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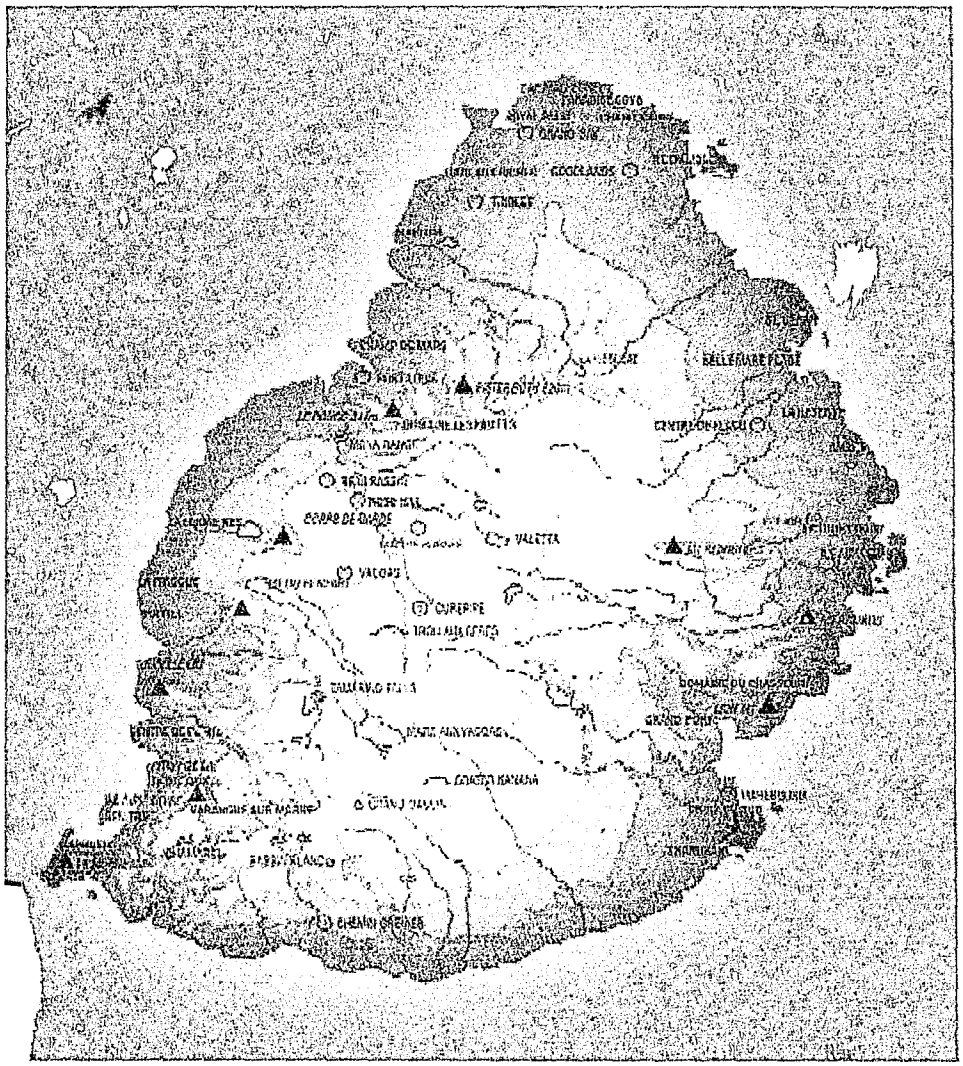
'An exploratory enquiry in the pattern of Mauritian migration to South Africa over the past fifty years'

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'An exploratory enquiry in the pattern of Mauritian migration to South Africa over the past fifty years.'



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Ruby Nandini Putty-Ramful
1998

A research report submitted to the Faculty of Arts, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts

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&

Special Thanks

à

Mon chere Papa.

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Chapter One

The main Objectives

It is only by studying the last fifty years of Mauritian history that one can really understand some of the reasons why large numbers of people have emigrated overseas. In 1989, the Mauritius Statistical office stated that from 1939 to 1988, not less than 90,000 Mauritians officially emigrated out of a population of one Million inhabitants.[1] In 1989, about 6,000 white and non-White Mauritians were permanently residing in Apartheid South Africa. However, these figures are supported by data collected by the CSO[2] based on Mauritians who have officially requested for a change in citizenship and as thus only constitute the tip of the iceberg. It excludes Mauritians who reside overseas with temporary, permanent, contract-based residence permits; those with study permits and also illegal immigrants.

So far, a handful of researchers such Edward Dyger (1988), Monique Dinan (1985) and Sonia Kune (1993) have conducted research on issues relating to Mauritian emigration. No one has conducted any research on the issue of Mauritian migration to South Africa. Furthermore there has been little research undertaken on Mauritian immigration to any of the other SADC countries.

The secondary Objectives:

This research topic was chosen mainly with the intention of gaining insight and a better understanding of the race, number and demographic characteristics of Mauritian immigrants who left for South Africa, their economic role, and contribution to the South African economy. One of the reasons for choosing to investigate the phenomenon of Mauritian migration in South Africa is because for some time now, South Africa has become one of the prime destinations for Mauritians.

People from Mauritius come to South Africa for a number of reasons, be it for trade, education, and medical or for tourism. Due to the geographical proximity of the island to the South African republic (four hours by plane) and the present currency exchange rate (Rand1=Rupees 4), Mauritians prefer to travel to South Africa rather than to Europe or America. With more and more communication and interaction between the two countries, Air Mauritius and South African Airways now have flights operating this route everyday of the week. As already mentioned, little research has been undertaken with regards to international migration and no research has been undertaken on the subject of Mauritian migration to South Africa.

[1] B Moutou,Les Chretiens a L'ile Maurice,1996,pp420.

It is interesting to compare the most significant migration fluxes of Mauritian migrants in a contemporary period, such as those corresponding to the Apartheid period, and the current period. The implications of such migration patterns will also be investigated. Has race played an important role in such migration pattern? And in what way? Have the racial preoccupations of the governments of South Africa and Mauritius influenced the migration trends between those two nations? Might South Africa's pro-White migration policies during the Segregation period and Apartheid gratified Mauritius' migration trends to this country?
Were there similarities between Mauritius' seclusion as an island and South Africa's isolation during its racist past, in terms of their population dynamics?

The study seeks to examine with the aid of a number of demographic features, (such as age, gender, race, occupation, religion, etc) the Mauritian community in South Africa. The objective of this research is to gain insight on the type of Mauritians who migrated to South Africa during specific years, as well examine their mode of travel, their nationality and citizenship classifications. All of these factors are important in determining the status of the Mauritian migrant in South Africa. This research will thus relate, for instance, the status of a Mauritian migrant as compared to a Nigerian or Mozambican migrant. Why are Mauritians given better consideration and credit by the South African society?

A gender perspective will be brought into the study whereby differences in the experience of male and female Mauritian immigrants will be investigated. When comparing the Mauritian population in South Africa with that of Mauritius, this perspective will be of great importance.

RELEVANCE OF THE RESEARCH PROJECT.

The results of this study will be of importance to the governments of Mauritius and South Africa in deciding migration policy. South Africa at present lacks a through and objective process of obtaining essential information on migration. In the absence of research undertaken on the number of migrants and the process of circular migration, the media and government officials concerned have made all kinds of wild guesses about the numbers and household structures.

The South African government has appointed a task team to prepare an international migration policy. One of the primary goals of the task team is to conduct a national survey with the intention of finding out more about the aliens in South Africa. This survey along with some partial d

[2] Central Statistical Office of Mauritius.

(such as repatriation data, visa-overstays) will provide the government with a more comprehensive database on immigration trends in South Africa.

Furthermore, the Southern Migration Project conducted by the Queen's University researchers in Canada, aims to create a database of current migration trends and dynamics within each of the countries of SADC. In this research current, my own research is consistent with the present national and international focus on alien migration to South Africa.

Hence, my work will without a doubt provide an improved understanding of the character and patterns of Mauritian migration to South Africa. Secondly, it will also fill an important gap in establishing a historical overview of past Mauritian migration patterns and provide a statistical analysis of current Mauritian migration. Furthermore, the topic appealed to me, as I am a Mauritian citizen myself and I have a personal interest in demographic changes in the region.

THE SCOPE OF THE STUDY

The scope of this study is limited to Mauritian migrants only: refugees, illegal aliens, work contractors, permanent residents and naturalised Mauritians within the Republic of South Africa. The research project will focus on migration patterns and trends over the past 50 years, from the 1940's to the late 1990's.

RESEARCH DESIGN

The nature of this research topic requires the use of a combination of qualitative and quantitative methods. By conducting a statistical and narrative analysis of Mauritian immigration data and trends, this research project hopes to gain a comprehensive picture of the dimensions, dynamics and patterns of past, present, and future Mauritius-South Africa migration. Twenty-two in-depth interviews of Mauritian migrants in JHB/ Mauritius will endorse the data analysis and provide rich, deep and textured illustrations for the respondents' subjective experiences.

CHAPTER 2

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Like many birds, but unlike most other animals, humans are a migratory species. Indeed, migration is as old as humanity itself.[3] People move for many different reasons. Human migration has been provoked by such diverse factors as wars, natural calamities, political oppression, discrimination, economic hardship, and professional ambition and in some cases, just plain restlessness.[4]

In addition, individuals often live in the societies of migration for many years and simultaneously pretend to simply be sojourners. Living in another country imposes an obligation to participate in its institutions. All legislation and social policies in relation to the immigrant population have been motivated mainly by the contribution of such alien populations to the economy. Therefore, it is in the best interest of the receiving country to document itself on the structure, participation and contribution of such migrant societies.

The sociological relevance of this study is to provide an analysis of the phenomenon of Mauritian emigration to South Africa. What were the main reasons that motivated Mauritians to come to South Africa as compared to European countries, Australia and the US? Did the demographic preoccupations of the governments of Mauritius and South Africa influence a particular type of migration pattern? How many Mauritians have made South Africa their host country over the past fifty years? Who are they? What do they do? Where do they live?

The chronicle of the migrating Mauritian islanders to the southern tip of the African continent is not old. It represents a picture of fifty years of human movement, a picture that is still evolving. After three centuries of a long gestation[5] period, the Mauritian identity was finally moulded within the island's multi-racial environment. With the movement of Mauritians to South Africa, new identities were forged and a new equilibrium was reached.

By emigrating, have Mauritians become alienated from both their past and their present? Have they cut themselves off from the culture that shaped them? Has the shock of dramatic change and of the wealth of choices left a deep and lasting impact upon themselves? These questions and many more require elaborate and precise explanations based on the analysis of oral narratives and statistical records.

The research aims to establish a current database for assessing dimensions and trends of Mauritian migration and a basic profile of the demographic and spatial characteristics of this population in South Africa. By using a statistical and narrative analysis of Mauritian immigration data and trends, this research

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[3] Davis:1974:53
[4] R.C Nann ed. Uprooting and Surviving. London. D. Reidel Publishing Company.1982
[5] M Dinan, 1990, Pp1

project hopes to gain a comprehensive picture of the dimensions, dynamics and patterns of past, present, and future Mauritius-South Africa migration.

REPORT OUTLINE

The research report has been organised into eight chapters, each of which systematically relates to a facet of the study.

Chapter one: Introduction

This chapter was concerned with the main aims of this research. That is to investigate the phenomenon of Mauritian emigration to South Africa.

Chapter Two: The Problem statement & Objective

This chapter focused on the reasons why this particular research topic was chosen and the implications of such migration patterns will be discussed. The objective of this research were presented.

Chapter Three: The Literature Review

This chapter focused on five distinct areas.

Part one (A): The first section looked at the literature on the nature of international migration

Part One (B) examines the issue of migration in the African continent.

Part Two (A): The second section provides a brief overview of Mauritius.

Part Two (B): This section of this review provided an understanding of the possible causes, and dimensions of Mauritian emigration to various countries over different time periods.

Part Two(C): Examines the issue of Mauritian migration to the African continent. It delved deeply into the history of the Mauritian experience to substantiate the proposition that there is a strong relationship between the legacies of imperialism and what 'pushed' Mauritians migrated to South Africa.

Part Two (D): And the last section examined the South African migration policy. Past Apartheid and the new migration policies were discussed in relation to the New South Africa and South Africa's present migration problem.

Part Two (E) looked at the patterns of Mauritian migration to South Africa.

Chapter Four: The Theoretical Framework

In this study, a number theoretical frameworks have been used, namely; the Neo-classical Macro & Micro economic theories of international migration, Mitchell's (1985) push-pull theory, Furtado's (1965) classification of the World Systems theory, and Chant & Radcliffe (1992) theories on female and male migration differences to examine the issues at hand. Furthermore, the study attempts to apply the theories

of colonialism to see whether these theoretical tools can be used to explicate the exodus of white and non-white migrants from Mauritius to South Africa.

Chapter Five: The methodology

Fifty years have been reviewed. A narration and an exposé of Mauritian emigratic ı observed from two different perspectives, from the host, South Africa and from the departing country, Mauritius. This study has been divided into three distinct areas, the analysis of Mauritian emigration to South Africa based on South Africa statistical data, the analysis of Mauritian emigrants based on Mauritian statistical data and lastly information based on the oral histories of 22 Mauritian emigrants in South Africa. It will be followed by an explanation of the difficulty of coping with the problems of finding relevant data, especially with the small size of the Mauritian immigrant population in South Africa and also because relevant information on the subject is widely dispersed.

Chapter Six: Mauritians in South Africa based on the Central Statistical Office data set.

Chapter six analyses data collected in Mauritius by the Central Statistical Office. This chapter looks at migration data and it's different influences on demographic and socio-economic characteristics of Mauritius. The actual analysis is divided into four sections, relating to specific historical periods whereby the structure, character and features of data collected on immigrants and immigration differed. The analysis is based on tables produced from the International Travel and Tourism reports.

Chapter Seven: Mauritians in South Africa based on the CSS data set

This chapter describes the socio- demographic data collected and analyzed on Mauritian migrants in South Africa. Describing in detail the racial and ethnic composition of the population, the demographic and other characteristics of the study population. This analysis focuses on border statistics collected in Soul'ı Africa.

Chapter Eight : In-depth Interviews. Interpretation & Analysis.

This chapter focuses on the data collected from 22 in-depth interviews. These interviews highlight the experiences of a cross-section of Mauritians in Johannesburg, South Africa and in Mauritius. The ethnographic interviews were used as conversations w 'th a purpose. They were transcribed, translated in the case of the French and Creole speaking Mauritians and the data analyzed thematically.

Chapter Nine: Statement of Results

The findings of the statistical analysis in combination with the in-depth interviews were analyzed and this chapter provides a summary of the results of this research.

Conclusion & Recommendations

This last chapter uses the main findings of this research exercise in an attempt to make sense of the phenomenon of Mauritian migration to South Africa. It ends the section of the report on research design, data collection and data analysis. It carefully synthesizes all the analytical conclusions made in previous chapters and includes ethical issues concerned.

Suggestions made by the respondents and my own recommendations have been included in this report which would help to improve the quality of life of Mauritians in South Africa.

Chapter 3

Literature Review

The research reviews the issue of migration within a demographic framework, especially in relation to global migration. Thus this review will focus on five distinct areas.

- Part one (A): Looks at the literature on the nature of international migration
- Part One (B) examines the issue of migration in the African continent.
- Part Two (A): Provides a brief overview of Mauritius.
- Part Two (B): Provides an understanding of the possible causes, and dimensions of Mauritian emigration to various countries over different time periods.
- Part Two(C): Specifically focuses on the issue of Mauritian migration to the African continent.
- Part Two (D): Examines the South African migration policy
- Part Two (E) Looks at the patterns of Mauritian migration to South Africa.

Part one

(A) International migration & globalisation.

In the final decade of the twentieth century, international migration has taken up an added importance in many countries. Population movements have become more diversified, and it is increasingly difficult to identify discrete categories of migrants, such as labour migrants or refugee and asylum seekers. [6]

There is no universally accepted definition of migration. In this research study international migration is defined as the permanent or long-term movement of people across international frontiers. Today most migration flows from poorer to richer countries, even if many of the richer receiving countries are experiencing slow economic growth. [7]

Ever since the migration phenomenon has been redefined under globalisation, as the movement of people, immigration has come to be defined as a durable change of residence, as a particular form of population adjustment in space. But this is not true; migration can be nomadic, definitive and circular and can also include refugee movements.

Migration is also a response to the dis-equilibrium of employment and of capital in the world. In many ways, nearly all migration ultimately involves labour migration. International migration throughout the past several

[6] International Migration Policies, UN,1998.
[7] D Lucas & E Young. International Migration. 1990

centuries has been closely linked not only to demographic imbalances and national policies, but also to changing geographical distribution of employment opportunities.[8]

Furthermore, the history of migration is unique to each community and to each situation and that history determines its capacity to respond to internal and external opportunities. Selection factors such as age, sex, education, income and family positions form the basis on which movers and stayers are differentiated.[9] Thus the study of migration involves a number of variables at various stages of analysis. Socio-economic variables affect individuals differently based on their positions in the life cycle.

The gender of immigrants is one of the most important variables in the study of migration. Female mobility reflects only a minimal fraction of the human migration. This phenomenon can be understood within a patriarchal society, based on a system of fixed values and norms.

Age is another important variable. The age distribution of migrants, both male and female determines migration behaviour of individuals. Economic migration commonly regroups individuals from the age of an average age of 15 to 40. The average age of long term migrants differs from that of the sojourners. Long-term migrants tend to leave their country of birth at an earlier age than circular or temporary migrants. [10]
The relationship between the age of migrants and their status in the life cycle is also important. On average, male migrants below the age of 25 tend to be either unmarried, married without children or with one child. While migrant men aged above 70 tend to be heads of households without children. The age variable is directly related to the life cycle of the migrant and in a way influences the mobility of the individual. Heads of households with family responsibilities and economic needs are often associated with short-term or temporary migration.

Today, many frameworks for migration analysis exist. These are based on a diversity of variables drawn from both developed and developing countries. Thus specific geographical, socio-economic and political conditions offer a multiplicity of explanations, relatively immutable laws and timeless regularities generally used in trying to understand patterns of international movement.[11]

The movement of people across international borders is hence an important policy issue for governments and researchers all over the world. It touches the lives of people in areas as different as the rural regions of developing countries and the great metropolises of the industrialised countries.

Globalisation and global capitalism, involving the northern financial institutions since the 1980's, have enforced economic and structural adjustment programs on developing countries whose impacts have not

[8] International Migration Policies. UN.1998.
[9] *Ibid.* 1992
[10] Ceped no 46. June 1997
[11] Opcit,1992.

always been positive. In the third world countries, with neo-liberalisation and global competitiveness comes rise in inequality, decline in real wages, living standards and an increase in the informal sector.

The context of international migration can be understood as a consequence of the global spread of markets, communication, transportation, and capital. However, with neo-liberalism comes a revival of nationalism as the capacity of nation states declines under the forces of globalisation. Very often, nation states may want to open their barriers to trade, technology, and capital, while closing them to immigrants.
Hence international migration issues have been caught between the theoretical distinctions of 'man' and the juridical distinction of the 'citizen', between human rights and citizenship rights. Thus, issues of nationality and citizenship have become salient as territorial changes and large-scale migration have led to growing numbers of people caught between two states. Such issues pose internal and external challenges on the policy formulation of nation-states.[12] Although, nation-states have to respond to socio-economic and political demands of their citizens, they also have to embrace the forces of globalisation and human mobility. Thus in considering citizenship issues, nation-states also need to consider their foreign policies and international obligations.

Today, economic globalisation and growing interdependence have been matched by the proliferation of international instruments dealing with migration and regional groupings (SADC) and free trading zones-most of which have had a considerable impact on the movement and treatment of labour migrants.

The persistent disparity in wealth and resources between rich countries and poor countries motivates people in developing countries to migrate and participate, at least temporarily, in the labour forces of developed countries. Against a backdrop of widening economic disparity and political change, international migration has increasingly become an issue of major policy concern in almost all parts of the world.

Part One (B)

Migration in Africa

The movement of workers across international borders is widespread and traditional in Africa. Migration patterns were established long before nations existed as political entities and before borders between modern countries were drawn. Modern-day national frontiers were established in most cases by officials of colonial powers in an arbitrary manner such that even today, some borders between African countries are largely ignored or very porous.[13]

Migration Africa has been dominated by the economic motive. In Africa, as in other locations, international labour migration occurs between countries of unequal economic development, with labour migrants from poorer countries moving to jobs in countries with exploitative natural resources and significant foreign investment. Castle and Kosac. (1985) and Nikolinakas 1980) locate the phenomenon of migrant labour within

[12] UN, 1998.

an economic framework based on an international division of labour and capitalist development and re-assess the relevance of Marx's notion of the reserve army of labour.[14]

Castle and Kosack (1985) further argue that,

"To understand fully the causes of emigration would involve studying the causes of under development in the contemporary world. The disparity between the fast demographic growth and the contemporary slow development of the resources available to the population is due on the one hand to the uneven development of Europe's imperialist exploitation of the Third world."[15]

Numerous examples of this exist. In sub-Saharan Africa, there is a great disparity between the richer oil-producing economies-Nigeria, Gabon, Angola, The Congo, Côte d'Ivoire and the Democratic Republic of Congo- and other countries without oil.[16] The economic strength of certain countries lies in their mineral resources, as in the case of South Africa. It may also be rooted in good soils and favourable agricultural conditions, as in the case of Ghana and Côte d'Ivoire, where workers from countries in the interior of Western Africa have been migrating to work on plantations since the colonial era.[17] North Africa has been a major labour-exporting region, especially to Europe and the Gulf States[18].

Historical evidence suggests that Africa has been involved in long-distance migration both within and outside the continent for decades now. Through institutions of forced migration such as the Dutch East India Company in the sixteenth century, large numbers of people have been displaced. The largest slave shipments to the USA and the Middle East originated from North and West Africa. Inter continental migration from the 15th century has not only brought Europeans, Asians and Arab migrants to Africa but also colonialism and racial segregation.[19]

The idea of ' migration systems' can be traced to the work of Mabogunje (1970) who argued that migration can be recognised fundamentally as a spatial process with a clear geographical form and structure.[20] Thus today a number of migration systems exist such as the North American system, the European Migration typology, the Persian Gulf migrant labour system, the Western Pacific system, the South American migration system and lastly the African Migration system.

Over the past two decades geographic mobility within the African continent has dramatically grown. This is a result of rapidly changing social, economic and demographic circumstances throughout the region. International migration in Africa, especially South Africa was significant during the colonial and apartheid eras, where

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[13] UN Internatioal Migration Policies,1998.
[14] Castle & Kasack :1972,1973.
[15] Castle & Kasack :1985,Pp28
[16] Adepoju :in UN Migration Policies,1998
[17] Ibid,1991
[18] Migration Policies,UN,1998.
[19] Ibid 1998

Europeans deployed workers throughout the region under the 'contract-worker' system in South African mines. A similar system called the 'contract-coolie' system operated in British-India some fifty years age.

Africa has experienced a steady brain drain, from 1960 to 1987; some 700,000 highly skilled documented Africans immigrated to Europe. Between 1987 and 1989, Nigeria lost over 110,000 skilled workers who sought employment in the industrialised countries, during the 1940's, more than a quarter million Algerians migrated to France and [21]1,8 million Egyptian workers migrated to Iraq.[22]

Apart from the economic motive, major migration fluxes have occurred in Africa due to civil wars, famine, genocide and ecological catastrophes. The dominant type of international migration in Eastern Africa is the movement of refugees, many of whom may also be labour migrants and undocumented migrants. War, drought and famine created large numbers of refugees, such as Ethiopians who fled to Eritrea[23]. Ethnic strife in Rwanda resulted in large and unexpected international displacements of populations. Thus today, migration in Africa is characterised by refugee camps and mass movements of displaced people.

Part 2 (a)

Mauritius an Overview.

Mauritius is a very small island of about 2,200sq.kms only in size but it has a population of 1.2 million, divided very evenly between men and women. It is part of the Mascarene group of islands formed by volcanic eruptions from the depths of the Indian Ocean. It is located on the 20th parallel north of the tropic of Capricorn, 1,265 miles from the east coast of Africa and 100 miles from Reunion island its, nearest neighbour.

History and circumstances have brought people of European, African and Asian origins to be flanked together on this once uninhabited island for a common destiny. Ethnically, the population is divided into four main groups. The Indo Mauritians, descendants of the Indian indentured labourers; the General population constituting of the descendants of the African slaves, the Franco- Mauritians, the Creoles (of the French-African slave unions); the Chinese, descendants of indentured and free Chinese immigrants from China, Singapore and Malaya.; and finally a few hundreds of White Mauritians known as Franco-Mauritians, descendants of European, predominantly French and British settlers.

The inhabitants at this present time, compromise people of basically Indian origin (67%), 28% of mixed origin and African, 3% Chinese and 2% of European origin. The faiths of the people include Hinduism, Islam, Christianity and Buddhism.[24] The government in Mauritius has a policy of per capita grant to every religious group without necessarily providing fund for actual buildings and structures.

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[20] Mabogunje 1970
[21] Ibrahim,1995; Kubat:1993,Adepoju:1991 in UN Migration Policies,1998.
[22] Opcit. 1991.
[23] Ibid,1995
[24] New Inforama. Ministry of Information. March 1995.

Some of the Population and vital Statistics of Mauritius are arranged below:
(Mauritius Central Statistical Office).

	1990	1996
Total resident population	1,122,100	1,133.600.
Live Births	22,602	20,763
Marriages	11,425	10,700
Divorces	549	801(1995)
Crude Birth rate	21.3	18.3
TFR	2.3	2.1
Marriage rate	21.6	18.9
Divorce rate	1.0	1.4 (1995)
Health Facilities		
Hospitals	12	13
Area health centers	29	29
Community health centers	125	118
Private clinics	8	12
Population per doctor	1,235	1,125
Population per dentist	8,021	7,557

It has a population of 1.2 million, divided very evenly between men and women. Based on the last census years from 1901 to date, there has been no significant mortality differentials between the sexes at various age levels. It actually shows that the slight male domination seen in the early 1900's gradually decreased and is even today.

Mauritius has been faced with a fertility decline in the recent years. Fertility decline in Mauritius is often associated with increased usage of modern contraception. Other factors could be attributed to the downward trend in fertility, such as mass education, improved health care, and social factors.

The education system makes provision for a trilingual approach so that every child is given the opportunity to learn not only English and French, but also one of his or her ancestral languages. It follows the traditional British pattern of Cambridge School certificates (SC) and higher school certificates (HSC).
The broadcasting service allocates channels and time for all the linguistic and cultural groups without forgetting appropriate timings for religious programmes for each religious group. News and important messages are all broadcasted in various languages, just like educational items.

For a number of years now, the occupational structure of Mauritius' population followed the ethnic composition of the population. However today, the situation is changing. The Creoles most of whom are of mixed origins (of the French-African slave unions) worked for years on sugar plantations. Today, Creoles are found in all

industries, in a variety of occupations ranging from unskilled manual work to government positions to professional occupations.
Amongst the Indo-Mauritians, the dominant ethnic group, a large number of individuals still work on agricultural plantations. Many Hindus among the Indians work in he civil service in government at various levels, many in the teaching, engineering and medical professions. A large number of Indo-Mauritians work in he textile and tourism industries. The Indo-Mauritians Muslims are largely involved in trade and industry, although like in other ethnic groups, Muslims are found in all industries in a variety of occupations.

Sino-Mauritians, part of a small minority, are largely in retail trade and manufacturing industries. The Franco-Mauritians, another small minority remain an affluent minority, hey still own most of the plantations and are involved in the tourism and advertising industries.

Right from the beginning of the struggle for independence in the 1950's, it was clear that it was in the interest of everybody to work and live in harmony so that cultural, religious, social and linguistic values could be shared. Today the fruits of this approach, 'unity in diversity' can be seen.
The government in Mauritius has a policy of per capita grant to every religious group without necessarily providing fund for actual buildings and structures.

Another asset is the smallness of the country that permits heads of religious groups to meet together in a "comité des Sages "25 to initiate decisions in order to bring understanding and harmony among the various faiths. In order to encourage a spirit of solidarity and mutual acceptance and to encourage people of various faiths to share each others values, some of the religious festivals like Christmas, Divali, Eid and Chinese Spring festival have been given the status of national public holidays.

Part 2 (B).

The History of Mauritian Migration.

Migration in Mauritius is not new and can not be understood outside a historical perspective. Three centuries ago Mauritius was a desert island. There were no indigenous people on the island when the Dutch arrived in 1598. Today the whole Mauritian population is composed of immigrants and their descendants.

From the 1700's, Mauritius became the 'Star and Key of the Indian Ocean', symbolising the junction of sea routes between the Cape and Europe, India, Australia and the Far East, and between the Cape and the Far East. Strong connections existed between Mauritius and the Cape due to their mutual dependence on the British Empire. In the 1600's trade links and a regular mail-boat service were established between England and the two colonies[26] Another link between the two countries was slavery. Since the early days of the Cape settlement, slaves had been imported from Madagascar and Mauritius.[27]

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[25] Ibid. pp32
[26] " a not inconsiderable quantity of salted butter as well as wine, brandy and whale oil was sent annually to

Famous travellers who visited both the Cape and Mauritian settlements included people like Sir Thomas Herbert, François Valentijn, Abbé Nicolas Louis de la Caille, Bernardin de St Pierre. Many travellers left written accounts of their visits in both settlements in the early 1600's. The island was colonised by the Dutch for the first time in 1638. During the period 1715-1940, immigrants from Africa, India, China have been forcefully transported 28 to Mauritius. The French took possession of the island in 1715, renamed it 'Ile de France' and would not leave until 1810.

By 1810, the island reverted to its original name Mauritius under British rule. In 1835, the British abolished slavery and this led to the importation of 466,01829 Indian indentured labourers between 1842 and 1871, who replaced the slaves in the sugar canes. South African historians argue that during that period a number of indentured Indian labourers left Mauritius and emigrated to South Africa.30 During the same period in Mauritius, came Chinese traders from Mainland China. Mauritius remained under British rule until 12th March 1968 after which it became an independent sovereign nation within the Common wealth. It was proclaimed a Republic on the 12th of March of 1992. [31]

Mauritius, as compared to South Africa is not an old country. It underwent a period of 310 years of colonial domination starting with the Dutch in 1658, followed by the French in 1715 and ended with the British who left it disorientated culturally.[32] According to French anthropologist Balandier (1951)[33], an analysis of Mauritius under colonial rule supports the view that the colonial situation was one of constant domination either by the colonisers or by local groups in the colony itself. It is important to evaluate the adverse impact of colonial legacies in understanding the reasons why Mauritians have been leaving their 'Paradise Island' for other countries. [34]
Mr V Sawmy, a Member of Parliament, said in 1970,

"*...tactics of the colonial rulers to divide and rule, and the White rulers of Mauritius have been very successful in doing it. It is not communalism[35]. It is not the struggle of races, which matters. It is the struggle of classes. The struggle of those who do not possess and those who exploit.... I suppose that it is rather common in all countries which have suffered from*

Mauritius .." from Thomas Bowler in Mauritius , 1970, Balkema, South Africa ..
[27] Thomas Bowler in Mauritius , 1970, Balkema, South Africa
[28] (mostly as slaves)
[29] Out of a population of 1.3 million Indian emigrants who went to various parts of the world, Mauritius received the largest number of indentured labourers. From S Bhana, Indentured Indian Emigrants 1860-1902, New Delhi, Promilla Publishers, 1991.
[30] From S Bhana, Indentured Indian Emigrants 1860-1902, New Delhi, Promilla Publishers
[31] The Mauritian constitution is based on the Westminster model with the political power vested in the Prime minister and the Cabinet.
[32] Lingayah. S 1990.
[33] Balandier in Alladin, 'Economic Miracle in the Indian Ocean, 1993.
[34] Ibid. 1990.
[35] Atttitudes of bias. prejudice between people of different communities and ethnic groups.

colonialism to find the top brass of the country imitating their ex-masters, by the way they dress, by the way they talk and by the way they live."[36]

Much of the literature on Mauritian migration focuses on the movement of Mauritians as from the Second World War, when a small number of Mauritians served in the British forces. Despite the fact that a large number of Mauritians left the island during the French and English settlements, not much research has been conducted about such migration patterns. So far research indicates that a significant number of people left in the late 1950's.

