BETWEEN TWO WORLDS: EVERYDAY LIFE OF BASOTHO LABOUR MIGRANTS IN BLOEMFONTEIN, SOUTH AFRICA

By

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DECLARATION

I, **'Malilimala Elizabeth Moletsane**, declare that the research dissertation that I herewith submit for the degree of Master's of Social Sciences (Sociology) at the University of the Free State is my independent work, and that I have not previously submitted it for a qualification at another institution of higher education. I declare that I am aware that the copyright is vested in the University of the Free State. I furthermore declare that all royalties as regards intellectual property that was developed during the course of and/or in connection with the study at the University of the Free State, will accrue to the University.

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SUMMARY

The concept of people's migration has been studied extensively in the academic realm. The reasons why people migrate, the use of remittances in sending countries and the impact of migration on the migrants' families are some of the topics addressed by academic research. However, the migrants' experiences of belonging have not received much attention, especially in South Africa. This study adds to the migration literature by exploring the everyday lives of Basotho labour migrants in Bloemfontein, South Africa. It is unique insofar as it focuses on how the migrants make circular moves across the South Africa-Lesotho border, and whether they experience a sense of belonging in this process.

The design is mainly a narrative inquiry, which is informed by the interpretive paradigm on which the study is grounded. For the purposes of the research, phenomenology, existential sociology and reflexive sociology are the theoretical lenses used within the interpretive paradigm. The study assumes a qualitative approach. It is based on a purposive sample of nine Basotho migrants – five men and four women. They all work in the informal sector in Bloemfontein and lack work permits. Their narratives of belonging are elicited through the use of semi-structured in-depth interviews. The interviews are guided by an interview schedule, which is formulated along the lines of the study's research questions, as well as of the concepts from the study's theoretical context and the review of existing literature on migration and on belonging.

The data are analysed thematically. The findings point to the fact that the migrants do not experience high levels of belonging to Bloemfontein. They live largely marginalised and insecure lives and believe that they are often excluded from the wider Bloemfontein community. Much of their lives in Bloemfontein revolve around their work. They spend most of their time at work, and they visit Lesotho whenever their working situation allows. As a result, they do not have any meaningful and deep-seated relations with their neighbours and the communities in which they live. This shows that they lack a sense of community in Bloemfontein. In turn, it indicates that they do not experience a true sense of belonging in as far as group membership (in terms of the politics of belonging) is concerned. Consequently, they continue to maintain close ties with Lesotho in all ways possible. For instance, they communicate regularly with their families and friends back in

Lesotho, they visit Lesotho monthly, they transfer most of their earnings back to Lesotho and they relate most of their situations in Bloemfontein back to Lesotho. Their emotional attachment lies overwhelmingly with people, places and things in Lesotho. Thus they do not strongly feel at home in Bloemfontein.

OPSOMMING

Menslike migrasie is ‘n bekende navorsingsveld binne die akademie. Die redes waarom mense migreer, die gebruik van finansiele bydras in tuislande, die impak van migrasie op migrante se families is ‘n paar van die onderwerpe wat al deur akademiese navorsing aangespreek is. Migrante se sin van van behoort is egter ‘n navorsingsgebied wat nog nie baie aandag geniet nie, veral hier in Suid-Afrika. Hierdie studie lewer ‘n bydra tot die bestaande literatuur/kennis oor migrasie deurdat dit alledaagse lewens van Basotho migrante in Bloemfontein (Suid-Afrika) verken. Dit is uniek is die sin dat fokus op hoe migrante heen-en-weer oor die Suid-Afrika Lesotho grens beweeg, en of hierdie proses ‘n sin van behoort by hulle kweek.

Die ontwerp is hoofsaaklik ‘n narratiewe studie, wat deur die interpretatiwe paradigma gerig word. Vir die doel van die navorsing, word fenomenologie, eksistensiële- en refleksiewe sosiologie as teoretiese lense ingespan om die onderwerp te verken. Die studie volg ‘n kwalitatiewe benadering wat gebruik maak van ‘n doelbewuste steekproef van nege Basotho migrante (vyf mans en vier vrouens). Al die deelnemers werk in die informele sektor in Bloemfontein en het nie werkspermitte nie. Hulle narratiewe aangaande “behoort” is ingesamel/gedokumenteer deur middel van semi-gestruktureerde en in-indiepte onderhoude. ‘n Onderhouds-skedule, wat in lyn met die navorsingsvrae, relevante konsepte, teoreretiese konteks en bestaande literatuur oor migrasie en ‘n sin van behoort geformuleer is, is tydens die onderhoude gebruik.

Die data is tematies geanaliseer. Die bevindings dui aan dat die migrante nie ‘n hoe vlak van “behoort” in Bloemfontein ervaar. Hulle rapporteer dat hulle lewens een van maginaliteit en onsekerheid is en dat dat hulle dikwels uitgesluit word van die breër Bloemfonteinse gemeenskap. Hulle lewens draai hoofsaaklik om hulle werk, dit is ook waar hulle die meeste van hulle tyd deurbring. Die migrante keer terug na Lesotho wanneer hulle werksomstandighede dit toelaat. As gevolg hiervan ontwikkel hulle nie betekenisvolle en diepgaande verhoudings met bure en die gemeenskappe waarbinne hulle woon. Dit dui aan dat hulle nie ‘n sin van gemeenskap in Bloemfontein beleef nie. Dit dui aandat die migrante nie ‘n ware sin van behoort ervaar in terme van groepdeelname/lidmaatskap (in terme van die “politiek van behoort”). As gevolg hiervan,

behou hulle sterk bande met Lesotho in alle moontlik opsigte. Die migrante kommunikeer dikwels met hulle families en vriende in Lesotho, gaan kuier maandelikes in Lesotho, stuur die meeste van hulle geld terug na Lesotho en verbind die meeste van hulle alledaagse ervarings (in Bloemfontein) met Lesotho. Hulle emosionele verbintenis is aan die mense, plekke en dinge van Lesotho. Hulle voel nie tuis in Bloemfontein.

KEY TERMS

Migration

Sense of belonging

Home

Group membership

Everyday life

Social networks

Existential self

Structural constraints

Transnational ties

Survival strategies

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INTRODUCTION

Migration to South Africa, especially from the Southern African Development Community (SADC) region, has increased significantly since 1990 (Crush & McDonald, 2000:2). This is because South Africa is well equipped with infrastructure, resources and services, which make it attractive to its African counterparts (Peberdy, 2001:25). Lesotho is among the ten leading countries in the world whose citizens received temporary and permanent residence permits for South Africa in 2013 (Statistics SA, 2014:17,37). Researchers have written about increasing female migration, the recruitment of farm workers and employer demand in shaping labour migration from Lesotho (Ulicki & Crush, 2000; 2007; Johnston, 2007). However, little effort has been made to understand how Basotho labour migrants negotiate, on a daily basis, their sense of belonging between their country of origin and South Africa as a labour destination. This dissertation seeks to explore the everyday life of Basotho labour migrants in Bloemfontein, with the main focus on how they experience belonging. For the purposes of this research, the term labour migrant refers to any adult Mosotho, man or woman, working in Bloemfontein on a temporary basis.

The interest in belonging stems from the argument that merely crossing an international border poses a challenge in as far as the migrant's existential position is concerned, even if the distance between place of origin and destination is not long (Madsen & Naerssen, 2003:62). While migrants from Lesotho may not experience a major cultural barrier in South Africa, they still experience Xenophobia, restrictive immigration policies, prejudice and discrimination, and they are excluded from opportunities which are open to South African citizens. Apart from the physical border, they experience numerous covert social boundaries on a regular basis, and they may therefore be considered as living precariously in more than one place, neither fully included nor fully excluded from both their country of birth and their current home. However, migrants are not passive victims who find themselves in situations beyond their control – they adopt strategies to overcome the challenges that they face. Various scholars (Dannecker, 2005:659; Levitt & Jaworsky, 2007:130; Gielis, 2009:598) have shown that by engaging in transnational practices such as sending remittances and maintaining regular contact with family and friends, migrants may be able to satisfy some of their belonging needs. While these studies serve as an

important starting point for understanding how migrants maintain ties to multiple places simultaneously, the present study aims to explore the phenomenon by way of an interpretative approach, which engages phenomenologically with individual migrant life-worlds.

The research questions therefore include:

1. What are the circumstances underlying migration from Lesotho to Bloemfontein?
2. How do Basotho labour migrants experience everyday life in Bloemfontein?
3. How do the migrants negotiate belonging to both Lesotho and Bloemfontein?

The dissertation is divided into five chapters. The first chapter gives an overview of the theoretical framework on which the study is based. It starts with the philosophical assumptions that guide how the entire study is conducted. Therefore, the ontological basis, epistemological dimension, and axiological issues are described. The theoretical lenses within the interpretive approach, which underlies the theoretical stance of the research, as well as the way in which they serve as important tools for the research are discussed in detail. The study draws particularly from the paradigms of phenomenology, existential sociology and reflexive sociology since they are the most important paradigms within the interpretive approach and also the most relevant for the purposes of the research.

