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Exploring Factors Contributing to Irregular Cross-Border Movement into South Africa

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A research report submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in Migration and Displacement at the University of the Witwatersrand

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Abstract

This study examines the factors contributing to irregular human cross-border movement into South Africa and uses the Beitbridge Border Post in Limpopo, South Africa, as a case study. The study also looks at the effectiveness of mechanisms the country has put in place to address such irregular border crossings. The study found that the main contributing factors to high levels of irregular cross-border movement into South Africa include corruption, poor infrastructure, poor working conditions as well as poor economic conditions in neighbouring countries. Existing literature on the subject indicates that most research on factors contributing to irregular cross-border movements focusses mainly on the push and pull factors in sending and receiving countries, respectively. Not much scholarly attention has been paid to factors relating to border control mechanisms that states or regional bodies put in place to address irregular border crossings. By identifying inefficiencies in South Africa's border control mechanisms, the research is a step towards filling this knowledge gap.

Declaration

I, Bernard Mabeba, declare that this research report is my own independent work. It is submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in Migration and Displacement at the African Centre for Migration and Society, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. It has not been submitted before for any degree or examination at any other university.

Bernard Mabeba

Date: February 2021

Dedication

This research report is dedicated to my wife, Gaboile Mabeba, and my son, Amogelang Mabeba, who will never forget the difficulties experienced during the time that I was studying and yet were so supportive, even in the most trying of times.

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Abbreviations and Acronyms

Abbreviation/Acronym	Description
ANC	African National Congress
BCOCC	Border Control Operational Coordinating Committee
BMA	Border Management Authority
DHA	Department of Home Affairs
DIRCO	Department of International Relations and Cooperation
DRC	Democratic Republic of Congo
ECOWAS	Economic Community of West African States
EU	European Union
ISB	Immigration Service Branch
LCBTI	Local Cross-Border Transport Industry
MBC	Member/s of Border Community
NGO	Non-Government Organisation
SA	South Africa
SACU	South African Customs Union
SADC	Southern African Development Community
SANDF	South African National Defence Force
SAPS	South African Police Service
SARS	South African Revenue Service
SSA	State Security Agency
TAD/TC	Trade and Agriculture Directorate/Trade Committee
TEBA	The Employment Bureau of Africa

Chapter 1: Introducing the Study

1.1 Setting the scene

This study focuses on why South Africa (SA) continues to have a relatively high degree of irregular cross-border movement into its territory. What are the factors contributing to irregular movement globally and in SA? An irregular migrant is defined as someone who crosses a "border without proper authority or violating conditions for entering another country" (Jordan & Düvell, 2002: 15).

Over the past decade, states and international organisations have become increasingly concerned with the need to address the issues of mixed movements or irregular movements, which have been defined as "complex population movements including refugees, asylum seekers, economic migrants and other migrants" (Schachter, 2009: 66).

An individual can enter irregularly through three main routes: (a) entering a country without proper authority, either through a clandestine entry or with a fraudulent document; (b) entering with authorisation but overstaying that authorisation; and (c) deliberately abusing the asylum system (Uehling, 2004).

Koser and McAuliffe (2013) point out that with the increase of border control, the involvement of a smuggler or agent is commonly required to migrate irregularly. They argue that it is evident that limited options for legal migration push people into irregular migration via smugglers and migration often includes a long journey over several countries before reaching the European Union (EU) (Düvell, 2014).

Magweiga and Urassa (2017) point out that human history shows that people have been moving from one place to another since early times and this mobility is a common phenomenon to this day. They argue that what has changed is the formation of states, nations, alliances and the establishment of sovereignty, citizenship, borders and laws, which among other functions have been used to govern and control the movements and settlement of people from one country to another (Magweiga & Urassa, 2017: 67).

Tati (2008) asserts that irregular migration is a worldwide phenomenon about which global concerns started to emerge in the early 1960s. He also adds that while it affects industrialised countries, irregular migration has also been observed in developing countries (Tati, 2008).

The Southern African Development Community (SADC) region is no exception in terms of the challenges of human movement in the world. South Africa is a member of the SADC and shares borders with Botswana, Lesotho, Mozambique, Namibia, Swaziland and Zimbabwe (McDonald, 2000).

Tonah, Setrana and Arthur (2017) point out that in recent years, the exodus of some two million Zimbabweans has dominated migration flows in Southern Africa. Most have moved to SA, with others going to Botswana and other neighbouring states.

This study explores the factors contributing to irregular cross-border movement into SA and uses the Beitbridge Border Post in Limpopo, SA, as a case study. The study also looks at mechanisms put in place to manage cross-border movement as well as the challenges associated with these mechanisms.

1.2 A brief historical background of the irregular movement of humans across South Africa's borders

The movement of people across international borders is by no means a new phenomenon in Southern Africa (Viljoen & Wentzel, 2007). Cross-border traffickers are very active along the borders that SA shares with Mozambique and Zimbabwe. Records show that in 2007, for example, 13 traffickers were arrested carrying irregular migrants across several borders (Tati, 2008). Tati (2008) further states that illegal migrants were smuggled from Zimbabwe through the Beitbridge Border Post.

It is believed that SA is being swamped by mostly illegal immigrants, largely from neighbouring countries such as Zimbabwe, Mozambique, Swaziland, Lesotho and others because the migrants take advantage of the lack of control at the borders (Schlemmer, 2006).

Immigrants enter SA very easily because of the porosity of the borders of the country. The South African National Defence Force (SANDF) and South African Police Services (SAPS) are only able to arrest one out of every four people who cross the borders (Maharaj, 2002).

According to (Sebola, 2008), for the African continent, SA is the main magnet to migrants and remains the number one receiving country. Migration to SA is a well-established household poverty reduction strategy.

South Africa shares borders with several countries in the SADC region and migration from these neighbouring countries has been described by the media as a 'revolving door syndrome' where migrants are deported and then return to South Africa the following day and this costs the state money (Bloch, 2008).

Immigrants are desperate to get to SA to escape poverty in their home countries and the complicity of some government officials facilitates their illegal entry into SA which increases the level of corruption at the borders (Mawadza, 2008).

Crush (1999) claims that the number of overstayers still in the country can be determined on any particular day. Table 1.1 illustrates the figures culminating on 7 March 1997. The figures show a pattern of large-scale offending amongst recent entrants. The numbers settle down to around 80, 000 per annum within 2 to 3 years.

Table 1.1: Visa overstayers in South Africa, 1997

Year	Overstayers	Cumulative
PRE-1980	1352	1352
1980	499	2851
1981	1752	4603
1982	2961	7564
1983	2036	9600
1984	1936	11,536
1985	533	12,069
1986	98	12,167
1987	912	13, 079
1988	707	13, 786
1989	1139	14, 925
1990	18,399	33,324
1991	12,885	46,179
1992	83,960	130,139
1993	82,243	212,382
1994	84,243	296,625
1995	128,778	425,403
1996	233,472	658,875
1997	169,337	828,212
Total	828,212	828,212

Source: Compiled from DHA data: 1997 to March 1997

The Department of Home Affairs (DHA) claims it is possible to calculate the total number of undocumented migrants as a simple multiplier of the overstay figures (Reitzes, 1998: 39).

The cross-border movement between SA and its neighbouring countries happened before the mid-nineteenth century when the South African diamond and gold mining industries were founded and the country began its trek towards a modern industrial economy. Wentzel and Tlabela (2006) argue that cross-border movement into SA started even before the discovery of diamonds and gold when Basotho workers were employed as seasonal farm labour in the then Orange Free State.

Crush, Williams and Peberdy (2005) give a background perspective that Southern Africa has a long history of intra-regional migration, dating back to the mid-nineteenth century. According to Crush et al. (2005: 1), migration was probably the single most important factor tying together all of the various colonies and countries of the sub-continent into a single regional labour market during the twentieth century. They add that the countries of Southern Africa, including modern-day Lesotho, Zimbabwe and Mozambique, have been sending and receiving labour migrants who came to work on the Kimberley diamond mines (Crush et al., 2005: 2).

Crush et al. (2005: 2) further state that "the discovery of gold on the Witwatersrand changed the entire pattern of labour migration in the sub-continent" and further highlight that entrenched patterns of migration have undergone major restructuring in the last two decades.

Crush et al. (2005: 1) argue that the end of apartheid, a system designed to control movement and exclude outsiders, produced new opportunities for internal and cross-border mobility.

According to Crush et al. (2005: 1), the integration of SA within the SADC region brought a major increase in both legal and undocumented cross-border flows.

According to Waller (2006), in the early years of democracy, the South African government recognised the heritage of the past and offered amnesties to regularise certain irregular migrants. Waller (2006) illustrates that, in 1995, amnesty was offered to anyone who had worked on SA's mines from 1986. As a result, 50 000 foreign nationals were granted permanent SA residence.

South Africa's 7 000 km border is extremely porous and it is widely accepted that the flow of documented and undocumented migrants to the country from the SADC region and beyond has grown markedly since 1990 (Dolan, 1995; and Minnaar & Hough, 1996)

Gelderblom (2006, as cited in Morris & Bouillon, 2001: 10), further adds to the debate that the fall of apartheid and the removal of the whites-only immigration laws gave immigrants from other African countries the opportunity to move to SA.

Furthermore, the deepening economic, social and political crisis in countries such as the Democratic Republic of Congo, Nigeria, Somalia, Senegal, Congo, Zimbabwe and others forced thousands of Africans to migrate to SA in the 1990s (Morris & Bouillon, 2001: 10).

To manage the high influx of movement into the country, the SA government passed into law the Immigration Act (No.13 of 2002) in 2002. The Act provides for the regulation of the administration of persons to their residence in and their departure from SA. The Immigration Service Branch (ISB) in the DHA manages the implementation of the Act (RSA Immigration Act, 2002:2)

Tati (2008) maintains that supplementary measures were introduced to tighten visa restrictions. According to Tonah et al. (2017), these measures and policies have frequently placed unnecessary burdens on people seeking to migrate legally to SA. Tonah et al. (2017: 2) argue that SA has mismanaged [border control] pressures, partly because of resource constraints and the inherent difficulties of managing porous borders in a region where many people lack proper travel documents. However, its policies have also been inconsistent, inappropriate and prone to abuse by corrupt officials (Tonah et al., 2017).

According to the South African Revenue Service (South African Revenue Service [SARS], 2005**),** the SA government established the Border Control Operational Coordinating Committee (BCOCC) to strategically manage the South African borders in a coordinated manner.

The BCOCC is an affiliated structure of the Justice, Crime Prevention and Security Cluster (SARS, 2005). Institutions involved in the Border Control and Security Framework include the DHA, State Security Agency (SSA), SAPS, SANDF as well as SARS.

The DHA and BCOCC are both meant to manage the illegal movement of people and goods across SA's borders as well as other criminal activities (SARS, 2005). It is, however, important to note that the DHA plays a critical role as the backbone of security and has a greater responsibility to secure the borders and to provide service delivery in controlling and monitoring movement in and out of the country.

The post-apartheid migration policy for SA is still a challenge. Trying to integrate the relationship between migration and development with the problem of rampant xenophobic attacks against Africans from other countries is complicated (SARS, 2005).

The above historical background indicates ongoing debates about the challenges posed by irregular migration globally and regionally. These ongoing debates and challenges are an indication that there is still a need for more research on the factors contributing to irregular movement into SA and elsewhere. Understanding these factors may be the first step towards formulating appropriate responses in terms of policy and practice.

1.3 Key concepts of the study

This section unpacks key concepts for the study to establish a common understanding of the purpose of this research.

1.3.1 Migration

Abire and Sagar (2016: 51) define migration as:

> Changing the place of residence by crossing a specified administrative or political boundary. It is movement of a person or a group of persons, either across an international border, or within a state. It is a population movement, encompassing any kind of movement of people, whatever its length, composition and causes; it includes migration of refugees, displaced persons, economic migrants, and persons moving for other purposes, including family reunification.

From the above definition, migration is understood to be the movement of people from one place to another for various reasons. This movement may include crossing national, regional or international borders.

1.3.2 Irregular cross-border movement, irregular migration, irregular migrants and illegal migration

The term ‘irregular’ is regarded as conceptually problematic. Koser (2005) indicates that it is considered preferable to the term ‘illegal’. The use of the term ‘illegal’ can be criticised for its connotation of implying criminality.

Kruys (2007: 3) defines illegal immigrants as “people entering any country without proper documentation and no records from the database, and also people who remain in the country even if their visa has expired”. The undertone of this definition suggests that the immigration laws of the receiving country are being violated.

It is, however, important to indicate that there is still some confusion over the definitions of ‘irregular’ and ‘illegal’ immigration considering the problems which arise in separating the ‘legal’ from the ‘illegal’ forms of immigration in general (Kostas, 2017).

The term ‘irregular migration’ is also used for situations where migrants are deceived by recruiting agents, smugglers or traffickers into believing that they are entering a country in a regular manner. Asylum seekers denied refugee status may also end up staying in a country irregularly (Kostas, 2017).

Koser (2005) further expatiates on this by arguing that most irregular migrants are not criminals. He supports his argument by the emphasis made by the UN Special Rapporteur on the Rights of Non-Citizens, whose final report recommends that immigrants, even those who are in a country illegally and whose claims are not considered valid by the authorities, should not be treated as criminals (Koser, 2005: 5). He further argues that defining persons as illegal can also be denying their humanity.

The use of the term 'irregular immigration', especially in the EU, has gradually gained important momentum in comparison to the use of the term 'illegal immigration'. According to Kostas (2017: 424), the new Post-Stockholm Programme which was adopted in 2014 by the European Council providing a roadmap in terms of Justice, Freedom and Security for 2015–2020 and many other official documents and statements of the EU are increasingly using the term 'irregular immigration' although the term 'illegal' is still in use.