By 1955, there were definite signs in Mauritius like in other territories such as Kenya and Northern and Southern Rhodesia, that independence was inevitable. New political parties mushroomed [37]. Politicians such as Bissoondoyal (1908-1977) and Mohamed (1906-1978) became important leaders in the struggle for an independent nation.[38]. At the same time, the socio-economic conditions of the island were rapidly declining, and unemployment was the major problem in Mauritius. It became a problem because of a population explosion followed by the return of the 'pioneers' of the British army after the 1939-1945 war.

Mauritius' Demographic Transition- Emigration or family planning as a population policy?

Islands have lessons to teach about population growth, migration and family planning. Islands tend to react quickly to sudden population shifts because of their limited size, resources and strength of community awareness. Census-taking dates back to the French governorship of Mahe de Labourdonnais. Mauritius' population statistics prior to the 1700's is meagre and unreliable. By 1735, Mauritius had a population of about 10,000. By 1797, the population had increased to 60,000 comprising of 50,000 slaves. During that time, although there were no official population censuses, it is possible to obtain estimates of both the White and non-white populations. French farmers maintained meticulous accounts of the number of slaves they owned, their sex composition and changes in their numbers due to death or marriage.[39] Under both the French and British administrations in the 18th and 19th centuries, the Mauritian population significantly increased with the arrival of more Black slaves, and also the immigration of Indian indentured labourers.

From 1944 to 1964, Mauritius experienced a period of high population increase, a baby boom. There was a substantial increase in its population size during the period immediately after World War 2 and reached an estimated total of 501,415 according to the Central Statistical Office. According to chandrasakhar (1980), the reasons behind the post-war baby boom were the two features characteristic of the social life of the Indo-Mauritian. The near-universality of the married state within the framework of the existing sex ratio and the relative early age at marriage of young women. However, one of the most important factors, was the eradication of malaria and the rapid drop in the death rate. [40]

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[36] Parliamentary debetes, 20 November 1970, Pp.1642.
[37] such as the Parti Mauricien and the Labour Party
[38] Bissoondoyal inculcated the Hindu culture and identity in both the educated and uneducated Indo- Mauritians38
[39] S Chandrasakar 1980.
[40] Ibid. 1980. Pp 54

The 1952 population census in Mauritius revealed that a 20% increase in population since 1944 was due to the gap between birth-rate (38/1000) and death rate (9.3/1000). It was at this moment that the government boosted family planning and emigration initiatives. Government intervention was based on a broad range of key demographic variables. However the primary focus had been on reducing fertility levels by means of family planning programs. This initiative was however met with a lot of resistance by Catholics and Muslims.

The Parti Mauricien led by Koening prescribed emigration as a major solution to the economic and social problem of the island. On the other hand, the Labour party favoured family planning, as recommended by the Meade and Titmus[41] commissions at the time. This approach was frowned upon by certain parties who sensed the racial dimension implied.

"Therefore when you have a white skin, there are doors open for you either in Rhodesia and South Africa: but if you have a dark skin, you must have family planning." Argued Mr Fogooa, Member of Parliament in the General Assembly in 1961.

In 1955, Ministers were sent to Europe and Canada to discuss the question of emigration of Mauritians to these territorie One of the conditions prescribed by foreign nations was that only technically skilled or specialised workers would be accepted. The Mauritian government therefore started a massive education programme to help its citizens to emigrate.

Between 1958 and 1963 a number of Family Planning Associations were founded. Development planning was initiated in the late 1960's shortly after independence and a number of important development strategies regarding population programs were launched.

In 1959, a technical Institute was erected to provide training, such as carpentry, diamond cutting, welding, mechanical skills and more professional courses such as nursing, teaching etc. Government also provided assistance to emigrants and needy students who had secured admissions in institutions in the UK, under the Passage Loan Scheme[42].
The possibility of charter flights had been discussed in parliament, whereby a trip to Europe had been estimated to cost Rs 1,000 to Rs 1,100 (3.5 Rupees to a Rand). The government proposed that half of that amount would be paid by Mauritians wanting to migrate and the other half should be paid by prospective employers in Europe.

"L'Angleterre, la France comme les autres pays hautement industrialises n'hésiteraient pas sur une base de contrats de travail a accepter des Mauriciens en très grand nombre....De toute façon il serait toujours possible d'arriver a un

[41] Meade and Titmus were commissioned to conduct two studies and investigate how to resolve the socio-economic problems facing Mauritius. Titmus in his report recommended a policy of emigration and a family planning stratergy.
[42] Parliamentary debates. 18 April1961,PP1019.

arrangement avec les employeurs pour qu'ils déduisent mensuellement Rs 40 ou Rs 50 des salaires de ces employés....de plus ces émigrants pourraient aider, même dans une faible mesure les membres de leur famille qui restés au pays vivent d'eau sucrée et de thé noir..."

"..England and France like other highly industrialised nations would not hesitate to accept Mauritians in large numbers based on contractual work. In any case, it would always be possible to come to an agreement with the employers whereby they make monthly deductions of Rs 40 or Rs 50 from the salaries of these employees under contract (to refund transport costs etc...) furthermore, these emigrants might help, even in a slight measure members of their family, who left behind back home, subsist on sugared water and black tea." Said Mr R. Olivier a member of parliament in 1970.

Since 1967, there were 27 maternal and child health clinics in Mauritius. On the other hand ,it has to be noted that the government did not have an institutionalised emigration policy, but was actively encouraging people to emigrate.

In the course of time the Mauritian government has became more and more active in assisting people wanting to emigrate. The minister of external affairs, tourism and emigration released a statement in 1970, in which he discussed the steps, that the Mauritian government had taken to encourage and facilitate emigration. In the United Kingdom, several firms such as Messrs. Lyons & Co LTD, Moss Brothers and Imperial Hotels had already accepted to employ Mauritians recommended by his ministry. Furthermore, the British authorities had given firm assurance that the length of time in examining Mauritian applications for vouchers would be reduced from some 2 years to 2 months. Through this arrangement, thousands of Mauritians left for Great Britain.

Highly skilled Mauritians wanting to emigrate to Canada benefited from the Canadian immigration Passage Loan Scheme whereby applicants had to contribute the first $50 towards the cost of travelling.[43]

The inter-ministerial Committee in charge of labour in the former West Germany had agreed to train Mauritian students in German hospitals. There was no limit to the number of students that could be employed, but it was proposed that initially 100 to 300 persons of both sexes should benefit from this program. A language laboratory was also funded and established in Mauritius and in it's first year of existence, two hundred workers; barmaids, waiters and cooks were recruited and taught German.[44] The 'Chambre Syndicale Des Electriciens et Specialistes d'Automobile', (the Electrician and Auto Mobile Chamber of trade unions) in France, provided a number of jobs to prospective Mauritian migrants. Le Havre, France's largest seaport also recruited a large number of Mauritians to work as turners, fitters, etc. The automobile industry in France recruited hundreds of unskilled Mauritians and trained them as mechanics, bricklayers and painters.

The passage Loan scheme for emigrants, which had been operating since 1966 in Mauritius, enabled a large number of poor Mauritians to meet the cost of their trip to the countries where they intended to emigrate. In

[43] Parliamentaary ebatess. appendix , 17 november 1970.Pp. 1626.
[44] Ibid 1970

Mauritius, the ministry of emigration was advising the public of these job opportunities overseas through press communiqués. The ministry of emigration also undertook to organise the necessary documentation and entry permits required. In 1970, the government also discussed the need to post certain welfare officers overseas in order to accelerate the rate of flow of emigrants from Mauritius to these countries. The Welfare Officers would have to enquire from important Employing Agencies in Europe the prospect of employing Mauritian labour. They would also help Mauritians overseas in finding accommodation on their arrival and follow their progress.

Duval, a Member of Parliament said on the 25th April 1961:
" Nous devrions donc en profiter immediatement. Donnez des passages gratuits, essayez d'avoir des bâteaux qui pourraient prendre tout ce monde. Je guarantis que nous pourrons exporter des milliers par mois. Si nous réussissons a envoyer 10.000 a 20.000 dans deux ans, nos problèmes seront résolus dans une certaine mesure parce que le chômage se trouve precisement chez ces même gens. (non-Blancs45)"

" We therefore have to make the most of the situation, immediately. Provide free trips, try to acquire ships that would be able to accommodate all those people. I guarantee that we will be able to export thousands per month. If we are successful in sending 10,000 to 20,000 in two years, our problems to a certain extent, will be solved because unemployment is affecting precisely these kinds of individuals." (Prospective non-white emigrants) said Duval, a Member of Parliament on the 25th April 1961.

During the early seventies, emigration became the ultimate solution for the government to solve all of Mauritius's economic and demographic problems. However, there was a lot of pressure from opposition political parties and from the public on the government to find alternative solutions to poverty and unemployment. Mr Rivet spoke about this issue in parliament on the 20th November 1970. He said:
"..Now, we would like to know what is happening in this country. We find people banking on emigration, but who are those leaving? Is there any country, which will accept unskilled workers! When Mauritius needs people like these in it's development, ..We are training people for mass exportation, to prepare them for emigration. ...We do not have enough technicians if we want to diversify fully our agriculture...this is a poor country and yet some people believe that this poor country must prepare people who can be exploited by rich countries."

Apart from the government's emigration policies, it should also be noted that by the 1970's family planning initiatives took another dimension. In 1972 the Family Planning services were integrated into the Ministry of Health. In 1973, there were 53 clinics offering Family Planning services and child and maternal care and 19 additional clinics offering family planning only. From the table above we can note the increase in the number of FP and MCH clinics since the 1970's to 1996.

From the 1970's to date, the Mauritian 's attitude to the 'un peuple-une patrie' notion held by the government, sustained access to free education and free healthcare. In the early 1970's the government focused on curative services, but by the late 1970's it focused on preventive services. However Mauritius has always supported biomedicine, yet other non-Allopathic medical systems have also been used such as Chinese medicine homeopathy and Ayurvedic medicine. By 1970, age-specific birth-rates declined by between 1/3 and ½, the crude birthrate fell from 39.2 (1962) to 25.9 (1970).

Thus when we take into consideration the government's national population policies within the last decade, we note that in fact in Mauritius the demographic transition began at least a century age. Hence the effects of such population modifications are of great importance in analysing the impact of emigration on the population dynamics..

The exodus of the Whites

During that time period, Mauritius witnessed a number of ethnic and racial clashes between Muslims, Hindus and the White and Metisse population.[46] Koeing, a white conservative politician condemned Ramgoolam[47] for his socialist ideas, attacked the Labour party for demanding constitutional reforms and castigated the Hindu community for political awareness. He asked all non-Hindu communal groups to unite and fight against what he called Hindu nationalism, 'la menace Indienne'. [48]

"Since 1963, a wave of violence, communal hatred, anti-Hindu antagonism, widespread unrest...incited by the PMSD[49] reigned over the country..."Statement by Dr Ramgoolam, Labour Party leader, General Assembly, 18 May 1965.

On the 26th of November 1994, le Mauricien, a local newspaper wrote the following:

"Les hindous de l'île Maurice post-independence ne sont pas des communalistes[50]. Ils ne le seront pas. Il en est de même des autres communauté de l'île Maurice post- indépendance. Il n'y a pas , dans cette île Maurice-la, de créole, d'hindou, de musulman, de sino- Mauricien ou de tamoul communaliste..."

" The Hindus of post-independent Mauritius are not be fanatical, they will not. Be. And the same can be said about other racial groups of a post- independent Mauritius. In this Mauritius, there are no Creoles[51], Hindus, Muslims, Sino-Mauritians or Tamil fanatics..."

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[46] The political upsurge and social upheavals of the late thirties and early were disturbing factors for the white planters since they had not been resolved.
Koeing was thus selected amongst a group of white intellectuals to prevent political and constitutional changes to threaten the interests of the plantation community. In 1952

47 Political leader of the Labour party who became first Prime Minster of the independent Mauritius.

[48] Varma, 1981.

[49] The PMSD is a party that at the time fought for Creole empowerment and ethnic rights.

[50] Communalistts reefeers tto people witth discriminatting and preejjudiced atttitudes ttowards partticular communittiees and racial groups.

[51] Creoles is a term used in Mauritius denoting people of mixed origin, with an African ancestery.

Many white planters with financial acumen left Mauritius for France, Australia, Canada Great Britain and even the United States. Others went to support Ian Smith in Rhodesia and still others went to Apartheid South Africa. However the exodus of the Franco-Mauritians was not spontaneous, it took approximately thirty years.

Sir S Ramgoolam[52] in his address to the opposition in parliament in May 1974, said,

" We cannot expect anything better from a class of people who we can only say are neo-colonialists, who have respect only for South Africa and its ingredients of apartheid and hatred for the black people! Their mischievous and hypocritical humour is based on their regret for the past which they would like to revive but which they realize, to their greatest dismay, will never return..."

More than 20,000 (less than 50% of the total White population)[53] of white planters had left Mauritius after the first general elections (1968). They did so for two reasons which they argued were the fast infiltration of communism and the impending fear of Hindu hegemony.[54] Many went to South Africa, Canada and Australia.

". Many people can emigrate to Canada or South Africa. It is for Canada and South Africa to answer this charge: why should they receive the whites and not receive the non-whites? " And these capitalists, these conservatives. .Have got ways and means to go and settle in South Africa. . There is another move being made by the dismantling of Labourdonais Sugar estate to Northern Rhodesia...If I have got a dark skin, is it a sin?" asked a member of parliament in the General Assembly in 1961.

In South Africa, the apartheid system had just been introduced (1948) and the government's immigration policy was very racist, actively encouraging white immigration. The Home Affairs department thus tried with a battery of measures, to encourage the flow of white safety-seekers and other white aliens entering South Africa.

Anthony Clare in 1964 wrote an article in L'Express, a Mauritian newspaper and said,

" If you look white-skinned and can wangle a "European descent" certificate that will convince the South African Authorities, just pack your bags and go if your prospects are not too bright. But what about dark- skinned chaps who, thrilled at the prospects of a glorious future decide to venture in? Brother, just don't bother. There is no hope for you there. Content yourself with admiring the place from tourist brochures and count yourself lucky to be out of it when the day of reckonong comes!"[55]

The emigration of large fluxes of White Mauritians at that time was responsible for the modifications of the composition of the population, when considering the fact that emigration in the years 1960 to 1970 was of a racial and ethnic nature.

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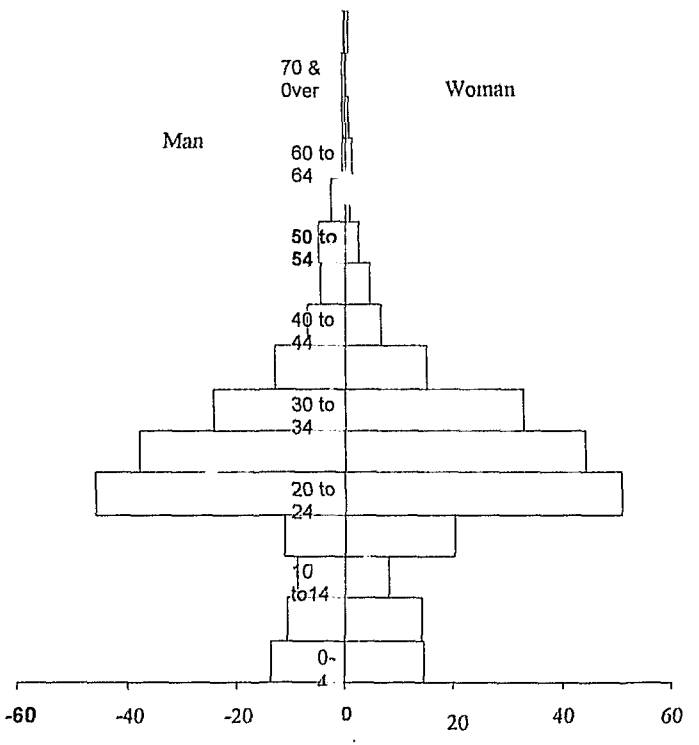
[52] Sir S Ramgoolam was the Prime minister of Mauritius.
[53] Parliamentary debates, 21 March 1961,PP202.
[54] Varma. 1981,pp 51
[55] In Monique Dinan,Pp.206.

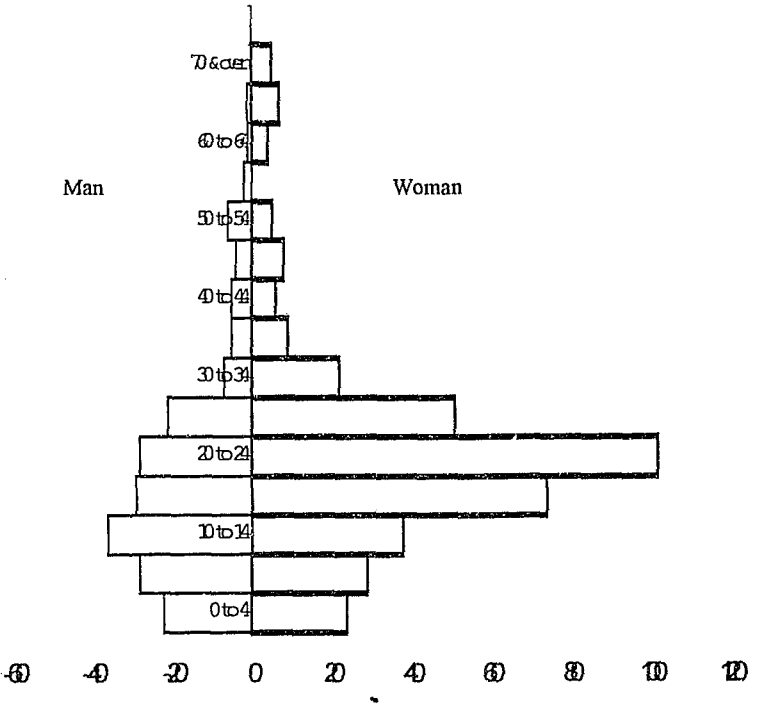
During the late 1960's a large number of the coloured population, the 'metisse' left Mauritius for Australia. Mauritius was faced with a very difficult problem, on one hand it had high rates of unemployment and on the other it was faced with a brain drain.[56] Furthermore, the population had risen to 700,000 with the eradication of malaria. In fact the population had almost doubled in half a century. The government in 1969, estimated that some 17,000 people have officially emigrated from Mauritius during the period 1961 to 1967.[57] And that a further 36,000 Mauritians left for Australia, UK, France, Italy Germany, Canada, Switzerland and South Africa during the period 1969 to 1982.[58]

[56] Lingayah, 1990.
[57] Central Statistical Office, Mauritius ,1968.
[58] Central Statistical Office, Mauritius, 1983.

The Graph below illustrates the age structure of Mauritian Male and Female emigrants for

1976 (graph A) and 1986 (graph B)





The two graphs above illustrate the age distribution of male and female emigrants in 1976 and 1986. The two age pyramids show that most of the individuals who migrate fall under the age bracket of 20 to 40, a point that is expected since most people migrate when people maximise their potential, at the peak of their careers. It is interesting to compare the age structure of migrants across a period of twenty years. Graph A illustrates a very disproportionate structure, showing the difference in migration patterns between men and women. From the data set, it is noted that more women emigrated than men did in 1976. From the 384 women that emigrated in that year, 102 women were within the age bracket of 20 to 24 years old, this reflects the increasing number of women that left the country to work and study overseas. The Mauritius Statistical Office has obtained (these figures from the host countries.

From graph's B illustration of the age distribution of male and female migrant, it can be noted that during that specific year similar proportions of male and female migrants left Mauritius as compared to 1976. A number of factors could be used to explain the following, namely that in 1976 there might have been a specific demand for Mauritian migrant female labour overseas as compared to Mauritian migrant male labour. Secondly, in 1986, there might have been more families emigrating from Mauritius which would help explain the distinctive shape of the age pyramid seen in graph B.

Let us not forget that by the late 1970's, England and in France were still offering low status vacancies and unskilled jobs to foreigners. Many more Mauritian individuals went overseas to work as maids and hospital cleaners and nurses as already discussed. In Great Britain today, there are large populations of Mauritians in places like Haringey, Lambeth, Waltham Forest and Wandsworth.[59] According to the 1981 British population census, there is an estimated 21,062 Mauritians born in Mauritius settled in Britain.[60] In mid 1970's the island was faced with a very serious recession, The Mauritian Rupee was devalued twice. In Germany at that time, there was a great need for female labour at the Deutsche National Telecommunication, during that period many single women left the country.

There are large populations of Mauritians in France- in cities like Paris, Marseilles and Strasbourg. Others travelled to Italy with the intention of entering France from there, many of them finally settling to Italy itself. With the introduction of the Common Wealth Immigration Act, fewer numbers of Mauritians were able to migrate to various parts of Europe.

Today, big populations of legal Mauritians immigrants live Catalina, Sardinia in Italy and in Sicily. By the late 1970's, a large number of Chino-Mauritians migrated to Canada.

In 197 [illegible] of the Population Control, attached to the Minister of Health, said

[59] Ibid 19.
[60] Opcit 1990.

"L'emigration sera responsable des modifications de composition de la population d'autant plus qu'il a été démontré que l'emigration pendant les années 65 a 69 s'est manifesté en termes spécifiquement ethno-religieux. Les taux relevés s'établissent ainsi par 1000: Hindous 1,2: Islamique 2,1: Chrétiens 8,8: Chinois 10,0. Si l'emigration est abandonné, la force e travail sera de 590,000 en l'an 2000. Si l'emigration continue au taux actuel ,elle sera de 520,000"[61]

" Emigration will be responsible for modifications in the population as far as if has been demonstrated that emigration in the years 1965 to 1969 manifested itself in ethno-religious terms. The rate obtained based per 1000 is as follows: Hindus 1.2, Muslims 2.1, Christians 8.8, Chinese 10.0 .If the rate of emigration is abandoned the labour force will be of 590 000 in the year 2000. If the present rate of emigration continues, the labour force will be 520 000 in the same year."

Mauritius and it's Economic Boom.

Between 1983 and 1987, Mauritius made enormous strides forward. The development of the new 'zone franche', a new export processing zone created by the government, radically transformed the country, by 1987 there was nearly full employment and the inflation had come right down to under 1%. With the rise in the standard of living, many more Mauritian parents were able to send their children to study overseas.[62] A great number of young Mauritians went to the UK, France, India, Russia, China, Australia and South Africa. Thus, the 1980's saw many movements of individuals leaving on their own accord rather than in a planned policy. The then minister of Foreign Affairs, Sir Harold Walter said in 1982,

"..nous avons tellement de cerveaux que l'exode de cerveaux ne nous tue pas. Combien de médecins avons-nous au Canada? Combien en Angleterre, en Australie? Combien dans les pays africains et il y en a qui reviennent tout le temps. Nous sommes les enfants brasses de mille sangs, pétris de mille races, c'est pourquoi notre niveau d'intelligence est supérieure a la moyenne."[63]

" ..We have so many brains that the brain drain is not killing us. How many doctors do we have in Canada? How many in Great Britain, in Australia? How many in African countries and there are still those who come back all the time. We are the children a of thousand blood, moulded by thousands of races, and this is why our level of intelligence is superior to the average."

With the rapid expansion of the tourist industry, a great number of Mauritians working for hotels and restaurants in Mauritius have been enticed to leave the island in the hope of working for restaurants and hotels abroad. Workers have gone to a number of countries such as Zimbabwe, Madagascar, Botswana, Seychelles, Comores, Swaziland, Malawi and South Africa; initially on a contract basis to work.

[61] B Moutou, Les Chretiens de L'ile Maurice,1996, pp 417.
[62] Addison & Hazareesingh 1996.
[63] L'express , 1982.

The return of the prodigal sons.

During the 1990's, a large number of Mauritians came to South Africa with the change in government. The number of Mauritian students in South Africa tripled between the 1980's and early 1990's with the arrival of more non-white Mauritians. The early 1990's brought a drastic change in the migration pattern of Mauritians. What was ironical was that large movements of non- white Mauritians were coming to South Africa for various reasons, while a number of white Mauritians, now naturalised white South Africans, were returning to Mauritius since they could not cope with the new South Africa.

Today more and more of the older Mauritians are returning to Mauritius, especially from Australia, Europe and South Africa. Most of these return migrants formed part of the emigration waves of the 1950's and 1960's. Most of these people, married to foreign nationals, have worked most of their lives overseas and now return to Mauritius at the age of retirement. The migrants who are returning home are mostly wealthy retired individuals wanting a better quality of life. The net effect of such migration fluxes poses a lot of pressure on the government. Already now, with the increasing number of foreigners able to perform on the local markets, the price of goods and of property have been highly inflated.

Thus, Mauritius faces a high rate of population growth, which projects a population of more than 1.5 million people by the year 2010, exclusive of the number of official *émigré* Mauritians estimated at about 50,000 who are expected to return and retire in Mauritius.
With the recent economic boom in Mauritius, the country has had a labour shortage crisis and this resulted in a demand for additional manual labour from India, China, Indonesia, and Sri Lanka. Furthermore, a number of highly skilled workers have also been hired as advisors to the private sector, technical corporation agreements have also brought experts from South Africa, France, India and China to work in Mauritius. Thus for the first time in Mauritius, in the 1990's, net immigration is higher than net emigration. Although the immigration figures include a large number of seasonal workers and contract workers.

By the year 2010, Mauritius will be faced with an ageing population. Because of a number of factors, namely the ageing (female) labour force, expected declines in fertility, the decline in mortality among the very old as well as the net effects of the return migration of expatriates and the net migration influx of aliens. In such a population, in which the demographic transition began at least a century age, the effects of population modifications are of great importance.

Such demographic projections indicate that Mauritius needs to introduce arrangements to cope with this population growth, especially by means of retirement systems. Unfortunately, given the short-term economic problems that the country is facing, this issue does not have a high place among Mauritius 's priorities right now. The economic and social consequence of changes in the structure of the population is an issue of major concern. All these factors will also contribute to the prospect of overcrowding and of an increasingly costly social welfare in the future

In fact in the past, emigration has been a blessing in disguise for the Mauritian people. But the time has come for the Mauritian government and it's people to find another solution to it's re-emerging problem of 'population growth.'
What are the alternatives available? Close the doors to wealthy ex-pariates, probably not! Re-open the department of emigration?

Although some emigration may be possible, the government has to be cautious, even a modest outflow of the professional work force could disturb Mauritius' small economic system. Henceforth a rational compromise needs to be found.

Part Two (C)

Mauritian Migration to the African Continent.

Very few Mauritian migrants have been attracted to the Africa continent, with the exception of South Africa. It is very hard to find out exactly how many Mauritians have settled in African countries. For decades now, Mauritians have been travelling to the African continent especially as contract workers. There has always been a misperception of Africa and an apprehension of Africans in Mauritius. The African continent was believed to be backward, poor, disease plagued and conflict ridden. As result prospective Mauritian emigrants were always reluctant to migrate to Africa. Those who left Mauritius for Africa went primarily to European colonies to work as contract workers or establish sugar estates in White settlements. Indian and Chinese Mauritians, Mauritians of Asian origin in general were not drawn to the African continent, it was mostly the Metisse and the White Mauritians who migrated to Africa in the 1960's and 1970's.

The sugar industry in Mauritius has enabled a number of skilled Mauritian workers to find employment as consultants, managers or skilled workers in sugar factories in many African countries. Others went to work for International Organisations such as the African Development Bank and the FAO. However, such migration patterns have remained circular and limited in scope. The moment the political climate of a particular African country deteriorated, Mauritian migrants terminated their contracts and left that particular country. A large number of such migrants did not return to Mauritius, instead they went to another African country to prospect.

According to Dinan (1985), Mauritians fled Mozambique in the 1970's for two reasons, firstly security had become an important problem, and secondly local Mozambicans had become very xenophobic. They encouraged the deportation and return of Portuguese nationals and other foreigners that had been working for the government. Mozambicans harboured a feeling of hatred and revenge against all foreigners in their country. Another example would be the labour migration of a hundred or so Mauritians to Madagascar during the 1960's, to work as teachers. These migrants lived and worked in Madagascar until 1976, when a military coup took place

and the country closed its borders to the rest of the world excluding foreign nationals from its economic and social life.[64]

Migration to Colonial Africa in the 1960-1970's

In the early 1960's, Southern Rhodesia (Zimbabwe) with it's growing sugar industry, attracted a large number of White Mauritian migrants to its borders. During that period, Mauritian artisans were also recruited. In 1964, about thirty artisan families left Mauritius to settle in the Hippo Valley and the Chirundu in Southern Rhodesia.[65] In Rhodesia, White Mauritians who had fled Mauritius because of the independence felt very comfortable with Smith's segregationist policies. Many of them invested in property and built very lucrative sugar estates. However, by 1965 the political climate started to change, Rhodesia was undergoing a process of transformation with Africans at the grassroot level starting to resist capitalists and the colonial government. African workers started to mobilise and became a resistance movement under the umbrella of the 'Zimbabwe Freedom Fighters'. Once Rhodesia retired from the Common Wealth and ethnic nationalism amplified the socio-political and economic climate of Rhodesia changed. By the beginning of the 1970's massive numbers of White foreigners left Rhodesia, among them a large number of White Mauritians who migrated to South Africa 's apartheid haven. Very few returned to Mauritius at that particular time, since Mauritius was in an economic recession. A handful of White Mauritians migrated to Australia.

After the independence of Zimbabwe in April 1980, and the establishment of a democratically elected Black government, a number of Mauritian scholars come to Zimbabwe to study at then prestigious University of Zimbabwe. But by the mid-1980's, those who graduated returned to Mauritius while others preferred to go to South Africa despite its apartheid policies.

In the 1970's Zambia employed approximately 400 Mauritians. Some were employed on contact as French teachers, others worked as technicians to civil engineers and yet others as car mechanics.[66] Once again, a similar pattern can be traced, once the contracts were terminated very few Mauritian migrants settled in Zambia due to its turbulent political climate and unstable economy. Botswana in the early 1970's also employed a number of Mauritians, some as artisans and a handful as air hostesses for the Eastern African Airways.[67]

Migration to Africa in the 1980's

Dinan (1985) believes that in the 1980's, Mauritian migration to Africa has been characterised by a great demand for teachers by African nations, such as Gabon, Seychelles, Madagascar, Sudan, Benin and Zambia.

[64] Dinan, 1985
[65] Ibid 1985
[66] Dinan 1985
[67] Ibid 1985

Between 1978 and 1982, the Mauritian statistical office reports that approximately 900 Mauritians unofficially migrated to Kenya. These figures probably reflect the number of Mauritian migrants working on contract there. In 1984, Gabon was employing 600 Mauritian migrants on contract. But of these 600 migrants, more than half were to return to Mauritius after only a couple of months because of problems of adaptation and assimilation.

Apart from South Africa, Botswana seems to have the highest number of Mauritian migrants. A large number of Mauritians went to Botswana, some came directly from Mauritius, while a large portion of people migrated to Botswana from other African countries. Those who came in the late 1980's and early 1990's, were mainly diamond cutters. Today there are hundreds of Mauritian migrants in Gaborone itself. Those Mauritians have kept close ties to their families in Mauritius and in many instances have family members residing in South Africa. There is a great deal of circular movement between Mauritians in South Africa and in Botswana.

Part Two (D)

South African Migration Policy

South Africa has been a labour- importing country for more than a century. It is still in the process of implementing its post-apartheid policies, which are having significant impacts on migration, especially in n countries like Lesotho, whose workers have become to (.end on jobs in South Africa.