The second chapter reflects a review of the literature on migration and belonging. It begins with a brief introduction on migration from Lesotho to South Africa. Most studies (Gordon, 1981; Murray, 1981; Modo, 2001; Johnston, 2007; Mensah and Naidoo, 2011) on migration between Lesotho and South Africa have focused on the larger macro structures influencing migration flows. The few (Ulicki & Crush, 2000; Griffin, 2010; 2011) that have looked at the individual migrant have mostly focused on mine and farm workers, with specific attention to their working conditions. The chapter goes on to provide the two-fold definition of belonging, an extensive discussion of the challenges to belonging, including the ways in which migrants forge a sense of belonging. The last part on forging a sense of belonging suggests that transnationalism – the idea that migrants remain connected to their place of origin while also adapting to their place of destination – equally applies to migrants viewed as temporary (migrants who move regularly between their country of

origin and destination), as is the case with the participants in this research. Most literature on transnationalism is from studies conducted overseas, and thus the present study brings a new perspective to the South African literature on migration.

The third chapter takes the reader through the methodology and methods undertaken to carry out the research. The study is qualitative and it follows a narrative design, which involves the collection of stories through in-depth interviews with individual migrants. Such an approach holds the possibility of revealing how participants view their identities and other aspects of themselves (Creswell, 2013:71). This design is ideal for this research whose aim is to capture the everyday experiences of labour migrants from the narratives that they tell. The chapter explains the methods, including sampling and data collection, measures taken to protect participants, how data are analysed, as well as efforts maintained to control for quality in qualitative research.

The findings of the research and the discussion thereof are presented in two parts in chapters four and five. The discussion draws from the theory and literature review chapters in an attempt to corroborate what the data reflect. Testimonies of participants' narratives in the form of quotes are provided to validate the claims. The fourth chapter focuses on the themes of *moving to Bloemfontein* and *life experiences in Bloemfontein* in order to capture the underlying reasons why the migrants ended up in Bloemfontein and to explore their everyday life in the city. The fifth and last chapter looks at the themes of *continued ties with Lesotho* – to narrate how migrants remain connected to Lesotho, and *survival of the fittest* – to demonstrate migrants' determination to survive despite the difficulties that they face. The dissertation ends with a conclusion to summarise the main findings of the research and offers some recommendations for future studies.

1. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

This study aims to explore the phenomenon of people's migration across transnational spaces. It focuses especially on how Basotho labour migrants in Bloemfontein negotiate a sense of belonging to different places (Lesotho and Bloemfontein) in their everyday lives. Belonging in this instance is understood as both a feeling of being at home in a place and a resource in discourses and practices of socio-spatial in/exclusion (Antonsich, 2010:645, 650). Space is *"the encompassing volumetric void in which things including human beings are positioned"* (Casey, 2001:683) while place refers to *"particular nodal points within a complex web of social interactions which stretch around the world and which have certain importance for people or groups"* (Easthope, 2004:129,137).

It is important to have a chapter on theory as theory gives the research a scientific rigor. Theory explains data in the data analysis stage. In other words, the researcher draws from the theory to support the findings. Theory also tends to influence the methodology of research (van Rensburg, 2015:3-4). This means that if the researcher's interest is in understanding the everyday life experiences of migrants, then a specific theoretical framework becomes more appropriate. In the case of the present research study, an interpretive approach is the most appropriate because of its focus on lived experience and human interaction. According to Brian Roberts (2006:4), the interpretive paradigm views the world as a product of complex interactions between social actors in concrete situations. John Creswell (2013: 24-25) further explains that interpretivism depends on individual views of a situation as it claims that individuals try to understand the world that they live in by creating multiple subjective meanings. These subjective meanings are, moreover, the outcome of interaction with others as well as the historical and cultural norms at work in people's lives. Creswell (2013:25) states therefore that the researcher's concern is with the complexity of views.

1.1. Situating the study

Before I discuss the different theories within the interpretive approach, I first situate the study in terms of the ontological basis, epistemological dimension, and axiological issues. Ontology focuses on the nature of reality, while epistemology looks at the relationship between the researcher and research participant. Axiology, on the other hand, highlights the importance of values in research. A brief discussion of each follows:

1.1.1. The ontological basis

In this study, reality is taken to be subjective. In other words, as Overgaard and Zahavi (2009:93) argue, reality is a product of human action and humans are the ones who give meaning to their social world. Johann Mouton (2001:19) maintains that the interpretivist approach emphasises the human mind or consciousness in the study of human beings and therefore allows for open questions. According to Creswell (2013:25), the fact that participants are able to construct their own meanings of situations, coincides with the constitution of meanings developed through interaction. For this reason, researchers focus on the processes of interaction between people. These processes of interaction suggest a plurality of subjects. As a result and as Overgaard and Zahavi (2009:93, 96) maintain, individuals who subjectively constitute meaning rely on each other in their experience of the world. Thus social reality is intersubjective.

Bryant and Peck (2007:103) argue that interpretivism departs from the idea of multiple realities. One views the world through one's own lens on the basis of one's background and so do other participants. Together they hold different perspectives of reality and bring these perspectives to the research. Creswell (2013:20) maintains that the aim of a qualitative study is to report on multiple realities. In the present research study, the researcher refers to the actual words of the individual participants. She, in fact, reports on their different perspectives. The different views of participants provide evidence of inherent multiple realities. As themes emerge during data analysis, the researcher analyses the data in terms of the different perspectives expressed by research participants (Creswell, 2013:21).

1.1.2. The epistemological dimension

All research aims at acquiring knowledge. In the case of my research study, knowledge is obtained through interviews. I obtain knowledge, as Creswell (3013:20, 21) states, by means of the subjective experiences, particularly through the narratives, of the participants. Bryant and Peck (2007:103) maintain that interpretivism accepts the joint construction of meaning between the researcher and the research participant. In this sense then, knowledge is co-constructed by the research participants and I as we bring our different types of knowledge to the study. To achieve this, Creswell (2013:20) suggests that I conduct the research in the field. That is, data is collected from the participants' places of residence or from their workplaces in order to gain a better understanding of their stories. This implies their world of lived experience.

Creswell (2013:20-21) maintains that spending sufficient time in the field reduces the distance between myself and the research participants. This coincides with the main aim of qualitative research, namely getting closer to the research participants. By so doing, I am not an observer external to the phenomenon I'm studying, as Bourdieu argues against (King, 2005:221). Rather, I am an insider in the sense as implied by Creswell (2013:21). This way of doing research also implies collaboration (Creswell, 2013:21) between me and the research participants. The researcher works closely with the research participants so that she can understand the meaning they attach to their experiences, and as a result interpret their stories (Gray, 2014:20). According to Creswell (2013:25), this is the ultimate aim of interpretive researchers: to understand or interpret the meanings people have of the world.

1.1.3. Axiological issues

Creswell (2013:20) is of the opinion that qualitative research requires the researcher to disclose and report on his/her own values and biases. He argues that the nature of the study itself as well as the information obtained is value-laden. Therefore I am aware that the fact that as a woman, originally from Lesotho, and my other personal values inevitably influence the interviews and the interpretations thereof. Although I am a migrant from Lesotho, as are the rest of the research participants, I'm also different in that I am more

privileged than many of the other participants because I am in possession of legal documents (a valid passport and a study permit) and I also have a higher level of education than many of the participants. These factors in and of themselves imply that our perceptions and experiences of belonging differ. The fact of being in an advantageous position with regard to my legal status ensures, as Marco Antonsich (2010:648) argues, a sense of security in a place which, in turn, creates a sense of belonging. According to Creswell (2013:21), disclosing my values means that, along with the interpretation of the participants' stories, I am able to give my own interpretation. The fact that the interviews are conducted in the research participants' mother tongue contributes to the research participants being able to fully express themselves. This helps the researcher to acquire rich data, which, in turn, assists her to find answers to her research questions.

1.2. Theoretical lenses

The interpretative approach underlies the basic assumptions of several theoretical lenses: symbolic interactionism, phenomenology, ethnomethodology, interactional conflict theory, existential sociology (Roberts, 2006:4), and reflexive sociology, among others. My research study mainly draws from the paradigms of phenomenology, existential phenomenology, and reflexive sociology since they are the most relevant for the purpose of the present research study.

Phenomenology provides a theoretical basis for how individual migrants interpret, understand, define, explain, and justify events in their life-worlds (Mouton, 2001:19). Often, emotion is at the forefront of migrant experiences as individual migrants are separated from significant others. This is why I use existential phenomenology to emphasise the significant role played by feelings and emotions in everyday life (Kotarba, 2009:143). A third dimension of my theoretical foundation is drawn from Pierre Bourdieu's notion of habitus and field. These are important for my research because these concepts illustrate how migrants' life experiences relate to objective and structural issues (field) as well as to the more subjective issues as incorporated in habitus. Individuals rely on their internalised norms and customs (Casey, 2001:686) to continually compare their circumstances in destination areas to those of their home countries (Gielis, 2009:603).