Waller (2006: 1) defines an illegal migrant in line with the Immigration Act of 2002; an illegal migrant is defined as a foreigner who is in SA in contravention of the Act. Accordingly, a foreigner who has entered SA without proper authorisation, or by fraudulent means, or who remains in SA beyond the date imposed by his or her visa or permit, or who engages in activities beyond the scope of what is duly authorised by his or her permit, is an illegal migrant. Waller (2006) further indicates that the Act gives the DHA the responsibility to detect, detain and deport illegal migrants.

1.4 Problem statement

Waller (2006: 1) indicates that irregular migration poses a considerable challenge for SA in migration management, population planning, infrastructure development, resource

management, governance, social services, economic development and security. She argues that a government can only work with what it knows, within a reasonable margin of error.

By its nature, irregular migration creates many unknowns. Where entry into SA is clandestine or fraudulent, no proper account can be kept of the migrant's presence, movement, identity, nationality, health status or activities. This potentially creates many challenges for the SA government and without the ability to identify and measure the challenges, the ability to address them remains elusive (Waller 2006).

In a report prepared on behalf of the International Organisation for Migration, Schachter (2009) notes the crisis of irregular migrants and refugees in the SADC region. According to Schachter (2009), some of these irregular migrants by-pass formal methods altogether and enter via invalid travel documents or through non-controlled borders. Indeed, this has become a cause of concern for the government of SA since this problem tends to lead to an undercount of irregular migrants when using regular sources of measurement.

The Beitbridge Border Post has been identified as one of the border posts used for the entry of many irregular immigrants. However, the question as to why SA continues to have a relatively high degree of irregular cross-border movement into its territory remains unanswered. How the irregular migrants can cross the border into SA has been a cause for concern to the SA government. It is not clear which factors contribute to irregular cross-border movement into SA.

1.4.1 Research questions

The study is guided by the following questions:

Main research question:

- Why are there relatively high numbers of irregular migrant cross-border movements into South Africa?

Sub-research questions:

- How do irregular migrants by-pass and circumvent South Africa's legal entry processes and procedures?
- How effective are the mechanisms put in place by the South African government to address the problem of irregular cross-border movement into South Africa?

1.4.2 Research objectives

The objectives of this study are to:

- Explain in detail the reasons why there are many irregular migrants in South Africa.
- Describe how irregular migrants by-pass and circumvent South Africa's legal entry processes and procedures.
- Explore how effective the mechanisms put in place to address irregular cross-border movement into South Africa are.

1.5 Rationale for the study

This study is motivated by the need to enquire, understand and analyse factors contributing to irregular migration into SA. Waller (2006) indicates that for years figures on the number of irregular migrants present in SA have been bandied about and strongly contested.

As the literature review in Chapter 2 indicates, there are ongoing scholastic and policy debates about the causes and consequences of irregular migration as well as about the challenges

governments generally face in dealing with or managing such movement of humans. By investigating and identifying factors contributing to irregular cross-border movement into SA, this study intends to contribute to these ongoing debates and hopefully provide the policymakers in SA with an empirically informed and theoretically sound understanding needed to formulate a more appropriate response in terms of policy and practice.

1.6 Outline of chapters

This research report comprises six chapters briefly described below:

Chapter 1: Introducing the Study: This chapter introduces and provides the background and context of the study. This chapter also contains a discussion pertaining to irregular cross-border movement of humans across SA borders and unpacks the key concepts. The problem statement, objectives of the study and research questions are also presented in the chapter.

Chapter 2: Literature Review: The chapter reviews the global literature on the factors contributing to irregular cross-border movement.

Chapter 3: Research Methodology: This chapter presents the methodological approach and design of the research.

Chapter 4: Data Presentation and Analysis of Findings: This chapter presents and analyses the data collected. The data are arranged into themes that emerge from interviews with participants.

Chapter 5: Discussion: This chapter discusses the findings concerning the study's objectives and research questions.

Chapter 6: Conclusion: The concluding chapter summarises the key findings and recommendations of this research.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

2.1 Introduction

This chapter reviews the theoretical and empirical literature on factors contributing to irregular movement into SA and elsewhere. It begins by providing a review of the literature on SADC migration (the broader research context) and then proceeds to focus on SA as the specific research context.

2.2 Labour migration governance in the Southern Africa Development Community

In the 1860s, large-scale migration to the diamond fields in Kimberly predated the organised labour migration scheme following the discovery of gold at the Witwatersrand in the 1880s. Therefore, the Chamber of South African Mines created, among others, the Witwatersrand Native Labour Association that institutionalised the migration of labour from neighbouring countries to SA (Nshimbi and Fioramont, 2013).

The bulk of unskilled labour was supplied to SA's mines by Mozambique, Botswana, Lesotho, Malawi and Swaziland. Established migration trends in Southern Africa through the migration system, even in the post- independence era, were created. Copper-rich Zambia and Botswana, rich in diamonds, also drew migration to Southern Africa in the 1960s and 1970s.

Fighting for independence and violence within domestic communities led to forced migration. Mozambique, Zimbabwe and Angola created refugees who migrated to Botswana, Tanzania and Zambia, still under minority rule then.

2.3 Southern Africa Development Community instruments on labour migration

The SADC Treaty (Southern African Development Community [SADC], 1992: 6) ensures that the obstacles to free movement for work for the citizens of the region in general, among the member states, were phased out slowly. This clause of the SADC Treaty (Article 10.3) is enforced by the Protocol on the Facilitation of Movement of Persons (SADC, 2005). This supports the aspirations of the African Union (AU) towards securing the free movement of individuals within the African Regional Economic Communities as a step towards the wider African Economic Community (SADC, 2005: 1).

In the 1990s, SADC started to advocate for the freedom of movement. The 1995 Draft Protocol on the Free Movement of Persons within SADC protected 10 years of free regional travel. The 1995 Draft Protocol granted SADC citizens the right to enter, live in and establish themselves in another member state's territory (SADC, 1995:1).

Some representatives did not believe it boded well for the possibility of the full removal of border controls on the movement of citizens inside SADC. The 1995 Draft Protocol was rejected by SA, Botswana and Namibia and was thus withdrawn. In the 1995 Protocol, the SADC Secretariat rewrote and resolved the issues posed by the SADC governments. Governments approved the redrafted version named the Protocol on the Facilitation of Movement of Persons (hereafter the Facilitation Protocol) (SADC, 2005).

Overall, in the territories of member states, the Facilitation Protocol slowly removes barriers to the movement of SADC citizens. It provides visa-free entry to other SADC countries for SADC nationals for valid purposes for up to three months and in compliance with the laws of the member state they join (SADC, 2005). The Facilitation Protocol has currently been ratified by

only six SADC members — Botswana, Lesotho, Mozambique, SA, Swaziland and Zambia. Therefore, the Facilitation Protocol is not in place because SADC did not achieve the minimum two-thirds necessary for ratification.

The SADC member states govern regional legislation on labour migration and conclude bilateral agreements on labour migration with each other. Accordingly, the entry to SA (and to Southern Africa) by foreigners and residents is controlled by the SADC Immigration Act to encourage economic growth by enhancing the movement of students and academic staff to study, teach and research (Immigration Act, 2004: 54).

The Protocol on Trade (SADC, 1996) permits traders to develop and maintain their international business presence in the region. The SADC member states undertake to allow and facilitate transit transport according to their national laws and regulations. The establishment of freight, clearing and transmission offices in their territories by individuals, organisations and associations of other member states or their approved agents is sanctioned (SADC, 1996).

The Employment Bureau of Africa (TEBA) supplies domestic and foreign workers for mining companies and subcontractors serving the SA mining industry. Table 2.1 reveals the number of employees and staff employed in publicly owned South African mines from five SADC countries. Except for Mozambique, the other four countries form the South African Customs Union (SACU) along with SA.

Table 2.1: TEBA-recruited mineworkers by country of origin, 2006–2012

Year	RSA	Lesotho	Botswana	Swaziland	Mozambique	Percentage foreign	Total
2006	218,137	46,078	2,992	7,123	46,706	32	321,036
2007	225,949	45,608	2,845	7,099	44,879	31	326,380
2008	243,701	42,851	2,654	6,397	43,004	28	338,607
2009	224,544	38,559	2,357	5,855	39,090	28	310,405
2010	228,370	35,179	1,800	5,009	35,782	25	306,140
2011	240,896	34,583	1,783	4,779	34,940	24	316,981
2012	244,842	30,519	1,527	4,485	31,596	22	312,969

Source: Le Roux, as cited in Budlender (2013)

Overall, the share of foreign TEBA recruitments in mines in SA decreased from 32% in 2006 to 22% in 2012, while the share of SA recruitment increased from 68% in 2006 to 78% in 2012. Mozambique's shareholdings and those of each of the other SACU countries have fallen; for example, Swaziland's shareholdings declined from 2.2% in 2006 to 1.4% in 2012.

Even in SACU, cross-border migration from a legal-institutional point of view is not especially clear. SACU's economic inclusion level is higher than SADC's. In the case of non-members, SACU states have a common external tariff. Everyone participated in the Local Monetary Area, except for Botswana. However, there is no liberalisation in the SACU labour market.

There are no provisions in the agreement regarding free national labour movement. Alternative instruments, such as migration acts and bilateral agreements between SA and other SACU countries, decide the labour movement of SACU. This is relevant because a lot of undocumented migrants are employed within SA and some migrate for economic reasons.

2.3.1 South Africa's national legislation and regional labour migration

The cross-border movement of workers in Southern Africa includes substantial numbers of illegal migrants (Mengelkoch, 2001; Oucho & Crush, 2001). This contradicts the resolution by SADC to eliminate obstacles to, inter alia, the free movement of labour. Migrant Southern Africans make their favourite destinations in SA, Botswana and Namibia. Out of 77 000 TRPs analysed by Statistics South Africa (2013: 16) for migrants originating from Africa in 2012, approximately 46 000 were issued to SADC citizens.

The Immigration Act of 2002 sets out conditions of residence in SA for temporary and permanent purposes. Thirteen categories of TRPs are protected by the Immigration Amendment Act (No. 19 of 2004): tourists, research, treaty, job, business, staff, medical services, parents, retired persons, business, trade, transport and cross-border permits.

Migrants' permits include job licences, corporate licences for businesses to hire foreign employees, company licences for foreigners in SA and a treaty authorisation (Ntinzi, 2019). The DHA issued 106 173 TRPs in total during 2011 (Table 2.2), including combined sector, research, study and other licences. Further, the DHA granted most of its work permits to applicants from overseas (57%) and Africa (42%) and least to SADC (31%) (Nshimbi & Fioramonti, 2014). In 2011, a large number of labour licences, representing 25%, was issued to Zimbabweans (Ntinzi, 2019).

Table 2.2: Temporary residence permits, 2011

	Business	Work	Study	Other	Total	Percent of work
Total	1,346	20,673	16,928	67,226	106,173	100
Overseas	883	11,885	3,657	32,206	48,631	57
Africa	463	8,765	13,266	34,966	57,460	42
SADC	93	6,329	7,901	17,473	31,796	31
Angola	12	47	1,012	,968	2,039	0
Botswana	3	97	206	425	731	0
DRC	17	214	1,072	1,298	2,601	1
Lesotho	3	107	536	2,060	2,706	1
Madagascar	0	7	27	45	79	0
Malawi	6	239	233	1,569	2,047	1
Mauritius	0	51	64	,167	,282	0
Mozambique	6	94	159	1,138	1,397	0
Namibia	0	14	325	465	804	0
Seychelles	0	1	9	20	30	0
Swaziland	1	87	318	689	1,095	0
Tanzania	2	62	129	511	704	0
Zambia	7	240	425	981	1,653	1
Zimbabwe	36	5,069	3,386	7,137	15,628	25
Other Africa	370	2,436	5,365	17,493	25,664	12

Source: Statistics South Africa, as cited in Budlender (2013)

The DHA system for the regularisation of Zimbabweans who arrive without official documentation in SA is due to two issues: Zimbabwe's political and economic turmoil. This turmoil has driven migration towards SA's strong economy. Of all of the TRPs issued to SADC citizens in 2011, half (49.2%) were awarded to Zimbabweans, followed by Lesotho (8.5%), the Democratic Republic of Congo (8.2%), Angola (6.4%) and Malawi (6.4%) (Moyo & Nshimbi, 2020).

Table 2.2 describes new applications for asylum by SADC citizens in 2011 to the DHA. This information supports the argument that political and economic problems in the countries of dispatch lead to the decision of people to migrate. Many Malawian asylum seekers were able to describe the poor economic and political situation in Malawi in 2011. Nevertheless, Malawi has supplied SA with labour historically (Moyo & Nshimbi, 2020).

Data on work permits between 1990 and 2011 are based on annual reporting from the DHA (Budlender, 2013: 31). These data show that new authorisations have been progressively updated during this time, except for 2000, 2004 and 2010.

South African citizens or spouses and children of permanent residents are eligible for permanent residency. While the DHA gives permits to permanently working foreigners, the number of these allowances for employment purposes is not shown in Table 2.2.

The deportation scheme in post-apartheid SA shows the number of deportations to be among the highest in the world. An immediate post-apartheid policy for undocumented migrants was implemented and was deporting 180 000 people a year in 1999 and over 1.5 million people by 2007 (Crush & Dodson, 2007: 446).

For the significant number of undocumented migrants to become more organised in SA, changes were made to SA's immigration policies to avoid mass deportations. South Africa introduced the Documentation of Zimbabweans Project (DZP) in 2010 to regularise Zimbabweans without official documentation. In 2010/2011 the DHA deported only 58 825 of 224 000 after the DZP regularised many Zimbabweans (Department of Home Affairs [DHA], 2011: 42). The number of temporary and permanent authorisations issued during the same time deviated from the goal of 80 000 to 239 992 due to the DZP (DHA, 2011: 42).