A brief chronology of the immigration acts is as follows:

- 1913-Aliens Act.
- 1937-Amended Aliens act of 1913
- 1939- New Aliens Registration act
- 1948- During Apartheid[68] the Immigration laws were changed/amended twenty four times
- 1991-Amended Aliens act of 1948
- 1994-Aliens Act amended
- 1996-A task team was created by the New Government of National Unity to compile an international migration Green paper.
- 1998- Task team have completed a White paper on immigration.

Migration: Internal & External 1860-1913

In South Africa, the policies of segregation, inclusions and exclusions have varied considerably over time. South Africa's racist legislation was a product of colonialism, segregation and apartheid. It reflected the steady

[68] From 1937 to 1980's, the Aliens (admission, registration and residence in the republic) act was amended twenty four times in the following years respectively;
[1937,1939,1949,1955,1961,1963,1964,1967,1969,1971,1972,1973,1978,1979.1980,1981,1982,1984,1986,] from the Statuates of the South Africa Republic, Govt Gazette.

expansion of state powers in the foundation and implementation of laws with a disregard for accountability, transparency and equality.

The first immigration policies were drafted with the arrival of the Indian immigrants who came to Natal, South Africa in 1860 as indentured labourers. On completion of indenture, they could return to India, take a grant to purchase crown land or re-indenture. The majority chose to remain in South Africa as 'free' Indians [69].

The 1913 Act reflected the racial anxieties of that period, especially that of the Whites. Unlike the 'Asian legislation', this act focused on the issue of White immigration. Most European immigrants were given virtually free access to the country, since the government was anxious to build up a 'white' nation. One of the primary purposes of that Act was to exclude Indian immigrants. The 1913 Act also maintained and reinforced internal barriers to the movement of indigenous black South Africans. Thus, segregation served not only as the institutional and ideological buttress of the white monopoly of power at a time of rapid social change, but it was the central mechanism for the reproduction of cheap and coercible migrant labour. [70]

In 1913, the Home Affairs department was established as a union department. Its main functions have been to control the problem of 'migration' and maintain a population register, issuing identification documents. Formally the Home Affairs department branched into two sections, the administrative and civic affairs.[71] The administration chief directorate did not engage in policy analysis; instead it is solely concerned with administration.

Since 1913, various South African governments, both colonial and apartheid, have acted to formulate and implement numerous immigration policies and have all shown a complete disregard for accountability, transparency and due process. What is important to note is the fact that the 1913 Aliens Act, along with the 1937 Act, constituted the basis of all subsequent immigration legislation in South Africa, including the Aliens Control Act of 1949 to 1986.
Secondly, the word 'alien' was entrenched in legislation and public discourse, for the first time, to describe unwanted immigrants in 1937. The language of 'aliens' and 'alienation' originally contained strong anti-Semitic connotations. The Act defined an 'alien' as a person who was not 'a natural born British subject or a Union national'.

The majority of the conditions of entry were in fact drawn from the 1937 Act. The most important sections of this Act stated that the applicant should be readily assimilated with the European inhabitants of the Union and become a desirable inhabitant of the Union within a reasonable period after 'his' entry into the Union.[72] The Act

69S. Pederby: Migration Green Paper: 1997
[70] Marks: ambiguities of dependence
[71] Migration Green paper .S Pederby 1997
72 S pederby: migration Green paper.1997

was introduced in a political climate rampant with xenophobia and anti-Semitism. Introducing the Bill in parliament, the minister said,

"We will prevent 'aliens' entering this land in such quantities as would alter the texture of our civilisation. We intend to determine ourselves what the composition of our people shall be".
Prime Minister Jan Smuts said that the principal reason for the Aliens Act was the "increasing bitterness against Jews in the country" and that South Africa *"runs the risk of being flooded by undesirable elements of all kinds"* [73]. This message surprisingly resembles the provocative and misleading language used by our some of the politicians today.

Internal migration in the 1940's.

Within this system, Black South Africans were defined not as full citizens with rights of free movement but as 'non-citizens', as 'aliens', subject to the same legislation that governed entry to the country by non-South Africans. The 'urban native problem' arose when both the Black and White populations were faced with a mining revolution and industrial transformation.[74]

During that time[75], cities in South Africa were swamped by people pouring in from the country, for example in Johannesburg during the second world war,, when pass laws were terminated, people came into the city at a faster rate than houses were built to accommodate them. Inadequate urbanisation policy threatened the system of municipally controlled.[76] The overcrowding problem in African locations reached extreme levels in 1945 and resulted in a series of land invasions and the development of other forms of informal urbanisation.[77].In response to the 'urban native problem', the newly elected National Party government proposed to introduce a series of measures to strengthen the pass system and the police force, while also implementing policies which channelled the native populations into non-agricultural settlements in the reserves and into urban townships.[78] By February 1947, existing squatter camps in Orlando, Alexandra and Albertynsville had reached such proportions that the problem was a menace to the health and 'good governance' of the whole city.[79]

It is important to note that the government under Jan Smuts, during 1948 had temporarily eased the pass laws, toying with the issue of black trade union recognition and briefly considering solutions to the realities of black urbanisation. Yet it must be recognised that the urban native problem from the time of the Union, had its roots in the dual character of the state which was to maintain white supremacy and promote, protect and support white capitalist development.

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[73] J Crush migration Green paper 1997
[74] Walker.
[75] Wilson 1972
[76] Mabin.
[77] Bonner 1990
[78] .(Mabin in Smith).

[79] Wilson. 1972

Two policies were presented as a way to solve internal migration and the so called urban native problem. The first proposal was to cultivate an urban elite, which would stabilise the economic, political and cultural dimensions, involved. Stallard, who proposed the segregation of Africans in the urban areas, provided the second option.

From the white capitalist's perspective, migrant labour was cheaper than settled labour, because migrants could live on a lower wage than would be possible if their families were with them in the cities. Closely associated with this argument was the assumption that migration was cheaper not only because wages were lower, but because the urban area would not have to bear the costs of infrastructure such as housing, sewage etc..(Wilson, 1972).

The regional labour market for contract migration in South Africa, over the years, has been the object of various forms of political interventions and repression designed to change the system. The primary intervention was between 1913 and 1930, during the period of the so-called 'Tropical Labour Ban'. During that period, miners from the region, were dying from pneumonia and other lung diseases on South African mines and the government imposed a total ban on the recruitment of workers from the North of Africa[80]
Once the ban was lifted in the 1930's, the flow of labour from the North (Tanzania, Angola, Zimbabwe and Malawi) immediately increased. One of the major unintended consequences of the lifting of this ban was the massive upsurge in informal, clandestine migration. This is a clear indication of how the South African mining industry fed one of the central repressive institutions of white supremacy in South Africa. Through the migrant labour system, influx controls, and single sex[81]

In terms of legitimacy, the state felt that it had the right to intervene and prescribe the 'perfect' solution to the various 'problems' of aliens and alienation. Secondly, the state realised that its policies were feasible, since there could be no pressure groups against such measures. And thirdly, the state assured that it had the support of its citizens-white citizens. Thus the historical role of migrant workers from the rural regions in the development of South Africa's industrial economy is very important in understanding the nineteenth and twentieth centuries..

Internal and External Migration after 1948.

But after 1948, new legislature began to discriminate between people on grounds of national origin, class, gender, and specifically race. 1948 was a very important year for South Africa, firstly the National party with its Population Registration Act classified the population into four racial groups White, Black, Indian and Coloured people were required to carry ID books which stated their race and place of birth. The purpose of the act was to lay the foundation for the subsequent apartheid legislation, providing a means to control or identify the so-called natives inside the country.

80S. Pederby: Migration Green Paper: 1997:J.Crush migration Green paper.1997
81 Ibid Crush 1997

During the 1960's, native evictions and relocation to reserves and into urban townships became a common phenomenon, what Donald defined as removals of a quiet kind[82]. In bantustans, it became a matter of survival for thousands of people who received no direct income from agricultural production in the reserves, but were instead becoming more and more dependant on the wages of the migrant member working in the mines or in industries in the cities.

Gender migrancy during that period is an important feature and brought profound changes to the sociological profile and nature of segregation in urban South Africa. The results of rural decline forced women in defiance of both law and custom to migrate to town for example, the female migration of Basotho[83] women to the reef. Migrancy, it is argued, was not undirected, migrant networks shaped the migration pattern in urban areas, whereby certain jobs, locations had been colonised by people from a particular region. Thus workers during that time were not entirely the victims of capital but had significant power to organise their own employment. Migrancy became a strategy for explaining resistance to proletarianism and western influence[84]. Without the work of Van Onselen's portrayal of the Witwatersrand between 1886 and 1914, the essays of Trapido, Bundy, Beinart and the gender perspective of B.Bozzoli and C.Walker and P.Bonner, it would have been very difficult to argue that human agency could shape social history. .

Migration in 1990's

The 'Aliens Act' has survived many subsequent amendments and policy shifts since its subscription in 1913. The Aliens Control Amendment Act of 1995 amended the Aliens Control Act of 1991. This act consolidated the 1972 Immigration Regulation Act, the 1937 Aliens Act and their subsequent amendments [85]

In the dying years of apartheid, the government's immigration policy became more and more racist with regards to black migrants and began actively encouraging white immigration.[86]The Home Affairs department thus tried with a battery of measures, to control the flow of safety-seekers and other aliens entering South Africa A variety of visas and permits were required by the department and pre-screening devices were introduced, such as repatriation guarantees.

However these draconian measures could not stop the influx of aliens coming in. There are two reasons for this, firstly, the amount of bureaucratic red tape involved in the processing of individual applications had created an incredible backlog of work. And secondly, decisions taken by the department were very inconsistent, following rules and regulations when it suited them and ignoring them when the potential for bribery existed[87].

The Aliens Control Act, like many other policies, dealt with women as a residual category, as those 'left behind'. This is partly because, at first, pass laws did not apply to them and there was no reliable way of

[82] .(Donald 1984).
[83] Bonner
[84] Bundy
[85] Government Gazette: 1995).
[86] Morris 1997 :2

gauging numbers. However, independent female migration from inside and from outside South Africa is now highly visible [88]

Thus issues such as the growing rise of sex industries, resulting from the displacement of African women migrants, in the apartheid era, remain to a large extent hidden. [89]

The Transition Period 1990-1994

A significant shift occurred in early 1990 with the unbanning of the ANC, where the number of illegal immigrants from neighbouring states increased significantly[90] . According to Chimere-Dan (1996), the size of the illegal immigration population (spatially displaced people) in the mid 1990's in the African continent varied from two to eight million. In South Africa no actual census of illegal immigrants has been undertaken thus far, although the Human Sciences Research council estimates that there are between 2,5 million to 4,1 million illegal aliens.[91]

Since September 1993 until now, asylum seekers in South Africa have been considered under the terms of the provisions of the United Nations 1951 convention on the status of refugees and the 1969 OAU convention on the specific problems of refugees in Africa. This has also contributed to the increase in the number of aliens in South Africa. With such huge numbers of migrants entering in South Africa, people 's attitude towards foreigners has changed.

The Aliens Control Act under the ANC government- After 1994

After the general elections in 1994, South Africa became to be seen as a haven for many legal and illegal immigrants struggling against repressive regimes in Africa.[92] They came from many parts of Africa, some had escaped conflicts in Rwanda, Zaire, Angola, Mozambique and Zimbabwe. In 1995, a number of changes occurred within the migration legislation', as stated previously, the new government amended the Aliens Control Act of 1991, tightening the admissions and change of purpose clauses within the act. Aliens entering the country with tourist visas could no longer apply for work permits. Airlines, such as Air Afrique were also subjected to fines, should they transport passengers without the required permits. In June 1996, the Home Affairs department announced an amnesty clause for illegal immigrants originating from other SADC nation states -Angola, Botswana, Lesotho, Malawi, Mauritius, Mozambique Namibia, Swaziland, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe.[93]

Following the 1994 general elections and the transition to democracy, notions of human rights have often been linked with notions of constitutionalism. The issues of human rights in South Africa with regard to immigrants

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[87] Weekly Mail 16 May 1996
[88] op.cit Cohen 1997
[89] Ibid Cohen 1997
[90] Chimere -Dan 1996
[91] Sunday Times 4 May 1997
[92] Mail and Guardian. 7 June 1995
[93] Extracted from CDE research papers.1997, p8

are closely linked to their access to social and economic resources, the interests of the citizens and the limited rights of the immigrants. Unfortunately, the choice between 'rights' and 'needs' of citizens and aliens are not clear-cut. Furthermore, it is possible to recognise the rights of both aliens and citizens (Universal rights) without depriving citizens of material resources and of progress.

The migration programme in 1995, consisted of a range of activities related to non-citizens, such as the handling of migration matters overseas, processing permits, etc.[94] Due to the combined effects of rationalisation and early retirement packages, the implementation of the Aliens Amendment Act in 1995 is complex and sketchy. In December 1995, of the total staff of the Home Affairs department consisted of 55% Coloured people, 45% were White, however, in terms of top management, 61% were White as opposed to 38.8% non White[95]. With this hierarchical staff structure, it has been argued that policy implementation within the department was been grossly ineffective during that period. Many staff members have resorted to the taking of bribes and to corruption.

In 1995, bilateral agreements between Home Affairs officials in South Africa and Zimbabwe resolved to convent a joint technical committee involving police services of both countries[96]. Also, in border control functions, SAPS have been assisted by the SADF, where an average of 25 companies were employed to a total of 3350 soldiers employed on border control at any one time [97]. In terms of border control, the SAPS have played an extremely important role in enforcing the ACA., aliens control act. In terms of implementation costs of the ACA, services provided by the directorate of citizenship function and that of migration functions, have proved to be a difficult and costly administrative task because both services are provided on the ground in the same regional offices[98]

Since 1996, with the massive influx of foreigners and the rapidly declining economy, migration became an increasingly difficult problem to cope with. Just like in the 1930's when labour migrants from different parts of Africa (Tanzania, Angola, and Zimbabwe, Malawi) came in thousands to South Africa after the lifting of the tropical ban on labour, for the past five years there has been a massive upsurge in informal, clandestine migration. According to research conducted by the Home Affairs department, the majorities of migrants from neighbouring countries do not wish or intend to stay in South Africa. A system of circular migration exists. With the deregulation of the informal sector, there has been an explosive growth of both local and foreign informal traders. Most cross border traders are recycling their sales of mostly cheap Asian products for local South African products to trade back home. Research shows that some 20% of such traders employ South Africans in their businesses [99]

[94] .J Klaaren: Institutional Reform and Immigration Management, 1997.
[95] Ibid.: 1997.
[96] J Klaaren: 1997.
[97] Ibid 1997
[98] International Migration green paper : 1997
[99] Ibid 1997 no 18033

Although foreign informal traders contribute to the economy, competition with local traders is not always fair and in this respect South African traders should be allowed reciprocal access to markets in other SADC countries. It would then be possible to have more regional integration and more relaxed trade policies within the region.[100]

The present inadequate urbanisation policy has been unable to deal with the overcrowding problem in city centres and in Black townships. This problem has worsened with the incidence of land invasions and the development of other forms of informal urbanisation[101] With high levels of unemployment and rising poverty, crime rates have tripled. In addition, with the opening of borders, crime syndicates have thrived with the traffic of drugs, stolen goods, etc. Because of the above factors and also because of the rapidly declining socio-economic conditions in South Africa, South Africans have become xenophobic.

And in JHB, hawkers complain of competition from illegal immigrants from Mozambique, Zimbabwe, Pakistan and China. Newspapers on a daily basis write about 'illegal aliens flooding the country' and the substantial growth of xenophobia and anti-foreigner incidents which have been reported. [102]

"*We want the government to intervene before we decide to physically chase these people away from our city...we are greatly distressed with the immigration department, as these immigrants are so clearly recognisable and yet nothing gets done.*" R.Kandanisa, Vendors Association, 1998

In 1997, the government of National Unity has initiated a task team to prepare a green paper on the migration policy in which research papers have been added until the end of April, and was introduced on the 30th May 1997 as a green paper. Interested parties are involved in the second component of the process - namely the public participation process through submissions and public meetings. By September 1997, a white paper will be prepared leading to legislation to replace the Aliens Control Act (ACA) in 1988.[103] The minister assured the public in his parliamentary speech that, the policy formulation of the migration green paper was produced in accordance with the principles of transparency and openness. According to the task team the current immigration legislature should be replaced by a new Immigration act, a Naturalisation and Migration Act.

In terms of skilled migration, the policy proposes that a labour-market system be established, so that South Africa can pro-actively recruit immigrants with skills, expertise, resources required for the development of the nation. The mobility of capital and skills poses an important challenge for South Africa wishing to seriously compete on global markets.

In terms of the refugee question, the White paper proposed that the burden of refugees' protection in South Africa should be shared by other nations within the SADC. The task team pointed out that in the past due to bureaucratic delays and backlogs, fraudulent claims have been made.

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[100] opcit 1997 p 24

[101] Bonner 1990

[102] Morris 1997, Crush 1997

[103] Government speech: Minister of Home Affairs, 25th April 1997: internet.

"What people are doing now ,is that they just go to the office here in Braamfontein and declare themselves a refugee ,just tell a story to qualify...all you say is a big story -my arm is broken ,I have nothing and they will grant you a work permit while honest people are really suffering." Said one of our respondents.[104]

Mauritius, South Africa and the Southern African Development Community.

What is SADC? SADC has it's origins in the 1980's with the founding objectives of pursuing "policies aimed at economic liberation and integrated development of economies in the region."[105] In the demographic study of Southern region of Africa, a number of conceptions have been used to group nation states concerned. Assumptions have been made on a number of important issues. Since 1992, considerable progress has been recorded in the countries of the region, including the overthrow of apartheid in South Africa and the move to nationhood in Namibia. The search for greater efficiency in economic management has been seen as the only means of greater integration in the region.

The table below illustrates the different member states of SADC and Southern Africa.

SADC states (SADC Treaty)	Southern African Countries (WHO)	Southern African Countries (UN)
Angola	Angola	Botswana
Botswana	Botswana	Lesotho
DR Congo	Comores	Namibia
Lesotho	Lesotho	South Africa
Malawi	Madagascar	Swaziland
Mauritius	Malawi	
Mozambique	Mauritius	
Namibia	Mozambique	
Seychelles	Namibia	
South Africa	Seychelles	
Swaziland	South Africa	
Tanzania	Swaziland	
Zambia	Zambia	
Zimbabwe	Zimbabwe	

From the above table, it is noted that SADC and international organisations, such as the UN and WHO have conceptualised Southern Africa very differently. World institutions have emphasised on the

[104] Kuipers &Putty-Ramful 1996 P47
[105] SADC treaty. UN 1992.

geographical spatial entity in the formulation of their configurations while SADC represents an economic block, comparable to NAFTA, EU and the ASEAN blocks. Southern Africa thus does not reflect a demographically homogeneous community. Instead what it actually shows is great diversity in terms of economies, politics and ethnicity. Mauritius and South Africa are key players within the SADC organisation. With president Nelson Mandela as the current chairperson of SADC, South Africa has played a leading role in the setting of protocols in a number of sectors such as finance, investment, energy, industry, trade etc. Mauritius in association with South Africa and other member states founded the Regional Tourism organisation of Southern Africa (RETOSA). This organisation was given a budget of more than US$ 780,000 for this current year. This close association and numerous programmes of action between South Africa and Mauritius through SADC have brought both countries closer and forged many economic links between the two countries.

However certain treaties signed between SADC countries relating to regional corporation and cross-border trade have had a great impact on immigration figures in South Africa. Although South Africa's goal has been to increase the number of specially trained workers eligible for jobs in South Africa, it has also attracted million of uneconomically viable migrants from all over Africa.
In June 1996, the Home Affairs department announced an amnesty clause for illegal immigrants originating from other SADC nation states -Angola, Botswana, Lesotho, Malawi, Mauritius, Mozambique, Namibia, Swaziland, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe

Currently, a system of circular migration exists. With the deregulation of the informal sector, there has been an explosive growth of both local and foreign informal traders. In addition, with the opening of the South African borders, crime syndicates have thrived. The traffic of drugs, stolen goods and prostitution have greatly expanded due to high levels of unemployment and rising poverty.
The present department of housing failed miserably to surpass the overcrowding and slumming crisis in city centres and in Black townships. These problems have worsened with the incidence of land invasions and the development of other forms of informal urbanisation such as squatting[106].

Part Two (E)

Mauritian Migration to South Africa

Within the African continent, it is only in South Africa, that one finds the most significant community of Mauritian immigrants. The Mauritian population in South Africa can be traced back to the 1800's and consists mostly of Franco-Mauritians. Between 1888 and 1898, about 2000 Chinese Mauritians came to the Transvaal [107]

[106] Bonner 1990
[107] Ly Tio Fane Pineo 1989

In the 1940's, a large number of White Mauritians came to South Africa. According to Toussaint[108] in 1949, there were about 15,000 Mauritians in Durban. That could be possible, if one considers the gradual migration pattern of White Mauritians to South Africa as from 1948. Philippe LeNoir argued in 1968, that if one were to consider the instances of inter-marriage and first, second and third generation Mauritians in Durban, the estimated Mauritian population in Durban in 1968 would be between 28 000 to 35 000.[109] These figures however, seemed to have been exaggerated, since one can not trace such figures from statistical records relating to the departure and arrival of Mauritians in South Africa..

It was around the end of the 1980's, that non-white Mauritian businessmen and professionals started coming to South Africa in great numbers. The release of Nelson Mandela coupled with South Africa's transition to democracy accelerated this process. As from April 1994's general elections, South Africa experienced a new wave of immigration, often likened as a " gold-rush " to South Africa.
Between July and November 1996, thanks to the SADC amnesty clause, more than 200,000 citizens of the Southern African Development Community states (SADC) were granted permanent residence status and 43,891 applications for work permits were approved during the same period. [110]

From South Africa, the pull forces believed to be instrumental in causing migration between Mauritius and South Africa were mainly better employment opportunities, economic advancement, educational opportunities, geographical proximity. Multitudes of interrelated factors attract Mauritian immigrants to South Africa, however these can be summed up in one word, opportunity.
With the transition to democracy, South Africa was considered a model on which all African countries should focus. Democracy implied freedom and equality and generally a better quality of life for all. This could have pulled Mauritian migrants towards the bright prospects that South Africa had to offer. [111] Furthermore, the desire to be close to relative and friends motivates people to choose particular destinations-a pattern termed chain migration.

The limitations of an island economy and the limited career opportunities in Mauritius as compared to the prospect of career advancement and employment in South Africa have certainly acted as pull factors towards South Africa. This is related to the Economic Maximisation theory, which states that the distinction in the level of income between locations is a major cause of migration .[112] Another possible reason as to why Mauritians come to South Africa is the prospect of furthering their education to compensate for insufficient facilities available in Mauritius .The Mauritian government offers a rebate on the airfares of all students travelling overseas for further studies. With the rapid devaluation of the Rand (1 Rand = 4 rupees), Mauritian families who some 5 years ago could not afford to send their children to study in South Africa, are

[108] Dr A Toussaint : Histoire des Iles Masscareignes.Berger-Serrault, Pp 281in Monique Dinan.
[109] Ibid, Pp. 206
[110] Star 9 Jan 1997. Sowetan 12 Feb 1997).
[111] Ibid., 1990.
[112] Elspeth Young 'Migration: General concepts'. 1992

able to do so, because of the low exchange rate. Furthermore, the government also provides low- interest loan packages for students from disadvantaged backgrounds to study overseas. Currently there are about 180 international scholarships offered per annum to Mauritian scholars overseas for undergraduate studies.

The lack of educational facilities available in Mauritius, as compared to the numerous reputable academic institutions in South Africa, was another pull factor. In addition, the availability of bursaries to foreigners in South Africa could have also influenced the Mauritians' decision to choose South Africa as a place of study instead of European countries. Another important factor influencing Mauritian students to come to South Africa has been the university fees. Because of a recent treaty sighed by SADC members, a larger quota of Mauritian students are now able to study in South African universities, while paying a preferential fees amount[113] Mauritians preferred to come to South Africa since other countries, for example the U.K. and Canada were charging international students twice, if not, triple the amount they charged to local students. Currently there are approximately one to two thousand Mauritian students in South Africa, spread across various universities and technikons. Unfortunately this scenario has recently changed since the government imposed a surcharge on international student fees at Universities. Today, Mauritians have the option of studying either in South Africa or Australia at similar costs. Thus this year, 1999, South Africa is faced with a small intake of Mauritian students in South African universities.

Ultimately the reasons for Mauritian migration are varied and not always easy to understand.

[113] International Office, Wits Uni, 1998. Mauritians (SADC nationals) pay 4 times less tthan otther foreigners.

CHAPTER 4

THE THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

It has become inevitable that in a world that is becoming increasingly more integrated and interdependent, that ways in which population movements occur should also become integrated and interdependent. There has been in the past decade, a remarkable upward trend in the mobility of people linked to the increasing economy, speed and safety of transport. And also to the greater and ever increasing demographic pressure which has arisen in various parts of the world, and to a change in the attitudes of individuals and populations as a result of the raising of education levels and the wider diffusion of information.[114]

Today, new theoretical models are employed by social scientists to analyse and explain international migration and these theories reflect 20th century economic arrangements, social institutions, technology, demography and politics. At present, there is no single theory widely accepted by social scientists to account for the emergence and perpetuation of international migration. What exists is a fragmented set of theories, developed in isolation, segmented by disciplinary boundaries.[115]

A number approaches will be discussed here, namely; the Neo-classical macro & micro economic theories of international migration, Mitchell's (1985) push-pull theory, Furtado's (1965) typology of the World Systems theory, Chant & Radcliffe (1992) theories on female and male migration differences and the Human Capital theory.. Drawing from the race discourse, the relationship between race, household structures and migration will be briefly discussed.

The Neo-classical macro equilibrium model of international migration (related to the Push-pull theory) is probably the oldest and best-known theory of international migration. This theory was originally developed to explain labour migration in the process of economic development.[116]

Corresponding to the macroeconomics model is a microeconomic model of individual choice of international migration[117]. It argues that individuals are rational decision-makers who assess available information in their search for the 'best' country and migrate in order to maximise their economic returns. The Neo-classical equilibrium theory and Mitchell's push-pull theory maintain

[114] A Golini, Uni of Rome, CEPED 1996.
[115] Borjas: 1989
[116] Lewis:1954, Ranis & Fei: 1961, Harris & Torado:1970, Torado:1976.
[117] Sjaastad 1962, Torado:1969, 1976, 1989, Torado & Maruszko:1987, Borjas:1989.

that migration is a result of a set of forces that encourage individuals to leave their country (*push*) and entice them to a foreign land (*pull*). Potential migrants estimate the costs and benefits of moving to alternative international locations and migrate to where the expected discounted net returns are greatest over some time.[118]The decision making process can be summarised analytically by the following equation:

$$ER(0) = \int_0^n [_1 P_{1(t)} P_{2(t)} Y_{d(t)} - P_{3(t)} Y_{0(t)}] e^{-rt} dt - c(0)$$

Where **ER (0)** is the expected net return to migration calculated just before departure at time o; t is time; $P_{1(t)}$ is the probability of avoiding deportation from the area of destination; $P_{2(t)}$ is the probability of employment at the destination; $Y_{d(t)}$ is earnings if employed at the place of destination; $P_{3(t)}$ is the probability of employment in the community of origin; $Y_{0(t)}$ is earnings if employed in the community of origin; r is the discount factor; and **C(O)** is the sum of the costs of movement.[119]

Another important migration theory is the World Systems Theory, which has been built on historical-structural models of development such as the dependency theory. This theory connects international movements of people, capital, goods and raw material to an unequal distribution of economic and political power across nations.[120] According to the World Systems theory, migration is a natural outgrowth of disruptions and dislocations that inevitably occur in the process of capitalist development. The process of economic globalisation creates cultural links between core capitalist countries and counterparts in the developing world. In many cases, these cultural links are longstanding, reflecting a colonial past in which core countries established administrative and educational systems that mirrored their own in order to govern and exploit a peripheral region. For example, Mauritians learn French and English, study at Lycées and take Cambridge O and A levels. The diffusion of core country languages and cultural patterns and the spread of modern consumption patterns interact with the emergence of a transportation/communication infrastructure to channel international migration to particular core countries. It is for this very reason that great numbers of Mauritians have tended to migrate to France and Great Britain, as will be discussed later. The net effect of such a process is that migration tends to increase inequalities between richer and poorer nations. Those who migrate are a valuable resource, they are usually young and vigorous. The society where they were born has had to pay to maintain them during

[118] Borjas :1989,1990.
[119] Ibid.
[120] Furtado:1965

their childhood when they have not been able to contribute to the wealth of their nation.[121] This issue is discussed later with respect to Sander's et al Human Capital theory.

Castle and Miller (1993) argue that migration has increased as Third World countries have become more and more involved in the world capitalist system. In the Third world countries that are developing, there is considerable migration from rural to urban areas and as this happens more people acquire the 'financial and cultural resources necessary for international migration[122]. With international migration, the most developed countries and the less-developed ones have become far more culturally diverse than they were a decade ago. But discrimination and exclusion of ethnic groups is undesirable in itself. Cultural pluralism opens up new possibilities, a new global culture. Thus international migration brings an opportunity for informed choice among a myriad of possibilities, rather than strangeness and separation between people.[123]

Castle and Miller (1993) point out that many countries now have no choice but to come to terms with the existence of a variety of ethnic groups within their national boundaries. In some instances, marginalization and isolation of certain ethnic minorities has served to strengthen their identity and their culture has become a mechanism of resistance. In such a situation, 'narrow traditional cultures' seem to offer a measure of defence for those subject to these pressures. That of exclusionary nationalism.[124]

One influential approach to studying relationships between ethnic groups or race relations focuses on the process of migration by ethnic minority groups in a society. It has sometimes been called the immigrant-host model because it tends to conceive of relationships between ethnic groups as relationships between a 'dominant' host society and a 'smaller' immigrant group. This immigrant-host approach has been developed from the work of Robert Park in the Chicago school of Demography in the 1930's.

The immigrant-host model offers the demographer a mode of interpreting the dynamics taking place between the immigrants and the host society. It also provides a understanding of the complex motivations of behaviour, the fluid, the undefined and un-institutionalised relationship between immigrants and their host society.[125]

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[121] casles & miller. The Age of Migrattion, 1993
[122] casles & miller. The Age of Migrattion, 1993
[123] Castle & Miller. 1993
[124] Ibid 1993
[125] S Patterson 1994

And today this approach adopts an optimistic view of race relations and argues that eventually the immigrant group will adapt to the way of life of the host society and will be assimilated into it. Conflict based on race and ethnicity will tend to decline or even disappear with the passage of time. The immigrant-host approach has a functionalist view of society. In this model it has been assumed that the host society is characterised by a basic consensus and a shared culture. And that the immigrant group introduces a temporarily disrupting effect on consensus and shared culture, before society eventually adapts to the newcomers and the migrant adapts to society.

However the emphasis is on the process of immigrant adaptation in society and not vice versa. Adaptation is different for the hosts and immigrants. The immigrants are expected to do rather more adapting than the hosts. For the immigrant group, it involves important changes in lifestyle through **re-socialisation** and **acculturation.** For the hosts it is a more passive process of acceptance, which is largely unconscious.
Changes required by the host population are rather less demanding.