Following this brief introduction, this chapter now focuses on the aforementioned theoretical lenses by providing a more detailed description of each and how it relates to the current research.

1.2.1. Phenomenology

David Inglis (2012:86) argues that phenomenological approaches to social life are attempts to understand how the world is perceived and understood from the perspective of certain individuals or groups. He maintains that phenomenology entails the study of the consciousness of people being studied; that refers to how people see, perceive, understand, experience, respond to, emotionally feel about and engage with certain objects or situations. It looks at how this consciousness motivates and enables action and interaction. Phenomenology is furthermore concerned with everyday life, which refers to the normal, mundane contexts in which people function (Inglis, 2012:86). Easthope (2004:130) maintains that a sense of place, which is associated with feelings of belonging, is derived from people's everyday life and experience. Therefore a better way to understand belonging to different places is to focus on the everyday life of migrants and to understand their experiences from their own individual points of view, and as such phenomenology is a valuable tool.

Phenomenology derived from Edmund Husserl's philosophy and was introduced into twentieth century sociology by Alfred Schutz (Roberts, 2006:80). By expanding Max Weber's ideas of social action and combining them with Husserl's work on human consciousness, he developed specific concepts that could explain individual and group experience, thereby providing a description of the details and particularities of how people live their lives (Inglis, 2012:89-90). Below is an outline of some of these concepts:

1.2.1.1. The life-world

Overgaard and Zahavi (2009:97) maintain that phenomenologists note the importance of the life-world and they define it as the normally taken for granted, pre-scientific, experientially given world which individuals are familiar with and hardly ever question. In other words, as Robert Sokolowski (2000:151) argues, it is the world of natural experience. Drawing from Overgaard and Zahavi (2009:100), Schutz states that the life-

world is the platform for social relations and actions; hence a systematic analysis of everyday life is necessary. One of the ways in which he contributes to this analysis is by highlighting the involvement of subjectivity in the construction of social meaning, actions, and situations. According to Overgaard and Zahavi (2009:100), Schutz argues that the social world derives its meaningfulness from subjects, hence to understand and address the social world necessitates the analysis of social agents. In a similar vein, looking at belonging in a migration context, Easthope (2004:130) maintains that the notion of a sense of place holds the assumption that places are inherently meaningless and they acquire meaning from human beings. In this sense, migration and belonging cannot be understood without studying the individual migrants themselves, since they are the ones who give meaning to their world, places and their situations.

Inglis (2012:90) maintains that the life-world is shaped by the culture of certain groups of people. Culture is a very complex and contested concept in the social sciences. However, Smit (2014) defines it as *"the shared attitudes, values, norms, practices, language, and material things of a group of people"*. Inglis (2012:86-90) argues that culture produces the commonsense ways of perceiving and experiencing the world. He refers to these commonsense ways of thinking as practical consciousness, which implies that people mostly think and act in semi-conscious instead of fully conscious and self-aware ways. This is because people learn how to do things and, with time, these things become habits. People can eventually do them without really thinking them through. Inglis (2012:87) argues that this is the state in which individuals mostly function. It is thus the habitual ways of doing which shape action and interaction. He however maintains that when people are confronted with situations which require logical thought, they do move out of the state of practical consciousness into a fully conscious state known as discursive consciousness. This is when people find themselves in situations in which they have to explain and justify their actions, as in the case where a migrant has to explain to the police why s/he is holding an expired visa.

Inglis (2012:90) asserts that these commonsense ways are usually natural and familiar to the extent that people simply accept them and hardly ever stop to reflect on them. They are taken for granted and their validity is never questioned. According to Inglis (2012:90),

Schutz refers to this habitual sense of the world as the natural attitude. It is the mental state in which people are most of the time; it is what they take as normal, everyday, and unexceptional and it involves a spontaneous belief in things. When something out of the ordinary takes place, however, a sense of what constitutes reality is lost and uncertainty and anxiety come to the fore (Sokolowski, 2000:45; Overgaard & Zahavi, 2009:105; Inglis, 2012:90). Moores and Metykova (2010:178) showed how trans-European migrants on arrival in Britain felt anxious and out of place because instead of normal, most things were unfamiliar. Antonsich (2010:646) defines belonging as an emotional feeling of being at home in a place and maintains that by home he refers to a *"symbolic space of familiarity, comfort, security, and emotional attachment"*. Therefore, if migrants are not familiar with things in a place and they are uncomfortable, they cannot attain a sense of belonging.

1.2.1.2. Typifications

Schutz argues that, according to Roberts (2006:82) and Overgaard and Zahavi (2009:102-103), the experience of the life-world entails a process of typifications. Schutz maintains that people use typifications to make sense of their world and that of other people alike. Even if they do not exactly know what something is, people mostly know its general type. For instance, a person can know that something is a tree even if they do not know what type of tree it is. This means that people have some form of immediate knowledge of how they can make sense of their environment, the chief source of which is past knowledge; whether it is personal experience or experience passed on by others (Roberts, 2006:82; Overgaard & Zahavi, 2009:102-103). Inglis (2012:91) maintains that the use of typifications makes everyday life easier because it enables people to make assumptions about the future. It makes it possible to know that certain things will be or happen as expected. He argues therefore that social interaction is impossible without typifications since they underlie every thought, action, and interaction.

An important element in the discussion of typifications is the assumption that others share our systems of relevancies, implying that others will consider as important things that we ourselves consider important. This is an important part of what is known as the reciprocity of perspectives, which means that people believe that they would view things similarly to others if they could view them from the lens of others. By drawing on phenomenology in

this research, the aim is to understand the everyday life experiences of individual migrants by viewing things from their perspective (Overgaard & Zahavi, 2009:103).

In association with the analyses of typifications is also the analyses of motives for action, of which there are two types, namely; 'in-order-to' motives and 'because' motives. The 'in-order-to' motive highlights what the individual wants to accomplish with the action. In other words, it is the aim or purpose of the action. It therefore directs action to a future outcome. The 'because' motive, on the other hand, involves the individual's past and the conditions that guide the course of action (Roberts, 2006:83; Overgaard & Zahavi, 2009:104). These motives for action help us to understand the issues behind the circumstances that led Basotho to migrate to Bloemfontein as a labour destination. In this way we can try to establish whether they migrated to achieve certain goals or whether their past influenced their decision to migrate.

1.2.1.3. Intersubjectivity

According to Overgaard and Zahavi (2009:106), Schutz highlights the importance of the concept of intersubjectivity. Inglis (2012:89) states that phenomenology focuses on conditions of intersubjectivity or shared meanings and perceptions on the basis that an individual or group's culture greatly influences how s/he experiences the world. In this sense, phenomenology seeks to understand individual experiences within the context of society. This is based on the argument that the individual subject is dependent on and related to other subjects in his/her experience of the world (Overgaard & Zahavi, 2009:96). Sokolowski (2000:152,155) states that intersubjectivity refers to the idea that individual experiences often involve an element of others' experiences due to shared meaning. People often experience the world in the same way as it is experienced by others. By probing into the experiences of everyday lives of Basotho labour migrants, this research establishes the influence of culture on their experiences of migration and belonging. This is because Antonsich (2010:648) has argued that cultural factors such as language and other cultural traditions and practices contribute towards the attainment of one's sense of belonging.

The stock of typical assumptions, expectations, and prescriptions is mostly then socially derived and accepted. Understanding is organised on the basis of socially agreed upon ways of doing things, attained through the socialization process. In other words, people learn what is normal and acceptable from others (Overgaard & Zahavi, 2009:106). In this sense, most of an individual's set of typifications are shared by other people (Inglis, 2012:92). People's background knowledge, assumptions, and expectations are therefore social constructions (Overgaard & Zahavi, 2009:106).

In relation to the idea that knowledge is socially constructed, drawing from Overgaard and Zahavi (2009:106-107), Schutz further distinguishes three aspects of the socialization of knowledge. The first aspect, structural socialization, means that the knowledge that people have is knowledge which others could also have, provided they had access to similar facts. By viewing things from the perspective of others and their knowledge, people would know what others know, and this is related to the reciprocity of perspectives. The second aspect, genetic socialization, implies that much of people's knowledge is passed on to them by significant others, especially parents, friends, and teachers. The last aspect, social distribution, claims that people know much about particular things and very little about others. For example, one can be an expert in sociology, but not know how to fix a car (Overgaard & Zahavi, 2009:106-107). These aspects help understand how and where migrants get knowledge from about such things as job opportunities and destination areas. As Ritzer (2005:69) notes, having sufficient knowledge in the relevant field constitutes cultural capital, a resource that could help a person in his/her search for belonging. Capital is further discussed under reflexive sociology in the next sections.