While SA was still under apartheid rule, Mozambicans who entered SA during the 1980s during the Mozambican civil war had not been clustered before 1993 (Schachter, 2009: 6). In 2000, following a revised policy on refugees in SA, the DHA regularised those citizens. It is also worth noting that Mozambique and Zimbabwe have been receiving SADC-born undocumented

migrants since 1994 because of one of four SA government amnesties. The most comprehensive amnesty for 1996 was to include all SADC citizens who had arrived in SA before 1 July 1991 (Mengelkoch, 2001). South African refugees who did not apply for SADC amnesty were also explicitly granted amnesty during that time (Peberdy, 2009).

Today, SA immigration rules are tighter and discourage 'illegal' immigration (especially unqualified migrants). Nevertheless, SA seems to be adopting a less exclusive stance on eligible migrants than before. This is expressed in the Immigration Acts of 2002 and 2004 which allow for lack of skills and for the pace at which professionals emigrate.

2.4 Factors contributing to irregular movement in general

This section looks at the factors contributing to the irregular movement of people across borders in general. Globally, it has been documented that irregular migration is driven by a multifaceted and complex set of factors ranging from macro- to micro-level variables (Farrant, MacDonald & Sriskandarajan, 2005). Futo and Jandl (2004: 4) purport:

> Following the political transformations in formerly socialist countries after 1989, the new freedoms of movement, deplorable social and economic conditions, rapid industrial restructuring of the formerly centrally planned economies coupled with low incomes and high unemployment and escalating political and violent conflicts have all conspired to drive people abroad in the search for better lives, often via irregular means.

Thus, the geographical distribution of irregular migration flows in Central and Eastern European countries has become more complex over the years. Irregular migrants and their facilitators constantly develop new routes and ways in response to changes in laws, visa regulations and stricter enforcement measures (Futo & Jandl, 2004).

Futo and Jandl (2004) further state that in Poland the number of irregular migrants detected at official border crossing points has increased remarkably, especially with the use of counterfeit documents, visas or migrants hidden in cars or trucks.

Morehouse and Blomfield (2011) argue that irregular migration has been the subject of increasing and ongoing public debate in both Europe and the United States in recent years. In Europe, this issue rose to great public prominence during the summer of 2008, with daily reports of unauthorised migrants reaching Mediterranean shores with others losing their lives in the process. They further argue that irregular migration negatively impacts host countries by undermining the rule of law, fostering labour exploitation, increasing poverty (by taking jobs away from native workers or adding to numbers of poor in a country) and adding pressure on the provision of public services.

According to Kaya (2008), other pathways to irregular movement include the overstaying of tourist and other visas, working irregularly or remaining in the country after failed asylum application. Uehling (2004) states that many sources view irregular migration as symptomatic of globalisation and the transnational 'flows' of people, capital and ideas.

According to Kirshner (2013), United Nations data indicate that 6.9 million migrants are residing in Ukraine and estimate that 1.6 million of these have no regular migration status.

According to Kuschminder and Dora (2009), irregular cross-border movement from Afghanistan is not only common but also widespread and becoming increasingly more dispersed, especially to neighbouring Pakistan and Iran. The main reason to migrate appears to

have shifted over time. The movement was more related to security or political considerations before 2001, whereas, since then, it is primarily driven by the search for employment.

2.4.1 Irregular migration: Southern Africa Development Community context

This section looks at irregular migration within the SADC context. According to the 2000 SADC Regional Human Development Report, the average Human Development Index for the SADC region in 1998 was 0.538 in comparison to 0.568 in 1995. Further in the report, poverty (i.e., lack of access to water and malnutrition) in all its dimensions is one of the major development challenges facing the SADC region and forces people to migrate irregularly.

In the report, it is further reflected that the problem of poverty has been more aggravated by the severe drought that has hit the region and is manifested in the food crisis. In 2002, about 14 million people were threatened with starvation in the region. The poverty situation in Southern Africa is a consequence of economic, technical, environmental, social, political and exogenous factors and resulted in the mobility of people both documented and undocumented.

2.4.2 Irregular migration: South African context

This section looks at irregular migration within the South African context. According to Waller (2006), irregular migration poses a considerable problem for SA in migration management, population planning, infrastructure development, resource management, governance, social services, economic development and security.

Trimikliniotis, Gordon and Zondo (2008), indicate that at the end of apartheid the number of migrations to SA went up. Between 1994 and 1996, an estimated 5 million illegal immigrants entered SA from African countries. The exact number of illegal immigrants in the country will

not be an accurate figure. They further state that the scale of undocumented and irregular migrant workers or 'illegal migrants' is impossible to accurately quantify because they are a clandestine population.

According to Tati (2008), SA has some of the most discouraging legislation in terms of facilitating documentation to enter the country as a legal migrant. This has contributed to an increase in irregular movement into SA.

According to a Trade and Agriculture Directorate report, certain key documents are only issued in capital cities and large commercial centres, away from where actual cross-border trade is conducted (Trade and Agriculture Directorate/Trade Committee, 2008). This poses challenges for traders as the exercise to obtain such documentation becomes expensive because they must travel long distances to cities. It also means that traders are not making money while their trade is closed during their travel time to obtain the necessary documentation to enable them to trade. Consequently, some of these traders have been inclined to trade informally across borders (TAD/TC, 2008).

The irregular movement is also caused by human trafficking and smuggling of people across borders particularly from neighbouring countries to SA (Tati, 2008).

Tsheola (2008) argues that the cost of obtaining visas and passports is said to be expensive and the process is often very long, thereby leading to an increase in illegal migration as migrants seek alternative ways to enter SA. He further argues that socio-economic factors are contributors to the irregular movement as people are often forced to migrate to neighbouring countries in search of better living conditions.

In the case of Mozambique, it became evident that tightening visa restrictions in 2002 did not effectively prevent irregular migration. The non-refundable high fee of R430 to lodge a visa application is likely to have discouraged migrants from applying for a visa at all, making clandestine entry more appealing. Consequently, in September 2004, SA and Mozambique agreed to abolish visas for their citizens visiting each other's countries for less than 30 days. This agreement was signed and came into force in April 2005 (Waller, 2006).

Waller (2006) further states that for some migrants it may not be possible to meet the permit requirements. For instance, many of those entering SA to seek work would not qualify for a work permit. This is exacerbated by the legislation process of acquiring a work permit and the financial implications thereof.

2.4.3 Statistics of movement into South Africa

This section looks at the movement control statistics and statistics regarding deportation. Table 2.3 shows the deportations of SADC citizens from SA for 1990–1996.

Table 2.3: Deportations of SADC citizens from SA (1990–1996)

Country	**1990**	**1991**	**1992**	**1993**	**1994**	**1995**	**1996**
Angola		1	4	1	18	39	69
Botswana	596	604	458	105	48	11	7
Lesotho	3832	4440	6235	3090	4073	4087	3334
Malawi	78	177157		250	398	1154	1920
Mozambique	42330	47074	61210	80926	71279	131689	157425
Namibia			337	219	88	84	
Swaziland	1225	1828	2283	789	981	837	1589
Tanzania	6	15	47	52	241	836	998
Zambia	1	1	11	1	16	23	20
Zimbabwe	5363	7174	12033	10861	12931	17549	14651
Total	53404	67314	82438	95782	90203	156313	180107

Source: SAMP Migration Data Base

The practice of deporting irregular migrants is not effective, since deportees return to SA using various illegal channels and re-enter the country within a short time after deportation.

Table 2.4 shows the trends and demographics of statistics of deportation yearly from 1994–2004 and Table 2.5 shows the same data for 2000–2004:

Table 2.4: Number of deportations per year and top three countries of origin (1994–1999)

COUNTRY	**1994**	**1995**	**1996**	**1997**	**1998**	**1999**
Mozambique	71 279	131 689	157 425	146 285	141 506	123 961
Zimbabwe	12 931	17 549	14 651	21 673	28 548	42 769
Lesotho	4 073	4 087	3 344	4 077	4 900	6 003
Other	2 409	3 759	5 293	4 316	6 332	11 128
TOTAL	90 692	15 7084	18 0713	17 6351	18 1286	18 3861

Source: 1994 – 2000, Annual Reports; Department of Home Affairs

Table 2.5: Number of deportations per year and top three countries of origin (2000–2004)

COUNTRY	**2000**	**2001**	**2002**	**2003**	**2004**
Mozambique	84 738	94 404	83 695	82 067	81 619
Zimbabwe	45 922	47 697	38 118	55 753	72 112
Lesotho	5 871	5 871	5 977	5 278	7 447
Other	9 044	8 045	8 779	9 541	5 938
TOTAL	145 575	156 123	135 870	154 808	167 137

Source: 2001 – 2004, Department of Home Affairs: Head Office

Zimbabweans mainly using the Beitbridge Border Post remain the second greatest challenge and have steadily increased as a percentage of the total from 8% in 1996 to 43% by 2004. This also shows that despite democracy in SA, irregular migration is still a challenge. The latest statistics from the DHA Annual Report 2017–2018 Vote No. 5 show 15 033 deportations (DHA, 2017).

2.4.4 Movement of humans through border posts and its challenges

Goertz and Diehl (1992) state that borders were developed mainly for political reasons; states are perceived as the most important subjects of international activities and the borders between them are treated as rigid dividing lines that protect state sovereignty and national security. State borders in SADC were established under colonial rule. These were political demarcations and mirrored the military, economic and political powers of neighbouring states.

According to Mbembé (2000: 34), most African wars do not have their immediate point of origin in border disputes resulting from colonial divisions. Mbembé further points out that borders are arbitrary and somewhat a moot point. There is no such thing as a natural border anywhere – all are subjective and political constructs to some degree.

According to Tati (2008), smuggling across borders provides a cheaper way of facilitating clandestine entry into a country. Some borderline areas in SA have experienced a large concentration of irregular migrants whose traditions (including their language) are quite similar to the indigenous population (Tati, 2008).

The situation of social and economic chaos prevailing in Zimbabwe generates considerable numbers of illegal economic migrants. Smuggling has become such a lucrative survival strategy for many people in the areas along the borders that smugglers' touts often operate in the open (Tati, 2008).

At some of the borders between neighbouring countries, government officials, including police officers at the border post, end up being bribed. Border jumpers are made to pay between R800 and R1 000 per trip, while conventional transport costs around R300 (Tati, 2008).

2.5 Mechanisms dealing with irregular movement in general

According to Jandl (2005), following the changes in the technical operations of human smugglers, the EU sought to enforce stricter and more efficient border management measures. A few examples are the following:

- The lack of a visa policy in Kosovo since 1999 has prompted a significant number of irregular migrants to enter Europe directly via Pristina airport (Kosovo).
- Since Bosnia and Herzegovina introduced a visa requirement for Iranian citizens in December 2000 and a stricter regime of entry for Turkish citizens through the airport in Sarajevo, an increasing number of irregular migrants from these countries have used other routes to Western European destinations.
- In Serbia, the application of a stricter visa regime for Chinese citizens since 2001 together with the discontinuance of direct Belgrade-Peking flights have quickly led irregular Chinese migrants to use alternative entry points to Europe (Jandl, 2005:13).

In SA, when the African National Congress (ANC) government took over power in 1994, they had to deal with numerous challenges of implementing an immigration policy that would suit the transformative and developmental needs of the nation. It is in line with these needs that the political discourse on immigration over the past years has increasingly focused on curbing irregular migration (Tati, 2008: 1).

The elimination of rigid border formalities and the modernisation of border procedures through the use of passport scanning machines were designed to facilitate free and easier movement of persons across borders (Adepoju, 2007: 169).

However, a report of the National Council of Provinces (National Council of Provinces, 2015) stated that the infrastructure was no longer adequate to deal with irregular migration coming through the Beitbridge Border Post. For example, when there were increases in staff manning the border, the DHA sometimes forgot to find accommodation for the extra staff. In other instances, management could not be updated on what was happening in and around the border post because of the outdated communication infrastructure at the port of entry.

Tati (2008: 11) notes that:

> As part of the 2002 Immigration Act, supplementary measures were introduced to tighten visa restrictions. These have proven to be of little effect in preventing irregular migration as smuggling across the borders provides cheaper ways of facilitating clandestine entry into the country.

The alarmist discourse around the number of irregular migrants has been the foundation of an interventionist approach heavily focussing on deportation to curb irregular migration. Detection occurred in various instances. Some short-period migrants may easily be detected by the controlling mechanisms in place such as the national movement control system. Most of the time, employed migrants in irregular situations get detected when their employers report their presence to the police to avoid paying wages.

According to Tati (2008: 15), the practice of deporting irregular migrants is not really effective. Most deportees return to SA using various illegal channels and re-enter the country within a short time after deportation. A retrospective appraisal of past mechanisms (Table 2.6) suggests that the South African government has not fully demonstrated how to promote the so-called migration of quality or to stem irregular migration (Tati, 2008).

Table 2.6: Selected policy measures implemented to regulate irregular migration

Date/ period	**Legal framework instruments**	**Aims**
1995	Aliens Control Act 1991 (amended) • employer sanctions • deportation	Detection of irregular migrants
	Amnesty offered to mineworkers from 1989 and to illegal SADC nationals who had been in the country since 1 July 1991	Prevention of the employment of irregular migrants
	Detection of fraudulent use of documents, surveillance of smuggling routes, monitoring of national borders for unauthorised migration	Granting of permanent residence
2000 to present	Operation crackdown led by the SAPS in areas with high concentrations of unauthorised migration	To eradicate crime in areas predominantly inhabited by African immigrants
	Increased obstruction of irregular migration (criminalisation of human trafficking, legal disregard of fraudulent marriages, instituting of fines and penalties, disseminating information to missions abroad, training of immigration officials to identify fraudulent passports, visa stamps and permits)	To fight against irregular migration
	Reinforcement of deportation (despite the heavy costs associated with this practice)	

Source: Tati (2008) as compiled from Waller (2006)

One of the aspects emphasised in these amendments is the government's harsh attitude towards irregular migrants. Increased irregular immigration following the inception of democracy in SA is indicated. Between 1990 and 1997, the South African authorities deported a considerable number of citizens from SADC and these accounted for 99.7% of the total of deportees (Crush & Williams, 2001).