Patterson (1994) argues that local people might be expected to be used to the presence of immigrants, not to stare at them, or draw away. They should begin to lose stereotypical views of immigrants and judge individuals on their merits. Thus this functionalist model focuses on stability, shared moral values and shows evolutionary change involving a process of adaptation.[126]

Because the process of migration influences relationships between ethnic groups, immigrant-host model becomes very useful. It effectively draws attention to the dislocation caused by migration, it bravely addresses the complexities of assimilation, and it demonstrates the dynamic processes of change.[127]

Chant and Radcliffe (1992) argue that in looking at differentials in migration and the push-pull factors which underlie migration patterns, demographers have often overlooked the gender of the migrant as a significant factor. They argue that in developing countries, migration is ' virtually gender-selective to some degree' and that an understanding of gender differentials is essential. According to them, the proportion of female and male migrants varies from country to country, with more women migrants (from the developing world) in the most heavily urbanised cities.

[126] Ibid 1994
[127] J Richardson &J Lambertt. 1994

Apart from the Push-pull theory, theorists in trying to measure the costs and benefits of migration have had to construct a cost-benefit analysis model. The purpose of using this model was not to compute a net benefit or cost for emigration but rather to understand the differential effects of migration on communities and nations and with respect to different types of migration.[128] This thus permitted to devise ways to enhance the benefits of migration. The cost of emigration include the country's investment in the emigrant's education, health and welfare, performance and efficiency loss in the public and private sectors as a result of loss skilled workers and managers-the brain drain. The potential benefits of emigration to the sending country are derived from remittances, acquisition of skills, reduced unemployment, reduced rates of population growth, and the increased opportunities for trade and investment due to the presence of immigrants with businesses that connect their former and adopted countries.[129] The cost and benefits depend on the rate of migration and the characteristics of the flow and vary according to the level of households, communities and nations. The direction of migration, immigration vs. emigration and the types of migration-permanent or temporary, legal or illegal, or refug[illegible] the social, political and economic structure in the country of origin are also important factors in this analysis.

Temporary emigration and permanent immigration into a region appear to benefit the former country more than the adopted one.[130] The impact of **permanent emigration** by skilled or professional workers and **return migration** is harder to assess. While the impact of **return migration** depends on the reasons for the return and whether the return flows have a 'positive effect' on the individual and the family[131]. Chant and Radcliffe (1992) point out that in Africa female participation in agriculture is high and in migration is low as compared to East Asia (Thailand) and Latin America (Peru)[132].

According to Sanders and Nee, (1996), when analysing migration differentials between self employed immigrants and other categories of immigrant-earners, the family composition and human capital/class resources become important considerations. Due to collective interests and strong personal ties, the family facilitates the pooling of labour power and financial resources. Enterprising immigrants draw on these resources when establishing their own businesses.[133] Today, immigrant workers and self-employed immigrants are a growing presence in metropolises throughout the advance industrial world. The growth of immigrant ethnic economies has

[128] Pastor 1990.
[129] Ibid 1990
[130] McCoy 1985
[131] Thomas-Hope 1985
[132] Opcit 1990
[133] Ibid 1996

dramatically altered the urban landscape. Metropolises have become ethnically heterogeneous cities with ethnic boundaries becoming more porous and are mediated by an intermediate mixed economy.[134]

The last theory to be reviewed is the theory of the immigrant labour market. The metropolitan labour market argues V Nee et al (1996), can be characterised by two related continua. Namely the density of ethnic participation, ranging from the open mainstream economy to the closed ethnic enclave and the degree to workplaces formality, ranging from informal work environments to formal workplace conditions and procedures.[135] Many immigrants own or work for the mixed metropolitan economy, which provides a porous boundary between the ethnic enclave and the economic market. The pursuit of social mobility of immigrant workers and the search for new markets by ethnic firms, open ethnic boundaries in the receiving country and increase interaction between native-born citizens and aliens. This interaction occurs daily either in the workplace or during commercial transactions.[136]

[134] V. Nee et al 1994
[135] Nee 1996. pp 851
[136] Ibid 1996

Chapter 5

Methodology-Research Design

A narration and an exposé of Mauritian emigration within the last 50 years will be observed from two different perspectives, from the host, South Africa and from the departing country, Mauritius. This study has been divided into three distinct areas, the analysis of Mauritian immigration in South Africa based on South Africa statistical data, the analysis of Mauritian emigrants based on Mauritian statistical data and lastly information based on the oral histories of 22 Mauritian emigrants in South Africa.

The analysis is based on country-level statistical data from two different sources have been expressly used to reveal the true nature of Mauritian emigration to South Africa. The objective of this research is to gain insight on the type of Mauritians who migrated to South Africa during specific years, as well examine their mode of travel, their nationality and citizenship classifications. All of these factors are important in determining the status of the Mauritian migrant in South Africa. This research will thus relate, for instance, the status of a Mauritian migrant as compared to a Nigerian or Mozambican migrant. Why are Mauritians given better consideration and credit by the South African society? The ethnographic interviews reveal life histories, residential and job histories. The interviews explored the life experiences of these immigrants and how these experiences influenced the demographic profile of the Mauritian migrant in South Africa.

Assumptions:

Not much appears to be known about the migration patterns of Mauritians in South Africa nor on the composition, shape, size of Mauritian migrant households. From the premise that the Mauritians who have migrated to South Africa are a particular subset of all Mauritians. Emigration to South Africa can be considered to have been a conscious choice for most Mauritian heads of households in South Africa. Hence, it can be assumed that he characteristics of heads of households in South Africa may differ from that of heads of households in Mauritius.

Part One: Quantitative Analysis

Through the use of non-reactive research, a secondary analysis of existing data has been examined. In this statistical analysis, descriptive statistics and Graphical representations have been used through the use of Microsoft Excel software package and SPSS PC+ package.

The intention was to gain a greater sense and an improved comprehension of the race, number and on the type of Mauritians who migrated to South Africa during specific years, as well examine their mode of travel, their nationality and citizenship classifications. The demographic characteristics of Mauritian immigrants who left for South Africa, their economic role, and contribution to the South African economy are also investigated.

My main presupposition is thus that

H1:

The preoccupation over population size and structure has determined the socio-political dynamics of migration in Mauritius and in South Africa .

The Study Population

The study population consists of all Mauritian migrants in South Africa .The individuals studied were of various ages, gender, race, ethnic groups and status.

Sample Size

A sample was not made since all the statistical data obtained related to the entire study population. However a purposive sample of 22 Mauritian nationals in South Africa was taken for in-depth interviews.

Data Sources.

International migration can be analysed from a variety of data sources. It should be noted that the primary focus here has been on **border statistics** collected by immigration officials in South Africa and Mauritius.

However population registers and other administrative records (which trace the movement of foreigners), national censuses (which include questions on birthplace, previous place of residence, duration of residence and citizenship) might also be used to compliment border statistics in some instance.

Demographic data on the Mauritian migrants was obtained from the CSS in South Africa and the Central Statistical office in Mauritius. The 1996 Mauritian international travel and tourism statistics presented statistical tables based on the passenger traffic of Mauritian citizens based overseas. This data was derived from the embarkation/disembarkation data collected by the Passport and Immigration Office. This also provided information on the mobility of the migrants and also established a rough picture of the kind of social ties that are maintained with the country of origin.

The 1983 to 1990 Housing and population census data in Mauritius were also noted. Furthermore, the Mauritian Digest of Demographic Statistics of 1995 provided valuable statistical information on the resident population, live births, marriages, deaths and divorces, it also provided sets of population projections and life-tables.
The Home affairs department and the South African Consulate in Mauritius had information on Mauritians who emigrate to South Africa and their status in the host country.
The United Nations statistical yearbook, the Demographic Yearbook and the UNESCO statistical yearbook were used as references.

The Method of Data collection

Phase one was based on the quantitative approach of data collection. Through the use of non-reactive research and available statistical data, I conducted a secondary analysis of existing data. The demographic characteristics of Mauritian immigrants who left for South Africa, their occupation, economic role, and contribution to the South African economy were investigated. By searching through statistical documents and published compilations, I analysed a number of variables. I also collected data on the number of Mauritians in South Africa during specific years, their race, age, occupation and characteristics of their household size in South Africa., as well examined their mode of travel, their nationality and citizenship classifications.

In phase two, a qualitative method, (in-depth interviews) was used to collect data by the snow-bowling technique. 22 in-depth interviews were conducted.

Method of Analysis

It is only by studying the last fifty years of Mauritian history that one can really understand some of the reasons why large numbers of people have emigrated overseas. My main presupposition was that the preoccupation over the population size and structure has determined the socio-political dynamics of migration in Mauritius and in South Africa.

In trying to understand the population dynamics that were at play in Mauritius and in South Africa, it was important to understand certain inherent social and environmental characteristics at play. Under specific conditions, the family size and household composition can undergo a number of changes. And this might have widespread social, political and economic effects on the family. National population strategies and policies relating to specific conditions such as the maintenance of White supremacy in Apartheid South Africa and Black supremacy in post-1994 South Africa have influenced international migration to South Africa.

Similarly, Mauritius' island seclusion and its political-racial power dynamics controlling the domain of population size and structure have shaped Mauritian migration to South Africa at specific time periods. By comparing the most significant migration fluxes of Mauritian migrants in a contemporary period, such as those corresponding to the Apartheid period, and the current period, the implications of such migration patterns were investigated. The objective was to gain insight on the type of Mauritians who migrated to South Africa during specific years, as well examine their mode of travel, their citizenship and national identities. Thus with the aid of a number of demographic features, (such as age, gender, race, occupation, religion, etc) the Mauritian community in South Africa was analysed

The individual as a unit of analysis

I conducted 22 in-depth interviews to complement my quantitative findings. At the individual level, variables such as race and ethnicity of the individual, age at marriage, divorce, region where he or she lived and profession, were studied.

Female migrants-The third unit of analysis.

Although my assumption was that there are fewer female migrants from Mauritius than male migrants, data collected on female Mauritian migrants proved the reverse. Their racial denomination, age, marital status, education, place of residence and fertility rates were observed when possible.

Importance of these Techniques of analysis

In this research, descriptive statistical analysis was mostly used, since this research exercise is mainly exploratory in nature. I aimed to find the data, describe and compute relevant statistical information and make some sense out of them by organized them into graphical representations, cross tabulating them and analyzing them.

It is vitally important in this research report to use data sets from two different countries. In this way circular, temporary and permanent migration trends can be established. By examining the issue of Mauritian migration from two different perspectives, a broader picture can be drawn.

The use of qualitative research, in-depth interviews is also very helpful in highlighting soft data that can not be extracted from the published data sets. By interviewing respondents of different races and backgrounds, specialised ethnic niches are revealed, intertwined with mixed cosmopolitan components. The use of a snowballing sampling technique proved to be very useful in meeting and interviewing different Mauritians.

Errors

Validity

It was important that my own theoretical definitions matched official definitions, (such as the definition of the various types of households) used by government agencies and private organisations, before any kind of analysis could take place.

Stability/ reliability

While doing a longitudinal study on government statistics, it was important to find out whether the official definitions of certain units of analysis (e.g. the household) have been changed. Methods of data collection were also checked so as to observe changes that have taken place over time. I tried as much as possible to maintain coherence in the data and to show where changes has been effected and continuities broken.

Problems encountered In part 1: the quantitative analysis.

- One of the first difficulties, I was faced with was the fact that the Mauritian data set was different from the South African Tourism & Migration data set.

- The differences were as follows:
- The Travel & Tourism data set from Mauritius contained the total number of passengers leaving and arriving from Mauritius to South Africa for given periods, without providing classifications by age, sex, race and profession.

- While the South African Tourism & Migration data set contained:
- Figures relating to Mauritian passengers arriving and leaving for Mauritius by occupation as well as mode of travel.

- This difference in the data set is unfortunate, since it makes it more difficult to trace individual immigrants that left Mauritius for South Africa.

- The Travel & Tourism data set from Mauritius for certain specific years, did not distinguish between Mauritians and foreigners, it was not always possible to compare departures for Mauritius with arrivals in South Africa. Thus, I was unable to ascertain whether the totals for specific years tallied.

- But analysing both data sets allowed for cross-reference and provided the possibility of high lighting unofficial migration figures of Mauritians in South Africa.

- By knowing the mode of travel of Mauritian migrants, it became possible to note circular migration patterns of Mauritians moving from one African country, e.g. Botswana to South Africa., their mode of travel and note the specific time of the year when such movements were effected.

Part Two: Qualitative analysis

In-depth interviews.

In this research exercise, 22 in-depth interviews were conducted highlighting the experiences of a cross-section of Mauritians in Johannesburg, South Africa. These ethnographic interviews were used as conversations with a purpose. By using in-depth interviews, I was able to observe, interact and record the subjective experiences of the respondents. Because the respondents' insights, feelings and co-operation are essential parts of the interview, I had to build trust and encourage the respondents to open up, so as to ensure a process of mutual discovery. I used a selected number of open-ended questions that did not necessarily follow any specific order. When there was a need to probe more deeply into sensitive issues and seek clarification of less sensitive issues, more interview sessions were scheduled. So as to be able to 'enter the interviewee's world' and try as much as possible to understand his or her 'map of meaning', most of the interviews were conducted in French.

Method of Analysis

The in-depth interviews were transcribed and translated in the case of the French and Creole speaking Mauritians. From the notes collated, the data was then coded. Coding data in qualitative analysis involves the organisation of raw data into conceptual categories Qualitative coding is an integral part of data analysis. It is guided by the research question and often leads to new questions.[137]

In this analysis a selective coding[138] system was used whereby, I went through the field notes, looking for major themes. Then specific issues were reorganised into categories on the basis of themes and concepts. Certain concepts that were grounded in data were shaped and/or refined. Then they were analysed qualitatively, and relationships between concepts were examined. Rather than choosing excerpts from interviews on an ad hoc basis, I was able to produce text from the computer files of all the interviews for an array of themes.

The final examination then enabled me to interact with both the subjective experiences of Mauritian immigrants and particular variables obtained from the SPSS PC+ analysis of the quantitative secondary data. I could then verify my H1 postulation derived from the theoretical logic in the quantitative analysis with the results of the qualitative analysis.

The following qualitative variables were used:

- *Educational achievement*

What is the level of education of Mauritians in South Africa? How different is it from that of Mauritians in Mauritius?

[137] Neuman 1996.
[138] A Strauss 1987

- *Gender*

Are there been more male Mauritian migrants than female migrants in South Africa? The Passport and Immigration office in Mauritius stores that kind of information.

- *Race*

What was the racial denomination of the migrants who came to South Africa? Were there more Whites during apartheid? And are there more non-white Mauritian migrants now?

- *Ethnicity*

In terms of ethnicity, people with different ethnic identities came to South Africa. Among the Asian ethnic groups, one finds Tamils, Marathis, Hindus, and Telegus. In the metisse ethnic group, one finds Chino-Creoles, Franco-Creoles and Hindo-creoles.[139] This kind of information is not readily accessible, since the Mauritian government does not classify its citizens in terms of ethnic groups. However, the South African government does store information on the religious denomination of aliens entering its borders. The problem however, was that the Home affairs department was unwilling to release such information.

- *Occupation*

The occupation of Mauritians in South Africa would not be very hard to find from the government records.

- *Age*

The age of the Mauritian migrants might be obtained from the Home Affairs department.

- *Nuptuality*

Do Mauritians in South Africa marry other Mauritians? Do they marry later than those in Mauritius do?

- *Place of origin in Mauritius*

Did the Mauritian migrants, who came to South Africa, originate from a rural or an urban area in Mauritius? This might be difficult to find out and once again this information would be more accessible later in the project.

- *Place of residence in South Africa*

Do Mauritians who come from rural areas move to rural areas in South Africa? Are they more concentrated in urban areas?

The selected few questions asked were based on the above major points investigated, namely:

1. The socio-political climate that led to their emigrating from Mauritius to South Africa
2. Why choose South Africa?

[139] From B Moutou"s ' Les Chretiens de L'ile Maurice',1996.

3. When did they arrive?
4. Socio, political and economic climate in South Africa at the time of arrival.
5. Characteristics of the Mauritian family in JHB
- Marriage and inter-marriage
- Family Size
- Children
- Marriage partnership
- Divorce and the Mauritian family
6. Religion
7. Language
8. Educational Matters
- Educational Background of Mauritian Immigrant
- Education of Mauritian children in JHB
- Parents and school homework
- Mauritian children's identity
- Job opportunities
9. Discrimination, law and order
10. Membership to societies
- Contribution of Mauritian High Commission
- Contribution of Air Mauritius
- Mauritian Societies
11. Links with Mauritius
12. Questions of identity
13. Chances of success and thoughts about the future
14. Recommendations: Making life better for the Mauritian community in JHB.

Problems encountered in part 2: the qualitative analysis.

In my proposal, I had initially decided to only use a quantitative analysis technique, that is SPSS to analyse my data. I was then advised to include a number of in-depth interviews so as to remove the 'dryness' of hard data. I then thought of using 5 in-depth interviews whereby I would analyse the general socio-economic and demographic conditions surrounding the departure of the migrants from Mauritius and their arrival to South Africa.

While conducting the interviews, I realised that my respondents were actually providing me with more information, on their family structure, norms, values, religious beliefs, etc Thus, I decided to probe further.

Furthermore, being a Mauritian myself made it relatively very easy to meet other Mauritians. After a few weeks of networking, I was given a list of more than fifty Mauritians in South Africa from the various people I met.

One person would give you two to three names of other Mauritians and that is how the list grew. I could then chose from the list, the people that I would interview.

Among the people enlisted, I decided to interview only first- generation Mauritians and discard the second and third generation Mauritians, because firstly many of them did not consider themselves as Mauritians and secondly because this endeavour was beyond the scope of my research report. They were all South African born and had no clear image of migrating to South Africa , their narrative was limited to tales that had been passed down by their parents and grandparents.

Because of the scope, time frame and costs involved, I also restricted myself, to respondents who lived in Johannesburg.

During the interview sessions:

At certain times, I felt that I was confronted with negative evidence, as certain respondents misrepresented issues, or/and refused to discuss certain issues.

Some issues were misrepresented, I think, because particular respondents knew me very well, and might not have wanted me to know intimate details or points relating to times in their lives that they felt uncomfortable with.

Issues relating to relationships between partners, husband and wife, children and in-laws seemed to be sensitive points of discussions for some female respondents.

In a way, it seemed that some respondents wanted to maintain a particular image of themselves that they had fabricated within the Mauritian migrant community in JHB.

Chapter six

Chapter six analyses data collected in Mauritius by the Central Statistical Office. This chapter looks at migration data and its different influences on demographic and socio-economic characteristics of Mauritius. Some data, related to the international migration have been used from the 1990 Housing and Population Censuses, which included a question on place of usual residence. However most of the analysis is based on tables produced from the International Travel and Tourism reports.

Introduction

As discussed in the previous chapter, the primary focus here has been on border statistics collected by immigration officials in South Africa and Mauritius. Demographic data on the Mauritian migrants was obtained from Central Statistical office in Mauritius. The Central Statistical office has been in existence for more than 50 years in Mauritius. The International Travel and Tourism statistics has been a regular publication for the Central Statistical Office. It has been designed to present a single report of detailed statistical data concerning international travel and tourism relating to Mauritius.

The Mauritian international travel and tourism statistics presented statistical tables based on the passenger traffic of Mauritian citizens living overseas. This data was derived from the embarkation/disembarkation data collected by the Passport and Immigration Office. This also provided information on the mobility of the migrants and also established a rough picture of the kind of social ties that are maintained with the country of origin.

Central Statistical Office's Definitions and Notes

- Before 1964, a tourist had been defined as a non-resident staying in Mauritius for more than 24 hours but less than 6 months.
- From 1964, a tourist was defined as a non-resident staying in the island for more than 24 hours but less than a year and not involved in any gainful occupation.
- These figures for the two periods are nevertheless compatible because of the smaller number of tourists staying more than 6 months.
- Visitors included the following:
  - Tourists as defined above and
  - Non-residents who stayed in the country for less than a day, other than those who do not leave the airport.
  - An emigrant is defined as any Mauritian resident who moves out to settle permanently to work for long periods in another country. However, the official number of emigrants is expected to be an underestimate since many potential emigrants do not report themselves as such when leaving the country.

Central Statistical Office's Method of data compilation

Data on the type of visitor, tourist arrival, month of arriv.' arrival by country of residence and mode of transport are compiled from disembarkation cards which all passengers have to fill in when they arrive in Mauritius. Information on duration of stay of visitors is compiled from the embarkation (departure) cards that all passengers have to fill when they leave the country.

Before 1994, the Central Statistical Office compiled their figures from a 10% sample of the embarkation and disembarkation cards filled in by passengers. After 1994, the disaggregated data collected by the Central Statistical Office is not strictly compatible to the previous data collected. Thus disaggregated data from January 1994 onwards is not strictly compatible to previous data collected.

The Passport and Immigration Office of the Police department collects the above data on each emigrant and immigrant passing through customs. The data is then sent to the Central Statistical Office, which summarises and tabulates the data. Thus today, the Central Statistical Office tables are expected to be based on data related to a complete count of the number of emigrants and immigrants travelling through Mauritius.

The Method of Data collection in this report

Through the use of non-reactive research and available statistical data, I conducted a secondary analysis of existing data.

Analysis of data.

I started this analysis by looking at the overall emigration trend of Mauritians to the rest of the world for a period of fifty-one years. (1935- 1986). This enabled me to identify important years, when large influxes of people felt the island.

To understand the true dimension of emigration in Mauritius and how it has changed over the past fifty years, the analysis of border statistics focused on the following issues:

- Passenger movement from 1935 to 1986 to and from Mauritius.
- Identification of male and female migration from and to Mauritius.
- Examination of the link between official migration and unofficial migration
- The characteristics of emigrants in the 1970's, 1980's and 1990's.
- The host countries
- Emigration to South Africa

Passenger movement from 1935 to 1986 to and from Mauritius.

The climatic conditions of the country together with lovely sandy beaches and the picturesque landscapes have always attracted tourists to Mauritius as a tourist destination. According to the 1990 Housing and Population

Censuses report, the number of hotel rooms have increased from 2,200 in 1982 to 4,600 in 1990, while the number of tourist nights increased from 1,393,000 to 3,565,000 during the period 1982 to 1990[140].

Table 1 below, provides data collected by the Statistical Office in Mauritius, on the number of Mauritian nationals who left, and those who returned to Mauritius. It also provides us with the number of male and female Mauritians who travelled during that period.

From this table,

- [No of immigrants] -[No of emigrants net migration]= Net migration
- When net migration the figure is positive, that means that more migrants have returned to Mauritius; and when net migration figure is negative, then that indicates that there has been more emigration from the island.

Two important issues had to be discussed here from the table:

- The migration pattern of Mauritians from 1935 to 1986.
- The migration pattern of male as compared to female migrants for the said period.

Comments on Table 1 (below)

Table 1 highlights the migration pattern of Mauritians over a period of fifty years, going through the colonial period, the 1945 to 1960 period after the Second World War, the independence-1968, the economic recession of the 1970's to early 1980's. In order to comprehend the migration patterns that have emerged from this table, it is important to note that important world events conditioned and influenced what happened in a given region and country.

[140] Representing an increase of 9.7% and 14.6% respectively. (Central Statistical Office).

- When analysing **Table 1**, (extract of **Table 1 seen in full in the next page)**

Period	Total Arrival	male arrival	female arrival	Total Departures	male departure	female departure	net overseas migration	proportion (%)migrants not returned Mauritius
1941	1,209	950	259	4,165	3,859	306	(2,956)	-244.50%
1942	1,083	893	190	1,560	1,398	162	(477)	-44.04%
1943	1,054	859	195	737	642	95	317	30.08%
1944	1,034	798	236	1,053	796	257	(19)	-1.84%
1945	2,061	1,624	437	2,247	1,624	623	(186)	-9.02%
1946	3,298	2,279	1,019	3,377	2,160	1,217	(79)	-2.40%
1947	4,698	3,128	1,570	4,514	3,100	1,414	184	3.92%
1948	4,294	2,792	1,502	4,015	2,684	1,331	279	6.50%

One has to take into consideration that during the Second World War period; Mauritius was a British colony and was part of the Common Wealth. Thus, Mauritian soldiers had been sent to fight for Britain. From the interviews, I gathered that most Mauritian soldiers were not sent to the battlefield. Instead a large number of Mauritians worked in the military camps as nurses, cooks and guards. Unfortunately, I was unable to verify this information. From the table, we can see that in fact a large number of people left in 1941,mostly men. A smaller number of Mauritians left a year later, then in 1943, we note a large number of Mauritians returning. This does not make sense since the war is not over. 1947-1948 reflects the return of a number of Mauritians to the island.

After the Second World War, Mauritius faced a population explosion problem and the colonial government started thinking of an emigration policy. The 1931 population census estimated that the population of Mauritius in 1931 was 368,791 with an average annual percentage rate of increase of - 0.06%. In the 1952 population census, the total population had increased to 501,415 with an average annual percentage rate of increase of 2.26%, this was further increased to 3.12% in 1962 according to the population census of that particular year.[141]

In 1949, R Wilkingson of the ministry of works in Mauritius was commissioned to write a report on the possible employment of Mauritians to work in sugar plantations in Brunei.
Wilkingson wrote a second report in 1950, where he commented that some 200 Mauritians could find possible employment in Tanganyika[142]. In the 1950's, as observed in the table below, we witness a very gradual migration pattern. Mauritians seemed to be emigrating on an individual level, with the number slowly increasing every year. When we look at the numbers of women migrating, the numbers seemed to be

[141] Central Statistical Office, census reports.
[142] Dinan 1985

gradually increasing; this could reflect the movement of whole families as well as the movement of single women.

(Extract of Table 1.)

Period	Total Arrival	male arrival	female arrival	Total Departures	male departure	female departure	net overseas migration	proportion (%)migrants not returned Mauritius
1950	5,253	3,469	1,784	4,900	3,352	1,548	353	6.72%
1951	5,243	3,515	1,728	5,016	3,536	1,480	227	4.33%
1952	6,046	3,999	2,047	5,637	3,854	1,783	409	6.76%
1953	7,252	4,820	2,432	7,054	4,732	2,322	198	2.73%
1954	7,251	4,728	2,523	7,312	4,824	2,488	(61)	-0.84%
1955	7,216	4,558	2,658	7,354	4,722	2,632	(138)	-1.91%
1956	7,747	4,873	2,874	8,225	5,219	3,006	(478)	-6.17%

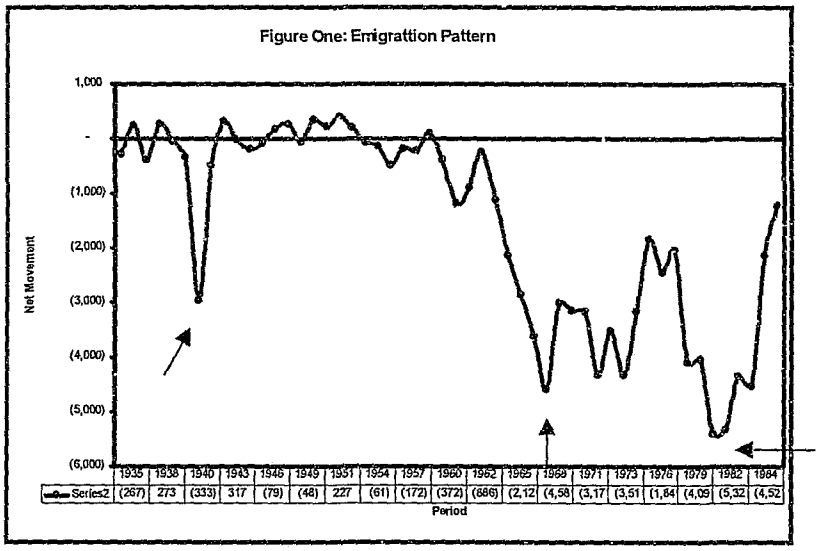
TABLE 1: PATTERN OF MAURITIAN MIGRATION FOR THE PERIOD 1935 TO 1986

Period	Total Arrival	male arrival	female arrival	Total Departures	male departure	female departure	net overseas migration	proportion (%)migrants not returned Mauritius
1935	3,988	2,876	1,112	4,255	2,899	1,356	(267)	-6.70%
1936	3,807	2,681	1,126	3,563	2,451	1,112	244	6.41%
1937	3,472	2,366	1,106	3,849	2,736	1,113	(377)	-10.86%
1938	4,554	3,062	1,492	4,281	2,896	1,385	273	5.99%
1939	3,171	1,984	1,187	3,212	2,127	1,085	(41)	-1.29%
1940	1,518	1,028	490	1,851	1,379	472	(333)	-21.94%
1941	1,209	950	259	4,165	3,859	306	(2,956)	-244.50%
1942	1,083	893	190	1,560	1,398	162	(477)	-44.04%
1943	1,054	859	195	737	642	95	317	30.08%
1944	1,034	798	236	1,053	796	257	(19)	-1.84%
1945	2,061	1,624	437	2,247	1,624	623	(186)	-9.02%
1946	3,298	2,279	1,019	3,377	2,160	1,217	(79)	-2.40%
1947	4,698	3,128	1,570	4,514	3,100	1,414	184	3.92%
1948	4,294	2,792	1,502	4,015	2,684	1,331	279	6.50%
1949	4,093	2,700	1,393	4,141	2,794	1,347	(48)	-1.17%
1950	5,253	3,469	1,784	4,900	3,352	1,548	353	6.72%
1951	5,243	3,515	1,728	5,016	3,536	1,480	227	4.33%
1952	6,046	3,999	2,047	5,637	3,854	1,783	409	6.76%
1953	7,252	4,820	2,432	7,054	4,732	2,322	198	2.73%
1954	7,251	4,728	2,523	7,312	4,824	2,488	(61)	-0.84%
1955	7,216	4,558	2,658	7,354	4,722	2,632	(138)	-1.91%
1956	7,747	4,873	2,874	8,225	5,219	3,006	(478)	-6.17%
1957	8,095	5,156	2,939	8,267	5,309	2,958	(172)	-2.12%
1958	8,703	5,424	3,279	8,924	5,596	3,328	(221)	-2.54%
1959	9,637	5,995	3,642	9,544	6,058	3,486	93	0.97%
1960	10,412	6,563	3,849	10,784	6,938	3,846	(372)	-3.57%
1961	11,854	7,246	4,608	13,033	8,165	4,868	(1,179)	-9.95%
1962	15,189	9,283	5,906	16,075	9,887	6,188	(886)	-5.83%
1963	17,974	10,866	7,108	18,215	11,024	7,191	(241)	-1.34%
1964	21,221	12,787	8,434	22,331	13,349	8,982	(1,110)	-5.23%
1965	22,024	13,571	8,453	24,150	14,759	9,391	(2,126)	-9.65%
1966	26,456	16,358	10,098	29,301	17,930	11,371	(2,845)	-10.75%
1967	29,321	18,177	11,144	32,925	20,135	12,790	(3,604)	-12.29%
1968	31,403	19,820	11,583	35,988	22,181	13,807	(4,585)	-14.60%
1969	35,919	21,552	14,367	38,929	23,127	15,802	(3,010)	-8.38%
1970	48,819	29,587	19,232	51,969	31,033	20,936	(3,150)	-6.45%
1971	60,826	36,005	24,821	63,997	37,399	26,598	(3,171)	-5.21%
1972	77,174	45,587	31,587	81,493	47,837	33,656	(4,319)	-5.60%
1973	101,184	59,215	41,969	104,697	61,364	43,333	(3,513)	-3.47%
1974	109,044	63,077	45,967	113,362	65,649	47,713	(4,318)	-3.96%
1975	117,548	68,654	48,894	120,703	70,368	50,335	(3,155)	-2.68%
1976	139,303	80,674	58,629	141,148	81,718	59,430	(1,845)	-1.32%
1977	153,208	87,417	65,791	155,653	89,243	66,410	(2,445)	-1.60%
1978	161,688	93,087	68,601	163,733	94,850	68,883	(2,045)	-1.26%
1979	182,771	105,051	77,720	186,864	110,284	76,580	(4,093)	-2.24%
1980	163,230	96,460	66,770	167,269	100,579	66,690	(4,039)	-2.47%
1981	168,973	95,293	73,680	174,376	98,066	76,310	(5,403)	-3.20%
1982	166,669	93,299	73,370	171,991	95,061	76,930	(5,322)	-3.19%
1983	177,665	101,125	76,540	182,005	102,785	79,220	(4,340)	-2.44%
1984	198,461	113,201	85,260	202,983	114,203	88,780	(4,522)	-2.28%
1985	212,860	120,940	91,920	215,000	119,780	95,220	(2,140)	-1.01%
1986	235,640	129,600	106,040	236,850	132,740	104,110	(1,210)	-0.51%

AN EXAMINATION OF NET OVERSEAS MIGRATION BY LOOKING AT VARIATIONS IN THE PROPORTION OF MIGRANT THAT DID NOT RETURN TO MAURITIUS ACROSS TIME.