In the process of gathering knowledge, individuals interact with different kinds of people in a particular life-world. They interact with consociates, close people (such as family and friends) with whom the individual interacts on a regular basis. The least stereotypical typifications are employed for consociates. People also interact with contemporaries, those people who share the individual's life-world although the individual may not personally know them. Typifications used for contemporaries are often more stereotypical. They include general categories such as 'shop assistant', 'bus driver', 'police officer'. Predecessors are dead people of the past but whose previous actions can

influence the individual's own actions. Typifications used for these people are also highly stereotypical. Successors, on the other hand, are people who have yet to exert influence but to whom the individual may orient their actions (Overgaard & Zahavi, 2009:102; Inglis, 2012:92). This distinction demonstrates that it is not only people such as family and friends back home or neighbours in the destination area whom the individual migrant regards as close who can have an influence on his or her life. It is also people with whom the individual has no direct relationship such as immigration officials. Furthermore, the personal and social networks that a person derives such interactions from can create, as Antonsich (2010:647) notes, a sense of belonging.

1.2.2. Existential sociology

Joseph Kotarba (2009:140) maintains that existential sociology focuses on everyday life. By definition, it is the *"study of human experience-in-the-world (or existence) in all its forms"*. He argues that the main characteristic of this experience is change. Existential sociologists believe that change is central to people's lives, their sense of self, their experience of the world and the people in it, as well as the culture which constitutes meaning to life. Everyday life then is not only situational and problematic but it is also dramatic. That is exactly how people experience it. Using the term dramatic, Kotarba (2009:140) implies that individuals in modern society are forced to perform in a world in which they find themselves, a world that they cannot escape without dealing with its social structures. For the present study, the implication is that social structures such as immigration policies and job opportunities affect how Basotho labour migrants perceive belonging. As Antonsich (2010:648) states, factors such as material stability and having legal documents such as permits can influence how migrants perceive a sense of belonging to specific places.

Historically, existential sociology can be viewed as part of a wide evolutionary change that has taken place over the years. Modernity has involved a movement from a search for absolute and eternal ideas to a reconceptualization of reality as change, flux, complexity and uncertainty. In other words, there has been a movement to a way of thinking which regards everything as not simply changing but as constantly developing into something new and different (Kotarba, 2009:140).

Andrea Fontana (1980:173) observes that life is situated and problematic, and that it is unpredictable. People are, as a result, confronted with the uncertainty of life which they solve as life goes on. He states that this is the very essence of existential sociology: to study life in its everyday situatedness and problematic character, to see the ways in which feelings influence actions, and to understand how problems which continuously emerge can be addressed in order for life to continue. To reach these understandings, existential sociology starts with the everyday experiences of members in society. Fontana (1984:4) adds that these everyday experiences must be studied in the natural setting of individuals, which is the everyday world in which they live. Creswell (2013:20) also affirms that participants must be studied in their places of residence or workplace as these constitute their world of lived experience, and offer the greatest possibility of better understanding their experiences.

Kotarba (2009:143) argues that it was not until recently that sociologists focused on the empirical study of feelings and emotions, and their primary role in everyday life. He claims that feelings and emotions constitute the core of people's being, known as brute being, and as such they are the basis of society. He states that feelings are powerful in the sense that they facilitate action, although this action is guided by reason (Kotarba, 2009:144). Antonsich (2010:645) defines belonging as *"a personal, intimate, feeling of being 'at home' in a place"*. Easthope (2004:134) writes that *home* has been referred to as *"an emotional warehouse wherein grief, anger, love, regret, and guilt are experienced as real"*. In their description of home, Blunt and Dowling (2006:22) have also defined home as a *"material dwelling and also an affective space shaped by emotions and feelings of belonging"*. Therefore any study of belonging, including the current study, must consider the importance of feelings and emotions, as existential sociology emphasises.

Besides feelings and emotions, existential sociology also looks at the existential self (Kotarba, 2009:144). Kotarba (2009:145) defines the existential self as *"an individual's unique experience of being within the context of contemporary social conditions, an experience most notably marked by an incessant sense of becoming and an active participation in social change"*. The existential self shows how individuals in the face of social change in contemporary life are forced to act and do something about their

situations. One of the objectives of this study is to establish the circumstances underlying migration. The existential self shows how situations in the sending countries force people to migrate.

The existential self is characterised by the inner self, agency, social change, it is embodied and it is becoming. Therefore, for the purposes of this research, I will briefly discuss some of the aspects of the existential self. They include the existential self as embodied and becoming, agency, and social change. The existential self as embodied argues that the self and the body are one. The existential self that is becoming emphasises the need to continuously construct the self so as to cope with the world. Agency, on the other hand, implies that people have a level of control over their situations, while the existential self and social change show that people participate in social change.

1.2.2.1. The existential self is embodied

According to Fontana (1984:8, 11), the phrase *'existential self is embodied'* means that human beings are single units. In other words, the body and soul are not separate but are one. The self is completely caught within the reality in which it is found and it cannot be separated from its physical body. Moreover, the self is stimulated into action by feelings and emotions stemming from the body. Turning to one of the focus areas of this research, *belonging to different places,* Easthope (2004:129) argues that the concept of place enables an understanding of the relationship between people and the external world; *"a relationship between the mind and external world through the body"* (2004:130). Edward Casey (2001:683) explains that the body connects the self to a lived place through its senses, and that the self is in fact a reflection of a place through the body so that *"places come to be embedded in us"* (2001:688). He therefore affirms that the body and self are interconnected rather than separate, and that place constitutes one's sense of self (2001:684).

1.2.2.2. The existential self is becoming

According to Fontana (1984:11), the self is forever unfolding, changing, and developing as a result of its changing perceptions of the world around it. Thus Kotarba (1984:225) argues that becoming is the need to constantly construct the self if one is to efficiently

cope with the world in which one finds oneself. He maintains that existentialism portrays a picture of *the self-to-society* link which is in tune with today's world, namely a picture of the self confronting society. This means that people continuously try to influence and manipulate society in such a way that it becomes a resource for satisfying their basic needs and wants. The study considers the various ways in which migrants use resources at their disposal in order to meet their needs and those of their families. Datta, McIlwaine, Evans, Herbert, May, and Wills (2007:416-419) show how migrant workers adopt tactics in order to make more money for their families and for their own survival. This in turn satisfies their belonging needs in destination countries. Antonsich (2010:648) has affirmed that economic factors such as job security create material stability, which in turn creates a feeling of belonging.

1.2.2.3. The existential self and agency

Kotarba (2009:150) claims that at the heart of the existential self is people's ability to perceive situations and to accordingly respond in a rational and affective manner. This human potential is called agency. Fontana (1980:155) argues that existentialists reject the belief that people are simple cognitive forms in a world beyond their control. Instead, they maintain that an individual is a social actor who is confronted with and tries to address everyday life problems. The individual searches for meanings such as values, rules, definitions and attitudes from other individuals in order to tackle these problems. The actor then manages meanings by placing them within stories which form the essence of social life (Kotarba, 2009:150-151).

Thus inner strength refers to the various ways in which people experience and come to talk about the deepest, existential resources which are at their disposal and which they use to deal with threats to themselves (Kotarba, 2009:151). By persuading the women living with HIV/AIDS in his study to tell their stories of living with the virus and their attempts to make sense of serious illness, Kotarba (2009:151) claims that the women were likely to be empowered. I also intend to apply this in the present research, by allowing migrants to tell their stories, the expectation is that they will realise what resources they can use to forge a sense of belonging to different places.

1.2.2.4. The existential self and social change

In contrast to the widely known definition of social change as the significant alteration in the content of a culture, the definition takes on a different meaning in existential sociology. It depends on the individual's concern for the becoming of self in the face of uncertain social conditions. The self is viewed as an active agent in social change (Kotarba, 1984:229; 2009:151-152).

Paying attention to the self, Kotarba (1984:229; 2009:152) presents the model of social change as follows: the individual initially notices an uncertainty or change taking place in the social world. The uncertainty, be it real or imagined, can take place anywhere in the sphere of social life: technology, attitudes, values or rules. Any of these may be affected. It is important that the individual sees the changes as crucially relevant to sustaining a consistent and fulfilling sense of self. This relevance is twofold. The individual may establish that uncertainty in social conditions does not have any impact whatsoever on existing forms of self-actualization, otherwise the individual may foresee new possibilities for self-actualization as a result of changing social conditions. Either way, individuals search for new ways for self-actualization, often by way of new social roles. This search is, most probably, a collective attempt, as the individual engages in active cooperation with others in a similar position to generate new social forms. On the other hand, the individual may passively share in new social forms produced by others. This model shows that social change forces people to act. They actively participate or passively follow the crowd. The lack of job opportunities in Lesotho has forced Basotho men and especially women to actively seek jobs in South Africa.

1.2.3. Reflexive sociology

Pierre Bourdieu's work, as stated by various authors such as himself and Wacquant (1992:3), King (2005:221), Inglis (2012:209) and Ritzer (2007:2045), is aimed at overcoming the false dichotomies of the social sciences such as those between subjectivism and objectivism, agency and structure, theory and research, and micro- and macro analyses. King (2005:221) maintains that Bourdieu is against existentialism and structuralism in their extreme forms. According to Ritzer (2012:530), Bourdieu believes

that although the social world is a product of human action, there are structural constraints which influence this production. To find a middle ground then, Bourdieu, as King (2005:221) states, wanted to produce a social theory which would describe the institutional realities of contemporary society while also keeping in mind the individual agency.