The issue of irregular movement is not only happening now and is not limited to SA – it is a global issue. While many countries face the problem of irregular movement, they employ different policies and approaches to deal with the problem.

Ambrosini (2017) suggests that despite many efforts to combat irregular immigration, there is a widespread perception of a failure of public policies in this field. Further studies also suggest that the policies of states and supranational bodies seem to have had little success in preventing unwanted flows and effectively managing irregular movement (Castles, 2004).

2.6 Theoretical framework

The study is guided by Border theory and Phantom Border theory.

2.6.1 Border theory

According to Johnson and Michaelsen (1997), Lugo (2007) and Pike (2006), conceptual borderlands separate people and countries rather than uniting them. Re-theorising the border and borderlands from a cultural-historical theory perspective provides a way of looking at differences within a whole and integral perspective. Lugo (2007: 107) further explains how the concept of borderland is "vague and undetermined, and always transitional".

Borderlands have been conceptualised as unfamiliar places (Mattingly, 2008) and lacking totality and wholeness (Michaelsen & Johnson, 1997). Borders connote 'something' between two things, something that divides people geographically and physically (Johnson and Michaelsen, 1997).

2.6.2 Phantom border theory

Phantom Border theory can be defined as political and cultural boundaries that existed in the past but that have lost or altered in whole or in part their functions or symbolic value (Jańczak, 2015). However, boundaries continue to manifest themselves in various forms in economic, social and cultural activities (Zajc, 2019). Phantom borders can be considered former state borders, which become administrative and which cover, for example, borders between provinces or regions and boundaries (Baars & Schlottmann, 2015).

Borders have varying degrees of legitimacy, i.e., recognised by the international community and the rule of international law (Murray & Marx, 2013). However, there is a view that borders were a symbol of colonialism, as they were imposed by the colonialists. As such, increasing voices are calling for the removal of borders to the pre-colonial standards.

2.7 Conclusion

This literature review reveals that irregular movement is driven by a multifaceted and complex set of factors which range from macro- to micro-level variables (Kirshner, 2013). More specifically these factors include informal trade, poverty, unemployment and the unaffordable cost of visas and passports.

The irregular movement is also caused by criminal activities through human trafficking and smuggling of people across borders particularly from neighbouring countries to SA.

The literature further indicates that countries (including SA) have put in place measures and mechanisms to deal with irregular movement which they perceive as posing a socio-economic and security threat. These measures include the deportation of detected irregular migrants which has considerably increased in numbers as the country faces an influx of migrants of all types (including forced migrants) from within and outside Southern Africa.

While the literature identifies and discusses these measures different countries and regions have put in place to deal with irregular movement, it provides little in terms of understanding their effectiveness. The above literature indicates that the focus of the current scholarship has mainly been on push-pull factors resulting from the structural mismatch between the social and the political conditions of sending and receiving countries.

No specific attention has been paid to the impact of measures or mechanisms put in place i.e., whether mechanisms or measures countries have adopted are effective or contributing to the very same problem they are meant to address. Using the Beitbridge Border Post in Limpopo, SA, as a case study, this research is an attempt towards filling this knowledge gap.

Chapter 3: Research Methodology

3.1 Introduction

This study explores factors contributing to irregular cross-border movements into SA and the effectiveness of the systems put in place for border management control. The nature of this study requires data to be collected from participants with background knowledge on irregular cross-border movement. This chapter outlines the research approach, design, data collection and analysis methods.

3.2 Research approach

According to Rowlands (2003), research approaches provide a rough guiding framework within which specific methods and techniques can be used. Methods are the step-by-step specifics of how an approach is put into practice. There are various approaches to research which include qualitative, quantitative and mixed method approaches.

This study is exploratory in nature. Saunders and Lewis (2012: 110) describe exploratory research as that which aims to seek new insights, ask new questions and to assess topics in a new light. This exploration follows a qualitative approach. Creswell (2007) emphasises that qualitative research is conducted to understand the contexts and settings in which participants in a study address a problem or issue (Creswell, 2007: 40). This approach is appropriate for this study as participants (whether those mandated with border control management or those perceived to be perpetrators of illegal movement) will have differing contexts, experiences and settings to the subject of this study.

3.3 Research design

This research follows a case study approach and uses the Beitbridge Border Post in Limpopo, SA, as the research site. The Beitbridge Border Post is selected because it is one of the strategic border posts between SA and Zimbabwe and the busiest border control post on the North-South Corridor within SADC.

The researcher was stationed at the Beitbridge Border Post from 15 to 27 November 2018 to conduct interviews.

The researcher had arranged and confirmed appointments before travelling to Limpopo. The researcher had also enlisted the company of a Defence Intelligence officer to facilitate access to the Beitbridge Border Post and also to drive along the cut fence as part of gathering evidence of factors contributing to irregular movement into SA.

The case study gave the researcher a broader perspective and deeper understanding of why there was a high influx of irregular cross-border movement into SA and on the effectiveness of the mechanisms put in place to manage borders.

3.3.1 Research instruments

This study used in-depth qualitative interviews. According to Saunders and Lewis (2012), the interviews allow for the researcher to have a set of questions and topics to be covered and allow for the researcher to omit certain questions or to ask additional questions. Creswell, Hanson, Plano Clark and Morales (2007), also add that semi-structured interviews are best suited for in-

depth studies. This method allowed the researcher to probe and get detailed views on the factors contributing to irregular cross-border movement at the Beitbridge Border Post.

3.3.2 Study population and sample

According to De Vos, Strydom, Fouché and Delport (2005), a sample comprises elements of the populations considered for actual inclusion in the study.

The sampling method used in this study is purposive sampling. Saunders and Lewis (2012: 138) describe purposive sampling as a type of non-probability sampling in which the researcher's judgement is used to select the sample members based on a range of reasons and premises.

Gibson (2009) also adds that purposive sampling aims at selecting possible research participants because they possess characteristics, roles, opinions, knowledge, ideas, experiences or whatever else that may be particularly relevant to the research. The researcher used his judgement to actively select the participants.

This study selected its sample from three population groups which are the main stakeholders involved in the daily cross-border movement at the Beitbridge Border Post. These include:

1. Members of BCOCC including the DHA, SAPS, SANDF and BMA.
2. Members of a Non-Government Organisation (NGO) working on migration-related matters;
3. Members of the Local Cross-Border Transport Industry (LCBTI).

Using the purposive sampling technique described, the researcher selected participants from different institutions. A sample size of eighteen participants was utilised for the study.

3.4 Data collection

Data collection refers to the process of collecting information. Data collection for this study involved in-depth face to face interviews with selected participants. The research used a pre-prepared interview guide (see Appendix 1). The researcher used a voice recording device with the consent of the interviewees. Interviews were conducted in English and any other local language in which the respondents were comfortable to communicate. Northern Sotho was used with some interviewees. Recorded interviews were later transcribed for analysis.

The researcher used different places convenient to the interviewees for interviews: SAPS members used their Beitbridge Border Post offices; three DHA members were interviewed at their Beitbridge offices; SANDF members chose their working place just outside Nancefield area; Border Management Authority (BMA) members used the local restaurant just before the Beitbridge border; the three NGO members used their offices at Nancefield; the three LCBTI members used the taxi rank next to the Beitbridge rank; two Member of Border Community (MBC) members used their own places at Nancefield; one MBC member chose the restaurant just outside the Beitbridge Border Post.

3.4.1 Data analysis

This section describes the analysis of the data collected from 20 interviewees as per the themes identified.

According to Mouton (2001), analysis is to understand the various constitutive elements of one's data and see whether there are any patterns or trends that can be identified or isolated. Pope, Ziebland and Mays (2000: 114) add that qualitative research uses analytical categories to

describe and explain social phenomena. These categories may be derived inductively – that is, obtained gradually from the data – or used deductively, either at the beginning or part way through the analysis as a way of approaching the data.

Because this research is exploratory, the data have been categorised into identifying patterns and themes.

3.4.2 Ethical consideration

Ethics plays a critical role in any research. Researchers need to adhere to the research principles of which ethics are at the centre. The researcher informed all the participants about relevant ethical issues pertaining to this research. The researcher explained the purpose of the study and informed the participants of their voluntary participation as well as confidentiality matters. Informed consent was sought and obtained from all participants; the researcher used verbal consent. Ethical clearance in line with academic requirements was also granted for this study. The ethics clearance was approved by the faculty.

3.5 Limitations of the study

When approached, some interviewees were hesitant to share confidential information with the researcher. Getting access to key stakeholders was a challenge and some of the government officials were not prepared to divulge what is really happening at the border post in terms of corrupt activities.

The researcher was able to use the member of Defence Intelligence as he was known to most of the interviewees, even though he was not part of the interviews.

He attends meetings with them, discussing the same issues of irregular movement, and that is how they were able to open up to the researcher.

The researcher had to explain further to the respondents that their information is protected and that they will not be identified whatsoever. If the researcher had not further explained the process, he would not have obtained the necessary information for the project.

Chapter 4: Data Presentation

4.1 Introduction

This chapter provides a detailed presentation of the findings from this study, which seeks to understand the factors contributing to irregular human cross-border movements into SA. Using the Beitbridge Border Post in Limpopo, SA, as a case study, this research identifies a multiplicity of factors contributing to irregular movements. These factors include corruption, poor infrastructure, inadequate office equipment, poor working conditions and the poor economic situations in neighbouring countries. Table 4.1 presents the list of participants interviewed during this study. All the interviews were conducted at or near the Beitbridge Border Post.

Table 4.1: List of research participants

Participant's code for use by the researcher	**Gender**	**Institution of which participant is a member**	**Participant's code for data management and reporting**
SA	Female	SAPS	SAPS-RA
SB	Male	SAPS	SAPS-RB
SC	Female	SAPS	SAPS-RC
DA	Male	DHA	DHA-RA
DB	Male	DHA	DHA-RB
DC	Female	DHA	DHA-RC
CA	Male	SANDF	SANDF-RA
CB	Male	SANDF	SANDF-RB
CC	Male	SANDF	SANDF-RC

Participant's code for use by the researcher	**Gender**	**Institution of which participant is a member**	**Participant's code for data management and reporting**
MA	Male	BMA	BMA-RA
MB	Female	BMA	BMA-RB
NA	Male	NGO	NGO-RA
NB	Male	NGO	NGO RB
NC	Female	NGO	NGO-RC
LA	Male	LCBTI	LCBTI-RA
LB	Male	LCBTI	LCBTI-RB
LC	Male	LCBTI	LCBTI-RC
BC	Male	MBC	MBC-RA
BC	Female	MBC	MBC-RB

Insights were drawn from 20 participants from different areas including members of the MBC, SAPS, SANDF, NGOs, DHA, BMA and LCBTI. Data were analysed using thematic analysis.

4.2 Poor working conditions

The poor working conditions at the Beitbridge Border Post contribute to a lack of discipline as well as increased absenteeism. Participants DHA RA, DHA RB and DHA RC indicated that colleagues are demotivated and discouraged to come to work when poor working conditions prevail. They stated:

> *Colleagues are demotivated with bad working conditions I mentioned to you and others absent themselves, so there is no way they can do the right as expected.*

According to participants, the only way to reduce absenteeism is for management to increase salaries, improve working conditions and introduce team-building exercises. Participant DHA RA elaborated on this by saying:

Firstly, if management can start by improving working conditions, increasing staff notches, having team-building exercises among ourselves and dealing with the issue of absenteeism by firing those who absent themselves it will teach others a lesson.

Irregular movement is enabled by demotivated staff. Some staff are ill-disciplined and involved in corrupt activities. These poor working conditions encourage staff to engage in unethical business practices such as corruption and absenteeism. Participants share the view that it is because of poor working conditions that unethical business practices occur.

Further, participants reported low salaries and a lack of effective management to deal with poor work practices. Management's ability to manage effectively is affected by the culture of poor workmanship amongst all employees, including the managers. Because of this, the quality of work produced is low. As such, it becomes increasingly difficult to enforce any sort of discipline.

Staff pay less attention to doing the right thing and resort to strategies that help them to improve their personal earnings. This is achieved by engaging in corrupt activities. This is illustrated by the extracts below:

> *Our working conditions and foreigners coming to the country. Our colleagues are accepting bribes from undocumented. The air-conditioning not working which affect us because it will*

be too hot, just stamping the passport without checking properly to push the line. (Participants DHA RB and DHA RC)

The management must improve working conditions and salaries, get new chairs and maintain air-conditioning. These will motivate workers not to be involved in corruption activities. (Participant DHA RA)

Workplaces are too hot and not well ventilated. This forces staff to put very minimal effort into doing their jobs or executing their work mandates. They do not even pay attention to the passports. The same theme is reinforced by members of the SAPS team as illustrated by the extract below:

Also, our working condition at the point is not good; the chairs the colleagues are using are very old and tiring to be used. Such conditions don't motivate colleagues to do their work as expected. Some looking for a job at local farmers and establishing their small business, such as hair salons and so on. (Participants SAPS RA and SAPS RB)

The office furniture is very old and needs replacing. It appears that nothing has been done about this for a very long time. As such, there is a lot of discomfort within the offices. This impacts employee motivation. It is for this reason that some SAPS members do not do their work as expected. Similar concerns are shared by members of the BMA, as illustrated by the extract below:

Working conditions of employees are also the factor because they are not motivated, particularly DHA employees. When is too hot, their air conditions are malfunctioning and continue stamping fraudulent passport because they don't care and others receive bribes … If the staff is not motivated, they end up allowing people without proper documentation and

these are issues raised by employees themselves to their managers, even though some is their daily thing to be involved in corruption … No, it is the responsibility of individual managers to motivate their members. We can only advise or recommend as border management but implementation is for each institution to do. (Participant BMA RB)

With the malfunctioning air conditioners, the DHA employees cannot be expected to execute their duties properly. Consequently, the DHA employees end up stamping fraudulent passports and accepting bribes. There is a sense of not being cared for and, as such, they end up engaging in unethical business practices so that they can improve their welfare. Though the DHA employees at the border have raised this issue previously, no action has been taken to address the issue of poor working conditions.