Figure 1 of Table 1

This graph is based on the above table and represents the net proportion of Mauritians that emigrated from Mauritius between the years 1935 to 1986. This graph was plotted with the emphasis on net emigration figures. (Seen as negative figures.)



From this graph, a pattern emerges. There were particular years when large numbers of Mauritians left the island for other countries. These particular moments have been marked. Between 1941 and 1943,more people left than those who came in with 2,956 people leaving the island and not returning. Between 1961 and 1963, another 1,179 people emigrated. In 1968, the year of the independence, 4,585 people emigrated. Total official emigration, which amounted to around 4,000 in 1968, gradually decreased during the seventies reaching less than 200 in 1979.

A net negative balance over the successful years indicates a number of people not registered as official emigrants permanently leaving the island. Although these figures indicate that only a few thousand or so people emigrated, they are of significance. Firstly because the population of Mauritius was under one million until the 1990's. Therefore 5,403 emigrants in one year out of a population of under a million is noticeable. Secondly, these figures, only represent the proportion of all emigrants, and are thus reflecting only the tip of the iceberg. Figures representing migration of Mauritians from one host country to another are not reflected here.

Thereafter, in the early 1980's the trend changed with increasing numbers of emigrants leaving the country every year to reach around 3,300 in 1987. After that period the number of emigrants decreased at such an acute rate that it amounted to only 715 in 1991, as we will see later.
The number of immigrants coming to settle in Mauritius from 1935 to 1986 is negligible as compared to the number of emigrants leaving the island. This pattern of emigration seems to be highly associated with the economic and social conditions prevailing in the country[143].

The decrease in emigration during the period 1972-1979 could be associated with the decrease in unemployment, since the number of registered unemployed dropped from 34,463 in 1972 to 16,804 in 1978. Table 1A illustrates how the Mauritian economy took off in the late 1970's with the introduction and expansion of enterprises in the EZP (currently the largest economic
Sector).

[143] Central Statistical Office 1990

Table 1A Number of enterprises and employment in the EPZ (Export Processing Zone) 1970-1994[144]

Year	No of enterprises	Employment
1970	10	644
1976	87	17,403
1979	92	20,742
1984	195	37,532
1988	591	89,080
1990	568	89,906
1994	494	82,176

Unemployment decreased at the rate of about 15% annually from 1984 until 1988, when a decrease of 41% was registered, and it was during that period when emigration started to decline. The relative economic growth of the country also impacted on emigration.

From **Table 1**, the graph below, **Figure 2,** has been drawn to illustrate the difference between the number of males and females who left and returned to Mauritius for a given period.

From this graph it is observed that fewer people returned to Mauritius compared to the number of people that left.

As already discussed in the literature review, some of the emigration resulted from government intervention, whereby workers were encouraged through work schemes to take up contractual work in other countries. The increase in emigration during the period 1982-1987 was mostly a result of migration by maids/domestic servants, waiters, masons, carpenters, laborers, teachers to countries like Botswana, Nigeria, Zimbabwe, Zambia, Qatar, Saudi Arabia and so on. Since 1981, more than 4,000 Mauritians have immigrated to Saudi Arabia alone.[145]

[144] Central Statistical Office , economic reports
[145] Ibid. 1990.

Figure 2: Male & Female Arrivals and Departures for Period 1935 to 1986



Period	1937	1940	1944	1947	1950	1953	1957	1960	1963	1966	1970	1973	1976	1979	1983	1986
female departure	1,356	1,385	306	623	1,331	1,480	2,488	3,328	4,868	8,982	12,79	26,59	47,71	66,41	66,69	88,78	
male departure	2,899	2,896	3,859	1,624	2,684	3,536	4,824	5,596	8,165	13,34	20,13	37,39	65,64	89,24	100,5	114,2	
female arrival	1,112	1,492	259	437	1,502	1,728	2,523	3,279	4,608	8,434	11,14	24,82	45,96	65,79	66,77	85,76	
male arrival	2,876	3,062	950	1,624	2,792	3,515	4,728	5,424	7,246	12,78	18,17	36,00	63,07	87,41	96,46	113,2	
Period	1935	1938	1941	1945	1948	1951	1954	1958	1961	1964	1967	1971	1974	1977	1980	1984	

IDENTIFICATION OF MALE AND FEMALE MIGRATION FROM AND TO MAURITIUS

Figure 2 of Table 1

One notable feature of this migration current of male and female Mauritians is the manner in which emigration seems to take off by the mid 1940's. The number of male and female Mauritians emigrating increases rapidly in the 1950's. However, emigration during the period 1961 to 1982, is phenomenal. According to the Central Statistical Office, approximately 66,000 Mauritians emigrated during that period. From 1962 to 1965, Dinan (1985) argues that with the massive exodus of Mauritians leaving the island, Mauritius lost some (Rupees) Rs 50,5 Million, particularly to South Africa.

A number of important historical events occur during that time frame, as already discussed in the literature review.

- 1966-The establishment of the Reserve Bank of Mauritius, taxation measures (15%) to individuals transferring their funds outside the country.
  With the establishment of the Reserve Bank of Mauritius and the introduction of the exchange control act, the colonial government was trying to control the amount of capital leaving Mauritius, trying to curb a massive flight of 'White' capital out of the country.
- 1966-Creation of the Taxpayers Association to fight against high taxation of the middle classes. During the same period, a large number of middle-class, predominantly 'White' and 'Metisse' families decided to leave Mauritius. They felt very vulnerable and felt almost targeted by the soon to be elected government.
- 1968-The first democratic elections, after colonial rule. The fear of the 'Indian' hegemony was even closer now with an Indian dominated labour party heading the government.
- 1968-69 Implementation of a new taxation measure on emigrants wanting to transfer their capital overseas. A 26,25% tax is imposed on all emigrants. The period 1969 to 1981 was marked by the introduction of a variety of taxation laws with the aim of reducing the massive human and capital flight taking place.
- 1969- Huge numbers of emigrants leave unofficially to evade this tax
- 1979-Mauritius has an economic crisis, the rupee is devaluated
- 1981-The official emigrant is now taxed up to 35% on transferring his/her capital overseas.
  Therefore when we observe the net amount of official emigrants in the late 1970's and early 1980's, we need to take into consideration the above points.

TABLE 2 OBSERVATIONS

As illustrated below, this table provides a summery of the movements of people to and from Mauritius for the period 1986 to 1996. The difference between this table and the previous one is that we are now observing the movement of all passengers. An important variable to note here is the net overseas

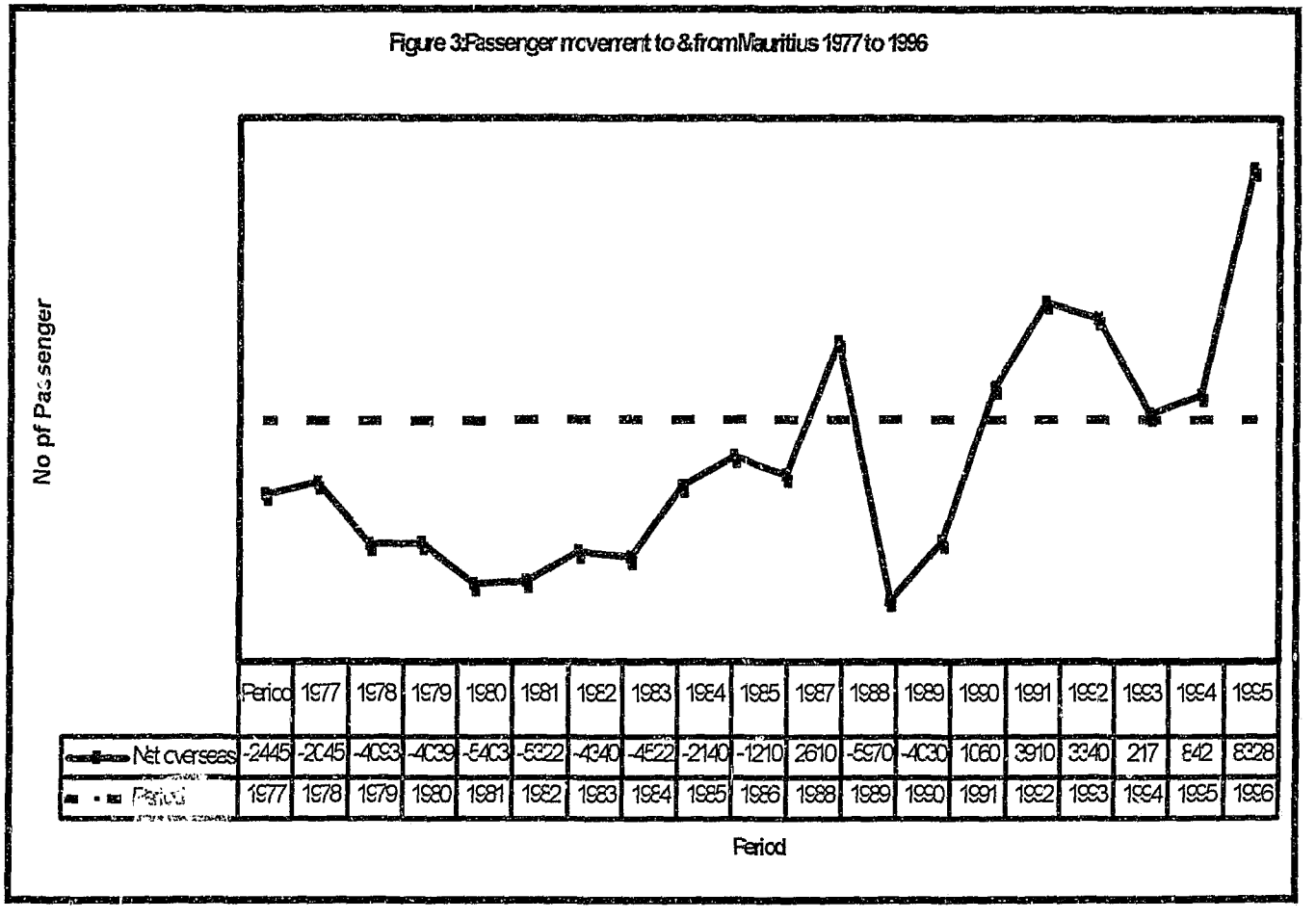
migration.

On Figure 2, we can note distinct patterns of emigration. Emigration that had already began in the 1930's, as discussed earlier, that accelerated in the 1960's to 1970's. Net overseas migration in 1977, already high at -2,445. From 1977 to 1982, we can note a steady increase in emigration, whereby emigration reaches a peak in 1982 at –5,322. This figure is maintained and then slowly decreases. From 1982 to 1987, we can note a reverse cycle with net overseas emigration being reduced to half of what it was in 1977. A similar curve is noted for the period 1990- 1991. In 1996, emigration reaches it highest ever peak with 8,328 people returning to Mauritius.

Table 2 Passenger arrivals & departures in Mauritius by sex 1977-1996.

Period	Arrival both sexes	Arrival male	Arrival female	Total departure	Departure male	Departure female	Net overs migrat
1986	235640	129600	106040	236850	132740	104110	-121
1987	293160	161030	132130	294970	160670	134300	-181
1988	343940	186800	157140	341330	187580	153750	+261
1989	379080	208860	170220	385050	213230	171820	-597
1990	418200	232050	186150	422230	233280	188950	-403
1991	426680	239630	187050	425620	236190	189430	+100
1992	475920	262660	213260	472010	258320	213690	+391
1993	523740	280910	242830	520400	281100	239300	+334
1994	528565	277485	251080	528348	277729	250619	+21
1995	549448	286647	262801	548606	286258	262348	+84
1996	630240	326115	304125	621912	321360	300552	+832

Figure 3:Passenger movement to & from Mauritius 1977 to 1996



THE CHARACTERISTICS OF EMIGRANTS IN THE 1970'S, 1980'S AND 1990'S.

Analysis of Table 3 & Figure 3.

- One important conclusion that can be drawn here is that Mauritian emigration from the 1930's to the 1990's has gone through a series of significant troughs and peaks.
- Just like the literature suggested in chapter 2, the data here also relates to the following points:
- Emigration has played and plays an important role in the population dynamics of Mauritius.
- The Independence in 1968, brought significant demography changes to the island with the beginnings of a long emigration pattern.
- 1968 was the period when emigration took off; it reached a peak in 1982, when Mauritius was undergoing a reconstruction and development program.
- After 30 years of a persistent ' brain drain', by 1988, we note the return of Mauritians par milliers, in thousands.
- In 1996, 8328 Mauritians return to the island. Should this trend prevail, there will definitely be a problem of over population by 2038 as suggested in the literature review.

TABLE 3.5

EMIGRANTS BY AGE-GROUP AND SEX-1981 TO 1990.

PERIOD	AGE-GROUP										ALL AGES	
	0-4		5-14		15-44		45-54		55+			
	NO	%	NO	%	NO	%	NO	%	NO	%	NO	%
MALE												
1981-1985	116	2.7	149	3.4	3817	87.2	231	5.3	62	1.4	4375	100.0
1986-1990	301	5.6	436	8.1	4343	80.3	201	3.7	130	2.4	5411	100.0
FEMALE												
1981-1985	112	4.9	158	6.9	1901	83.5	54	2.4	52	2.3	2277	100.0
1986-1990	296	5.7	463	8.9	4152	79.5	159	3.0	152	2.9	5222	100.0

- The age distribution of the emigrants shows that they were mostly from the working-age category (15-44).
- And secondly, that during the period 1981-1985, the age and sex ratio favored the male migrant in the working age bracket. This can be explained by the great demand for masons, carpenters and teachers overseas (mostly male occupations at the time). However, after that period a larger number

of females emigrated to work as maids, waitresses and teachers. A large number of women traveled during that said period and that a big proportion of those women did not return.

ESTIMATION OF NET INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION.

It is possible to obtain an estimate of the Net International Migration by making use of the population figures from the 1983 and 1990 censuses and data on births and deaths available at the Civil Status Offices.[146]When the 1983 Population Census (by sex) was adjusted with live births and deaths during the period 1983-1990, an estimate of the 1990 mid-year population was obtained for the period 1983-1990.

However, this estimation did not include international migration figures, such that the increase in population during the reference year was rationalized only by natural growth. Thus, I would agree witch the Central Statistical Office that the difference between this estimate and the actual resident population obtained from the 1990 population census provides an estimate of the Net International Migration during the period 1983 to 1990.

	Pop 1983	ive Births 83-90	Deaths 83-90	Estimated 1990 Pop	ctual 1990 Pop	Net Int. Migration 83-90	Ave. annual Net Int. Migration
Male	497,920	73,227	27,547	543,760	527,760	15,840	2,263
Female	502,025	70,444	20,430	552,039	528,900	23,139	3,306
Both sexes	999,945	143,671	47,977	1,095,639	1,056,660	38,979	5,568

It can be observed from this graph that, on average there has been an excess of departures over arrivals of approximately 2,300 males and 3,300 females annually during the inter-censal period[147]. According to the Central Statistical Office, the overall rate of growth of the population of Mauritius has actually decreased in the period 1983-1990. And that population growth in different regions of the island show marked differences. These differences can not be explained solely by natural growths and thus international and internal migration must be contributing factors.

Unfortunately, however, due to the number of inconsistencies found in the data collected by the Passport and Immigration Office, the data can not be used for estimation purposes. This is because prior to only a 10% sample of data collected from immigrations cards were used. Furthermore the actual number of official emigrants recorded by the Passport and Immigration Office has been grossly underestimated. The net international migration estimate as seen above, drawn from census data and Civil Status Office data

[146] Central Statistical Office 1990

have shown that on average a net out migration of around 2,200 males and 3,300 females each year during the inter-censal period. Estimates from the International passenger traffic records for the same period give a figure of around 1,500 males and 1,500 females per year.

Never the less, the data obtained from the Passport and Immigration Office does provide room for the investigation of the pattern of International migration over time and also insights on the type of movement as influenced by economic and social conditions prevailing in Mauritius.

THE HOST COUNTRIES

TABLE 4

- Net overseas return migration
- Net overseas emigration

Excess of Arrival over Departure of Mauritian residents			
Host country	1994	1995	1996
Australia	101	-51	-124
Belgium	2	69	143
Canada	227	156	224
France	-1570	-1127	-795
Germany	-386	-303	-214
Hong Kong	191	225	368
India	-787	-815	-256
Italy	175	139	431
Kenya	-29	-15	-291
Rodrigues	344	670	241
Reunion	-887	-320	-378
Singapore	230	39	-50
South Africa	-282	-257	-333
Switzerland	-23	-79	117
UK	-228	-418	18
Other countries	1690	1281	1132

[14] Ibid, 1990.

TABLE 4

The above table provides very interesting information about the migration trends of Mauritians for the 1990's. When we look at the blue (positive figures), we note the number of return Mauritian migrants from their host countries Belgium, Canada, Italy and Switzerland. This return migration can be accepted without much doubt because we know that a lot of Mauritians emigrated to these countries in the 1960's, 1970's and 1980's and are still leaving Mauritius for these countries presently.

However, what is intriguing at first glance, is the return migration of "Mauritians" from Hong Kong. These supposedly Mauritian residents are in fact naturalized Hong Kong citizens, who obtained a Mauritian passport when they moved in with their capital. A large number of investors have been given Mauritian passports for the past 10 years now, many of these investors have fled Hong Kong before Hong Kong was returned to the Chinese. I would speculate that now with thee crashing of the Asian markets, a large number of Hong Kong are migrating to Mauritius whereby the repercussions of the financial crisis have been buffered by a relatively small and non-volatile emerging economy. This is probably an event that South Africa had wished for before the collapse of it 's own economy.

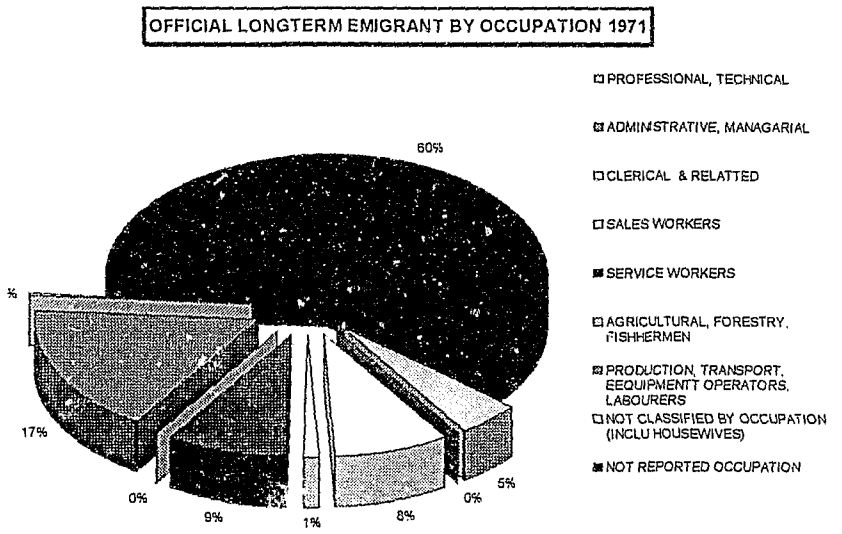
Host country.	1994	1995	1996
Belgium	2	69	143
Canada	227	156	224
Hong Kong	191	225	368
Italy	175	139	431
Switzerland	-23	-79	117

From the table below, we not that despite the booming economy in Mauritius, Mauritian residents are still migrating to other countries Significant numbers of people are leaving for France, Australia and to a smaller extent for South Africa. It seems that European countries remain the favorite destinations as compared to South Africa. Could theses figures reflect the number of students leaving Mauritius for university studies?

ustralia	101	-51	-124
rance	-1570	-1127	-795
outh Africa	-282	-257	-333
K	-228	-418	18

The UK data seems to show that in 1994 and 1995 a significant number of people left for the UK. Possibly for tertiary education, I would suppose, while 1996 saw the return of a number of Mauritians settled in the UK.

Figure 5 & 6: The Occupation of Long Term Emigrants 1971 & 1986



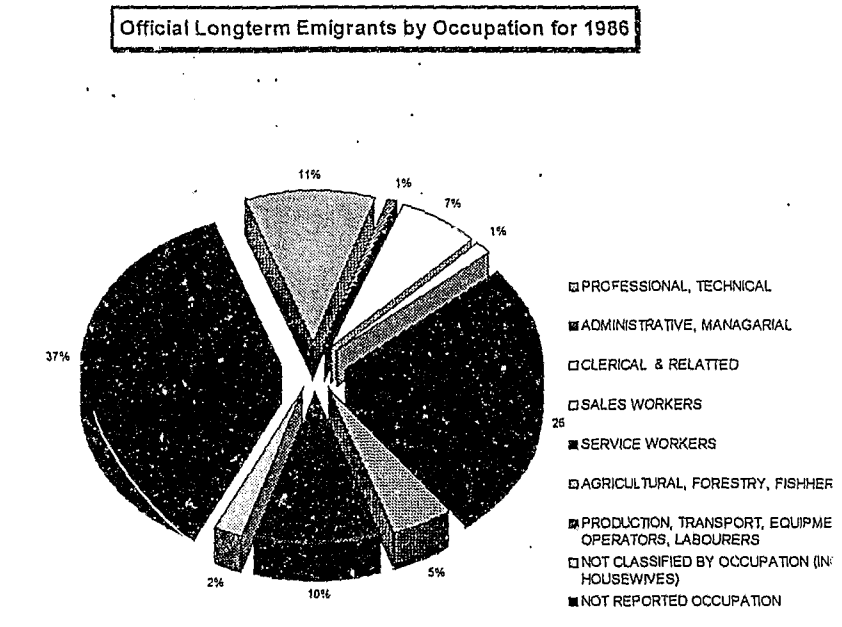


Figure 5 & 6: The Occupation of Long Term Emigrants 1971 & 1986

Figure 5 and 6 present the various professional occupations of official Mauritian emigrants as volunteered by those emigrants leaving Mauritius

From figure 5, it can be observed that a large chunk of the pie represents white-collar workers. People with professional, technical, administrative, managerial and clerical qualifications. When we go back to 1971, we note the following points:

- It was 3 years after the elections and that since 1969 huge numbers of emigrants had left the island unofficially.
- In 1971, there was only a handful of Mauritian born individuals with tertiary education, such as doctors, lawyers, engineers, managers' etc. Those with such qualifications were mostly White or Metisse. Few Indian and Chinese people had the resources available to send their children overseas to university. Thus when we examine this category of white-collar workers leaving the island, we are referring to a special category of people. Emigrants were thus mostly white or Metisse and were mostly from a middle class strata of society.
- Semi professional workers and technicians probably found contract-based employment through the Mauritian government emigration office.
- From figure 6, we note that in 1986, the overall pattern of labour emigration changes. There seems to be a huge increase in the number of emigrants not reporting their occupation. From 37% in 1971 to 60% in 1986. This could reflect the presence of children at school and of working age, grandparents, etc, who might have accompanied the emigrating couple. This thus shows that entire families emigrated during that year.
- The number of people without occupation classifications (including housewives) seemed to have decreased slightly from 5% to 2 %.
- The number of service workers seemed to have increased from 2% to 26% from 1971 to 1986. These constitute a big jump and reflect the employment of contract workers.
- Interestingly the proportion of professional workers decreases from 17% to 11% by 1986.
- While in the agricultural sector, there was a 5% increase in the number of forestry workers who migrated overseas during the period 1971 to 1986.

The significance of such a small proportion of persons officially Immigrating to South Africa.

Table 6

This table provides a very rough estimate of the number of Mauritian emigrants in South Africa. This data however is misleading for it is based on the number of official emigrants. That is the number of people that have declared themselves -emigrants to the Mauritian authority before leaving the island. We know that because of the high taxes involved in declaring oneself an emigrant, most people emigrated unofficially. Now when we look at the number of unofficial emigrants, the figures in the 1980's seem to be very low.

Table 6: From Mauritius To South Africa

Period	Official Mauritian Emigrants	Arrival Mauritian Residents	Departure Mauritian RESIDENTS	Unofficial Mauritian Emigrants
1961	34	*	*	*
1962	57	*	*	*
1963	50	*	*	*
1964	31	*	*	*
1965	72	*	*	*
1966	81	*	*	*
1967	176	*	*	*
1968	171	*	*	*
1969	50	*	*	*
1970	22	*	*	*
1971	37	*	*	*
1972	5	*	*	*
1973	9	1111	1205	94
1974	8	1161	1293	132
1975	3	1308	1363	55
1976	0	1304	1346	42
1977	0	1506	1520	14
1978	1	1559	1615	56
1979	0	1900	1940	40
1980	0	2290	2190	100
1981	9	2060	2440	380
1982	1	1910	2010	100

(CENTRAL STATISTICAL OFFICE, VOL1, X, 24.)
*UNAVAILABLE DATA.

We look at official emigration trend from 1961 to 1982, a number of key points can be seen

Firstly, there is a lot of inconsistency between the official and unofficial emigration figures. This can be explained by a number of social and economic factors that occur during that particular time period. In 1966, the Mauritian government establishes the Reserve Bank of Mauritius and introduces taxation measures (15%) to individuals transferring their funds outside the country. This new law is imposed on emigrants wanting to transfer their capital overseas. In 1968, the year of the independence in Mauritius, a further 26,25% of tax is imposed on all emigrants. During that year huge numbers of emigrants leave unofficially to evade this tax.

From 1973 to 1982 emigration figures, both official and unofficial, seem to increase rapidly. The 1970's reflect a period of harsh economic conditions in Mauritius. By the end of 1979, Mauritius is faced with an economic crisis and the rupee is devaluated. From 1979 to 1981, the official emigrant is now taxed up to 35% on transferring his/her capital overseas. Thus unofficial emigration reaches a peak in 1981 with 380 people emigrating.

Table 7 Mauritian citizens in South Africa in 1982

(Dinan 1988)

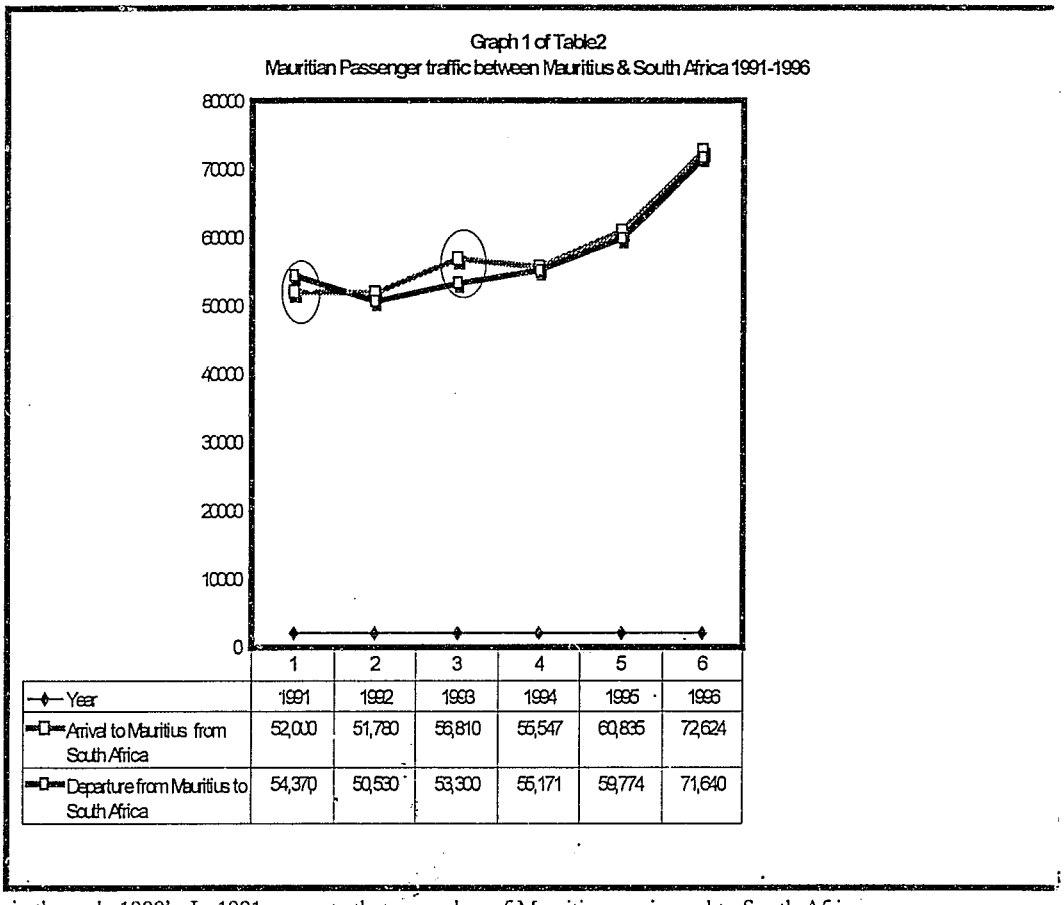
From 1973 to 1982, the time when migration to South Africa seems to have increased reflects a time period when South Africa was governed by apartheid laws, segregating and discriminating against all non-White people. Therefore, I would argue that most of those people that emigrated during that period were probably White. According to Monique Dinan148, in 1982, there were only 5,700 Mauritians in South Africa, with predominantly more Mauritian migrants in Natal and the Transvaal. Let's note that in Mauritius, from 1977 to 1982, there was a steady increase in emigration, whereby emigration reaches a peak in 1982 at 5,322.

Mauritian citizens	
Cap	143
Natal	1115
Transvaal	469
OFS	9
other provinces	1
Born in Mauritius	3963
Total	5700

[148] Using the CSS data for 1982.

Return migration from South Africa to Mauritius.

The last graph in this section focuses on the migration pattern of Mauritians in the last leg of apartheid that



	1	2	3	4	5	6
Year	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996
Arival to Mauritius from South Africa	52,000	51,780	56,810	55,547	60,835	72,624
Departure from Mauritius to South Africa	54,370	50,530	53,300	55,171	59,774	71,640

is in the early 1990's. In 1991, we note that a number of Mauritians emigrated to South Africa

- With the number of departures exceeding that of arrivals. However from 1992 onwards, this trend is reversed with steady number of return migration to Mauritius.

- An important feature of this graph is the peak of return migration in 1993 (circled in this graph), representing the year where the number of returns outweighed the number of arrivals to South Africa from Mauritius.

- From the data obtained from the Central Statistical Office, it is impossible to know whether these return migrants were Black or White. But I would believe that it was predominantly White. This assumption however, will only be analyzed in relation to the South Africa data set

Problems encountered with quality of the data.

Evaluating the data is as important if not more important than gauging the success or failure of the data analysis exercise. Therefore it is important for me to identify the types and sources of errors or biases.

Conclusions

I started this analysis by looking at the overall emigration trend of Mauritians to the rest of the world from a period of fifty-one years. (1935- 1986). This enabled me to identify important years, when large influxes of people felt the island.

- In the 1950's, we witness a very gradual emigration pattern. Mauritians seemed to be emigrating on an individual level, with the number slowly increasing every year.

- Between 1941 and 1943, 2,956 individuals left the island and 2,956 individuals did not return, I am unable to say however whether the same individuals who left in 1941, did not return by 1943.