While the two theories discussed earlier in this chapter, phenomenology and existential sociology, focus exclusively on the individual and his/her everyday experiences, Bourdieu reminds us that there are social structures which constrain and influence the actions of individuals. The present study considers how the actions of individual migrants are to some extent, limited by social structures. Vital legal documents such as a passport and work permit, and government representatives like immigration officials and the police, as well as conditions including employment opportunities, all influence migrants' actions to some degree. Hence Bourdieu's work is useful for the present research.

Bourdieu and Wacquant (1992:4-5) maintain that Bourdieu is against the reduction of sociology to either an objectivist physics of material structures or a constructivist phenomenology of cognitive models. He foresees a joined political economy of practice, especially symbolic power, which integrates phenomenological and structural approaches. He therefore argues that sociology must assume a double reading if it is to account for relations of power and relations of meaning between groups. The first reading views society as an objective structure whose elements can be seen and measured. This objectivist approach reveals the determinate relations undergone by individuals as they create their social existence. The second reading, the subjectivist approach, views social reality as work in progress, as actors move back and forth in the construction of the social world through organised practices of everyday life. By looking through the lens of this social phenomenology, society is a result of conscious individual decisions, actions and cognitions of individuals who experience the world as being familiar and meaningful (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992:7-9).

To show the double reality (need for a "double reading") of the social world, Bourdieu analyses the two opposing paradigms. The resultant social praxeology combines a structuralist and constructivist approach (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992:10-11). According

to Ritzer (2012:530), Bourdieu maintains that the analysis of objective structures cannot be independent of the analysis of individual mental structures, which are mostly the embodiment of social structures. According to Bourdieu and Wacquant (1992:11) and Ritzer (2012:530), Bourdieu notes that while the two moments of analysis must both be undertaken; they do not carry equal weight. Epistemologically, priority is given to objectivism over subjectivism, for actors' viewpoints differ depending on their position in objective social space. For my research however, subjectivism takes priority because the concern is about the subjective meanings that individual labour migrants attach to their experiences in everyday life.

According to Ritzer (2012:530), Bourdieu's attempt to combine objectivism and subjectivism can be seen in his concepts of habitus and field, and the dialectical relationship between them. Below is a discussion of each of these concepts:

1.2.3.1. Habitus

According to King (2005:222), Bourdieu claims that the habitus instills objective social forces in subjective bodily actions in such a way that subjective individual behaviour is a reflection of the broader social structures. In other words, as Inglis (2012:213) maintains, the habitus describes how social conditions influence human action and how humans in turn, to a certain extent, are able to creatively deal with situations that they are confronted with. Bourdieu thus affirms, according to King (2005:222), that the cognitive structures at work in the actors' practical knowledge of the world are internalised, embodied social structures. In this sense, as Ritzer (2012:531-523) states, Bourdieu maintains that the habitus is *"the product of the internalisation of the structures of the social world"*. Through internalisation, these structures are embodied in the individual and they come to be taken as common sense. Therefore, the habitus functions without people's awareness, although it is present in their practical activities. The habitus represents objective categories in the class structure, categories such as age, gender, and social class.

Drawing from Ritzer (2012:531), Bourdieu refers to habitus as the mental structures which people use to cope with the social world. The way in which people perceive, make sense of, appreciate, and evaluate the social world is due to a set of internalised schemes with

which they are endowed. Bourdieu and Wacquant (1992:18) offer a detailed and clear definition by referring to habitus as:

"the strategy-generating principle enabling agents to cope with unforeseen and ever-changing situations…a system of lasting and transposable dispositions which, integrating past experiences, functions at every moment as a matrix of perceptions, appreciations, and actions, and makes possible the achievement of infinitely diversified tasks"

The habitus is acquired through the structural socio-economic positions of individuals (King, 2005:223). This implies that the actors' position in the social structure influences their habitus, and as a result people have different habitus. It is only people who occupy similar positions in the social world who share a common habitus. According to Inglis (2012:213), Bourdieu states that the habitus involves the ways in which people within a particular group think, feel, act, and experience. He claims that an individual's habitus is similar to the wider group to which the individual is a member. The habitus is internalised through the process of socialization which starts very early in life, where children are taught the values, ideas, and attitudes of the group. It occurs at both the mental and bodily level; the mind and body are moulded in ways that reflect the habitus of the group. That implies even how they think and act, so that even the smallest detail of a person's behaviour such as eating, walking, or talking is characteristic of the habitus of the group (Inglis, 2012:214).

According to Inglis (2012:218-219), Bourdieu argues that a person's specific habitus influences how much capital they possess. Capital includes the resources which actors can use to participate in the social world. He distinguishes between four types of capital, namely, economic, social, cultural, and symbolic. Economic capital is the amount of money and material resources that actors have. Social capital consists of a person's social networks or relationships with others. Cultural capital refers to the cultural resources that an actor has. It is about undertaking admirable cultural practices which are high in the hierarchy of culture and possessing exclusive knowledge regarding cultural matters such as language. Symbolic capital involves one's reputation, honour and prestige (King, 2005:224; Ritzer, 2005:69, 2012:533; Inglis, 2012:218).

Antonsich (2010:647-648) states that factors such as having material stability and social networks in the destination area, as well as ability to communicate through language, create a sense of belonging. scholars such as Kelly and Lusis (2006:840-843) have conducted studies to show how migrants are able to maintain multiple links to their countries of origin by using Bourdieu's concept of habitus and its influence on forms of capital. I intend to follow in their footsteps to explore how migrants use economic, social and cultural capital to forge a sense of belonging.

A characteristic of habitus worth mentioning is that it is durable and transposable. This means that it is possible for habitus to be transferred from one field to the next. It is furthermore not fixed because individuals in their ever-changing complex situations can adapt the habitus (Ritzer, 2012:531-532). Bourdieu and Wacquant (1992:19) go on to say that the habitus is creative and inventive, although it is not an unrestricted creativity and inventiveness. Ritzer (2007:2046) also emphasises the fluid feature of the habitus, arguing that it varies with fluctuations in the environment and changes in people. This idea of a transferable, flexible and creative habitus is of significance to this study, especially when considering the fact that Basotho migrants have changed their location from Lesotho to Bloemfontein. I therefore explore whether and how their habitus functions beyond an international border. Ritzer (2012:531) cautions, however, that there are times when the habitus cannot be transferred, when the individual's habitus from one field is incompatible in another field. For instance, eye contact is considered to be rude in Asian culture while it shows interest in American culture. Therefore Asians may take offence if someone from the American culture maintains eye contact. In that way, the American's habitus in terms of behaviour is incompatible in Asia. Being confronted with such social practices that do not fit the habitus creates embarrassment and discomfort in actors (King, 2005:223). In such a case, a person is said to have an inappropriate habitus (Ritzer, 2012:531).

Casey (2001:686) is of the opinion that just as the habitus and field is Bourdieu's attempt to combine subjectivism and objectivism, agency and structure and other dualities, the habitus also mediates between place and the self. This is important as it shows how people become attached to places, or in Antonsich's (2010:646) words, how belonging

"as an emotional feeling, it comes to be attached by an individual to a particular place so to generate…place-belongingness". Casey (2001:686-687) argues that while Bourdieu does not directly refer to place, it is inherent in the discussion of habitus and field; the habitus embodies the social structures of a given place, it is able to draw on past experiences from a certain place to address a similar situation in the present, and it is directed to a place in its actual performance. Easthope (2004:133) states that the habitus also relates to a sense of place, which involves feelings of belonging. Since the habitus is *"improvisational and open to innovation"* (Casey, 2001:686). Easthope (2004:133) maintains that people can make choices concerning their interrelations with a place within the limits of the habitus and forge a sense of place. He adds that this is especially important when places in which the habitus originates change drastically due to external forces such as migration. A feeling of belonging is lost, creating a need for a stable sense of place.

According to Inglis (2012:214-215), Bourdieu is of the opinion that people are generally not aware that their actions represent the way in which they have been socialised. The habitus leads people to view the world in common sense ways so that they never stop to reflect on the habitus. People simply experience *"things as they are"*, unaware that such common sense ways are the product of habitus. This common sense view of the world, also known as doxa, underlies all human existence. It is only when people are in situations where their habitus does not apply, when their customary ways of doing things seem not to work, that they actually notice that they have a habitus. Moores and Metykova (2010:173) state in their article on a qualitative study that they conducted on the environmental experiences of trans-European migrants staying in Britain, that one of the participants mentioned how, on her visits to her home in Lithuania, she found herself reflecting on the taken-for-granted experiences. This was something that she had never done before until she migrated to Britain, and how she came to notice that she was actually attached to her home. It is also interesting for the present study to explore how moving to another country has made migrants realise the presence of their habitus.