4.3 Corruption

Participants cited that government officials are involved in corruption which promotes irregular cross-border movements into SA. They further added that criminal activities linked to corruption involve government officials allowing the entry of irregular movers in exchange for money.

Corruption leads to an overflow of irregular migrants into SA. This is illustrated by a sample of extracts from different participants below:

SAPS members are involved in corruption by taking money from some of the drivers not to be searched thoroughly. Also, members of the army at the borderline take bribes from undocumented crossing through the dry river because the fence is cut down. There will be overflowing of irregular migrants in the country and continuing infighting between South Africans and foreign nationals. (LCBTI RA, LCBTI RB and LCBTI RC)

There is also a lack of basic equipment for officials to conduct their duties. This is illustrated by the extract from participant SAPS RC:

> *There are challenges of corruption as I told you before … Yes, other systems like CCTV are working okay well … These challenges can be addressed if our seniors can prioritise fixing the other two scanners and dealing with those involved in corruption. In that way, irregular migrants will be minimised.*

Equipment such as scanners is not working. This creates an opportunity for corruption when passports are not scanned. By stating that dealing with those involved in corruption is necessary, participant SAPS RC is focussing attention on a culture of corruption that is endemic among officials. It appears that there are minimal efforts to deal with those involved in corruption.

Members of the MBC have an awareness that officials working at the border are involved in corruption with irregular migrants. This is illustrated by participant MBC RB in the extract below:

> *The challenge is our police and DHA officials involved in corruption with irregular migrants … Because the police and DHA officials are involved in corruption by taking money from the irregular movers … If the police and DHA officials can stop being involved in corruption the situation could improve.*

The culture of corruption is known publicly. This involves an exchange between SAPS and, DHA officials and the irregular movers. Irregular movers pay money to the officials so that they can be granted access into SA outside the legal channels.

There seems to be no end to the corrupt practices and this renders the current strategies surrounding undocumented migrants ineffective.

According to participants, corruption among officials from different government departments working at the border (i.e., DHA, SANDF, SAPS, SARS) is one of the main contributing factors to irregular movement at the border. When participant SAPS RA, who is a government official, was asked about factors contributing to irregular movements at Beitbridge, she said:

> *Some of our members are also involved in corruption activities by allowing irregular migrants to cross to the country for money*.

Participant SAPS RA expressed frustration with the corruption by adding that "as much as we arrest irregular migrants, some of our own members help irregular migrants to cross over to SA for exchange of money".

Participants (most of whom are also officials from the same government departments) indicated that the nature of this corruption differs from one official to another. For example, SAPS officers take money to allow criminals smuggling illegal human beings and illegal firearms into SA; SARS officials are bribed for not searching and confiscating suspect goods; DHA officials stamp fraudulent passports. The words of participant BMA RA describe these instances:

> *Some of the police officers are involved in bribing, taking money from people smuggling people inside the cars and smuggling illegal firearms. And members of DHA also receiving money for stamping fraudulent passport to pass through the border. SARS officials not confiscating suspecting goods knowing very well they are supposed to search those goods and SANDF also receiving money at the borderline.*

Participant BMA RB also confirmed that corruption is the order of the day at the border and that it is not only SAPS members involved in corruption but other officials from other departments are also involved. This participant stated:

Members of DHA, SARS and we are told members of SANDF receive a lot of money to allow irregular migrants and that contributes to the challenge in managing the border effectively.

Participants indicated that it is the responsibility of SAPS members to search vehicles and their contents at the border but this is not done properly due to corruption. Consequently, criminals can smuggle illegal immigrants across the border and there is no sign of this stopping. Participant BMA RB added:

There was a story which spread through social media showing people caught inside the car and at the back of the boot of the vehicle. Five people were packed as if is luggage and it was not only young boys and young girls also older people, but SAPS members don't take that as a lesson.

Participant SAPS RB added that because of poor conditions at the borderline, some SANDF members take advantage of these conditions by taking money from irregular movers:

In my personal opinion, the factors contributing to irregular cross-border is that the borderline fence is cut down, which attracts migrants to cross to SA and some of our colleagues are involved in corruption activities by allowing undocumented migrants to cross to SA.

Participant DHA RC stated:

It is greed by criminals both foreign nationals and South Africans including law enforcement members who are involved in corruption, the police and the army.

Respondent LCBTI RA, who normally crosses the border daily, transporting South Africans travelling to Zimbabwe and Zimbabweans travelling to SA, observed that SAPS members do not search their vehicles as expected. He stated:

SAPS members are involved in corruption by taking money from some of the drivers not to search thoroughly.

The participant pointed out that the danger of vehicles not being searched at all is that human beings are smuggled between the countries. He added:

Yes, we will not be searched and I will wonder the day we are not searched. People will smuggle unwanted items; in fact, some drivers smuggle human beings.

Participant LCBTI RC agreed with participant LCBTI RA that SAPS members do not conduct searches as expected and open the gap for smugglers to cross the border without being searched. He added:

The smugglers take chances on the day we are not searched or arrange with corrupt SAPS members so today we are not being searched and later they pay the police.

Participant LCBTI RC further said that because of the fence being cut, some members of SANDF are bribed and allow irregular movers to smuggle cigarettes into the country. He stated:

SANDF are responsible for the borderline where the fence is cut down, so irregular movement use borderline to cross over in the presence of some of the soldiers because they also receive bribes. Others drive through because the area is open and some smuggle cigarettes. We are told during our meetings that some members of SANDF are involved with that cigarette smuggling.

Like other participants cited above, participant LCBTI RC argued that corruption among government officials is one of the key factors contributing to the irregular cross-border movement into SA.

Corruption is endemic and is talked about by officials from different departments. There is an awareness about corruption, as illustrated by participant DHA RB in the extract below:

> *Yes, I am aware of irregular movement at Beitbridge and there are also officials of SAPS and DHA involved in helping irregulars to cross the border. I have two of my friends working at the border control. One is a DHA official and one a SAPS member; they talk about this during our relaxation drinking beer … My friend told me that they have exchanged telephone numbers and communicate when they come so that they avoid to be arrested, to make arrangements … From the gate there will be policemen, allowing their client to cross with the vehicle and inside the immigration booth, going to their immigration officer, for stamping passport, when fraudulent.*

Here, it is clear that officials of SAPS and DHA are involved in helping irregulars to cross the border. This help has a price tag. Corrupt activities among officials are even discussed openly during relaxation. This illustrates the deep-rootedness of corruption at the border post. The operation is coordinated and a prior arrangement is made. The irregular movement is pre-planned.

Participant LCBTI RA also shared the view that officials at the border are actively involved in corruption, as illustrated by the extract below:

> *Other factors are corruption done by officials working at the port of entry.*

This means that there is an awareness of corruption at the port of entry. The fact that it is still going on is indicative of ineffective management practices. Further, participant BMA RA had this to say:

> *SARS members are not confiscating goods which are supposed to be searched, knowing very well they are supposed to be searched.*

Irregular movement takes place in the presence of the soldiers. The very soldiers tasked with patrolling the borderline receive bribes and turn a blind eye to irregular movement. Participant BMA RB reveals:

> *Some members of SANDF are involved with those smuggling cigarettes*.

The active involvement of officials in corruption is reinforced by SAPS members, as illustrated by the extract below:

> *Another problem is that some of our colleagues are part of helping undocumented migrants to cross over and get paid … I once noticed one of my colleagues being paid. When I asked what it was all about, I will be told not to ask many questions and I should not talk about that to our seniors … Yes, I was threatened not to talk. Not all of us here are faithful but I did report what happened The officer was found guilty and suspended for four months without pay. (Participant SAPS RC)*

Some officials report corruption when they see it. For instance, participant SAPS RC did report what happened. This was not before he received threats from the corrupt official.

There is an awareness that *SAPS* members are involved in corruption. Here, there is an exchange of money and it is the SAPS members' duty to conduct thorough checks on vehicles. By allowing this exchange, the SAPS members are in effect turning a blind eye to illegal activities. There is also an awareness that government officials must do their work as expected and not accept bribes. However, because of the poor working conditions, the SAPS members engage in the exchange as a means of survival.

Corruption is also cited by members of the SANDF, as illustrated by participant SANDF RC in the extract below:

> *The challenges faced at the borderline is the cutting of the fence by migrants coming to SA. At times, our own members allow undocumented migrants to cross into SA because of the pity and desperation of immigrants looking for jobs … I think we should hold workshops with our members raising the high risk of corruption by allowing undocumented into the country. By closing all the gaps at the fence and maintaining the scanners at the main port of entry and addressing the working conditions so that we can be motivated and looking forward to coming to work.*

It emerged that corruption is encouraged by poor infrastructure such as the cutting of the fence by migrants. A lack of repairs means that opportunities for corruption arise. By stating that SANDF members themselves allow undocumented migrants to cross into South Africa, participant SANDF RC is drawing attention to the deep-rootedness of corruption within the system. This deep-rootedness is known across all departments, as illustrated by participant SAPS RB in the extract below:

> *I told you, scanners and furniture which are very old for our colleagues. Also, corruption is our biggest problem. This one is not only SAPS doing it. Members of DHA, SARS and we*

are told members of SANDF, receives a lot of money to allow irregular migrants and that contribute to the challenges in managing the border effectively.

Here, there is an admission that corruption is endemic and SAPS, DHA, SARS and SANDF are all involved. By stating that corruption is the biggest problem and that not only SAPS is involved, participant SAPS RB draws attention to corruption in all departments.

Participant LCBTI RA is of the view that SAPS members are involved in corruption. Even the members of the army at the borderline take bribes. Hence, undocumented migrants continue to enter SA in broad daylight. Yet, the focus of the policy is on the deportation of irregular migrants. Instead, the focus must be on improving the working conditions of staff at the border so that they disengage in corrupt activities. Participant SAPS RC agrees that there are challenges. Members of the SANDF also share the view that their own members allow undocumented migrants to cross into South Africa. They also believe that there is a high risk of corruption.

The results reveal that corruption done by officials working at the port of entry is endemic. Some of the corruption is done by the police taking bribes from drivers who smuggle people and illegal items. The underlying current that drives this corruption is the working conditions of employees at the border, as mentioned by participant BMA RA:

Members of SAPS are responsible for conducting searches for incoming and outgoing vehicles through border control. Some of the police officers are involved in bribing, taking money from people smuggling people inside the cars, smuggling illegal firearms … And members of DHA also receiving money, stamping fraudulent passport to pass through the

border, SARS not confiscating suspecting goods knowing very well they supposed to search those goods and SANDF also receiving money at the borderline.

Participant BMA RA and BMA RB reveal that officials knowingly turn a blind eye to corrupt activities. By stating that money is received for stamping fraudulent passports to pass through the border, participant BMA RA is drawing attention to the depth of the corruption. This is common practice with officials from all departments, including the DHA, SANDF, SAPS and SARS, as evident in these comments:

A third of our own members (SANDF) and DHA officials are involved in corrupt activities by allowing migrants without documentation for money. (Participant SANDF RC)

Members of police are taking bribes from drivers who smuggle people and illegal items… Members from the army at the borderline also take bribes from undocumented migrants because the fence is cut. (Participant LCBTI RC)

Although corruption is endemic amongst staff, others still abide by the law and follow ethical practices. Once the corrupt individuals are caught, they are investigated internally, charged and arrested if found guilty. Consequences may lead to dismissal or suspension from work without pay, as illustrated by the extract below:

They will be investigated internally and charged and arrested if found guilty … It will depend per the individual case; some will be dismissed and others suspended for months without pay … Yes, that is the unfortunate part (Participant SAPS RA).

Although corruption appears to be the order of the day at the border, there are those officials who are positive and concerned about the challenge. Participant SAPS RA is one such example; she said:

> *The only way to address these challenges is for the government to give us money to fix the fence and scanners and also vet all officials working at the border, including our own members. We are working with people not vetted or their clearance expired and not being re-vetted. The border area is a very sensitive and high-security area.*

4.4 Borderline fence

The borderline fence emerged as another problem. The fence has been cut down and patrols in the area are inadequate. There are few resources to deal with the problem. Within this scenario, staff get involved in corrupt activities, as is illustrated by sample extracts below:

> *The challenges faced at the borderline is the fence which is cut down and having few battalions patrolling in all the open spaces where there is no fence ... I don't know how it can be dealt with … start by maintaining the fence at the borderline with a very strong fence which cannot be cut down. I want to think there is that kind of fence* (Participant SANDF RB)

> *The challenge is our own people not doing their work properly, been involved in corrupt activities and also the challenge of the fence which is cut down at the borderline.* (Participant NGO RB)

> *I think the government is failing to maintain the borderline by not erecting the new fence.* (Participant NGO RA)

The challenge faced at the borderline is the cutting of the fence by migrants coming to SA. (Participant SANDF RC)

Participants share the view that the challenge faced at the borderline is the fence which is cut down. This creates an opportunity for corrupt members to assist irregular migrants into the country. The fact that the fence is not maintained encourages corrupt activities. Members of the army are of the view that there needs to be a very strong fence which cannot be cut down.

4.5 Lack of working equipment

Another factor contributing to irregular cross-border movement is the lack of working equipment, such as scanners, to do the job properly. Participants indicated that the failure to provide adequate working tools and repair equipment contributes to irregularities within the border control system. Participants said that border control is supposed to have three functioning scanners; however, two are out of service.

Coming to systems, the border control is supposed to have three functioning scanners, but we have only one working scanner. The other two are out of service. (Participant BMA RA)

Factors can be the systems at the border control which are very old which need to be changed, such as vehicles scanners because presently they are using one scanner which affects the traffic control of vehicles. (Participant BMA RB)

When plus-minus 500 cars or more drive through one scanner, it takes time. In these pressurised circumstances, some officials without integrity allow cars to pass without ensuring they move through the scanner. This is illustrated by participant SAPS RA in the extract below:

The factors contributing are our systems which are very old without being serviced. The scanners are very old and only one is working as we speak … We are supposed to have three scanners but have only one scanner and it is affecting the processing of vehicles crossing to SA. Our police officers end up allowing cars to pass without being scanned because of the traffic congestion at the port of entry, which is a security concern to continue working like that.

