive: what/who/why/was it from inside or from outside?
- If negative: What were the most difficult things you faced on arrival & how did you deal with them?

Experiences of Work and Education

“Are there opportunities to work and learn in SA?”

- If positive: Tell us about it.....Is it better than in COO?.....Why are the opportunities in SA better?
- If negative: Tell us about your frustrations/concerns.....regarding your working life/lack of work/educational opportunities
- Can you use your qualifications here in SA?
- Tell me about your every day working hours?
- Do you have any concerns regarding working life?
- Are there things that can be improved?
- What kind of qualifications do you have? Does your job utilise these education/qualifications/skills?
- Where did you receive your main education? COO/SA/mixture?

Welfare rights and services

“If you need help with health/grants/benefits, education (any services) – do you get help?”

If Yes:

- What are your experiences of welfare services in SA?
- What local service have you had contact with & what is your experience of these? (Housing, education, benefits, health etc.?)
- Do you have unmet needs? What service/support would you like to see in place?
- If you need help, where do you turn to?
- How do you find out about information regarding benefits, rights, services...?

If no:

- Why not?

Family relationships

“Is family important?”

If you have family here:

- What is it like raising children in this country & how does it compare to parenting in COO?
- Has it been important for you to teach your children about the culture & the way of life in your COO? (food, language, faith, family relations....)
- Is this important to you & will you pass it onto your children?
- What difficulties do you have with maintaining these cultural values & practices in post-migration?
- How does your family life compare to your lives in COO?
- How are older people cared for in your community? What about older people in COO? Who will care for them? ...and... when you need care, who will care for you?

If you don't have family here:

- How do you keep contact?
- Who/what do you miss most?
- Who will care for you?

Faith

“Please tell me about your religious life here in SA?”

- Do you have a religion/faith that is important to you? Why? What is it?
- Did you grow up with it or how did you form part of it?
- Do you feel free to practice your faith?

Identity

“How would you best describe yourself? / Who are you in your heart?”

- Do you feel SA or African or belonging to a tribal group?
- How do you feel about the community/ ethnic/ tribal background of your parents?
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- Where do you feel home is?
- Where would you prefer to retire, and to be buried? Why?
- Would you like to settle in another country?
- How do you see your future?

Broader community relationships and social networks and participation/involvement

“Tell me about the place where you live?”

- Who do you socialize with?
- Do you mix with your neighbours? (e.g. paid work, schools, local shops & services, informal situations?)
- Why are these networks important to you? What do you get from them?

Reflections on life post-migration

“What do you like/don't like about your life in SA?”

- What are the biggest impacts that migration has had on your life?
- How does it compare with life (or your family lives) in COO?
- Do you think the benefits are the same for your children or your generation?
- How do you feel people who have migrated are treated in SA?
- If there were 3 recommendations we could take to policy makers, what would they be?