1.2.3.2. Field

According to King (2005:223), the habitus functions in a broader institutional context that Bourdieu refers to as the field. He replaces the idea of society with those of field and social space so that field is the redefinition of the concept *social structure* (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992:16; Inglis, 2012:217). Bourdieu and Wacquant (1992:16) maintain that a field entails:

"a set of objective, historical relations between positions anchored in certain forms of power…"

These objective relations exist independent of individual consciousness or will (King, 2005:223). The objective positions are occupied by agents or institutions, both of which are limited by the field's structure. The habitus serves a vital role since it is the one which connects individuals to their positions in the field and makes certain that they are reproduced through behaviour appropriate for those positions (King, 2005:223). According to Ritzer (2005:69), Bourdieu argues that a person's position in the field is indeed shaped by his/her habitus.

The field's structure influences the strategies by which agents or institutions try to protect or improve their positions and to mobilise the principle of hierarchization. This use of strategies shows the degree of agency that the actors have (Ritzer, 2012:532-533). Bourdieu and Wacquant (1992:25) refer to these strategies as *"the active deployment of objectively oriented lines of action that obey regularities and form coherent and socially intelligible patterns, even though they do not follow conscious rules or aim at the premeditated goals posited by a strategist"*. The fact that these strategies obey rules without even being aware shows that, as Bourdieu maintains according to King (2005:222), social agents are so familiar with the guiding principles of rules that they do not stop to reflect on them. Like players in a game, they have a *"sense of the game"*. In other words, they have a spontaneous knowledge of how to respond to their various situations. As Ritzer (2012:532) affirms, people possess practical logic; human action has logic, the logic of practice.

Bourdieu and Wacquant (1992:17) emphasise the strength of the field by describing it as *"a patterned system of objective forces, a relational configuration endowed with a specific gravity which it imposes on all objects and agents which enter in it"*. In physics, there is an experiment in which iron filings are spread on a piece of paper. They remain in exactly the same way they were put. But once the paper is placed on a magnet, the iron filings move towards the end of the poles of the magnet, and this is attributed to the force of the magnetic field. By using the analogy of the magnetic field, Bourdieu and Wacquant (1992:17) are demonstrating that individuals cannot always act as they please, their actions are always constrained by objective social forces – much in the manner that the force of the magnetic field pulls the iron filings towards the poles. This is important for the present study, which focuses on labour migrants who have transcended an international border. The study intends to find out how objective forces such as immigration policies, job opportunities and the physical border itself influence migration as well as the everyday life of migrants.

Within the social world, Bourdieu argues, according to Ritzer (2012:532), that there are numerous partially independent fields such as kinship relations, the political sphere, the world of art, and formal education (Ritzer, 2005:69). Each separate field has its own values and principles, rules of participation, resources in terms of assets that participants can use and stakes or what participants stand to gain or lose from participating (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992:17; Inglis, 2012:217). Bourdieu and Wacquant (1992:17) maintain that each field is characterised by conflict and competition. Individuals and groups struggle with each other to dominate, for superiority and social distinctiveness, and this competition happens outside the actors' consciousness (King, 2005:223; Inglis, 2012:217). It is in this sense that Bourdieu argues, according to Inglis (2012:69) and Ritzer (2007:2046) that the field is a *"system of power relations"*. The study considers how migrants survive in the competitive world. Drawing from a survey of Basotho farm-workers by the Southern African Migration Project (SAMP), Ulicki and Crush (2007:157) found that a lack of legal documents among migrants was a result of a high competition for jobs at the labour offices. The competition leads migrants to decide to cross the border and find jobs on their own. The study explores the measures the migrants are willing to take in order to survive the competitive labour market in Bloemfontein.

1.3. Conclusion

The contribution made by each of the aforementioned theories helps the researcher to answer the research questions. Phenomenology, with its interest in the use of typifications in everyday life highlights how Basotho labour migrants in Bloemfontein perceive and understand belonging from their individual points of view, and how shared meaning shapes action and interaction in their everyday life. Existential sociology is relevant, especially with its acknowledgement of the constantly changing, complex and problematic nature of the contemporary world in which human beings live, the importance and influence of emotions and feelings, and people's ability to manipulate society to their advantage. By drawing on Bourdieu's concepts of habitus and field, the study establishes how objective social structures limit migrants' actions, and how the migrants in turn adapt their habitus concerning the objective situations in which they find themselves, as well as the forms of capital that they employ to satisfy their needs of belonging.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

A literature review is a necessary component of research as it sheds light on what has been written about one's topic. It helps one to identify the gap in a specific area of research and as such enables the researcher to rationalise the significance of his/her research. The focus of the present research study is on how Basotho labour migrants in Bloemfontein negotiate belonging in their everyday lives. Before going into a detailed discussion on migration and belonging, this chapter starts with a brief background of migration from Lesotho to South Africa and the studies which have been done on this topic so far. It moves on to a thorough discussion of belonging and by providing a definition. By drawing on previous studies, it illustrates the various challenges to belonging migrants encounter, and how, in spite of those challenges, they manage to forge a sense of belonging in various ways to both countries of origin and destination.

2.1. Migration from Lesotho to South Africa

Migration to South Africa has increased significantly since 1990, with more than four million visitors a year coming from the Southern African Development Community (SADC) region alone (Crush & McDonald, 2000:2). This is because South Africa is well equipped with infrastructure, resources, and services which make it attractive to its African counterparts (Peberdy, 2001:25). Lesotho is among the ten leading countries in the world whose citizens received temporary and permanent residence permits for South Africa in 2013 (Statistics SA, 2014:17,37).

Migration from Lesotho to South Africa is not new (Murray, 1981:12). It dates as far back as 1867 when diamonds were discovered in the Orange Free State and 1887 when gold mines were opened in Transvaal. This led to a demand for cheap labour, which was then extracted from neighbouring countries such as Lesotho, Botswana, Mozambique and Swaziland. Basotho men sought work in the mines, and their migration coincided with declining agricultural production in Lesotho at that time (Modo, 2001:443). During the 1970s and 1980s, Lesotho as a country had most of its working population employed outside of its borders. As much as 50 percent of the adult population were temporarily

employed in many sectors of the South African economy, especially in the gold mines. This number surpassed that of the working population in Lesotho (Cobbe, 2012:1-3). As such, remittances were a major source of income for individual Basotho households and the Lesotho government as a whole (Mensah & Naidoo, 2011:1018).

In the early 1990s however, the gold mines experienced stagnation and many Basotho men were retrenched, with preference then shifting to local South African labour (Cobbe, 2012:2). But this was not the end of migration from Lesotho to South Africa. The loss of mine jobs coupled with lack of job opportunities and increasing poverty in Lesotho forced women to take over from men and enter the labour force. They sought employment in the Free State. However, with little or no formal education, job opportunities were limited to domestic and farm work (Ulicki & Crush, 2007:155,161). Female migration has since been increasing, and in recent years migrants from Lesotho have mostly been women (Coplan, 2001: 102).

A vast amount of research has been conducted on migration from Lesotho to South Africa. Much of it revolves around mine work, farm-work and domestic work. For instance, researchers have studied the effects of the migration of mine workers on family structure (Gordon, 1981; Murray, 1981; Modo, 2001; Mensah and Naidoo, 2011), female migration and farm-work, especially the recruitment process, working conditions, employer demand (Ulicki & Crush, 2000; 2007; Johnston, 2007) and the employment experiences of domestic workers (Griffin, 2010; 2011). The broader social structures such as the Lesotho-Free State border, the South African labour market policies, and the immigration policies post-1994 and their impact on migration have also been researched (Coplan, 2001; Peberdy, 2001; Steinberg, 2005; Griffin, 2010). A few studies have looked into the differences in employment experiences between skilled and unskilled Basotho migrants (Moseki, 2011) and the negative stereotyping of migrants, based on studies conducted in Lesotho, Mozambique, and Zimbabwe (McDonald, Zinyama, Gay, de Vletter & Mattes, 2000).

These studies highlight interesting findings which are helpful to the current research. The employment experiences and working conditions form part of the everyday lives of migrant workers, and everyday life is central to the interpretive approach on which the

present study is based. The effects of migration on family structure reflect the importance of feelings and emotions in everyday life, and how migrants navigate resources at their disposal to get through the complexity, change, and uncertainty of life, which echoes some of the main points of existential sociology (see in this respect the previous chapter section 1.2, sub-section 1.2.2). The broader social structures support Pierre Bourdieu's argument in reflexive sociology that human action must always be understood within the context of structural constraints (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992:11) (for more information about Bourdieu's ideas, see the previous chapter section 1.2, sub-section 1.2.3). The immigration policies, for instance, regulate Basotho's movement between Lesotho and South Africa.