The scanning system is very old and not serviced adequately. This means that there are likely to be malfunctions and this affects operational activities, particularly the processing of vehicles crossing into SA. Long queues are a common sight at the border. Because of a lack of equipment, police officers end up allowing cars to pass without being scanned and this creates an opportunity for bribery and corruption.

There is also an awareness from members of the SANDF that equipment at the border does not work properly. While the scanner system is used by SAPS and customs to check for illegal items and whether the vehicle is stolen or not, it emerges that there is no budget to fix the two non-functioning scanners, as illustrated by the extract below:

The challenges at border control are only one scanner working instead of three of them, for the usage of vehicles to be scanned. This system is used by SAPS and customs to check illegal items and whether the vehicle is stolen or not, when this issue is raised during our security cluster meetings, we are told there is no budget to fix the other two scanners. (Participant SANDF RA)

The lack of a budget for maintenance and repairs worsens the conditions at the border and creates opportunities for smuggling and cross-border transportation of stolen vehicles and other

items. Without proper equipment, the required job cannot be done properly. If there was a willingness to resolve these problems, then the authorities would have allocated a budget to fix the scanners, as illustrated by participant BMA RA in the extract below:

I told you about non-functional scanners … I believe there are no challenges which cannot be resolved. All challenges can be resolved, it depends on the willingness of the authority from different institutions to act with speed and without delay.

The onus is upon senior management to prioritise fixing the scanners. However, it is unclear why management is not prioritising this maintenance. This could help to minimise smuggling and irregular movement.

There is also a lack of basic office furniture and the working environment is uncomfortable.

4.6 Poor economic situation in Zimbabwe

The economic situation in Zimbabwe pushes Zimbabweans to seek jobs and better living conditions in SA. Participants indicated that some of the Zimbabweans enter the country through irregular means and without the required documentation. This is illustrated in the extracts below:

I think the condition in Zimbabwe pushes Zimbabweans to cross to SA for employment because the economy in Zimbabwe is bad. They see SA as a better country to find a job at farmer-owners for cheap labour. The health facilities from Zimbabwe we are told is so bad, because we at times arrest pregnant women, instead of taking them to the police station we take them to the nearest hospital or clinic for treatment and medication. Some of them tell us they need medication and they go back home to Zimbabwe. (Participant SANDF RA)

The economic situation from Zimbabwe is pushing innocent Zimbabweans to SA for jobs and survival and better living standard. The situation is not yet okay, even if former President Mugabe is out. There is a lot to be done in my opinion. Zimbabwe's currency is weak and things are expensive which force them to come to SA. They are coming to SA seeking employment at the local farmers and the local companies and some don't have documentation at all. (Participant SANDF RB)

Zimbabwe has a high rate of unemployment and their economy is bad. Many of the Zimbabweans cross to SA for employment, some taking a risking of crossing without documentation. (Participants SANDF RC and DHA RA)

The living conditions from Zimbabwe are so bad, seen in many Zimbabweans crossing to SA without documentation for jobs. (Participant DHA RB)

Authorities who meet some of the irregular migrants are forced by their moral values to assist them. While the system advises that undocumented migrants must not be allowed into SA, the authorities at the border are driven by their conscience and ubuntu to help the irregular migrants. The idea of ubuntu forces the authorities to ignore some policy guidelines when it involves arresting and deporting irregular migrants. This is reinforced by participant NGO RB in the extract below:

It is informed by the situation in Zimbabwe. These children and mothers are desperate for a better life and means of surviving.

Participant SAPS RA reinforces the issue of the economic situation in Zimbabwe that is encouraging irregular migrants to SA, as illustrated by the extract below:

The economic situation from Zimbabwe encourages irregular migrants to come to SA without documentation, being helped by members of the police and DHA immigration officers for money.

It is important to note that there is an awareness of these irregular migrants and that they come to SA without documentation. Instead of being arrested or deported, they are actually helped by members of the police and DHA immigration officers to get into SA without the required documentation that is stipulated in policies and legislation. This is done for money and interpreted as a bribe and act of corruption among the officials. It is of concern that this goes unchecked.

It also emerged that some of the irregular migrants do not have the financial resources to apply for passports in Zimbabwe. They are extremely desperate and, as such, they travel without any documentation, as illustrated by participant DHA RA in the extract below:

I want to believe there are no jobs in Zimbabwe and people don't have money to apply for a passport to come normal way through port of entry.

It also emerged that there is an understanding that the irregular migrants get into SA to look for jobs. This is illustrated by participant DHA RB in the extract below:

And externally it will be living condition from Zimbabwe, wanting to be in SA, even if they don't have documentation. The majority of irregular movers will be coming for jobs, any kind of job.

Officials at the border understand the desperation of the job seekers and their conscience moves them to help the irregular movers. However, they also help themselves with an agreed bribe.

Here, there is an exchange relationship between the irregular movers and the officials at the border. This relationship is of mutual understanding. Both parties voluntarily and willingly engage in this relationship.

However, it is acknowledged that some irregular movers are arrested daily, as illustrated by participant SAPS RA:

> *On a daily basis, we encounter 300 irregular migrants crossing to SA with the help of DHA officials. When arresting them, some end up confessing to us who helped them to cross the border irregularly … The problem is big. We also receive reports from SANDF arresting 200 to 300 irregular undocumented migrants crossing at the borderline. … On a daily basis, we arrest plus-minus 100 undocumented migrants including those crossing at the borderline arrested by members of SANDF.*

While the notion of ubuntu and the individual moral understanding of some officials may affect how they perform their duties, others arrest the irregular movers. Those arrested are open about who helped them to cross the border. This confession is a sign of desperation to be let free into SA.

Authorities are aware of the routes and tactics of irregular movers. However, making arrests of at least 300 irregular movers a day is an indication of a much wider problem in Zimbabwe, forcing people to leave in their thousands. The irregular movement is caused by the wretched situation in Zimbabwe that forces many people to adopt desperate measures to cross the border into SA.

4.7 Turning a blind eye to smuggling

Participants cited that smuggling is endemic and the order of daily life at the border post. This view was shared by participants from different groups (i.e., LCBTI, SANDF, SAPS, SARS), and is one of the main contributing factors to irregular movement at the border. This is cause for concern as illustrated by a sample of extracts below:

> *And some smuggle cigarettes, we are told during our meetings, so some members SANDF are involved with those cigarettes smuggling … And SARS members are not confiscating goods which are supposed to be searched, knowing very well they are supposed to be searched. (Participant BMA RB)*

> *I am in the transport industry. People talk about this very loosely including some of the police, talking about how much they did for the day. Some say R3000,00 sharing with others, for example for smuggling two cars ... As I said, smuggling of human beings inside the cars, that I know. I saw with my own eyes others being arrested ... I want to believe they are happening daily because we are not searched on a daily basis. The smugglers take chances on the day we are not searched, or arrange with corrupt SAPS members, to be told today we are not searching and later they pay the police. (Participant LCBTI RC)*

The fact that people talk about smuggling very loosely indicates that this has become an inseparable part of daily life at the border. Even some of the police talk about how much money they receive to turn a blind eye to smuggling activities. This indicates that there is an awareness of smuggling amongst officials. The searches at the border are also not consistent. The fact that the smugglers know the days they will not be searched is indicative of organised smuggling activities. This is cause for concern as illustrated by participant SANDF RA:

This kind of information we get it from other members of SANDF who are not involved in taking the money from irregular migrants. The biggest problem of those crossing the borderline is they are crossing with stolen items such as cigarettes, copper and stolen vehicles and this activity is happening two ways, from SA to Zimbabwe and Zimbabwe to SA.

It emerges that smuggling is a two-way process from SA to Zimbabwe and Zimbabwe to SA, with stolen items, such as cigarettes, copper and stolen vehicles, being the order of the day.

Participant SANDF RB revealed full knowledge of smuggling activities and the routes that are used in the extract below:

The situation is so bad because on a daily basis we arrest plus-minus 300 irregular migrants with stolen items such as cigarettes from Zimbabwe to SA ... We have Somalians, Malawians and Pakistanis also with cigarettes smuggled from Zimbabwe to SA.

While there is an awareness of smuggling activities and the routes that are used by smugglers, there is a lack of energy to solve the problem. This also reinforces the view of participant SANDF RA that smuggling is a two-way process:

South Africans are involved using meter taxis for transporting the stolen goods to the nearest location called Nancefield in Musina.

The transporters are known. The location of smuggling activities is known. Yet, despite this awareness and knowledge, smuggling activities are thriving. The officials are not motivated to stop this kind of criminal activity.

That smuggling is rife is indisputable. This is reinforced by participant LCBTI RB who had this to say:

> *I just told you the incident of some drivers smuggling young girls, I don't know what else do other drivers smuggle ... I don't know daily, it happened the day they caught the driver with two young girls. I was working that day with my taxi driving passengers.*

SAPS members are aware of the smuggling and irregular movements. Although they make some arrests, there is continued smuggling activity. This is illustrated by the extract below:

> *We roughly arrest 100 to 200 irregular migrants but it is a fruitless exercise. (Participant SAPS RC)*

Arresting irregular migrants, and smugglers is a fruitless exercise because those arrested will be released upon payment of bribes.

Participant SANDF RB raises the issue of red tape as a stumbling block to resolving problems that are identified. The issue was raised at a security cluster meetings but was not taken seriously. This is illustrated by participant SANDF RB in the extract below:

> *This issue is raised at our security cluster meetings but it seems is not taken seriously. We are told by our generals that this is a big problem between departments. When approaching the Department of Public Works we are told that the borderline was not budgeted for this financial year ... I am not sure when but the red tape of the government is also a problem. I am asking myself why not use our own budget as the army. Our generals say it is the responsibility of the Department of Public Works ... Unfortunately, we arrest them and take them to the police station for deportation by DHA and is not only Zimbabweans crossing the border irregularly ...*

As a result of the red tape and a lack of resources, the numbers of people returning is more and it means that migrants stay longer in the country or decide not to return. Though the undocumented migrants are arrested and taken to the police station for deportation, they still return in numbers.

Participant SANDF RB is of the view that the solution to this vicious cycle is for the fence to be upgraded, as illustrated by the extract below:

> *The situation needs the fence to be upgraded and to upgrade the fence, unfortunately, is not our responsibility as the army. I think it is but am not sure between DHA and Department of Public Works.*

There is also smuggling of illegal items such as firearms and human beings. This is illustrated by participant LCBTI RC in the extract below:

> *Yes, smuggling of illegal items such as firearms and human beings. The police at the time don't conduct searches. That is where smuggling takes place ... Yes, we will not be searched, and I will wonder, the day we are not searched people will smuggle unwanted items, in fact, some drivers smuggle human beings. They once arrested one South African driver who smuggled two young girls in the boot of the car. So am saying the day we are not searched smuggling could be happening that day. It is not correct; it is wrong.*

It is a well-known fact that the police at times do not conduct searches. This allows the smugglers to execute their plans. There is also an awareness that smuggling is wrong but it thrives on days that searching does not take place.

Drivers know that they will not be searched. In fact, drivers and other smugglers are aware of the days that they will not be searched. Participants suggest that members of SAPS are involved in corruption. Similarly, members of the army at the borderline take bribes from undocumented migrants, thereby allowing them to cross the dry river because the fence is cut down. Within this environment, smuggling is rife.

4.8 Poor infrastructure at the Beitbridge Border Post

Several participants indicated that security at the Beitbridge Border Post is compromised as the infrastructure is in a very bad condition. The participants described the situation as very poor and the level of security is at high risk, thus allowing the influx of irregular movers to take advantage of the poor infrastructure.

One of the infrastructural risks is the area where the fence is cut down. Irregular migrants take advantage by crossing at this area as it is not always guarded and, when guarded, they often go through by paying a bribe. This is illustrated by participant DHA RC in the extract below:

> *At the borderline, they cross because the river is dry, the fence is cut down and poor infrastructure at the port of entry. Undocumented migrants take advantage of the environment; they get assisted by DHA and members of SAPS.*

The fact that the fence is cut down provides an opportunity for soldiers to accept bribes. It is of concern that the very same soldiers patrolling the borders take bribes from undocumented migrants. This defeats the whole purpose of patrolling the borderline. Participant SAPS RA elaborated further by saying,

> *At the borderline, they cross because the river is dry, the fence is cut down and also the very same soldiers take bribes from undocumented migrants*.