- Between 1961 and 1963, another 1,179 people emigrated. In 1968, the year of the independence, 4,585 people emigrated. A net negative balance over the successful years indicates a number of people not registered as official emigrants permanently leaving the island.

- Emigration during the period 1961 to 1982 was phenomenal. According to the Central Statistical Office, approximately 66,000 Mauritians emigrated during that period.

- From 1973 to 1982, the time whereby migration to South Africa increased reflects a time period whereby South Africa was governed by apartheid laws, segregating and discriminating against all non-White people. Therefore, I would argue that most of those people that emigrated during that period were probably White. This assumption will be checked once we look at the South African data. During that time, net overseas emigration is reduced to half of what it was in 1977. A similar curve is seen for the period 1990- 1991. In 1991, we observe that a number of Mauritians immigrated to South Africa with the number of departures exceeding that of arrivals. However from 1992 onwards, this trend is reversed with steady number of return migration to Mauritius.

- However in 1996, as previously discussed, emigration reaches it highest ever peak with 8,328 people returning to Mauritius.

Chapter Seven

Introduction

This analysis focuses on border statistics collected in South Africa. This section will focus on the analysis of data collected and compiled by the CSS. The actual analysis will be divided into four sections, relating to specific historical periods whereby the structure, character and features of data collected on immigrants and immigration differed. It should be noted that there is little homogeneity and conformity in terms of the type of data collected since 1928 up to now. Each section of the analysis will not only provide insight on the dimensions of Mauritian immigration in South Africa but also provide a comprehensive picture of the preoccupations of the different governments at the times.

Section One -1928-1934 focuses on the type, quality and description of data collected during the segregation period in South Africa. This section provides us with a kind of introduction to data collection and categorization some seventy years ago. It also provides the basis for later comparisons in terms of the manner in which data categorization evolved from the Segregation period, to Apartheid and then to the post-Apartheid period.

The period 1940-1950, very important in terms of South Africa's history has not been included for a number of reasons. Firstly, the primary aim of this report is to examine Mauritian migration to South Africa. During the years after 1948, the birth year of Apartheid, existing data shows a nominal number of White Mauritians coming to South Africa. Most affluent White Mauritians preferred to emigrate to Rhodesia and Australia. Secondly, from the Mauritian perspective, the 1940's and early 1950's offered most Mauritians in Mauritius, especially white Mauritians with a number conducive features. The island was still a British colony, more than 90% of wealth remained in the hands of the Whites. Non-Whites that left the island certainly preferred Europe as a host country, than South Africa where it had become increasingly difficult to migrate to and also where conditions had become undesirable for all non-Whites.

Section Two -1960-1970

The most significant period as far as this report is concerned was the period 1960 to 1970. This is because the 1960's saw significant populations of Mauritians leaving the island. The 1960's had produced a crisis situation, caused by a number of 'bouleversement[149]' that drastically changed Mauritius' political history and brought equality and democracy in 1968. As already discussed in the literature, these times saw the massive emigration of White Mauritians often referred as the 'White flight'. A state, which ironically reminds us of what, is currently happening in South Africa today. Let us also remember that the South African economy with its apartheid labour was booming in the 1960's. And that during the Apartheid saga, the 1960's to 1970's reflect the most repressive years of Apartheid in terms of human injustice, racial abuse and exploitation.

[149] crisis

Section Three- 1970-1980

The third section focuses on the late 1970's and 1980's. With the state of emergency in the 1980's and the sabotage of the Apartheid machinery, this period provides interesting insight on the documentation industry at the time. In order to get a sense of how the system was failing one has to have a strong grip of South Africa 's apartheid history. Let us first remember that the ever so successful Apartheid State controlled migration through its identification documentation system and Pass laws. The identification, systematic classification and monitoring of what was alien, that is not White, had become second nature to the government. State departments and officials were well equipped to perform the tasks needed for this endeavor. Black South African were themselves aliens/foreigners in their own land.

Section Four- 1980-1990.

The change in the categorization of migration data that takes place in the 1980's becomes an important issue to investigate. It is also interesting to note the type of Mauritians who wanted to migrate to South Africa under a state of emergency. Socio-political conditions were deteriorating for white South Africans , they were faced with the threat of a Black revolution, while Non-whites still did not have the vote.

Section Five -1990's

Part One 1990-1994

The early 1990's often mentioned as the transition to democracy period will constitute our last section. Through the 1990's, we will note three significant moments. The first occurs with the lifting of sanctions and the imminent release of Nelson Mandela. In 1991, non-White people from all over the world were enthralled with the hope of migrating to South Africa. Some of them came to South Africa although this movement of people of color occurred predominantly within the African continent. We shall note that more Mauritians come to South Africa as tourists and for business.

Part Two 1994-1998

The period 1994-96 reflects the original policy of the ANC government, wanting to embrace the world after so many years of isolation. Also we note the foundation of a regional block, known as the SADC. And the New South Africa wanting more Regional Corporation and friendly relations with countries who helped the organization during years of exile. After the 1994 amnesty, whereby thousands of immigrants gained permanent residence, South Africa's policy towards immigration needed to be formalized in terms of a new international green paper. This had to be done, because the ANC was uncomfortably still using the old apartheid migration law after 1994 and parts of the Aliens act were unconstitutional according to the Bill of Rights.

In 1997-98, we note another significant trend, that of xenophobia and nationalistic policies to 'protect' South Africans against foreigners. These policies include Dr Zuma's150 new Health policies concerning the employment conditions of foreign doctors, the retrenchment without compensation of foreign teachers and the

deportation of key people within the government owned broadcasting corporation (SABC). In terms of the data at hand we note The number of Mauritians leaving South Africa.

Statistics of Migration

South Africa, as one of the newer countries of Southern Africa, since the days of the earliest settlements, received a more or less steady influx of European immigrants, the volume of which was abnormally increased or decreased at certain periods due to important events such as the discovery of gold, diamonds and the aftermath of the South African war of 1899 and the European war 1914-1918. The records of migration for those years are not complete. The first immigration act was bought into operation in the colony in 1903. The statistical yearbook for the colony of Natal only had records of the number of arrivals and departures by sea. Prior to 1914, although the Union had extensive land borders, figures of passenger traffic by railway had not been recorded. In 1917, statutory powers were given to the director of census to collect information with regards to persons entering and leaving the Union by sea and land. The method of data collection was to enumerate all travellers by means of a special statistical form, at seaports and at border posts.

In 1930, the regulations were revised with the development of air services. Custom officers at the declared customs 'aerodromes' in the Union acted as prescribed officers for the purpose of collecting statistics of all persons leaving and arriving by air.151

The 1934 reports quotes,

" The regulations framed under the Act excluded the enumeration of aboriginal natives of the Bantu race. Therefore statistics only account for Europeans, Asiatics and Coloured persons of mixed races...Native indentured labourers in the mines from extra-Union (outside South Africa) is therefore excluded." 152

Although this chapter is devoted tto the analysis of data collected, it is important to understand the nature of South African data collection and categorisation. In this light, 1937 was a very important year. The very first Aliens Act came into force on the 1st of February 1937. Under its terms, no alien was allowed to enter the Union unless he/she was in possession of a permit. An 'Alien' was defined as a person who was not a natural-born British subject or a Union national.

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[150] Minster of health in South Africa.
[151] Ibid 1934
[152] 1934 report CSS. p 6

The Central Statistical Services CSS.

As discussed in the previous chapter, the primary focus here has been on **border statistics** collected by immigration officials in South Africa and Mauritius. Demographic data on Mauritian migrants was obtained from Central Statistical Services in South Africa. The New CSS is a government body in the republic of South Africa which in terms of the Statistical Act of 1976, is authorised to compile and publish official statistics.

The International Tourism statistics which has been a regular publication of the Central Statistical Services has been designed to present a single report of detailed statistical data concerning international travel and tourism relating to South Africa.

It presents a number of publications; statistical releases, reports, other publications and statistical tables based on the passenger traffic across South Africa's land, sea and airports. This data is derived from the embark..aon/disembarkation data collected by the Home affairs department at the borders.

Central Statistical Services Definitions and Notes

Pre-Union statistics.

During the period 1919 to 1928, the South African Statistical Services published a series of separately compiled reports on migration containing what they termed "personal statement's from each person arriving in or departing from the Union. This however, excluded crews of ships docking at Union Sea borders to travel to other destinations."[153] At land borders, officials of the immigration administration issued forms to passengers entering and leaving the border.

From the year 1924, migrants were classified according to their stated intentions on entering or leaving the country as follows:

- Temporary Business Visitor
- Temporary Holiday Visitor
- Migrant intending Permanent Residence
- Persons in Transit.

It is important to remember that during this segregation period, passengers were classified as being European, Male & Female and as being non-European. (Which included both males and females together). The sex distribu f non-Whites was not recorded. At the time the main interest in statistics lay in the information concerning settlers arriving in the country and residing permanently.

[153] CSS 1919.

Particulars such as their racial origin, occupation, religion, etc, were of importance. This was of importance as the government of the time believed that race and religion particularly could have a negative impact on the residing local White population. This is reflected in the CSS report of 1928,

"*....racial origin ,etc are of importance as these exercise a permanent influence on the population.*"[154]

In terms of nationality, all 'European' passengers were classified as being from three main groups, Northern, Central and Southern/Eastern Europe. British passengers were classified as being Briti h-Born and as being 'British'.

The segregationist government of 1928 classified passengers of Indian origin as "Asiatic". According to the Act No 37 of 1927, Asiatic male immigrants were allowed to bring their wives to South Africa. Data on Asiatic passengers entering and leaving South African borders was well documented reflecting the age, marital status, place of previous residence, birthplaces and occupations of these individuals.

Apartheid Statistics.

When analysing the data for the period 1966 to 1969, a number of important features were noted on the source, arrangement and classification of data. Firstly the statistical information shown in the 1966-1969 reports was extracted from data and statements appearing in:

- Arrival form (d I10) of the department of Interior
- Department of statistics from the S.23C form.

All persons travelling to and from South Africa completed these documents. However persons were categorised differently according to the apartheid legislature. White travellers were classified as:

- South Africa residents

  Persons residing in South Africa who leave for a temporary visit abroad for business, holiday or study purposes.
- Visitors

  Persons residing outside South Africa who visit the country temporarily.

- Immigrants

  Residents of other countries who intend to reside in South Africa permanently. Immigrants are divided into 2 groups, A and B.

  Type A: Persons entering South Africa as approved immigrants

  Type B: Persons entering South Africa as visitors and afterwards are approved as immigrants.

[154] CSS 1928

Data collected on the number and type of Indian (Asiatic) people entering and leaving South Africa have also been collated as above. However, when it comes to other racial categories such as Chinese, Japanese[155], Metisse, etc, the government have classified all these people under 'Nie-Blankes'[156] as 'other'.

Post-apartheid Statistics

The new CSS provides annual and quarterly figures on tourism and migration for both foreign and South African residents as recorded at all ports of entry. In most cases however data was recorded only at three international airports situated in JHB, Cape Town and Durban. The tables focus on the country of origin of the foreign travellers, the purpose of their visit, etc.

NOTES

The CSS adopted the World Tourism Organisation (WTO) definition of the term 'visitor' denoting all travellers excluding workers and contract workers. The term 'traveller' was adopted, denoting all arrivals excluding immigrants.

Section one 1928-1934

With the world economic depression in the 1930's, migration from Europe to the 'colonies' and to Africa was affected. The total number of European migrants entering South Africa significantly decreased in 1931, 1932 and 1933 as compared to the late 1920's. According to the CSS, during the eleven-year period, 1924-1934, most South African emigrants left for neighbouring Southern African territories whilst European immigrants came to South Africa predominantly from the British Isles.

In terms of non-European migration, the term 'non-European' in most of these statistics " excluded Bantu (African), who do not fall within the scope of the statutory regulations governing the collection of these statistics."[157]. Thus according to the CSS, Asiatic passengers comprised the bulk of the non-European traffic, representing 95% of arrivals and 96% of departures. Let us remember that the Asiatic category did not include Chinese, included as other in the non-white category, while Japanese were classified as White.

[155] Who should be part of the Asiatic group but are excluded.

[156] Non-Whites

[157] CSS 1937

TABLE 1

WHITE/EUROPEAN MAURITIANS ENTERING SOUTH AFRICA 1928-1934

	BUSINESS VISITOR		HOLIDAY VISITOR	
	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	FEMALE
1927	3	-	15	15
1928	6	-	17	21
1929	2	-	11	13
1930	4	-	19	17
1931	13	1	20	19
1932	8	-	24	26
1933	10	-	22	29
1934	6	-	25	42

From the table above, we firstly note that this table is referring to White Mauritians only. Secondly that passenger traffic between those two countries was limited to only a few hundred passengers. This can be understood in terms of demography of Mauritius. According to the 1947 population census, there were 450,000 people in Mauritius in that year, of which less than 12,000 had the right to vote (only Whites could vote.) Thus, the White travellers to South Africa came from this group of 12,000 or less Mauritians. Let us remember that this group represented the traditional ruling oligarchy on the island, while it was under British rule, under the command of Governor Pope Hennessy.

It is not surprising to note that most business people from Mauritius were male, since we are looking at the 1930's-40's when women were still to a large extent financially dependant. We note that only a handful of people came to South Africa, contrary to what had been speculated by our respondents during the in-depth interviews. However, let us remember that the 1930's were plagued by a world depression. In Mauritius itself, the economy was seriously undermined by a cyclone. The governor had to arrange loans to sugar farmers (the only industry, controlled only by Whites.) There was widespread dissatisfaction with the political and economic life of the island.

SECTION TWO 1960-1970

Afrer the 1930's, we now leap to the 1960's, already we note the significant increase in passenger traffic, both male and female. Table 3 shows the different categories of White Mauritians who emigrated to South Africa by applying for permanent residence. We should note that as a foreign national, the only way of obtaining an immigrant status in South Africa was to apply for the permanent residence permit. 'Student', "Business' and 'Visitor ' temporary residence permits were given for time periods of less than 6 months, renewable on the date of expiry by the department of Home Affairs.

Table 3- Categories of White Mauritians Applying for Permanent Residence in South Africa, 1966-1975.

	PERMANENT RESIDENCE IN MAURITIUS			* BIRTH IN MAURITIUS			MAURITIAN CITIZENSHIP		
	TOTAL	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL	MALE	FEMALE
1966	297	153	144	298	161	137	-	-	-
1967	327	164	163	343	173	170	-	-	-
1968	274	132	142	285	136	149	39	24	15
1969	131	73	58	170	90	80	100	55	45
1970	125	59	66	135	67	68	98	47	51
1971	109	59	50	118	64	54	97	53	44
1972	88	47	41	93	49	44	79	43	36
1973	90	50	40	89	50	39	68	40	28
1974	84	37	47	96	39	57	70	28	42
1975	62	26	36	80	34	46	70	29	41

* WITH AND WITHTOUT MAURITIAN CITIZENSHIP AND/OR PERMANENTTT RESIDENCE IN MAURITIUS.

The above is a very interesting table, enabling us to discriminate between different Mauritian passengers. It probably represents the only set of data categorising the residence status of migrating Mauritians. The Central Statistical Office in Mauritius itself does not possess such information.

What this table tells us is that, it has identified three categories of White Mauritians, namely those with a permanent residence permit in Mauritius, others born in Mauritius but with other nationalities and lastly those in possession of a Mauritian passport.

To understand this table, we need to understand the distinction between each of these categories tabulated. Basically, this table denotes the desire of three categories of passengers from Mauritius to become permanent residents in South Africa. The permanent residents of Mauritius are individuals
without Mauritian passports and as such include all foreign nationals living in Mauritius. Amongst those are included South Africans residing in Mauritius, those on work contracts or married to a Mauritian citizen.

The second category, those born in Mauritius, includes people of all nationalities born in Mauritius together with Mauritian citizens. And the last category includes only Mauritian citizens. These include individuals who have retained a Mauritian passport and those who have become naturalised citizens. Dual nationality was no permitted by the Mauritian government during those years. Individuals could obtain Mauritian citizenship through the 'droit de sang'-Mauritian parents and by the 'droit de sol' when born in Mauritius. But to this day, these claims are not automatically obtained, each case is reviewed individually. Since the candidate applying for citizenship had to give up his/her other citizenship rights, most people with European and other First world countries citizenship rights rejected the Mauritian citizenship. But kept permanent residence in Mauritius.

This table however does not allow one to estimate the number of persons with dual passports/nationalities. Such information unfortunately if at all collected, is no longer published by the CSS. So, what does this table tell us?
Well, that of the total amounts of persons born in Mauritius, quite a significant proportion of immigrants born in Mauritius with foreign passports and nationalities. This could possibly reflect the migration of couples of mixed nationalities whereby only the wife or husband needed to apply for permanent residence based on the fact that he or she had married a South African citizen or permanent resident. These differences are noted for the years 1973, 1974 and 1975. During 1971 to 1973, there were more male Mauritians than female Mauritians applying for permanent residence, while more females applied in 1974 and 1975. Could this migration pattern represent in the first instance, the movement of males to the host country, South Africa, then in a second instance the arrival of their spouse with the rest of the family? Are we making the right assumption here, or could it be that the data is inaccurate?
Could this phenomena reflect the migration of couples of mixed nationalities?

TABLE 4 OCCUPATION OF WHITE MALE MAURITIAN MIGRANTS TYPE A1 & B1158 APPLYING FOR PERMANENTT RESIDENCE 1966-1974

TYPE A1 AND B1

The department of Home Affairs has invented categories A1 and B1. Previously, persons entering the South African border as tourists, workers, students, etc could at a certain point in time ask for a conversion from one permit to another. Category A1 represents persons who applied for a permanent residence from their country of origin. Category B1 represents all persons who have asked for a conversion from one other permit to a permanent residence permit. Students, visitors and temporary residents could not apply for permanent residence unless they could provide proof of a new 'purpose of residence' other than what they had, such as marriage and work.

T= Total ,P= Professional, A= administration, C= Clerical, S= Sales, F= farmer, M= miner, A r= artisan, SW= Service worker, O= Unspecified, Ne = Not Economically Active

MALE	T	P	A	C	S	F	M	T	AR	S W	O	NE
1966	153	19	7	19	9	7	1	5	15	1	1	69
1967	164	16	5	28	5	6	2	4	18	3	2	75
1968	132	10	5	27	3	3	1	4	17	2	5	55
1969	73	8	5	14	2	-	-	-	11	1	1	31
1970	59	4	3	13	-	-	-	-	7	1	3	28
1971	59	7	1	15	2	-	1	1	5	-	2	25
1972	47	6	1	9	5	2	NA	NA	5	1	-	18
1973	50	9	1	13	1	1	NA	NA	13	-	-	12
1974	37	10	1	1	3	1	NA	NA	9	1	3	9

[158] T= Total ,P= Professional, A= administration, C= Clerical, S= Sales, F= farmer, M= miner, A r= artisan, SW= Service worker, O= Unspecified, Ne = Not Economically , Active.

TABLE 5 OCCUPATION OF WHITE FEMALE MAURITIAN MIGRANTS TYPE A1 &B1

T= Total ,P= Professional, A= administration, C= Clerical, S= Sales, F= farmer, M= miner, A r= artisan, SW= Service worker, O= Unspecified, Ne = Not Economically , Active.

FEMALE	T	P	A	C	S	F	M	T	AR	S W	O	NE
1966	144	2	1	18	-	-	-	-	1	1	1	120
1967	163	1	-	25	1	-	-	-	4	1	1	130
1968	142	-	1	26	2	-	-	1	3	-	-	109
1969	58	2	-	11	-	-	-	-	-	1	2	42
1970	66	4	-	15	1	-	-	-	3	-	-	43
1971	50	1	2	8	3	-	1	1	2	1	1	31
1972	41	1	1	12	-	-	NA	NA	2	2	-	26
1973	40	-	-	7	1	-	NA	NA	1	1	-	30
1974	47	3	-	12	2	-	NA	NA	2	2	-	26
1975	36	4	-	6	2	-	NA	NA	1	1	9	13

We now look at a different set of issues relating to the occupation of the persons migrating to South Africa. Here, I have separated male occupation from female as seen in table 4 and 5.

1960-1970

When we look at the period 1966 to 1974, we note that there are ten different categories of occupation for Whites. After 1975, the CSS suddenly decided to produce tables for all races included in one table. Thus we shall see that table 7 contains occupational categories for all Mauritian immigrants in South Africa. The problem there is that the categories also changed. In 1976, a new category was introduced, "armed forces", which was then dropped in 1977. This inclusion could bee related to the SADF 's participation in regional conflicts in Angola. In 1975, the category "farmer" also included "agricultural worker", while the category "artisan " was dropped in 1976 and the category "service worker" also dropped in 1987.

What does **Table 4** tell us? We observe that a large number of white Mauritians migrating to South Africa were professional, clerical workers and artisans. We also note that there was s significant number of persons who were not economically active, young boys and elderly men?

Table 5 offers the occupational categories of female migrants. Here, wee note that very few women worked and amongst those who worked most of them did clerical work. Large numbers of women were probably housewives or simply resigned from their previous jobs in Mauritius and categorised themselves as wife-accompanying husband/dependants. Within this category, we should also include young girls and elderly women. However, there are also a few professional women included in the sample.
We observe once again in table 4 and 5 that the CSS included both the types A1 and B1 immigrants in the tables These migrants are all applying for a permanent residence permit.

SECTION THREE 1970-1980

After 1975, the CSS decided to classify all races, both male and female immigrants under one single table as seen above. Categories also changed with the exclusion of certain categories such as 'Armed forces" and "'artisan". An important point to note here is that the total number of all Mauritian migrants in South Africa for the period 1976- 1989 is quite low as compared to table 6 as already established in table 3.

The table below, represents the same type of information as **Table 5,** but includes all races of Mauritians applying for permanent residence. This inclusion takes place during the 1970's when the CSS decided to change its data representation. The table below provides a broad overview of the different categories of Mauritians applying for permanent residence over a period of ten years, that is from the 1970's to the 1980's.

TABLE 6 CATEGORIES OF ALL MAURITIANS APPLYING FOR PERMANENT RESIDENCE

	PERMANENT RESIDENCE IN MAURITIUS			BORN IN MAURITIUS			MAURITIAN CITIZENSHIP		
	TOTAL	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL	MALE	FEMALE
1976	108	53	55	121	61	60	96	48	48
1978	50	20	30	59	26	33	54	23	31
1979	51	21	30	35	15	20	44	18	26
1981	147	76	71	151	80	71	133	74	59
1982	164	80	84	167	83	84	156	78	78
1983	144	73	71	153	77	76	134	71	63
1984	150	79	71	162	83	79	148	70	69
1985	131	62	69	120	57	63	112	53	59
1986	37	13	24	43	14	29	32	12	20
1987	48	25	23	49	25	24	49	25	24
1988	91	54	37	96	55	41	91	54	37
1989	97	54	43	97	54	43	93	52	41

AFTER 1992, *THE ABOVE TABLES WERE UNAVAILABLE FROM THE CENTRAL STATISTICAL SERVICES.*

What is quite interesting here, is that we do not see a huge difference in terms of the total number of persons applying for permanent residence in this table as compared to table 3. We would have expected the figure to at least double, since it now includes all races and also because of the effect of time, costs and easy access from Mauritius to South Africa and the political changes in South Africa. It seems that more people applied for permanent residence between 1981 and 1985. This could be because after 1985, South Africa was under a state of emergency. The removal of Pass laws in 1986 could have contributed to the arrival of more non-white Mauritians in South Africa and their applications for permanent residence in the years 1988-1989. Oddly, we do not see a large increase in the number of Mauritians applying for permanent residence in the 1990's as speculated by our respondents.

TABLE 7 OCCUPATION OF ALL MAURITIAN MIGRANTS TYPE A1 & [159]B1[160]

YEAR	T	P	A	C	S	s w	F	P w	A F	A R	O	NE
1976	108	6	5	21	7	2	1	6	-	#	-	60
1978	50	4	2	9	3	-	-	2	#	#	3	27
1979	51	8	-	5	-	2		6	#	#	3	27
1981	147	12	6	24	10	3	1	5	#	#	9	77
1982	164	14	5	37	3	3	-	11	#	#	7	84
1983	144	24	6	30	7	4	-	5	#	#	6	62
1984	150	27	15	25	3	4	-	4	#	#	1	71
1985	131	13	8	23	7	5	-	10	#	#	9	56
1986	37	4	-	3	2	1	-	2	#	#	2	23
1987	91	53	17	8	2	#	-	#	#	5	21	38
1988	97	62	26	17	8	#	-	#	#	-	-	-
1989	48	27	15	3	-	#	-	#	#	1	4	21

The proportion of persons with occupations such as professionals, clerical workers and administrators is not so high, slightly higher than the figures identified in the previous tables regarding White Mauritian migrants. This leads us to believe that either there were as many White professionals, administrators and clerks as non-White Mauritians. An assumption which is highly flawed, in view of the huge socio-economic differences between the two groups.

[159] T= Total; P= Professional ;A= administration ; C= Clerical ; S= Sales ; F = farmer, agricultural worker ; A f= armed forces ; A r= artisan; SW= Service worker ; Pw =Production worker ; O= Unspecified ; N e = Not Economically Active ; # =not included

Although the number of "not economically active" persons amongst Whites is relatively larger than that of non-Whites, tables 5 & 6 (Of Whites) are not comparable to table 7. This can not be done until tables 5 and 6 are combined, summarized and the percentage of occupational groups are calculated in tables 5, 6 and 7 respectively.

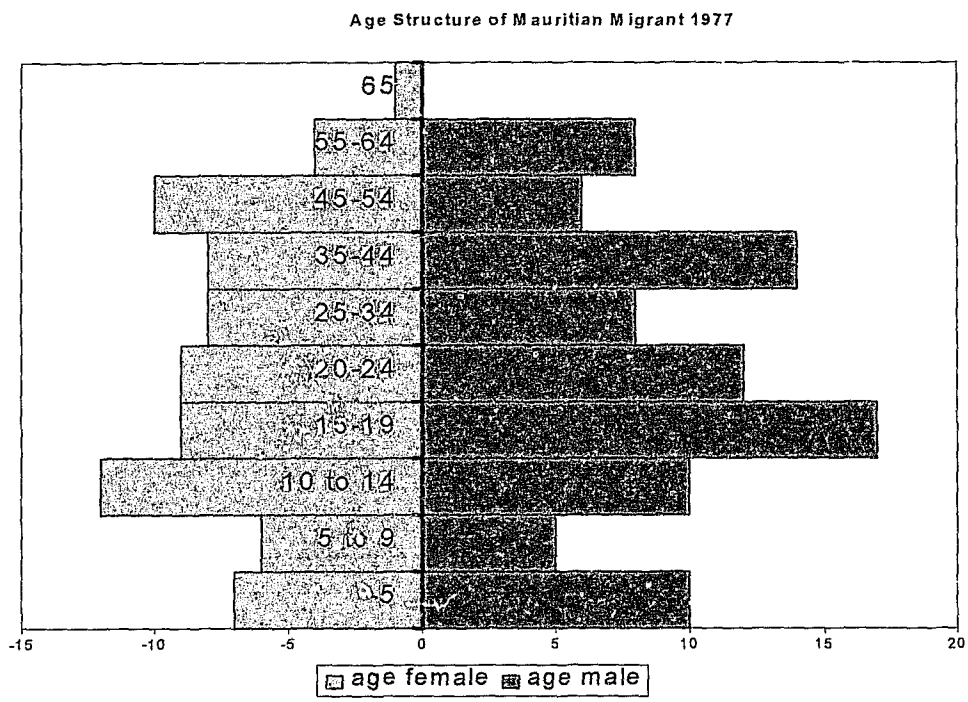
AGE GROUP OF WHITE MAURITIAN MIGRANTS FOR MALE & FEMALE.

Data collected on the age group of White Mauritian migrants for males and females have been used to construct age pyramids by sex of these migrants for given years. The examination of the age structure of this population provides us with important points regarding the degree of old age the size of the working force and the proportion of youth within the sample. A number of important characteristics on the female migrant could also be discussed. Such as the life cycle, fertility and reproduction, etc. The following points have been observed from the above age pyramid.

- The first point is that there is a significant difference between the age structure of female and male migrants. In this scenario, the difference between the numbers of males and females aged 15-19, 20-24 and 35-44 is very noticeable. There seemed to be more females than males apart from the range 25-34. One possibility is that a number of females married South Africa men, therefore applied for a change in permit and obtained permanent residence. From the interviews, we know that a good number of Mauritian women did marry South African men.

- With the high number of children aged between -5 and 15, of almost equal gender proportions, we could also deduce that possibly a number of children accompanied their parents to South Africa.

AGE STRUCTURE OF WHITE MAURITIANS 1977



MODE OF TRAVEL OF ALL MAURITIANS IMMIGRANTS

When analysing the South African data on Mauritian migration, the focus has been on the characteristics of those migrants. Tables 10 and 11, focuses on the mode of travel. This present analysis is linked to the literature review and the discussion on Mauritian migration to Africa. Quite surprisingly, as we shall soon see, a number of Mauritian migrants entered South Africa through a wide variety of border posts. This might not be surprising if we were looking at Zimbabwe or Botswana, but Mauritius is an island. Therefore, the only direct ways to move from Mauritius to South Africa are by sea or air. Since, people came by road and rail, we find some evidence of circular migration present across African territories.

Table 10 Mode of Travel of Male and female White Mauritians immigrants 1973-1978

	TOTAL	SEA	AIR	ROAD	RAIL
1973	25	4	17	4	-
1974	28	3	21	4	-
1975	19	1	17	1	-
1976	29	1	22	1	5
1978	18	2	16	-	-

Table 10, illustrates the mode of travel of White Mauritian migrants from the year 1973 to 1978. It focuses only on White Mauritian migrants, male and female. It is interesting to remark that although few Mauritians seemed to have travelled in those years, most of them came by air. These people recorded in the above table however only represent the proportion of White Mauritians who applied for permanent residence. Therefore, we need to consider that a handful of persons migrated to South Africa from other African countries apart from Mauritius. Of course we do not know if they were sojourners in those countries or residents. But if we were to consider these issues in relation to our findings from table 4, where we noted that quite a number of Mauritians had foreign residence permits and dual passports. Thus, we could assume that these people might have already migrated to one African country and were now migrating to South Africa.

SECTION FOUR 1980-1990

TABLE 11 MODE OF TRAVEL OF ALL MAURITIANS ENTERING SOUTH AFRICA 1980-1990's.

	TOTAL	SEA	AIR	ROAD	RAIL
1982	2188	43	1848	297	-
1984	3015	30	2536	446	3
1985	3291	37	4792	2137	1125
1986	3489	49	3146	293	1
1992	38,406	1785	36,613	8	-
FROM 1994, CLASSIFICATION CHANGES FOCUS O. MODE OF TRAVEL OF ONLY IMMIGRANTS.					

Table 11 illustrates the mode of travel of all Mauritian migrants (White and non-White) some 10 years later, in the 1980's up to the 1990's, the transition to democracy period. The first thing that we see is this huge increase in the numbers of Mauritians applying for permanent residence. This increase however is consistent with the accounts given by the people interviewed as described in Chapter 7.

In table 11, we note the significant increase in the number of air passengers. This however is justified, since Mauritius went through an economic boom in the 1980's. The South African Rand had also devaluated, making air travel more affordable for all Mauritians.

A striking feature however, is the high number of Mauritians who came to South Africa by road, rail and sea, given the above scenario.

SECTION FIVE 1990's

This table below, although incomplete, provides us with a general overview of the numbers and permits status of all Mauritians entering a South African border. We note that quite a few people came in to study and work in South Africa in 1994.