While these studies are valuable, the present study contributes something unique to the literature on migration from Lesotho to South Africa. Firstly and most importantly it focuses on belonging in the context of moving between two places separated by an international border, a phenomenon hardly researched in the literature on migration from Lesotho. Secondly, it takes a phenomenological approach in order to capture the essence of everyday life (see chapter 1, section 1.2, sub-section 1.2.1). Most of the aforementioned studies relied on surveys conducted by the Southern African Migration Project (SAMP) which used large samples for the purpose of generalization and were more quantitative in nature. The present study assumes a qualitative stance in order to share the existential experience of being a migrant labourer. Moreover, the present study moves beyond the common categories of mine work, farm-work, and domestic work to include a number of other occupations. There are many Basotho working as hairdressers in salons. Others sell by the sidewalks, work at construction sites, as taxi drivers and at stores and at the malls. Their stories are important and therefore this research focuses on the way Basotho migrants narrate their experiences.

2.2. Belonging

This section looks at belonging, providing a definition, and highlighting the challenges to belonging as well as how migrants overcome them.

2.2.1. Definition

Most studies on migration discuss belonging but they do not define it in detail, almost as if its meaning is self-explanatory (Gotz & Abdoumaliq, 2003; Feldman, 2006; Oliver, 2011; Van Liempt, 2011; Herbert, 2012; Halil, 2013). For the purposes of this study, however, I draw on the definition provided by Marco Antonsich (2010:645). It is a two-fold definition of belonging, belonging as *"a personal, intimate, feeling of being 'at home' in a place"* (place-belongingness) and belonging as a *"resource in discourses and practices of socio-spatial in/exclusion"* (politics of belonging).

In the first part of the definition, Antonsich (2010:646) maintains that to belong implies finding a place where one can feel 'at home'. He states that home symbolises familiarity, comfort, security, and emotional attachment. Montserrat Guibernau (2013:32-33) similarly emphasises familiarity, the idea of feeling at home, and attachment in her explanation of belonging. Emotions are central to this understanding of belonging. Guibernau (2013:32-33) argues that nostalgia experienced by migrants who have been away from their countries shows the emotional component associated with belonging. Joanna Herbert (2012:298) also observes that emotions are essential to the experience of migration and that they are just as worthy of academic analysis as any other concepts. Indeed emotions are an integral part of the present study since its focus is on everyday life, and existential sociology insists on the importance of feelings and emotions in everyday life (Kotarba, 2009).

In the second part of the definition, belonging encompasses boundary maintenance, especially boundaries which distinguish the world into 'us' vis-à-vis 'them'. In other words, the politics of belonging is about belonging to a group (Yuval-Davis, 2006:204; Antonsich, 2010:650). Belonging to a group in the present study implies integrating into the communities in which Basotho migrants participating in the research, live in Bloemfontein as well as the wider Bloemfontein community. It is about whether Basotho migrants feel part of the communities in which they live and whether they are able to express themselves, including how welcome they feel in Bloemfontein. Therefore this definition is also useful for my research. The distinction between 'us' vis-à-vis 'them' is a result of the difference between groups, which is one of the challenges discussed in the next section.

Both parts of the definition of belonging are relevant for the current study since migrants cannot feel at home in Bloemfontein without being accepted by the Bloemfontein community.

2.2.2. Challenges of belonging

Migrants face numerous challenges in the countries of destination. These challenges include exclusion, xenophobia, economic hardship and barriers to accessing public services. Migrants are often excluded because the dominant group perceives them as different and threatening. Their illegal status subjects them to harassment by authorities and hostility from South African citizens. They face economic hardship as a result of the meagre wages that they earn and the lack of recourse to the law. They also face difficulties in accessing public services such as housing and health care. Below is a more detailed discussion of these challenges:

2.2.2.1. Exclusion

Ruth Wodak (2008:60) defines exclusion as *"deprivation of access through means of explicit or symbolic power…; access to participation, citizenship, media, information, language learning, power positions, organizations, jobs, housing, education, and so on"*. Exclusion is a result of perceived difference between groups. People become aware of difference through processes such as migration which bring people from different parts of the world into contact (Easthope, 2004:131). Although migration to South Africa has been going on for long, Dodson (2010:6) argues that it increased drastically post-1994. He maintains that African migrants have come to South Africa from various source countries, resulting in direct contact with foreign Africans, and leading local South Africans to realise cultural differences. Guibernau (2013:14) states that the difference enables external categorisation by others. This involves labelling and stereotyping, as well as creating assumptions about beliefs, views, and behaviour of an individual depending on the group to which s/he has been categorised. She asserts that this is due to the parallel assumption of similarity between members of a group, and that characteristics of a group define the individual.

Belonging then revolves around the interplay of difference and sameness based on the boundaries of who does and who does not belong (Ralph & Staeheli, 2011:523). This becomes a challenge for migrants because the dominant group associates the idea of belonging with sameness (Antonsich, 2010:650). A person will be accepted into the group if group members believe that the person is similar to them (Ralph & Staeheli, 2011:523). To belong to a collectivity then, people outside the dominant group (migrants) must attain this similarity by adopting the culture, language, values, behaviour, and religion of the dominant group (Yuval-Davis, 2006:209; Antonsich, 2010:650). Vandeyar and Vandeyar (2011:4165-4166) note the importance of language by emphasising that it *"serves as a gatekeeper for acceptance in the host society"*. They believe inability to speak the basic language of the host society leads to exclusion. They assert that language is the basis of interaction between migrants and local people in the host country. The culture, values, behaviour, and religion of the dominant group are all communicated and transferred through language hence the emphasis on language.

However, even if a person does assimilate into the dominant group, Antonsich (2010:650) cautions that there will always be other markers of difference such as place of birth, skin colour, or even accent which would prevent complete sameness and as a result, lead to the exclusion of the individual. Vandeyar and Vandeyar (2011: 4166) point to the importance of accent by arguing that even if migrants can speak the language of the host society, it is their accent that sets them apart from the local people, and distinguishes them as 'other'. For example, Basotho speak Sesotho, which is one of the languages also spoken in South Africa, yet the accent is different for Basotho and South Africans. The Bacille Calmette Guerin (BCG) vaccine for tuberculosis that children receive at birth also leaves different scars; the scar is oval shaped on the lower arm for Basotho while it is dots which form a clump in a circle on the upper arm for South Africans. Therefore it does not matter how much Basotho adopt the South African culture. That difference remains because the scar of the injection is visible throughout one's life.

Antonsich (2010:650) states that there are two sides to the politics of belonging: the side which claims belonging and the one which has the power to grant belonging. For the former, the claim is usually the right to stay and to work in a place, and it includes work

permits right through to citizenship. Yet, despite political belonging being granted, it remains insufficient to create a sense of place-belongingness. To belong, he claims that people need to feel that they can express themselves, be recognised as important members of the society in which they live, and be valued and listened to. Thus the role played by political institutions is not enough. The entire society must also grant this recognition. This coincides with Pierre Bourdieu's argument in reflexive sociology that objectivist and subjectivist approaches should be integrated because one without the other is incomplete. That is, while the social world is a product of human action, humans act within structural constraints (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992:4-5; Ritzer, 2012:530). A valid passport or work permit alone does not guarantee belonging, individual members of society too must grant it, the failure of which, as Jones and Krzyzanowski (2008:49) maintain, results in exclusion.

2.2.2.2. Xenophobia

Wodak (2008:64) argues that the exclusion of migrants is typically justified by arguments such as 'they are a burden on our society', 'they are dangerous, a threat', 'they cost too much', 'their culture is different'. By so doing, she maintains that migrants serve as scapegoats as the host society blames them for unemployment, causing general dissatisfaction, abusing welfare systems, or posing a threat to established cultural practices and traditions. The South African society is no exception in this regard. Contrary to South Africans' expectations post-1994 when the country became a democracy, development has been slow, and poverty and inequality have increased (McConnell, 2009:34). Migrants are therefore to blame for the high unemployment and crime rate, over-crowded informal trading sector, the growth of the drug trade, and for bringing diseases such as malaria, yellow fever, and AIDS (Crush, 2000:109; Peberdy, 2001:24; Gotz & Abdoumaliq, 2003:131; McConnell, 2009:35; Dodson, 2010:5-6; Landau & Freemantle, 2010:378).

According to Sally Peberdy (2001:28-29) and Palmary, Rauch and Simpson (2003:111) an example of exclusion which usually results from the above stereotypes is xenophobia. It became common in South Africa after 1994 due to increasing foreign migration when South Africa became democratic. Citizenship became the basic legal marker of national

identity and a criterion for belonging. Therefore non-citizens were categorised as 'other', considered a threat to state resources, and subjected to exclusion. Xenophobia is an illustration of this exclusion. It occurs at the level of the state mainly through harassment by the police and personnel at the Lindela Detention Centre, a Centre where migrants are kept while awaiting deportation. Xenophobia also occurs at the street level in the form of negative societal attitudes (Madsen, 2004; Neocosmos, 2008). A close look at each is presented below:

2.2.2.2.1. Harassment by the police and personnel at the Lindela Detention Centre

Landau and Freemantle (2010:379) maintain that the police often harass migrants irrespective of whether they are legal or not. They mostly disregard work permits, or any other legal documents that migrants hold. They even go to the extent of destroying such documents so that they can arrest migrants. They make arrests depending solely on migrants' physical appearance, inability to speak some of the official languages, or merely for fitting the profile of undocumented migrants. Palmary et al. (2003:113) add that the police deny migrants access to services when they have been victimised, based on the idea that foreigners do not have rights to state resources. According to Michael Neocosmos (2008:588), the police frequently abuse their power and regularly raid and assault migrants in their own homes. Kihato's (2013:40-41) study on the migrant women of Johannesburg has shown that police raids are very common at migrants' places of work. Similarly on their way from work to their places of residence, the migrant women report encountering the police at roadblocks where they have to pay bribes in order to avoid arrest and deportation.