The terribly bad condition of the infrastructure creates opportunities for stealing cars from SA and driving through the dry river to Zimbabwe. This issue is reinforced by participant SANDF RB, as illustrated by the extract below:

> *Yes, as I told you before the fence is cut down and the situation is terribly bad. The fence is totally on the ground. It is open space in such a way people who are stealing cars from SA and drive through the dry river to Zimbabwe.*

The participant further stated that smugglers with the help of soldiers carry illegal cigarettes across to SA through the borderline where the fence is cut. He added that the soldiers help them by escorting them for a heavy price for smuggling cigarettes into the country. The smugglers will then collaborate with the locals to hide bags of illegal cigarettes at homes for money and later those bags will be collected and distributed to small businesses to be sold. Participant SANDF RC added that:

> *They ask some of the locals staying in Nancefield to put bags of cigarettes in their back yard so that later they come and collect them with the help of soldiers.*

Linked to the poor infrastructure issue is the malfunctioning of the scanners which also contributes to irregular cross-border movement into SA. According to participant SAPS RA, the systems are very old. Participant SAPS RA indicated that:

> *The factor contributing is our system which is very old without being serviced. The systems of our scanners are very old and only one is working as we speak ... and our police officers are allowing cars to pass without being scanned because of the traffic congestion at the port of entry, which creates a security concern.*

This poor infrastructure at the border affects the output of the staff and they end up being counterproductive. When only one scanner works, some of the officials do not have the patience to work that way. Participant SAPS RB added:

> *As I am explaining, when plus-minus 500 cars or more drive through one scanner, it takes time and some of our officials, those of course not having integrity, just allow cars without moving through that one scanner.*

Furthermore, participant DHA RB added:

> *Internally are those accepting bribes from foreigners who don't have the right documentation., Their system at times don't work, such as air-conditioning which affects us when is too hot. We just stamp the passport without checking properly to push the queue.*

Participant SAPS RB confirmed that the challenge can be addressed by maintaining the infrastructure. He added:

> *The way is to start by maintaining the fence at the borderline. With the very strong fence which cannot be cut down and also arrest those involved in corruption at the borders because they are allowing irregular migrants into the country.*

4.9 Lack of mechanisms to control irregular movement

It also emerged that there is an awareness of irregular cross-border movement amongst the employees and the community and that there is a lack of an effective mechanism to control this. In fact, irregular cross-border movement is common knowledge and has become an inseparable part of daily life at the border post. This is illustrated by the extract below:

> *I stay in Nancefield for more than 20 years and I want to believe the community staying in Nancefield know there is irregular movement at Beitbridge border control and borderline*

... I know because most Zimbabweans now are staying with us. Others they stay in our own back yard, renting and is not only Zimbabweans. I know because I asked few of them, how did they come to this side. (Participant DHA RC)

Here, there is evidence to suggest that the community is aware of irregular movement. The local community in Nancefield take this as an opportunity to create space in their own back yards to accommodate the irregular migrants for a fee. Even some of the officials knowingly house irregular movers. This helps to boost the rental incomes of landlords in SA.

Members of the LCBTI are also aware of irregular movement. In fact, some plan their trips with full knowledge of the days when vehicle searches will not be conducted. This is interpreted as an organised movement of irregular movers, as illustrated by the extract below:

Oh yes, some people are hiding inside the cars and those cars by luck there will not be searched that day. As I said, we are not searched every day. But at some days there will be full force searching including soldiers and members of SARS. (Participant LCBTI RB)

The transporters will avoid travelling on certain days. It is only those not within the networks of the irregular movement that will be unaware. The regular transporters will be aware and thus avoid travel. The fact that there will be full force searching including soldiers and members of SARS is an indication that there are attempts to enforce the law or some regulatory compliance. However, this is not always effective as illustrated by the extract below:

We roughly arrest 100 to 200 irregular migrants but it is a fruitless exercise. (Participant SAPS RC)

The term ‘fruitless exercise’ is interpreted to mean that the arrests are merely symbolic because

either the culprits pay bribes or are released. Alternatively, they are deported and come back again into SA. This is a vicious circle.

> *Yes, we do encounter irregular migrants crossing more from Zimbabwe to SA ... Some we arrest inside the car. They hide under packed clothes and also inside the boot of the car. You will think it is only the clothes but under the clothes, there will be young people hiding. (Participant SAPS RB)*

> *Since the river is dry, it is easy to cross over using the donkeys with stolen items. (Participant SANDF RC).*

For SAPS members, there is an awareness of irregular migrants crossing more from Zimbabwe to South Africa. This is indicative of the poor economic situation in Zimbabwe that drives thousands into the diaspora. Migrants adopt desperate measures such as hiding under clothes and in unsuitable areas of the vehicles. Stolen items are even transported using donkeys. This is part of daily life and happens in the open.

The researcher also wanted to know more about the number of irregular cross-border movements encountered by staff daily. The results obtained indicate that there is an awareness of the numbers of irregular migrants, as illustrated by the extract below:

> *We arrest plus-minus 200 to 300 daily. It shows the problem is big because the number is not reducing but is increasing. Since the army was deployed at the borders from way back around 2008, the irregular migrants have been crossing South African borders not only here in Beitbridge. (Participant SANDF RC)*

Here, there is a history of irregular migrants. This situation has been going on for some time and, up to now, the problems have not been resolved. While the problem has been known for some time, actions taken to solve it have been ineffective. By stating that the army was deployed at the borders from around 2008, participant SANDF RC draws attention to the fact that whatever is being done to resolve the problem is not working.

However, irregular movement is also an opportunity for the corrupt, as illustrated by the extract below:

> *Issues of irregular movement are informed by lack of integrity of some of the employees posted at the border post. (Participant BMA RB)*

In fact, there is a lack of integrity in some of the employees posted at the border post. These encourage irregular movement. Hence, it is an internal problem that must be resolved by changing the work ethic or workplace culture.

Participants cited that records of irregular movements are not kept properly. This view was shared by participants from the DHA. As such, the true number of migrants might not be known. It emerged that those without documents or with fraudulent passports are not recorded on the system. In this sense, the true magnitude of the problem is unknown, as illustrated by participant DHA RA:

> *No, those without documents or with fraudulent passports are not recorded on the system ... We don't have the records here with us. They are at the detention centre but they are not shared with the public because they are confidential.*

Further, the importance of the scanner re-emerges. Here, it is the scanner used to help detect fraudulent passports. This is illustrated by the extract below:

> *If I suspect the passport is fraudulent, the scanner for the passport will notify me. I will then call immigration officers dealing with the fraudulent passport to further deal with the person. (Participant DHA RB)*

Proper record-keeping is not possible because of faulty equipment. Although the scanner for the passport will indicate that the passport is fraudulent, an opportunity for corruption is presented:

> *The recording scanner will not show any light or indication, then I will know there is something wrong with passport. The person dealing with fraudulent passports will be called for further investigations ... No, those without documents or with fraudulent passports are not recorded on the system database. (Participant DHA RC)*

> *I will call my supervisor or any colleague to double-check the passport because all the passports we scan and stamp thereafter. If it is found to be fraudulent, the person will be called for further questioning by my supervisor ... No, it is not my area of work. We have immigration officers who work exactly with such cases. (Participant DHA RA)*

When the scanner fails to show any light, then there might be something wrong with the passport and further investigations are initiated.

4.10 Turning a blind eye to roles and responsibilities

The researcher also explored more about the participants' roles and responsibilities. It was important to understand whether officials were aware of their roles and responsibilities in executing their duties. The results reveal an awareness of roles and responsibilities from all the participants, and yet, participants wilfully turn a blind eye to their responsibilities because of corruption. This is illustrated by the extract below.

> *The role of BMA is to manage movement control at Beitbridge ... We sit on a weekly basis to get reports from SAPS, DHA and SARS and discuss different challenges raised by SAPS, DHA and SARS and have proposals how to resolve those challenges ... We will visit port of entry to inspect the conditions and systems whether they are in good order ... No, we also have SSA, local transport, and other government departments. They get invited to our meeting. At times, NGOs come to our meetings. (Participant BMA RB)*

For participant BMA RB, the focus is to manage movement control. There is also an awareness that they do not work in isolation but discuss matters with other departments such as the DHA, SAPS, SARS, SSA, NGOs and so forth. This is done weekly. By stating that they have proposals on how to resolve those challenges, participant BMA RB is trying to draw attention to the fact that they identify problems and suggest solutions. However, given that the problems persist, it can be said that the suggested solutions are fruitless.

While they also visit the port of entry to inspect the conditions and systems, nothing has been done to resolve the problems of lack of equipment and the poor working conditions, as highlighted earlier. The weekly or monthly meetings are attended by different stakeholders, thereby bringing multiple points of view to the problem at hand. Surprisingly, none of the suggested solutions is working.

For participant DHA RA, the DHA's role is to check the passports of people crossing the border, as illustrated by the extract below:

> *Let me start by explaining how we work here. We are working 24/7 with different shifts from 06h00 to 18h00 and we are expected to check the passports of people crossing the border. No one will be allowed to cross the border without a passport ... As we are checking the passports, our system records how many foreigners a day are crossing the border ... I am not working with figures exactly but looking at how many passports I stamp a day. It could be plus-minus 1 500 foreigners crossing the border.*

It also emerged that passport checking takes place all day with different shifts. This is interpreted to mean that the border post is very busy with people crossing in and out of SA. While it is clear that no one will be allowed to cross the border without a passport, earlier results reveal that people still cross the border without passports. The high number of migrants without passports presents an opportunity for corruption to thrive.

The NGOs also have a responsibility, as illustrated by participant NGO RC in the extract below:

> *Our organisation is all about saving the children who are sleeping on the street and those migrating from foreign countries irregularly, like Zimbabweans coming to SA. And we are also engaging the police about cross-border movement because most children are coming from Zimbabwe ... Some we report to the police to locate their parents and others we house at our centre.*

Furthermore, the NGOs engage the police about cross-border movement. Yet, earlier results reveal that cross-border movement is a part of daily life for different officials. NGOs also have a duty to protect children caught in irregular cross-border movement. Some are left to fend for themselves on the streets and NGOs report them to the police so that their parents can be located. They also provide shelter for others. Unaccompanied children also illustrate the gravity of the situation in Zimbabwe which is contributing to the rise in the numbers of undocumented migrants in SA.

Participants are of the view that this problem can be resolved by the police doing proper searching at the border. If the police stop taking bribes from drivers, then child safety will be much better. This is reinforced by participant NGO RB in the extract below:

> *Yes, it can be solved by doing proper searching at the border movement by police without taking bribes from drivers carrying young girls. Others, are coming through borderline and crossed over to SA from Zimbabwe at the early age of 15 years or so.*

SAPS members have a responsibility to conduct searches as the port of entry, as illustrated by the extract below:

> *We are responsible for port of entry, conducting searching towards trucks and small vehicles looking for stolen goods and cars, working closely with customs officials. Yes, when we suspect anyone, we call the suspects aside immediately for questioning and arrest them on the spot if the driver is having stolen items. And when SARS or DHA officials get anyone with suspect items, we are called for further questioning and arrest the suspects. We also check those travelling with unlicensed firearms and we confiscate the firearms and arrest the person in possession of that firearm. We also conduct joint operations with other*

stakeholders such as DHA, SARS and SANDF on a weekly basis, but the operation is headed by DHA. (Participant SAPS RA)

It emerged that SAPS members do not work in isolation but also conduct joint operations with other stakeholders such as *DHA,* SARS and SANDF weekly. This confirms that there is awareness across departments of problems. And yet, the problem remains unresolved.

Another important role is that performed at the port of entry. This is illustrated by participant SANDF RA in the extract below:

The port of entry is the responsibility of the DHA and SAPS. We only come to port of entry as requested during joint operation and in town. We are deploying battalions at borderline for three weeks, 15 battalions without going back to military base. After three weeks, we withdraw them and deploy different members as part of relieving the first group.

The SANDF's presence at the port of entry is also evident during joint operations and is upon request. This indicates that there is a common understanding of duties to be performed at the port of entry. Further, deployment at the borderline is for a specified period and in rotation. Here, there is an understanding that deployment at the borderline is the responsibility of the SANDF, as illustrated by the extract below:

At the training, we are told deployment at the borderline is the responsibility of SANDF and includes Beitbridge border and borderline. We are responsible for borderline, protecting South Africans if attacked by other country coming through the border. We are deployed for three to six weeks without going back to the military base. We are sleeping in the bush using the tents. We are patrolling during day and night because some of the migrants cross the borderline at night. (Participant SANDF RC)

There is also an awareness that some of the migrants cross the borderline at night. For this reason, patrolling of the borderline takes place day and night.

Others are responsible for the deployment of staff to various duty points without fail, as illustrated by the extract below:

> *My role is to see to it police officers are deployed at their duty points without fail. I am the accounting officer. (Participant SAPS RA)*

In executing their duties, some of the participants are required to prepare reports for the attention of head office. The intention is to keep head office informed of the situation on the ground, as illustrated by the extract below:

> *Yes, I am responsible to give reports at head office on what is happening here. I am working with an effective team helping me when I am not around attending meetings at Limpopo for border movement with security cluster trying to address the issue of irregular movement and the infrastructure of port of entry. Our infrastructure is so bad compared to Zimbabwe border control. (Participant SAPS RA)*

The NGOs highlighted the responsibility to protect children. Here, children's safety is of importance, as illustrated by participant NGO RA in the extract below:

> *Our concern is to see all children safe and protected, regardless of who is from. It is known that children asking for money with parents at the street are from Zimbabwe ... At street corners talking to them while asking money with children when driving around town and location to give them something to eat ... While eating, they start telling us how they came to SA.*

The migration crisis, which is a result of the poor economic conditions in Zimbabwe, has also left many children at risk, with some resorting to begging and being exposed to sexual exploitation, as illustrated by the extract below.

It concerns us in many ways. They are sleeping on the street, health matters, asking for money at the corners of the street and some make them sex workers. (Participant NGO RC)

There are concerns about children sleeping on the street, begging at street corners and being transformed into sex workers. In this sense, there is a need for the authorities to pay more attention to the problems highlighted above.

4.11 Lack of effective strategy

Participants were also asked whether there is any strategy or mechanism put in place by the government to deal with irregular movement. It emerged that the most common strategy used was deportation. Participants from the DHA, BMA, NGOs, SANDF, SAPS and LCBTI are aware of the deportation strategy. This is illustrated by participant DHA RA in the extract below:

The only strategy which is there and done more often by the department is to deport irregular or undocumented foreigners.

There is no other strategy that participant DHA RA is aware of. Similarly, participant DHA RB pointed out:

The strategy which is used now is to deport irregular movers or undocumented foreigners and this strategy for me is not effective enough.

Similarly, members of the SANDF share the same view as illustrated by the extract below:

> *The only strategy I know of dealing with irregular migrants is to deport them by Home Affairs. (Participant SANDF RA)*

This is also echoed by a member of SAPS who stated:

> *The only strategy I know of is the deportation of undocumented migrants. (Participant SAPS RC)*

Participants from the LCBTI also have an awareness of the deportation strategy, as illustrated by the extract below:

> *I don't know exactly but usually they deport them back. (Participant LCBTI RA)*

It is concerning that employees share the view that the deportation strategy is not working and yet policymakers continue to recommend a failing strategy. This signifies a disconnection between policymakers and the situation on the ground at the border post. This view is reinforced by participant NGO RB, who had this to say:

> *It is to deport them, but in my view, it does not work because the same people do come back.*

The fact that the same irregular migrants deported come back is an indication of a failed strategy. This also speaks volumes about the implementation of the policy. While there are good intentions within the deportation strategy, there is a lack of effective implementation. Resources are needed to ensure the effective implementation of the strategy. However, there is a need to develop other strategies that are suitable for the situation on the ground and in sync with the daily experiences of employees at the border post.