TABLE 13 STATUS OF MAURITIAN PERSONS ENTERING SOUTH AFRICA 1997-1998.[161]

This last table in this chapter gives an overview of the monthly passenger traffic of Mauritians travelling to South Africa. Business wise, it seems that quite a few Mauritians come to South Africa regularly. In terms of persons with study permits, wee note significant increases in numbers at the beginning of the year, since most tertiary institutions open by February and March.

TABLE 12 STATUS OF MAURITIAN PERSONS ENTERING SOUTH AFRICA 1994-1995.[162]

	T ANNUAL	B	H	S	W	TRAN	CW	BT	O
1994	7079	1285	4030	508	194	1041	-	20	1
1995	7900	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
1996	8232	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?

[161] T= total, B = Business, H= holiday, S= study, w= work, Tran = transit, Cw = contract worker, Bt= border traffic, o= unspecified.
[162] T= total, B = Business, H= holiday, S= study. w= work, Tran = transit, Cw = contract worker, Bt= border traffic, o= unspecified.

Table 13 Status of Mauritian persons entering South Africa 1997-1998.[163] [164]

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T[165]	MONTH	B	H	S	W	TRAN	CW	BT	O
8232	1997-JAN	107	342	221	59	147	-	-	-
4043	MAY	230	512	9	12	83	-	-	-
3414	APRIL	161	448	24	12	89	-	-	-
2680	JUNE	200	636	43	12	71	-	-	-
4043	AUG	230	512	9	12	83	-	-	-
6286	SEPT	193	723	54	19	111	-	-	-
7779	OCT	193	495	4	21	24	-	-	-
7407	NOV	170	702	5	8	104	-	-	-
7779166	1998-JAN	227	551	8	21	40	-	-	-
7042	FEB	224	388	8	24	112	-	-	-
7407	MARCH	170	702	5	8	104	-	-	-

[163] T= total, B = Business, H= holiday, S= study, w= work, Tran = transit, Cw = contract worker, Bt= border traffic, o= unspecified.
[164] AS FROM 1997 , THIS DATA HAS BEEN COLLATED ON MONTHLY BASIS
[165] CUM TOTAL FROM JAN 1997 TO THE MONTH IN QUESTION

CONCLUSION

Let us remember that the main presupposition of this report was that the preoccupation over the population size and structure has determined the socio-political dynamics of migration in Mauritius and in South Africa. In trying to understand the population dynamics at play in Mauritius and in South Africa, it was important to understand certain inherent social and environmental characteristics.

Under specific conditions, the family size and household composition underwent a number of changes. National population strategies and policies relating to specific conditions such as the maintenance of White supremacy in Apartheid South Africa and Black supremacy in post-1994 South Africa have influenced international migration to South Africa.
As stated previously, Mauritius' island seclusion and its political-racial power dynamics controlling the domain of population size and structure have shaped Mauritian migration to South Africa at specific time periods.

The most significant migration fluxes of Mauritian migrants corresponding to the Apartheid period, and the current period, the implications of such migration patterns were investigated. The objective was to gain insight on the type of Mauritians who migrated to South Africa during specific years, as well examine their mode of travel, their citizenship and national identities.

The actual analysis was divided into five sections, relating to specific historical periods whereby the structure, character and features of data collected on immigrants and immigration differed.
It should be noted that there was little homogeneity and conformity in terms of the type of data collected from 1928 up to now. Each section of the analysis not only provided insight on the dimensions of Mauritian immigration in South Africa but also provided a comprehensive picture of the preoccupations of the different governments at the times.

Section One 1927-1934

Section one focused on the type, quality and description of data collected during the segregation period in South Africa, during the period 1928 to 1934. This section provided us with a kind of introduction to data collection and categorization some seventy years ago.

For the period 1927 to 1935, we note that only a handful of people came to South Africa, contrary to what had been speculated by our respondents during the in-depth interviews. However, let us remember that the 1930's were plagued by a world depression. In Mauritius itself, the economy was seriously undermined by a cyclone and relocation costs were very expensive.

Section Two 1960-1970

Section two focused on the most significant period of this report the period 1960 to 1970 and looked at the character of White Mauritian migration.

After the 1930's, we leaped to the 1960's ,noting a significant increase in passenger traffic, both male and female. One of the issues that had to be explored related to the level of education and the occupation of Mauritian migrants. In the period 1966 to 1974 we explored various occupations of White Mauritians migrating to South Africa. We observed that a large number of White Mauritians migrating to South Africa were professional, clerical workers and artisans.

The age of the Mauritian migrants was also examined from the CSS data. We noted that there was a significant number of persons who were not economically active, young boys and elderly men.

In terms of ethnicity, although people of different ethnic identities came to South Africa, the data did not permit me to explore this issue. Mauritian asians were classified as Asiatic and thus I could not dissever between the ethnic groups, such as Tamils, Marathis, Hindus, and Telegus. Similarly in the metisse ethnic group who were classified as Black, Chino-Creoles, Franco-Creoles and Hindo-creoles could not be identtified.[167] This kind of information is not readily accessible, since the Mauritian government does not classify its citizens in terms of ethnic groups. Tthe South African government did not store information on the religious denomination of aliens entering its borders.

Another important question that had to be investigated was the occupational difference between male Mauritian migrants and female migrants in South Africa. I noticed that very few women worked and amongst those who worked most of them did clerical work.

Section Three 1970-1980

The third section focused on the late 1970's and 1980's. With the state of emergency in the 1980's and the sabotage of the Apartheid machinery, this period provided interesting insight on the documentation industry at the time. What it also demonstrated was that few Mauritians came to South Africa during that particular time with Mauritius itself undergoing massive development and an economic boom at the same time.

Section Four 1980-1990

During the transition to democracy, under the government of national unity headed by President

[167] From B Moutou"s ' Les Chretiens de L'ile Maurice',1996.

De Klerk, more Mauritians applied for permanent residence. The removal of Pass laws in 1986 could have contributed to the arrival of more non-White Mauritians in South Africa and their applications for permanent residence in the years 1988-1989.

Section Five late 1990's

The 1990's often referred to, as the post 1994-election period constituted our last section.Oddly, we did not see a large increase in the number of Mauritians applying for a permanent residence in the 1990's as speculated by our respondents.

One of the issues that had to be explored was the racial denomination of the migrants who came to South Africa. Were there more Whites during apartheid? And are there more non-white Mauritian migrants now? What this analysis shows is that there were more definitely more White Mauritians immigrating to South Africa during Apartheid. However, the numbers of non-Whites immigrating to South Africa after Apartheid are not significant. It seems that after 1994, although large number of Mauritians came to South Africa, comparatively few of them immigrated as compared to other nationals such as Zimbabweans, Nigerians and Zairians.

Problems encountered In part 1: the quantitative analysis.

One of the first difficulties, I was faced with was the fact that the Mauritian data set was different from the South African Tourism & Migration data set.

- The differences were as follows:
  The Travel & Tourism data set from Mauritius contained the total number of passengers leaving and arriving from Mauritius to South Africa for given periods, without providing classifications by age, sex, race and profession.

- While the South African Tourism & Migration data set contained:
  Figures relating to Mauritian passengers arriving and leaving for Mauritius by occupation as well as mode of travel.

- This difference in the data set is unfortunate, since it makes it more difficult to trace individual immigrants that left Mauritius for South Africa.

- The Travel & Tourism data set from Mauritius for certain specific years, did not distinguish between Mauritians and foreigners, it was not always possible to compare departures for Mauritius with arrivals in South Africa. Thus, I was unable to ascertain whether the totals for specific years tallied.

- But analysing both data sets allowed for cross-reference and provided the possibility of high lighting unofficial migration figures of Mauritians in South Africa.

- By knowing the mode of travel of Mauritian migrants, it became possible to note circular migration patterns of Mauritians moving from one African country, e.g. Botswana to South Africa., their mode of travel and note the specific time of the year when such movements were effected.

Chapter 8

Methodology: Qualitative Research

Since the Mauritian population was so thinly and widely dispersed in South Africa, I could not use a formal method of sample selection. Because of the scope of this research, I decided not to use the 1991 South Africa population census or the voter's roll. The voter's list does not help for it excludes Mauritians without permanent residence status, not being eligible to vote in South African elections. The telephone directory was also not usable for these purposes, because many Mauritian have similar names as South African Indians, Chinese and some Whites of French origin. From my knowledge of the Indian culture, it might be possible to guess that Indiren Padayachy is a South Indian name, but it would be impossible to maintain that Padayachy is a Mauritian surname.

With these problems in view, my next task was to use obtain a list of Mauritian names from the embassy and create my sampling frame based on a simple random sampling technique. Unfortunately, the embassy had no such list to give me.

Thus, I was forced to use a purposive sampling technique and decided to use the snowball technique of sample selection. In snowball technique involves the use of interconnected networks of people. The crucial feature of this technique is that each person is connected with another through a direct or indirect linkage. This means that taken as a whole, with direct and indirect links, most are within an interconnected web of linkages.

What I did was that at the end of each interview, I would ask the respondent to suggest another Mauritian that might be willing to speak to me. One of the problems associated with this technique is that the researcher tends to be referred to other people of similar race, class and religion within the closed social network. However, I created my sampling frame based on a large spectrum of people from the Mauritian community in terms of race, gender, religion, profession, social class, etc.

In-depth interviews.

In this research exercise, 22 in-depth interviews were conducted highlighting the experiences of a cross-section of Mauritians in Johannesburg, South Africa and in Mauritius. These ethnographic interviews were used as conversations with a purpose. By using in-depth interviews, I was able to observe, interact and record the subjective experiences of the respondents. Because the respondents' insights, feelings and co-operation are essential parts of the interview, I had to build trust and encourage the respondents to open up, build rapport, so as to ensure a process of mutual discovery. I used a selected number of open-ended questions that might not follow any specific order. When there was a need to probe more deeply into sensitive issues and seek clarification of less sensitive issues, more

interview sessions were scheduled. So as to be able to 'enter the interviewee's world' and try as much as possible to understand his or her 'map of meaning', most of the interviews were conducted in French and Creole.

The selected few questions that were asked were based on the major themes that I investigated, such as

1) The socio-political climate that lead to their emigrating from Mauritius to South Africa
2) Why did they choose South Africa?
3) When did they arrive?
4) Socio, political, economic climate in South Africa at the time
5) Characteristics of the Mauritian family in JHB
6) Marriage and inter-marriage
7) Family Size
8) Children
9) Marriage partnership
10) Divorce and the Mauritian family
11) Religion
12) Language
13) Educational Matters
14) Educational Background of Mauritian Immigrant
15) Education of Mauritian children in JHB
16) Job opportunities
17) Discrimination, law and order
18) Membership to societies
19) Contribution of Mauritian High Commission
20) Contribution of Air Mauritius
21) Mauritian Societies
22) Links with Mauritius
23) Questions of identity
24) Chances of success and thoughts about the future
25) Recommendations: Making life better for the Mauritian community in JHB.

The Fieldwork

During the summer break in December 1997, I spent a month in Mauritius. In the interim, I had the opportunity to interview 4 very obliging Mauritians, 3 men and a woman, whose family had migrated to South Africa. This experience served me well when I started the fieldwork exercise later in South Africa.

Furthermore, I was able to get invaluable information on the socio-economic, political climate in which these families found themselves at the time that some members of the family migrated to South Africa. I was also able to ask them some important questions about their lives, their hopes, past, present and future and frustrations resulting from the dislocation of their families due to migration to South Africa.

Method of Analysis

As already discussed in chapter 5, the in-depth interviews were transcribed, translated in the case of the French and Creole speaking Mauritians. From the notes collated, the data was then coded. Coding data in qualitative analysis involves the organisation of raw data into conceptual categories. Qualitative coding is an integral part of data analysis. It is guided by the research question and leads to new questions.168

From the above questions, a series of themes were then developed once I had transcribed the interviews. These themes were based on the following qualitative variables used in categorizing my 22 respondents as seen in Table 1.

Analysis of Interviews- The following qualitative variables were used:

Educational achievement

Gender

Race

Occupation

Age

Nuptuality

Place of origin in Mauritius

Place of residence in South Africa

[168] Neuman 1996.

Respondent	*R1*	*R2*	*R3*			*R6*	*R7*	*R8*	*R9*	*R10*	*R11*	*R12*	*R13*	*R14*	*R15*	16	*R17*	*R18*
Age	38	36	34	35	28	34	33	28	22	29	26	34	26	29	19	40	40	25
Gender	F	F	F	M	F	M	M	M	M	F	F	M	F	F	M	M	F	M
Race	I	C	I	I	I	CH	I	I	I	I	I	I	I	I	C	I	W	W
Marital Status	M2	M2	M1	M1	M1	M1	M1	M1	S	M1	M1	M1	S	M1	S	M1	M1	M1
Spouse's Nationality	HK	FR	MR	SA R5	MR R4	SA	SA	SAM 2	Par SA	SA	MR R12	MR R11	Par MR	MR		SA	SA	SA
Race of spouse	I	W	I	C	I	C	W	I	ParI	I	I	I	ParI	I		I	W	W
Religion Respondent	Ta	Ch	Isl	Isl	Isl	Bud	Hin	Isl	Ta	Ta	Hin	Hin	Hin	Isl	Ch	Ta	Ch	Ch
Children	2	3	2	1	1	2	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	4		5	3	-
Nationality	UK MR	Fr/ MR	MR	MR UK SA	SA MR	SA MR	MR	MR	MR	MR	MR	MR	MR	MR	MR	SA	MRS A	MR
Holding Passport	UK SA	Fr SA	MR	MR	SA	MR	MR	MR	MR	MR	MR	MR	MR	MR	MR	SA	MR UK	MR UK
Permit Status	PR	PR	PR	PR	C	PR	PR	WP	Pr	ST	D	PR	ST	WP	V	C	PR	PR
Job	B	Cle	Pro	Pro	Cle	B	B	Pro			HW	Pro		US	SS	SS	Pro	Pro
Residence	UC	MC	LMC	LMC	LMC	LMC	MC	MC	MC	LMC	MC	MC	LC	LC	CBD	LC	UC	MC
Years in South Africa	16	5	17	10	28	16	18	6	11	5	5	10	5	11	1	25	28	12

Table 1: Interview respondents R1 to R22

ABBREVIATIONS

Race

I= Indian
C= Colored
CH= Chinese
W = White

Race of spouse

I= Indian
W= White
C= Coloured

Nationality

[illegible]
MR
Fr
SA = South Africa

Job

B= Business
Cle= Clerical
Pro= professional
S= Student
US= Unspecified

Spouse's Nationality

HK= Hong Kong
SA= South Africa
MR= Mauritius
Par= Partner

Religion of respondent

Ta= Tamil
Ch= Christian
Isl= Islam
Bu= Budhist
Hin= Hindu

Permit Status

PR =permanent resident
C = South African Citizen
ST= Student
WP= Work Permit
D= Dependant

Residence

UC= upper Class
UC= upper Class
MC=-Middle Class
LMC= Lower middle class
CBD= Central Business district
LC= lower class

Interviews in Mauritius

During a brief trip to Mauritius, I decided to interview a few parents of Mauritians who immigrated to South Africa. Table 1 (cont.)

Respondent	R19	R20	R21	R22
Age	78	65	50	71
Race	White	Colored	Indian	Colored
Gender	Male	Male	Male	Female
Relationship with emigrant	Father	Father	Sister	Mother
Year that family member left	1972	1994	1995	1960
No of family members who migrated to South Africa	5	1	2	1

Introduction- some of the case studies.

CASE 1: R1

This woman was born in the town of Quatre Bornes, which is a middle class suburb in Mauritius. After the death of her father, her mother and her (15 years old) joined her elder sisters in England. The three elder sisters had left Mauritius in the 1960's to do nursing. R1 did her university studies in Scotland where she met and married her first husband. Her first husband, who also studied in Scotland in the 1970's, was a South African of Indian origin. She lived in England for 8 years where her first child was born. After which in 1989, they decided to return to South Africa for good. They bought a house through the company where her husband worked (Indians could not buy property in White areas.) and lived with the mother-law. Then, a few years later, her husband was highjacked and murdered. She then sold everything and was about the leave for England, when she met her second husband. He is a businessman from Hong Kong, with fully-grown children. He has notable investments in South Africa. The age difference between them is quite significant.

CASE 2:R2

R2 came to South Africa in 1996 with her second husband, a White South African. She comes from a town called Rose Hill in Mauritius. She like R1, is in her late thirties/early forties, married to a man in his sixties. She is of a Mettisse origin and a non-practicing Christian. She has 2 children in Mauritius, both in their early teens from her first marriage and a young child from the second marriage. Her first husband died some 10 years ago and she met with the second husband in Mauritius while he was working there on contract. With the termination of the work contract, they came to South Africa. She did not like Mauritius and wanted to get out, she prefers the life style, and she says she only misses the sea, not the people. She only has her mother there. Her second marriage is on the verge of collapse in South Africa because it became a menage a trois with her stepdaughter living in the house with them. Her husband would become violent and physically abuse her on a number of occasions. She has recently moved out of their house.

CASE 3:R3

R3 is also a female respondent, she is a medical doctor. She is from Mauritius, has 2 children and her husband a businessman is also Mauritian. She has been in South Africa for over 10 years now, has her own medical practice and is currently doing her specialization degree. She lives in a lower middle class suburb in JHB and is well integrated within the Muslim community here. She is happy in South Africa and does not think of leaving. However, she has been faced with xenophobic incidents at Bharagwanath (a black hospital) hospital where she works.

CASE 4:R10

R10 is a Mauritian woman in her late twenties came from my village in Mauritius, a place called Moka. She comes from a prominent family and her father is well known in Mauritian politics. She lives in Natal and is the CEO of a marketing firm. She did her undergraduate studies in a South African university, whereby she met her husband. She went out with him for a couple of years and then they got married in Mauritius. They tried to find work there in the 1990's, but her husband could not adapt. They returned to Durban. Unfortunately her marriage was not working, the husband started abusing her and after a while she was beaten up almost every night. In her interview, she explains how isolated she felt. The husband's family knowing the situation did not intervene and she was too scared and ashamed to seek for the comfort of her own family back in Mauritius. She also felt alone because she had lost touch with her own friends. Eventually, she left him, but she remains scared and unsure of her future in South Africa.

CASE 5:R7

R7 came to South Africa as a diamond cutter some 15 years ago. He comes from very humble beginnings, from a town called Vacoas He explains that he had been coned to come and work in a diamond factory under the pretense that he would be training South Africans. After 7 years, he obtained a permanent residence permit and started his own business. He bought an expensive property in an affluent part of Sandton in JHB. He now owns a very successful import/export company. He is married to a White South African and has 2 children. R7 feels fully integrated and accepted by his wife's Afrikaans family here. He speaks Afrikaans fluently and has maintained his Indian traditions as well. He travels constantly to Mauritius and has greatly contributed to the welfare of his family in Mauritius, both financially and otherwise. His wife speaks both French and Creole and manages on her own, part of his operations in Mauritius.

CASE 6:R18

R18 is a White Mauritian who came to South Africa some 30 years ago. She met and married her husband in Mauritius and then came to South Africa after a few years in Mauritius. Her husband is English and a permanent resident in South Africa. He works as an accountant and she works as an administrative secretary. They have three children and live very South African lives. She explains that she rarely speaks French and does not socialize with other Mauritians. She went to Mauritius last year after at least 8 years for her mother's funeral. Otherwise she rarely communicates with her family back there. However, she pointed out that her husband and her are thinking of retiring in Mauritius in a year or 2, her own children having emigrated to England and Australia.

CASE 7:R19

I met with R19 in Mauritius, through my father. He is an elderly and wealthy White man who lives with his son and daughter-in-law in a town called Curepipe. During the interview, he related the events that led to most of his children leaving Mauritius. He explained that his 2 daughters lived in Australia, he has a son in Canada and another son in South Africa and one in Mauritius. His son left Mauritius for South Africa when

the latter was still fresh, he had 3 young children and had just started to move up the social ladder. His son is an engineer who studied in South Africa and married a White Mauritian girl whose grandfather was South African. R19 has visited them a number of times and hopes to see them for Christmas this year. He thinks that his son and their family should come back to Mauritius, where life is peaceful and crime is not as bad. He was also worried about the future of his grandchildren in Black South Africa, he thought that there was much more scope for them in Mauritius.

The Major Themes:

The Mauritian community in South Africa

From the interviews, I came to the realization that the Mauritian community in South Africa is not well integrated. What we have are a couple of thousands of Mauritian people scattered across the republic. The migrations patterns and network systems of Mauritians here are different than in Europe. In South Africa, Mauritian emigration was not really tied to specific regions and categories and family networks. Emigrants were simply isolated people who had been shaped by long-standing tradition and culture in Mauritius.

One respondent said,

"In England, there were a lot of get-togethers, discos, birthday parties, etc . I have not been to one here, maybe here it's too big, maybe we are too scattered here. Ok there are Mauritians in Lenasia, in Pretoria, there is no common ground here, in England there is. Ok there, there is a temple, which we don't have here, maybe the structure is different here. I don't know. Here there is no real interest for Mauritians to get together for Independence Day, etc . There is no Mauritian community here, apart from Whites. But I wonder how much more of a Mauritian they really are. Because they came to South Africa during Apartheid and they came here as Whites, this was the time when they fled Mauritius, because Mauritius was becoming more Indian."

" I think that in England, the reason we had a Mauritian community, was because there were complete Mauritian families, where husband and wife and children are all Mauritians. Those married to English people were the odd ones out. Whereas here, it is the other way round."

Another respondent said,

" I would like to know what do Mauritians feel here, working in South Africa, are they contributing to South Africa or are they really just benefiting themselves? We come here, we have a better life, we have better property, and we have *an easier life. It won't be for the very lowest in the social structure, they won't be able to afford to come here anyway. But for those who are already up the ladder a little bit, they would have a decent job here."*

Others added,

"For the middle class and upper class.. we have a very good standard of living, better than Mauritius. And I think that a lot of Mauritians look at it this way and then stay on. I have a good life here, my kids go to private school, comfortable, and it is not a struggle. So, we do have a better life here than in Mauritius on an economic level not on a social level. We do miss our parents and the social aspects of Mauritius, yes but on an economic level we are better off here. Here you have the power to make money and also improve the economic situation of your family in Mauritius. Plus in South Africa you have a Mauritian atmosphere plus a European atmosphere, you have the shopping malls where you think you are in Europe and you have Durban where you think you are in Mauritius. I think that if the crime level was stable, a lot of Mauritians would stay and more would come here."

" We don't have any Mauritian friends here, this I regret we don't see anybody all our friends are French, South African, all are foreigners but not Mauritian, sometimes we really want to see Mauritians, speak that little bit of Creole. But we don't meet."

Close Relationships

Most respondents have argued that they have been faced with a number of problems when it came to personal relationships with South Africans. Many argue that South Africans have been greatly affected by Apartheid making the society vulnerable to violence, physical and mental abuse. Many Mauritians have been faced with the social pressures of living in a big city and of industrial life. The isolation of living in a big city and the fear of crime have greatly affected a large number of respondents.

"People here are very, very cold, they are not like Mauritians. You don't see kids coming and sitting on your lap, kissing you, you know I find people very distant here. It starts when they are young, so when they become adults, then is no closeness as we find in Mauritius. It's the hugging, the kissing, etc. When I used to see my husband's nephews and nieces, I would also hug them and I was always told that I was spoiling them as opposed to just loving them. Because in Mauritius, this is something normal, if an auntie comes...you would not even pick it out as something unusual. Here, it was viewed as something unusual, you don't carry a 3-year-old, and you don't make them sit on your lap, they are big already."

" Lets say you have a problem with your husband, I as your friend will not run you down...you are my friend. But that's how my friends are...she has been involved she has listened to my husband, she was prepared to go with him for a lunch, a drink or whatever...
You learn from your mistakes, now I know that I am on my own, if I can't talk, I talk to god or to myself that's all."

"My stepdaughter hates my son, for her, he is a threat as I am a threat for her. My husband says that I hate her, she is 22 years old, my husband has already said that he would rather kick me out of the house... "

Marriage to a South African.

Most of the respondents who married South Africans, married individuals of the same racial denomination. There was only one respondent with a mixed marriage. Interestingly all of the marriages with South Africans were based on romantic love. Marriage to South African spouses seemed to be difficult. Language and social norms and values seemed to differ in a lot of cases, although both partners might be of the same religion.

" I was different in a lot of respects. in my husband's family the women were not as open as I was, you know driving alone. I had a job where I used to go on conferences. I used to go away from the house twice a year for a week where my husband had to look after the kids. That was not viewed very nicely, so I was different that way as well as being a foreigner. So, I was not getting support at home. And we clashed because of that and the immediate reaction was what's your problem? I should bee at home, I should bake, I should do this.. And in his group, I couldn't fit in with the women, because they were all like that, they were all very housebound. They would all do their own baking, their own cooking, they would sit and talk about curtains and carpets and things like that, which did not interest me at all. My late husband and I were very intellectual, we were working in the same field (pharmaceutical), and so own talk was very different. So, I could not fit in, so when I clashed with my husband at home, the fact that I was alone came very much into play, because I did not have my family support, I could not pack my bags and go to my parents for the night. You could not do that, I did not have that pri ilege. I was very much on my own, so I had to work out my problem on my own and make it work or break it.

" I was forced to come, my husband wanted to come. We only had a civil marriage, not a big thing, because I was already married and he died, so we had a court marriage.

I will try to make my marriage work. No, no, no, sometimes I cook, sometimes I don't, I never look after my husband. I don't do it anymore, I used to do it and then he didn't want it.

In Mauritius, when we used to get ready for a dinner out or something, I used to choose his tie or his shirt like Mauritian women do, when we came here, he said that I should stop and act more South African. Now we don't spend time together.

I just take a book or watch TV or do crosswords. We never talk, there is no conversation in our house, and every one is in his corner. My son will go to his computer, I will be in my, my stepdaughter will be in her room, my husband doing his thing, this I miss, that li tle circle. In my family it does not happen, it's the father and stepdaughter, me, and then my son. I am used to it now I don't care."

Death

Death is an important issue to a number of people interviewed. A lot f Mauritians living in JHB had had violent experiences related to the present level of crime inn the city. Thus the thought of death or dying is not uncommon. People are constantly afraid of car highjackings and housebreak-ins. Most Mauritians want to be buried in Mauritius and a large number of those married to South Africans worry about the guardianship of their children should both parents die.

" The minute my husband died, I was packing my bags and going, I was not going to stay here, for a lot of reasons. Firstly, there is no family here, you are on your own and with children it's even worst, you are very isolated, you are on your own. Even with friends, you can not count on them all the time, and also with the political climate in this country, the violence. You don't want to be a single woman in this country and also finance, there is no social services, the school you have to pay, everything you have to pay, you have to pay your way out in this country. There is no public transport, you can't go out at night, and there are a lot of restrictions for a single woman."

" I think it makes a difference up until you have children, because you wonder what will happen to your children if you and your husband died or something, would they bee sent to family in Mauritius, a place that they are not familiar with."

Remarriage

Remarriage (legally or informally) is a common feature of South African society. A couple of the respondents married twice and have related different experiences.

" Not chosen my second husband because he was from overseas, that was not the criteria, if I had met someone from South Africa maybe I would have considered that as well. And I would not have stayed here, unless I was remarried. If you are married to a South African here, you don't get much support from his family here. You could feel that you are on your own, not just against him, but his whole family. "

" Now we are equal, his own his own and I am on my own, and our friends are both our friends, we have made friends along the way together. Yes, it's different; there is no pressure from one side, you know before there was pressure from one side. It's very liberating, you don't have family to pick on small things."

"My husband is French, well he is South African, he's got a residence permit, citizen of South Africa, but he is French, real French and he has been here for 22 years."

The Children.

Children play an important role within the Mauritian family. Bonds between Mauritian parents and their children are very strong and parents tend to exercise a lot of control over their children. Children are expected to obey and respect the elders.

It was in Apartheid South Africa that she fell pregnant for the second child. She was introduced to the family gynecologist.
"..so. I went to him, the nice thing about him was that he was a Jew and he studied in England, so we had a very, very close rapport. And he refused to put me in a hospital where I would be at a disadvantage, the year that my son was born Morningside (one of the best Private hospitals in JHB) opened up an extra wing. And he was one of the board directors, so he put me in Morningside. They put all the Black patients on one floor, they did it so subtly, you did not know that you were on one floor and

the Whites were on the next floor, you did not go on the next floor, so you did not know that you were segregated. But the doctor told me."

Work

In South Africa, Mauritians are engaged in a number of occupations ranging from diamond cutting to airplane pilots. However unlike other African migrant populations, Mauritians did not take up unskilled or manual occupations such as their fellow Zimbabweans and other migrants from the region. For instance there are no Mauritians working as miners, domestic workers, etc. This is because Mauritius is a rich country as compared to a number of African countries in the region and Mauritians having benefited from a minimum level of education find skilled jobs relatively easily as compared to other African nationals.

" We were to stay in England after university, my husband would have never been in that short period of time into management level, he became a quality assurance manager straight away. He worked for an American company and they were pressurized by the Sullivan principle to take at least one non-White manager, so he just happened to be in the right place with the right qualifications. After some time he was given his own lab with 4 people working under him You won't get this anywhere, maybe because companies here tend to be more liberal, in that way. They are not already established industries. As compared to Europe, here a lot of companies are building-up, so there are a lot of openings for professionals. It is easier to make more, you find a lot of people who have come to South Africa, not qualified who are involved in businesses have more potential to make money and a lot of them still view themselves as Mauritians in terms of spending power. So South African money is a lot more in relation to Mauritian money. Some people live very, very much on a Mauritian budget but earn South African salaries and they send money back home. There is a lot that we can do here, you can have 2 jobs, you can do bits and pieces, a little job on the side, there is a lot potential in this country."

"Finding a job when I got here was not difficult. I have always been working for French companies, I worked for the French Institute and then I came here. I had been working in a secretarial position in Mauritius for 10 years at different companies. There you must have 'backing' or you must sleep with someone to move up in the company, but here you don't have to do anything, they take you from your merit and from what you have as experience and this is what I like. There are more honest people here"

Schooling.

Education in South Africa is a touchy subject not only for Mauritians, but also for most people living in South Africa. Most people believe that the present governmental educational policies are misdirected and that there has been a misuse of funds. Most public schools are overcrowded and poorly staffed and equipped. In general, the level of primary and secondary education in most 'previously Black' schools is inferior to 'White' schools due to the legacies of Apartheid. This present situation does not compare with Mauritius where Mauritian pupils have had free education for more than 26 years. Furthermore, Mauritius like many other ex-British colonies adopted the British Cambridge examinations, which are on par with

international standards and norms. While taking all of the above into consideration, a few of the respondents with children in South African schools have said that they are worried about the their children's educational future inn South Africa. One parent told me that she was not happy that her child was forced to learn an African language, since the child had already been forced to learn one useless language, Afrikaans.

"When we moved to South Africa it was still in the apartheid era, my daughter was 2 and my son was only 1, so it was not an immediate problem". Finding schools for the children was difficult since they lived in Kensington, which was then a White area. The couple was forced to put the children in a private school, which was quite expensive.
" Education is becoming a problem now with the kids. I want to send them to boarding school in England to do their O levels and A levels."

Most Mauritians interviewed thought that despite all the shortcomings of the education system in Mauritius, they had gained a reasonably sound education background. Their fears for their children is that the level of state education in South Africa is deteriorating while private schooling is excessively expensive.

"The school is very far, but he is used to his friends, ...but we are thinking of sending him to a private school... am not racist, it's not because of the Blacks. But the thing is that the government school here is not as good as the private school that's why my husband wants to send him to a private school."

Language

All respondents felt the need to talk about their French heritage, being able to speak French. Although, they were all proud of being bilingual, few spoke French to their children. It seems to me that French to the Mauritian people at least in South Africa, is regarded at an elitist thing. So, if you were to meet another Mauritian in a social gathering they would speak French to you, but most of them did not speak the language to their children. Among the Asian community, most of the foreign spouses' actually understand some words in Creole. Creole seems to be the preferred language, after English, spoken in Mauritian households in South Africa.

R1 explained her situation regarding the French language.

" French speaking at the time was not important, my late husband did not speak French, so he was not keen on the children speaking French. So, we never really bothered. My mother-in-law stayed with us, so the kids just blended into the South African culture." "..now, I make it an issue, since their father's death, they have been a lot to Mauritius, we have been to England a few times, they have stayed 6 months in Mauritius, it was an issue for them because they could not understand.. Next year my daughter is going to learn French at high school. Put it this way, between Afrikaans and French, Afrikaans would lose, because for me French is a lot more important than Afrikaans."

Another respondent said the following about her son,

"I tried to teach him French, but the would look at me as if asking what's that mummy I don't understand, so I must explain in English, but he doesn't want to make an effort to understand French also, he does not want to understand. I would like him to keep that French. I continue speaking that French to him, but every day he will speak English, at home, at school, I don't know if he will loose it, I will try my best for him not to loose it. He is learning Afrikaans and one Black language, but me I don't care he learns Afrikaans or not because I don't understand it and I don't want to learn it. "

A South African woman married to a Mauritian, said the following

" It is a bit difficult, when you are this age to have to learn a new language, but I do understand a few words here and there, especially since we might have to go and Live there one day."

Mauritian Identity.

The question of identity is a complex to discuss. Although most Mauritians maintain that they are still Mauritian in spirit, most have taken foreign citizenship for economic and social reasons. Furthermore, there seemed to be a trend in South Africa itself, whereby most foreigners, especially white migrants, take the South African permanent residence and maintain foreign passports. In case things turn ugly/ in case the ANC nationalizes! Mauritians who still cherish their island, but prefer to leave abroad have closely adopted this mentality.

A Metisse Mauritian explains how she was given an honorary White permit during the Apartheid years because of her Mauritian nationality

" For some reason they sent me a form and I was offered this permit. But I refused. Which was stupid, because some years later when we wanted to buy a house we couldn't buy in a white area, so we had to use the nominee system. Then we formed a company with 2 whites, my husband had 98% of the company and they had 1% each, and since it was a white majority shareholders company, we could buy a house through the company."

"I think that I will be South African anywhere in the world, even if we go to live in Mauritius, but I think that my daughter is Mauritian."

"I came to South Africa when I was 20 years old, some 15 years age, I matured here, South Africa made me a man."

"I feel it, that I am a foreigner, it's actually here that they have made me known that I am a foreigner and they have thrown it in my face, "you are a foreigner, you don't know anything about South Africa, so you must close your mouth.
....If you get people coming from other countries, like Triolet (Indian village in Mauritius), not Triolet, it's too civilized for these people....lets say in our bush in Mauritius, you won't be able to make them leave here. There must be some people from Mauritius here.. but I don't really want to know. I see myself better than what I was in Mauritius, my personality has changed,

everything. But I am scared, you are scared at night and here when you are walking in JHB (CBD), you don't know who can come and stab you whatever. But what can you do, you must live with it. Oh no, no, no, no , I don't want to go back, I sold everything went I came. My son likes here more than there, last year we went back and on the first day he (5 years old) said to me call my dad I want him to fetch me, I don't want to stay here. He saw everything disgusting, people are lousy, the bus is dirty…I am not denigrating my country, but the thing is that here to there is a big difference. He saw a goat eating a guava and he said to me, look at this dog mummy he is going to bit me! I took him to Port Louis by bus, he said lets go, we never travel by bus here and he said to me why does it take so long, why are the people so dirty. He was so shocked because he had never seen anything like this here, it's only in JHB that you see some beggars, it's not every where. I am sorry that I am denigrating my country, but it is a fact, everybody knows."

" I don't think that I have ever been South African, I think that I am still very, very Mauritian, although I don't [illegible] a Mauritian passport. If anybody ask me where I come from, I would always say I come from Mauritius, although I come more from England than Mauritius. I left Mauritius for England when I was 15, I did my adult formative years in England."

Links with Mauritius.

Bonds between family members in Mauritius and South Africa are very strong. In many ways, most of the respondents have all said that they keep regular contact with their families back home. Many send money, gifts and mail to parents and close family in Mauritius. Quite a few respondents have paid for the fares of their parents to visit them in JHB.

"My mother comes nearly every 2 years, all my sisters have come. Since my husband died, I have had a lot of visitors. Obviously it has been more frequent than before. But I have had a lot of Mauritian visitors in the last 2 years, they come here for some business and stop over, they spend the night by us and go the next day or whatever, so I tend to have a lot of visitors. So, I have a very big Mauritian influence that way and I go every year to visit mum."

"My mum has never been here, she can't because she had an accident and she is practically paralyzed, she can't walk properly.. and you know she is difficult and I can't bear that..I am going for 10 ten days next week, I need a break. I've only got my mum in Mauritius, all my family is in Australia. And I don't have links with them, you know how Mauritian people are..my mother and I were on our own in Mauritius and we didn't want to..but my mum on her own is a big problem, I don't know what to do with her."

Religion

This report reveals that quite interestingly that most Mauritians interviewed did not adhere to the religious beliefs they received in Mauritius. Although religion still plays an important role in their socialization process, most people did not perform religious rites on a regular basis.

" Yes, I am Catholic, we don't go to church, never, for us there is only one god and we don't go, that's the way it is."

Amongst Hindus very few practiced their religion fully. It seems that with Hindus, religion is not dominant and does not influence attitudes and patterns of behavior. Although, there are a few temples in and around JHB, few Hindu respondents have found the time to keep up with tradition. However, most argue that they have organized some sort of religious ceremony to mark important occasions such as weddings, baptisms, deaths, etc..
Traditional Hindu festivals such as 'Diwali' and 'Rakhee' are celebrated by many and during those occasions traditional dresses such as the saris is worn.

The Mauritian Muslim community in JHB is more organized than any other Mauritian ethnic community. Most Mauritian Muslims have been fully integrated within the local Muslim community. In many ways the Mauritian Muslim in South Africa has kept all his and her religious and cultural beliefs and practices intact. The teachings of the Islamic faith and values are exactly the same as in Mauritius. Most Muslim children go to the Madrassa, as they would have done in Mauritius, where they are taught about their religion. Muslim Mauritian parents in South Africa do not allow the same freedom as South Africa non-Muslim parents.

Christians (mostly Creole and Chinese Mauritians)do not practice, although these communities have a long tradition of support from local Catholic , Anglican and Protestants churches. Many Mauritian Christians have joined newly established American churches such as 'Rhema'.

Culture and Tradition

Most of those interviewed said that they did not know of any Mauritian cultural association in South Africa. In terms of cultural values, most respondents pointed out that it has been very hard for them to keep up with most traditional customs and norms.
However certain traditions have remained such as the cooking of traditional Mauritian food.

"My cooking very Mauritian influenced, it's very unSouth African, with my late husband's family it used to be a big joke because I used to make noodles and stir fry, I was probably the only Indian family who had Soya sauce in their kitchen, which is very Mauritian. Even my curries, I use Mauritian masala and corn mutton and dhal puri we bring and the chutneys. I always wear a saree when I go to Indian functions, to the temple, to funerals. I get new sarees in Mauritius. I now belong to a Sindi group and we have Indian functions every week. "

" My cooking is varied. Chinese, Mauritian but mostly French. The French people like the French only, they are racist, they do not like the South African. I don't like France, my husband goes there, but I don't. He wants to retire in England"
" There are differences in norms and traditions, even if we are both Muslims. Especially the way weddings are made."

Mauritius today

All Mauritians interviewed had something to say about the state of Mauritius ' economy, politics etc. It seems that most Mauritian migrants in South Africa have an interest in what is happening back home. However, some are more interested than others. Those who travel frequently to the island have different notions of what is happening back there, while others who seldom visit the island tend to reminiscent on the good old days.

"I left when meat eaters were only eating meat during the weekend, when we used to have fish and meat only during the weekend and during the week we would have wholesome food like dhal and rotis, but not anymore. Now, there are no weekday menus and weekend menus any more. I find that very different. When I go to Mauritius now, I noticed that the young kids don't even eat vegetables, they want meat every day. I find the kids a little bit more demanding that what we were on parents, more dominating than what we were. When I was in Mauritius, we learnt to respect older people. I think that respect is gone. It's still there if you compare it to other parts of the world. People have more money now, everybody seems to be more better off than when I was there. You don't see that poverty that was there in 1973."

"I saw a lot of White men married to Mauritian women living not only in the towns, but also in villages. That was inevitable though, in the 1970's most youngsters, all the girls were leaving the country to go all over the world for studies and for work. So, it's quite logical that we would have an international influence in Mauritius."

"What's also been happening is that, say in my time, if a man comes to Mauritius and he has a good job, from England or France, and he is looking for a girl (to bee married), he would have a lot to choose from. Because a lot of girls wanted to leave Mauritius. I noticed that now, not anymore. Actually lots of girls are in fact coming back, they go and study and come back and work. Which in my time, they did not do, unmarried as well."

The Future

A future in South Africa is something of an impossibility for most Mauritians. Most of my respondents see themselves in South Africa for a number of years but not permanently. At a certain point in time, they would all want to go back to Mauritius. The older generation, nearing their retirement age, is already leaving, those with professional qualifications are rapidly moving towards Europe. Only a selected few are willing to remain in South Africa. The reasons for leaving are numerous, the present crime rate, the poor economic conditions in South Africa, the lack of vision of the soon to be elected government. And also the possibility of a much better life elsewhere, especially in one's own country, Mauritius.

" There is no permanence in South Africa, on the business level if you look at South Africa and the way it's going I doubt if we will stay here forever and I doubt if people will bee able to do business for ever. The corruption is causing a lot of havoc. And I think that violence is always an issue, that is what we are looking at now. We are looking at the situation, unemployment is bound to happen, we are looking at laying off a few people ourselves and run it ourselves. And with unemployment invariably comes an increase in crime. It is like vicious circles that we are going in. Everybody says no, we should not go, crime will settle in this country, give it 10 years crime will settle. Within those 10 years, the politics of this country is going to go down to the dogs; it

might only pick up after 10 years. It's going to go worst and then come up. so what's going to happen in between… so it's very difficult that way. We are thinking of leaving. I am looking at it for my children. In my children's own lifetime will there be any changes in this country or is it going to get worst? Maybe their children will see the benefit of what's happening now, I don't pursy any changes in the near future.

The crime is real, my late husband was highjacked and killed. He was very up and coming, he was exceptionally bright and a lot of potential for this country. you know he had a lot to offer to South Africa. What makes me very angry..because he so much wanted to come back. to come home. he was very proud of where he came from. he was very proud of being a South African. And ok. I've done a degree and I can offer my country something. They don't appreciate me anyway,..I might as well help South Africans. you know that was his attitude, so he came here with that tin mind. So that made me very angry because the same people that he wanted to help, killed him."

Chapter 9

Statement of Results.

The Mauritian community in South Africa is relatively small as compared to Great Britain and Australia. Until this present report, it has remained unsurveyed and its demographic composition estimated largely through guesswork. What can be drawn from this preliminary assessment of the Mauritian community in South Africa?

Let us remember that the main presupposition of this report was that the preoccupation over the population size and structure has determined the socio-political dynamics of migration in Mauritius and in South Africa. In trying to understand the population dynamics at play in Mauritius and in South Africa, it was important to understand certain inherent social and environmental characteristics.

Migration is one of the components of population change. Thus in this study it was important to evaluate the movements of persons in and out of the country in terms of coverage and reliability. This chapter will be organized the following manner. The main points and the results of each analysis will be discussed, starting with Chapter 6, followed by chapter 7 and 8.

Chapter 6 provided us with data, supplemented with graphical representations, of the evolvement of international migration in Mauritius and more specifically with the evolution of Mauritian emigration to South Africa. The analysis was made based on data collected from the Central Statistical Office in Mauritius from 1935 to 1997. In terms of coverage, it is important to note that the Central Statistical Office has a comprehensive database on international migration based on the last two decades to three decades. However, many problems have been associated with the quality of the data.

Chapter 7 described the socio- demographic data collected and analyzed on Mauritian migrants in South Africa. Describing in detail the racial and ethnic composition of the population, the demographic and other characteristics of the study population. This analysis focused on border statistics collected in South Africa.

Chapter 8 examined data collected from 22 in-depth interviews. These interviews highlight the experiences of a cross-section of Mauritians in Johannesburg, South Africa and in Mauritius. The ethnographic interviews were used as conversations with a purpose. They were transcribed, translated in the case of the French and Creole speaking Mauritians and the data analyzed thematically.

Chapter Six: Analysis based on the Mauritian Central Statistical Office data set.

Prior to 1979 estimates of international migration were produced by processing all international embarkation and disembarkation data collected With the large increase in passenger traffic in the 1970's, it was difficult to cope with 100% coverage and as from 1979, only a 10% sample of the passenger traffic data was used. Although this system gave acceptable estimates of migration for several years, the continued rapid increase in passenger

was accompanied by problems of reporting, sampling, coding and data capture169. Uncertainties also arose in the coding of sex and in distinguishing residents from non-residents. Hence the reliability of the data on net international migration has suffered somewhat. This has in fact affected this research since the data does not reflect truthfully the number of official emigrants that left for South Africa. The number of official emigrants being grossly underestimated.

The only period for which passenger traffic data could be checked against an independent source was the intercensal period 1983-90. The Central Statistical Office worked out an estimate of net migration using the population enumerated at the two censuses and allowed for births and deaths during the said period as discussed in Chapter 6.

Results of the Analysis.

In Mauritius emigration has been significant since the turn of the century. Being an island, it has been relatively easy to monitor both the seaport and airport regarding international departures. Also since Mauritius has been trying hard to monitor it's population growth, emigration has played an important role in its strategy.

Data from Chapter 6 has illustrated the fact that total yearly emigration peaked in the late 1960's, specifically 1967, 1968 and 1969 and gradually decreased during the seventies. Thereafter the trend was reversed and increasing numbers of emigrants left the country every year until 1987. After that period, the number of emigrants decreased at such an acute rate that it reached only a few hundreds in 1991.
In 1991, we noted that a large number of Mauritians migrated to South Africa. With the number of departures exceeding that of arrivals. However from 1992 onwards, this trend is reversed with steady number of return migration to Mauritius. An important feature is the peak of return migration in 1993 representing the year where the number of returns outweighed the number of arrivals to South Africa from Mauritius.170

The pattern of emigration described above seemed to be highly associated with the economic and social conditions prevailing in Mauritius.

The projected figures of the Central Statistical Office for the average annual net migration for 1993-2033 are very interesting. These figures are best depicted in the table below.

Year	1993 1998	1998 2003	2003 2008	2008 2033
Male	-800	-450	-200	Nil
Female	-1300	-650	-300	Nil
Total	-2100	-1100	-500	Nil

169 Central Statistical Office 1990.
170

Chapter 7: Analysis based on the CSS data set

The International Tourism statistics of the Central Statistical Services present a single report of detailed statistical data concerning international travel and tourism relating to South Africa. A number of publications are presented such as statistical releases, reports, other publications and statistical tables based on the passenger traffic across South Africa's land, sea and airports. This data is derived from the embarkation/disembarkation data collected by the Home affairs department at the borders.

Each section of the analysis provides insight on the dimensions of Mauritian immigration in South Africa and a comprehensive picture of the preoccupations of the different South African governments at the times.

Section One 1927-1934

Section one focused on the type, quality and description of data collected during the segregation period in South Africa, during the period 1928 to 1934. This section provided us with a kind of introduction to data collection and categorization some seventy years ago.

For the period 1927 to 1935, we note that only a handful of people came to South Africa, contrary to what had been speculated by our respondents during the in-depth interviews. However, let us remember that the 1930's were plagued by a world depression. In Mauritius itself, the economy was seriously undermined by a cyclone and relocation costs were very expensive.

Section Two 1960-1970

Section two focused on the most significant period of this report the period 1960 to 1970 and looked at the character of White Mauritian migration.

One of the issues that had to be explored related to the level of education and the occupation of Mauritian migrants. In the period 1966 to 1974 we explored various occupations of White Mauritians migrating to South Africa. A large number of White Mauritians migrating to South Africa were professional, clerical workers and artisans.

The age of the Mauritian migrants was also examined from the CSS data. There was a significant number of persons who were not economically active, young boys and elderly men.

In terms of ethnicity, although people of different ethnic identities came to South Africa, the data did not permit me to explore this issue. Mauritian Asians were classified as Asiatic and thus I could not dissever between the ethnic groups, such as Tamils, Marathis, Hindus, and Telegus. Similarly in the metisse ethnic group who were classified as Black, Chino-Creoles, Franco-Creoles and Hindo-creoles could not be identified.171 This kind of information is not readily accessible, since the Mauritian government does not classify its citizens in terms of

[171] From B Moutou"s ' Les Chretiens de L'île Maurice'.1996.

ethnic groups. The South African government did not store information on the religious denomination of aliens entering its borders.

Another important question that had to be investigated was the occupational difference between male Mauritian migrants and female migrants in South Africa. I noticed that very few women worked and amongst those who worked most of them did clerical work

Section Three 1970-1980

The third section focused on the late 1970's and 1980's. With the state of emergency in the 1980's and the sabotage of the Apartheid machinery, this period provided interesting insight on the documentation industry at the time. What it also demonstrated was that few Mauritians came to South Africa during that particular time with Mauritius itself undergoing massive development and an economic boom at the same time.

Section Four 1980-1990

During the transition to democracy, under the government headed by President De Klerk, more Mauritians applied for permanent residence. The removal of Pass laws in 1986 could have contributed to the arrival of more non-White Mauritians in South Africa and their applications for permanent residence in the years 1988-1989.

Section Five late 1990's

The 1990's constituted my last section.Oddly, I did not see a large increase in the number of Mauritians applying for a permanent residence in the 1990's as speculated by our respondents.

One of the issues that had to be explored was the racial denomination of the migrants who came to South Africa. Were there more Whites during apartheid? And are there more non-white Mauritian migrants now? What this analysis shows is that there were more definitely more White Mauritians immigrating to South Africa during Apartheid. However, the numbers of non-Whites immigrating to South Africa after Apartheid are not significant. It seems that after 1994, although large number of Mauritians came to South Africa, comparatively few of them immigrated as compared to other nationals such as Zimbabweans, Nigerians and Zairians.

Chapter Eight : Interpretation & Analysis of in-depth interviews.

In-depth interviews.

In this research exercise, 22 in-depth interviews were conducted highlighting the experiences of a cross-section of Mauritians in Johannesburg, South Africa and in Mauritius. These ethnographic interviews were used as conversations with a purpose. By using in-depth interviews, I was able to observe, interact and record the subjective experiences of the respondents. I created my sampling frame based on a large spectrum of people from the Mauritian community in terms of race, gender, religion, profession, social class, etc. I used a selected number of open-ended questions that might not follow any specific order.

The Major Themes:

The Mauritian community in South Africa

The Mauritian community in South Africa is not well integrated. What we have are a couple of thousands of Mauritian people scattered across the republic. The migrations patterns and networ ‹ systems of Mauritians here are different than in Europe. In South Africa, Mauritian emigration was not really tied to specific regions and categories and family networks. Emigrants were simply isolated people who had been shaped by long-standing tradition and culture in Mauritius.

Close Relationships

Most respondents have argued that they have been faced with a number of problems when it came to personal relationships with South Africans. Many argued that South Africans have been greatly affected by Apartheid making the society vulnerable to violence, physical and mental abuse. Many Mauritians have been faced with the social pressures of living in a big city and of industrial life. The isolation of living in a big city and the fear of crime have greatly affected a large number of respondents.

Marriage to a South African.

Most of the respondents who married South Africans, married individuals of the same racial denomination. There was only one respondent with a mixed marriage. Interestingly all of the marriages with South Africans were based on romantic love. Marriage to South African spouses seemed to be difficult. Language and social norms and values seemed to differ in a lot of cases, although both partners might be of the same religion.

Death

Death is an important issue to a number of people interviewed. A lot f Mauritians living in JHB had had violent experiences related to th ‹ present level of crime in the city. Thus the thought of death or dying is not uncommon. People are constantly afraid of car highjackings and housebreak-ins. Most Mauritians want to be buried in Mauritius and a large number of those married to South Africans worry about the guardianship of their children should both parents die.

The Children.

Children play an important role within the Mauritian family. Bonds between Mauritian parents and their children are very strong and parents tend to exercise a lot of control over their children. Children are expected to obey and respect the elders.

Work

In South Africa, Mauritians are engaged in a number of occupations. However unlike other African migrant populations, Mauritians did not take up unskilled or manual occupations. For instance there are no Mauritians working as miners, domestic workers, etc. This is because Mauritius is a rich country as compared to a number of African countries in the region and Mauritians having benefited from a minimum level of education find skilled jobs relatively easily as compared to other African nationals.

Schooling.

Education in South Africa is a touchy subject not only for Mauritians, but also for most people living in South Africa. Most people believe that the present governmental educational policies are misdirected and that there has been a misuse of funds. This present situation does not compare with Mauritius where Mauritian pupils have had free education for more than 28 years. One parent told me that she was not happy that her child was forced to learn an African language, since the child had already been forced to learn one useless language, Afrikaans. Most Mauritians inrerviewed thought that despite all the shortcomings of the education system in Mauritius, they had gained a reasonably sound education background. Their fears for their children is that the level of state education in South Africa is deteriorating while private schooling is excessively expensive.

Language

All respondents felt the need to talk about their French heritage, being able to speak French. Although, they were all proud of being bilingual, few spoke French to their children. It seems to me that French to the Mauritian people at least in South Africa, is regarded at an elitist thing. Among the Asian community, most of the foreign spouses' actually understand some words in Creole. Creole seems to be the preferred language, after English, spoken in Mauritian households in South Africa.

Mauritian Identity.

Although most Mauritians maintain that they are still Mauritian in spirit, most have taken foreign citizenship for economic and social reasons. Furthermore, there seemed to be a trend in South Africa itself, whereby most foreigners, especially white migrants, take the South African permanent residence and maintain foreign passports. Mauritians still cherish their island, but prefer to leave abroad .

Religion

This report reveals that quite interestingly that most Mauritians interviewed did not adhere to the religious beliefs they received in Mauritius. Although religion still plays an important role in their socialization process, most people did not perform religious rites on a regular basis.

Amongst Hindus very few practiced their religion fully. Although, there are a few temples in and around JHB, few Hindu respondents have found the time to keep up with tradition. However, most argue that they

have organized some sort of religious ceremony to mark important occasions such as weddings, baptisms, deaths, etc..

The Mauritian Muslim community in JHB is more organized than any other Mauritian ethnic community. Most Mauritian Muslims have been fully integrated within the local Muslim community. The teachings of the Islamic faith and values are exactly the same as in Mauritius. Most Muslim children go to the Madrassa, as they would have done in Mauritius, where they are taught about their religion. Muslim Mauritian parents in South Africa do not allow the same freedom as South Africa non-Muslim parents.

Christians (mostly Creole and Chinese Mauritians) do not all practice their religion, although these communities have a long tradition of support from local Catholic, Anglican and Protestants churches. Many Mauritian Christians have joined newly established American churches such as 'Rhema'.

Culture and Tradition

Most of those interviewed said that they did not know of any Mauritian cultural association in South Africa. In terms of cultural values, most respondents pointed out that it has been very hard for them to keep up with most traditional customs and norms. However certain traditions have remained such as the cooking of traditional Mauritian food.

Mauritius today

All Mauritians interviewed had something to say about the state of Mauritius ' economy, politics etc. Most Mauritian migrants in South Africa have an interest in what is happening back home. However, some are more interested than others. Those who travel frequently to the island have different notions of what is happening back there, while others who seldom visit the island tend to reminiscent on the good old days.

The Future

A future in South Africa is irrational for most Mauritians. Most of my respondents see themselves in South Africa for a number of years but not permanently. At a certain point in time, they would all want to go back to Mauritius. The older generation, nearing their retirement age, is already leaving, those with professional qualifications are rapidly moving towards Europe. Only a selected few are willing to remain in South Africa. The reasons for leaving are numerous, the present crime rate, the poor economic conditions in South Africa, the lack of vision of the soon to be elected government. And also the existence of a much better life elsewhere, especially in one's own country, Mauritius.

Conclusion

It has become inevitable that in a world that is becoming increasingly more integrated and interdependent, that ways in which population movements occur should also become integrated and interdependent. There has been in the past decade, a remarkable upward trend in the mobility of people linked to the increasing economy, speed and safety of transport.

With international migration, the most developed countries and the less-developed ones have become far more culturally diverse than they were a decade ago. Cultural pluralism opened up new possibilities, a new global culture. International migration brought an opportunity for informed choices among a myriad of possibilities, rather than strangeness and separation between people.[172]

Today, many frameworks for migration analysis exist. These are based on a diversity of variables drawn from both developed and developing countries. Thus specific geographical, socio-economic and political conditions offer a multiplicity of explanations, relatively immutable laws and timeless regularities generally used in trying to understand patterns of international movement.173

The aim of this report was to investigate and register the character and patterns of Mauritian migration in South Africa. This has been done. This report introduced and discussed the character and patterns of Mauritian migration in South Africa By analysing the socio-demographic climate of the island at specific periods, from a historical perspective, this report examined the development of Mauritian migration across the past fifty years. Thus providing a comprehensive picture of the dimensions and dynamics of past and present Mauritius migration.

The main presupposition of this report was that the preoccupation over the population size and structure has determined the socio-political dynamics of migration in Mauritius and in South Africa. In trying to understand the population dynamics at play in Mauritius and in South Africa, it was important to understand certain inherent social and environmental characteristics. Migration is one of the components of population change. To understand the differential effects of migration on various ethnic communities and with respect to different types of migration, this report studied and analysed a number of theoretical approaches.

Apart from the Push-pull theory, the costs and benefit analysis model permitted me to understand migration patterns and the potential benefits of emigration to the sending country. The acquisition of skills, reduced unemployment, reduced rates of population growth, and the increased opportunities for trade and investment have all been shaped by migration and specific population policies. The cost and benefits of Mauritian emigration has been analysed in this report based on the rate of migration and the characteristics of households and communities. The direction of migration, immigration vs. emigration and the types of migration-permanent or temporary, legal or illegal, the social, political and economic structure in the country

[172] Castle & Miller. 1993
[173] Opcit.1992.

of origin were important factors in this analysis. The impact of permanent emigration by skilled Mauritian workers and the effects of return migration were assessed.

Today Mauritius faces a high rate of population growth, which projects a population of more than 1.5 million people by the year 2010, exclusive of the number of official *émigré* Mauritians estimated at about 50,000 who are expected to return and retire in Mauritius. Thus for the first time in Mauritius, in the 1990's, net immigration is higher than net emigration. In fact in the past, emigration has been a blessing in disguise for the Mauritian people. But the time has come for the Mauritian government and it's people to find another solution to it's re-emerging problem of 'population growth.

By the year 2010, Mauritius will be faced with an ageing population. In such a population, in which the demographic transition began at least a century age, the effects of population modifications are of great importance. The economic and social consequence of changes in the structure of the population is an issue of major concern. I would like to argue that the principle reason behind this phenomenon is linked to Mauritius' present governmental laxity over the population size and structure.

In South Africa, the policies of segregation, inclusions and exclusions have varied considerably over time. South Africa's racist legislation was a product of colonialism, segregation and apartheid. It reflected the steady expansion of state powers in the foundation and implementation of racist laws. After 1948, new legislature began to discriminate between people on grounds of national origin, class, gender, and specifically race. 1948 was a very important year for South Africa, the National party with its Population Registration Act classified the population into four racial groups White, Black, Indian and Coloured people were required to carry ID books which stated their race and place of birth. The purpose of the act was to lay the foundation for the subsequent apartheid legislation, providing a means to control or identify the so-called natives inside the country.

In the dying years of apartheid, the government's immigration policy became more and more racist with regards to black migrants and began actively encouraging white immigration. After the general elections in 1994, South Africa became to be seen as a haven for many legal and illegal immigrants struggling against repressive regimes in Africa.174 They came from many parts of Africa, some had escaped conflicts in Rwanda, Zaire, Angola, Mozambique and Zimbabwe. Currently, a system of circular migration exists. With the deregulation of the informal sector, there has been an explosive growth of both local and foreign informal traders. In addition, with the opening of the South African borders, crime syndicates have thrived. The traffic of drugs, stolen goods and prostitution have greatly expanded due to high levels of unemployment and rising poverty. The present department of housing failed miserably to surpass the overcrowding and slumming crisis in city centres and in Black townships. These problems have worsened with the incidence of land invasions and the development of other forms of informal urbanisation. such as squatting175.

[174]Mail and Guardian, 7 June 1995

[175] Bonner 1990

In brief what this report demonstrated is that the racial anxieties of the past and of the present have moulded international migration patterns in both Mauritius and South Africa. Within the African continent, it is only in South Africa, that one finds the most significant community of Mauritian immigrants. The Mauritian population in South Africa can be traced back to the 1800's and consists mostly of Franco-Mauritians Past Apartheid laws in South Africa and past population policies in Mauritius encouraged and channelled a particular type of Mauritian migrant to South Africa. A White Mauritian migrant with family. The emigration of large fluxes of White Mauritians at that time was responsible for the modifications of the composition of the Mauritian population since emigration in the years 1960 to 1970 was of a racial and ethnic nature.

Post Apartheid South Africa in the early 1990's encouraged the migration of non-White Mauritians for business, trading, educational and other purposes. Now in the late 1990's, this trend is also changing, fewer Mauritians are coming to study, work and settle in South Africa, while a large number of Mauritians are returning home. The net effect of such migration fluxes poses a lot of pressure on the government.

Fifty years later, a different set of governmental population policies, (shifting the focus on 'Blacks' instead of 'Whites' in South Africa) have once again influenced the pattern and character of international migration, particularly Mauritian migration to South Africa. Today, more and more unskilled African migrants are entering South Africa' borders and this has combined with poor economic development has caused a spiral of poverty and crime.

A future in South Africa is irrational for most Mauritians. The reasons for leaving are numerous, the present crime rate, the poor economic conditions in South Africa, the lack of vision of the soon to be elected government. And also the existence of a much better life elsewhere, especially in one's own country, Mauritius.

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- **Mauritius**

Central Statistical office under the ministry of Planning and Development. From this office a number of statistical data was obtained. Reports are published on a regular basis by a team of statisticians and demographers.

Mauritius Archives
Contains documents relating to the emigration of Mauritians over a period of forty years.

Editions de L'ocean Indien
This is one of the largest publishing houses in Mauritius. Catalogues of its recent publications can be obtained on the internet. Through the EOI, I have bought a number of books, such as ' A new history of Mauritius' by Addison & Hazareesingh , "Chinese Diaspora on Western Indian Ocean " by Ly-Tio-Fane Pineo.

Government of Mauritius
From the Passport and Immigration office, it might be possible to obtain marriage and passport records of Mauritians born in South Africa.

Mauritius Institute of Education Library
Has a small library with a number of locally published research reports, books and periodicals.
University of Mauritius
Contains a large collection of books, documents and research reports on the issue of Mauritian emigration.

- **South Africa**

Witwatersrand university libraries
Contains a large number of books, journals and audio-visual data relating to the issue of migr on in South Africa.

Central Statistical Services
The CSS houses a number of data sets such as the 1996 population census, the October household survey and migration data.

Home Affairs department in South Africa
From the Home Affairs department, it might be possible to obtain data on the number of Mauritians that were deported, repatriated, that obtained Permanent residence, citizenship, work permits and study permits.
Southern African Migration Project
The project team members might be in a position to help me with my research.

The Mauritian Consulate in South Africa
The consulate is based in Pretoria and might have documents relating to the number of Mauritians in South Africa.
Rand Afrikaans University library systems
This is a JHB based university and I would like to consult their reference and newspaper cutting library.

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