Some participants share the view that the issue here is not only irregular movement but also internal problems that must be addressed as part of the strategy. This is illustrated by the extract below:

> *The issue here is not only irregular movement but is also our own internal problems, as I mentioned and how to be addressed as part of the strategy. (Participant DHA RB)*

To overcome some of the border movement problems, some migrants have resorted to finding their own solutions such as getting into relationships with South Africans and getting married to help normalise their immigration status. This is illustrated by the extract below:

> *Some foreign nationals get married to South Africans, have children, stay for some time in SA and they will be legalised. (Participant DHA RB)*

Furthermore, there were also proposals for stationing independent monitors at the port of entry to help promote ethical practices, as illustrated by the extract below:

> *We once suggested to volunteer our services free at port of entry for monitoring but our suggestion was not taken. (Participant NGO RA)*

There were also suggestions for educational programmes to help locals to be more tolerant, as illustrated by the extract below:

> *I don't have problems with foreign nationals. I only have a problem with our own South Africans treating foreigners badly and accusing them of wrongdoing even if it is not them. Instead of reporting them to the police, they fight them because they are not South African. Our people need to be educated that foreign nationals are our brothers and sisters. (Participant LCBTI RC)*

4.12 Conclusion

This chapter provided a detailed description of the research findings regarding factors contributing to irregular cross-border movement into SA. Insights were drawn from eighteen participants from different institutions including the MBC, SAPS, SANDF, NGOs, DHA, BMA and LCBTI. Data were analysed using content and thematic analysis.

The main factors this research identifies include corruption among border post movement officials, poor infrastructure (particularly the damaged border fence), poor working conditions (in terms of malfunctioning equipment) and the difficult economic situation in Zimbabwe. The following chapter provides a discussion and analysis of these findings.

Chapter 5: Discussion and Analysis

5.1 Interpretation

This chapter presents the discussion and analysis that emerged from this research project. Findings are discussed under each of the themes raised by different participants. This research is aimed at understanding the factors contributing to irregular human cross-border movements into SA.

Several challenges contribute to the irregular movement of migrants into SA. This research has found that irregular cross-border movement into SA is facilitated by a multiplicity of factors including corruption, poor working conditions, poor infrastructure and the economic condition in Zimbabwe.

Corruption is a recurring problem and continues to be a cause for concern in the management of borders. Participants from the DHA, SANDF and SAPS confirmed that government officials are involved in corruption which promotes irregular movement into SA. Members of the DHA, SAPS and SANDF assisted in contributing to this irregular movement by becoming involved in corrupt activities.

Corruption facilitated by members of the South African government leads to the ineffectiveness of the border control mechanisms put in place by the South African government. Further, corruption at border posts and the borderline worsens the situation. In this sense, corruption is the core challenge.

The factors contributing to irregular movement into SA go right down to law enforcement members. LCBTI RA stated that some members of SAPS are involved in corruption. They take money from drivers not to search vehicles. Some members of SANDF at the borderline take bribes from undocumented migrants crossing through the dry river because the fence is cut down. Irregular migrants arrange with smugglers and pay them money in exchange for being smuggled across the border to their destination.

In essence, the challenge is the members of law enforcement who do not do their work ethically but rather condone and even encourage this irregular movement into SA.

The borderline fence emerged as another problem. Participants share the view that another challenge faced at the borderline is the fence which has been cut down. This creates the opportunity for corrupt members to assist irregular migrants into the country. The fact that the fence is not maintained encourages corrupt activities.

The challenge of the inadequate borderline fence is worsened by the fact that very few battalions patrol all the open spaces where there is no fence. The irregular migrants take advantage by crossing via these unguarded areas. Even when the areas are guarded, the irregular migrants often pay patrolling staff a bribe to cross. There are few resources to deal with this problem. Staff get involved in corrupt activities related to this easy access route that is seized as an opportunity by the irregular migrants.

Another factor contributing to irregular cross-border movement is fraudulent passports. Passport checking takes place throughout every day during all shifts. The border post is very busy with people crossing in and out of SA. While it is clear that no one should be allowed to

cross the border without a passport, results reveal that people still cross the border without passports. Members of the DHA allow foreign nationals to cross the border with fraudulent passports in exchange for money.

Issues surrounding irregular movement are informed to a certain extent by the lack of integrity of some of the government employees posted at the border post. Hence, it is an internal problem that must be resolved by changing the work ethic of the workplace. The researcher recognises that there is also a lack of monitoring of those who are involved in corruption by senior staff.

The poor infrastructure at the border is another problem leading to illegal entry into the country. Malfunctioning office equipment contributes to increased irregular crossings. The poor infrastructure offers opportunities for corruption to thrive.

One of the infrastructure issues is malfunctioning scanners. Most of the scanners are non-functional – members of SAPS confirm that of three scanners only one scanner is functional.

Several participants indicated that security at the Beitbridge border is compromised because of the infrastructure that is in such a very bad condition. The participants asserted that the level of security is at high risk and many irregular movers take advantage of the undermined security situation.

Poor working conditions at the border port are also a factor contributing to the irregular cross-border movement because staff are demotivated and frustrated. Due to the poor working conditions, officials are not able to perform their duties appropriately.

Absenteeism is caused by poor working conditions. According to participants, the only way to reduce absenteeism is for management to increase salaries, improve working conditions and introduce team-building exercises with other government staff working at the border. Absenteeism takes place at an individual level but impacts the overall implementation of the border control policy.

It also emerged that there is an awareness of irregular cross-border movement among the employees and that there is a lack of effective mechanisms to control this. In fact, irregular cross-border movement is common knowledge and has become an inseparable part of daily life at the border post.

There is evidence to suggest that the community is aware of the irregular movement too. The local community in Nancefield take this as an opportunity to create space in their own back yards to accommodate the irregular migrants at a fee. Even some of the officials knowingly house irregular movers. This helps to boost the rental incomes of landlords in SA.

Members of the LCBTI are also aware of the irregular movement. In fact, some plan their trips with full knowledge of the days when vehicle searches will not be conducted. This is interpreted as the organised movement of irregular movers.

Even if the irregular cross-border movement is a challenge to a host country, it will always be the responsibility of the state to manage its boundaries and to stop the irregular and illegal movement of people entering any host country.

The NGOs that were interviewed are seen to play an important role in attempting to minimise the problems relating to the irregular movement of people across the border. Some NGOs, such as Save the Children, are concerned with the number of irregular movements which result in the smuggling of children.

The strategy towards regulating border movement involves finding a way of redressing the present challenges as well as improving the lack of coordination between different institutions working at the Beitbridge Border Post.

The SA government needs all agencies to have proper, efficient and effective border management strategies in place. These strategies, however, need to be managed in a coordinated and integrated organisational structure. The strategy must also involve all agencies such as NGOs and not only government structures working towards improving the infrastructure of the border and port of entry, including the borderline.

The researcher has paid due attention to factors relating to border control mechanisms that states or regional bodies have installed to address irregular border crossings. By identifying inefficiencies in SA's border control mechanisms, this research is a step towards filling this knowledge gap.

5.2 Conclusion

This chapter provided a detailed description of the research findings regarding factors contributing to irregular cross-border movement into SA. The main factors this research identifies include corruption among border post officials, poor infrastructure (particularly the damaged border fence), poor working conditions (in terms of malfunctioning office equipment)

and the difficult economic situation in Zimbabwe. The following chapter provides the conclusion and recommendations that emerged as a result of these findings.

Chapter 6: Conclusion and Recommendations

6.1 Introduction

This chapter presents a summary of the key findings of this research and makes recommendations for policymakers and future research. This study explored the key drivers contributing to irregular cross-border movement into SA. Significant factors cited by participants need to be scrutinised by inter-government departments to address the challenges which are contributing to the irregular movement.

This study uncovered the following key contributors to the influx of irregular migrants during cross-border movement at the Beitbridge Border Post.

6.2 Corruption among government officials

Corruption was cited as one of the key factors contributing to irregular migration into SA. This was confirmed by government officials from the DHA, SANDF and SAPS who were interviewed. It is imperative that the government advocate an appropriate way of dealing with government officials who are involved in corrupt activities at the cross-border post and borderline.

6.3 The infrastructure which compromises security at the borderline and port of entry

Participants (most of whom are government officials) indicated that the fence is cut down at the borderline and vehicle scanners are not working. This leads to criminals, both foreign nationals and locals, taking advantage of the situation and results in security at the border being compromised with smugglers conveying illegal items and human beings across the border.

6.4 Poor working conditions at the border

Participants have also mentioned that management is overlooking poor working conditions that adversely affect productivity and the motivation of staff members. Officials at the border are demotivated by the poor working conditions. This results in increased absenteeism, thus putting pressure on those few who are at work to push the queue. This then often leads to corruption.

6.5 Economic situation in Zimbabwe

The irregular movement of Zimbabweans into SA as stated by some participants is caused more by push factors, given the bad economic situation in Zimbabwe. However, this is not a problem that SA can solve alone. The SADC region urgently needs a strategy of redressing economic issues and bolstering investment in member countries.

6.6 Recommendations

This study recommends that the South African government conceives and designs effective and integrated strategies to address the loopholes which influence irregular movement into SA at border posts. The findings from this study may be used as guidelines for policymakers, especially security agencies at the border to ensure that irregular movement is controlled.

An analysis of the process of monitoring the border post revealed a number of weaknesses. These included: limited monitoring and control, inadequately serviced infrastructure and human smugglers taking advantage of corrupt officials working at the border.

When dealing with irregular movement, the deportation and detention mechanisms currently in place continue to be difficult to implement. The ineffectiveness is a result of the existing issues at the borderline which include, but are not limited to, the involvement of corrupt government officials in assisting migrants to cross illegally in exchange for payment. The policing factor by SAPS members does not assist in dealing with irregular movement at the port of entry because some of the police are involved in corrupt activities. It is imperative to come up with an effective policy which assists in helping to address these challenges at the border.

With regard to the infrastructure, the SADC security structure needs to have a working mechanism in the region which focuses on border movement to reduce irregular movement between African countries.

Irregular border movement with its numerous contributing factors is not exclusively a government sector issue. The involvement and contribution of civic society are also required in dealing with irregular movement at the border port of entry. It is a challenge to both society and the government. The government needs to proactively identify the NGOs that will be able to play a positive role in contributing to managing irregular movement into SA.

Policy formation aimed at controlling movement at the border port should be considered to minimise irregular movement into SA. Further study is needed; part of which should involve addressing questions that shed light on the different factors pushing irregular movers from their home countries to SA and other parts of the world.

While the researcher believes that the study contributes to local and global debates over irregular migration, more research is needed to assess particularly whether border control mechanisms put in place by states are effective or merely contribute to the problem they are designed to address.

There is no one size fits all solution to the issues that have been identified. The factors identified here and in any supplementary research conducted over and above this study should result in a workable framework that addresses some of the issues.

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Appendix Section

Appendix 1: Interview Guide

For Members of the South African National Defence Force (SANDF) and South African Police Service (SAPS)

1. Why do you think the SANDF, or the army, was deployed here at Beitbridge?
2. What is your role, what exactly do you do here?
3. When did you start working at the border gate and for how long you have been doing the job? When was the army first deployed here?
4. Do you encounter irregular or undocumented migrants crossing the SA border? If yes, how often or how big a problem is it?
5. If yes, how do you deal with irregular movements? What do you do when you encounter an undocumented migrant crossing or having crossed the SA border?
6. In your opinion, what factors contribute to this irregular cross-border movement?
7. Is there any strategy by government to deal with irregular movement? How effective will the strategy be if the irregular movement continues?
8. What are the challenges in border control systems?
9. How can these challenges be addressed?

For Members of the Border Community (MBC)

1. Are there people crossing the SA border without documents?
2. If yes, how do they cross and where?
3. Why do you think they cross without documents?
4. So, the army, SAPS, immigration officials are not able to stop them? Why?
5. Who helps migrants cross the border without documents?
6. Do community members help sometimes perhaps? If yes, how?

7. Do officials ask the community to report irregular movements?

8. What do community members do when they see irregular movers?

For Non-Government Organization (NGO)

1. What is your role as an NGO towards cross-border movement?

2. What is your working relationship with government border control officials and other organizations working in the borders?

3. Do you have concerns with the number of people crossing the border undocumented? If so, what are your concerns?

4. Do you have recommendations towards movement control, what are those recommendations?

For Members of the Department of Home Affairs (DHA)

1. What exactly are you looking for when processing documentations for the purpose of crossing the border?

2. How do you verify documents?

3. What do you do with someone having fraudulent documentation?

4. How closely do you work with other stakeholders here at border post?

5. Do you have any knowledge of irregular movements?

6. If yes, how do you deal with irregular movements?

7. Do you know why people cross irregular to South Africa?

8. Is there any strategy by government to deal with irregular movement?

For Members of the Local Cross-Border Transport Industry (LCBTI)

1. How many people do you transport across the border daily or weekly?
2. For how long have you been in this business?
3. Do you at times transport people without documentation, if so how do you cross the border with them?
4. How often do members of SAPS search your vehicle while crossing the border? Or do they search your vehicle at all?
5. Do you at times bribe members of SAPS to cross with people without documentation?

For Members of the Border Control Operational Coordinating Committee (BCOCC) / Border Management Authority (BMA)

1. What is the role of the BMA in general?
2. What are the challenges facing border control movement?
3. As the BMA, what are the factors influencing irregular border movement in South Africa?