Bribing the police appears to be a normal practice for migrants to avoid arrest and to be released from a police station. In the case of undocumented migrants, Madsen (2004:180) argues that the police extort money from migrants on a daily basis in the form of 'protection money' which can be a cold drink, or even bribes of a few hundred rands. The migrant street traders in Durban in Sidzatane and Maharaj's (2013:381) study mentioned suffering abuse and maltreatment at the hands of the police. They argued that the police abuse them verbally by telling them to pack their stuff and to return to wherever

they came from. They claimed that the police also abuse them physically by demanding bribes from them even when they have done nothing illegal. Alternatively, the migrant street traders said the police take their goods in spite of the valid permits they hold which enable them to work as street traders. In a study on the remitting behaviour of Congolese migrants in Johannesburg, one Congolese migrant said it was necessary for them to have cash all the time, just in case they bump into police (Kakonde, 2010:227). Police harassment through assault and demanding of bribes is also one of the everyday experiences of Zimbabwean migrant women working and staying in the Eastern Cape (Chireshe, 2010:195).

Lindela Detention Centre is a place where migrants are detained before they can be deported. Migrants who have spent time at the Centre have reported incidents of violence and abuse such as being assaulted by the guards, and not being given a chance to provide legal documents. In some cases their valid documents are reportedly destroyed, and it is reported that in general, processes are unnecessarily delayed. Bribery is common: those who have money are given a chance to bribe their way out of the centre. The staff extorts money from migrants by giving various reasons – that money is needed for fingerprinting, using public telephones, enabling family and friends to visit, and to process deportation. Migrants are denied their rights to a phone call, they are not told their rights and they are usually detained for longer than the maximum period of 30 days (Crush, 2000:114; Madsen, 2004:181; Neocosmos, 2008:589). The police and the Lindela Detention Centre are examples of the broader social structures which influence individual action to some extent, as can be deduced from the above reports. The impact of social structures on individual agency has been discussed under reflexive sociology in the previous chapter (see section 1.2, sub-section 1.2.3). The police and Lindela Detention Centre as state departments shape the everyday lives of migrants because migrants have to always carry money for bribes in addition to sending remittances to their home countries while simultaneously sustaining themselves in South Africa. Seeing that most of them work in the informal sector and earn meagre incomes, the bribes must put a strain on the migrants.

Experiencing harassment at the hands of the aforementioned state departments, especially the police, has led migrants to live their everyday lives in fear. This means that they have to be cautious all the time and watch over their backs. For instance, the migrant women of Johannesburg in Kihato's (2013:36-37) study, who are all street traders, reported that they always have to be ready to run in case of police raids when they are at work. Some of the precautions they take include displaying only a few items and hiding the rest of their stock so that the police do not take all their stock during the raids. This fear indicates lack of security and comfort in migrants' lives. Antonsich (2010:646) has insisted that in order to feel at home in a place, one must feel comfortable and secure. Migrants cannot attain a sense of belonging if their everyday lives are characterised by fear.

2.2.2.2.2. Negative societal attitudes

At the street level, a study conducted by Jonathan Crush (2000) on public attitudes of South Africans towards migrants, immigrants, refugees and non-citizens in general showed that South Africans are highly intolerant of and hostile towards non-citizens. In a study done in 2007-2008, African immigrants in Cape Town recorded incidents of xenophobia in their everyday lives. They reported experiencing negative attitudes from local South Africans, even their neighbours. They described locals as rude to them: they scorn and laugh about their complexion, mock their accent and call them 'makwerekwere' (Dodson, 2010:15-16), in other words *"those who speak in an unintelligible language"* (Hansen, Jeannerat, & Sadouni, 2009:193). Peter Kakonde's (2010:227) study on Congolese migrants has shown that migrants are also suitable targets of crime. This is because migrants are forced to carry cash due to the difficulty of opening bank accounts which is brought about by the fact that they lack proper documents. Moreover, Madsen (2004:179) states that criminals take advantage and attack migrants because they know that migrants will not report the crime, and so mugging and theft are common crimes perpetrated against them. African immigrants in Cape Town reported that they have been mugged and assaulted in the streets, while those with shops have been robbed (Dodson, 2010:16-17).

The fact that migrants are aware of their vulnerability to crime means that they are also aware that their lives are in danger. Their everyday lives are characterised by fear. This fear of being attacked by criminals can be seen in the way in which African migrants engaged in street trading in Durban's CBD (Central Business District) pay security guards a certain fee for protection, according to a study by Sidzatane and Maharaj (2013:381). The negative attitudes and hostility that migrants experience furthermore imply that the South African society does not recognise migrants as important members of it. Migrants on the other hand feel that they are not accepted or welcome in the host country. As already noted, Antonsich (2010:650) has emphasised that a sense of belonging to a place cannot be achieved without general acceptance from the dominant group in that place. Xenophobia then, in all its forms, poses a challenge to belonging.

2.2.2.3. Economic hardship

Many labour migrants in South Africa, particularly those without the legal documents, struggle to survive in host societies. The root cause of this struggle seems to be low wages. The reason is that employers pay migrants virtually any wage they see fit because they know that migrants cannot complain to the authorities out of fear of deportation. Labour migrants in various studies claim that their wages are barely enough to meet their basic needs and cannot allow them to generate savings. This makes it difficult to make future plans (Dinat & Peberdy, 2007:194; Ulicki & Crush, 2007:163; Griffin, 2011:89-90; Pande, 2014:384).

Out of necessity to survive, most labour migrants employ numerous tactics such as working overtime, doing more than one job, moving between jobs or joining micro credit schemes, in order to make additional income. Tactics also include saving on general household expenditure such as buying food in bulk or during promotions, and sharing rent and bills. Saving on childcare implies leaving dependent children back home or otherwise working different shifts so that children are taken care of by both parents (Datta, McIlwaine, Evans, Herbert, May & Wills, 2007:416-420). Some labour migrants end up engaging in activities that they never imagined doing so that they can help supplement the low wages. In a study conducted by Regis Chireshe (2010:195) on the psychosocial impact of poverty on women, especially looking at Zimbabwean migrant women's

narratives, he reported that the women had admitted to performing acts that they consider shameful and immoral such as prostitution. He showed that the women earn very low incomes and in order to sustain a livelihood, they engage in commercial sex to make more income. This, in turn, exposes them to HIV/AIDS and unwanted pregnancies. Some even endure abusive relationships just so that they can access basic needs such as food, clothing, and shelter. Working for very low wages and engaging in transactional sex and going out with multiple partners are some of the activities that are found among Zimbabwean migrant women in Johannesburg in a study on HIV risk perception and health care access conducted by Munyewende, Rispel, Harris, and Chersich (2011:155).

Antonsich (2010:647-648) believes that one of the prerequisites for creating a feeling of place-belongingness is economic security. He asserts that economic factors are important because they lead to migrants' safe and stable material condition. They moreover make the migrants feel that they actually have a future in the destination area. Since the majority of undocumented labour migrants live in a situation of material insecurity, it can then be said that obtaining a sense of belonging with respect to the host society's labour market is a problem.

2.2.2.4. Barriers to accessing public services

The absence of legal documents makes it increasingly difficult for migrants to access basic services such as housing, health care or banking. Even migrants with legal documents report some difficulty in accessing services as was shown in Kihato's (2013:33-34) study on migrant women in inner city Johannesburg. According to Kihato (2013:33-34), the women struggle to access services since employers and service providers such as landlords, banks, clinics, or schools, disregard their documents. This negatively influences the everyday lives of migrant women, as one Rwandan woman reported that her asylum seeker permit does nothing to help her find a job, open a bank account, or even rent a place to stay. Since the difficulty in opening bank accounts and its consequences have already been discussed under the section on negative societal attitudes, below is a discussion on migrants' access to housing and health care.

2.2.2.4.1. Housing

Housing is a major problem for many migrants globally. For example, it has been found to be a concern in studies conducted in countries such as Spain, Italy and Lebanon. In the first instance landlords and agencies frequently deny migrants the possibility to rent. Those who do find housing pay very high rent in spite of the poor quality of housing: most have no bathrooms, electricity and running water. They also live in less desirable areas, and those who live in urban centres live in over-crowded neighbourhoods. Over-crowding has been reported as very common among migrants (Calavita, 2005:111-114; Pande, 2014:383).

Various studies support the fact that housing is a major concern for migrants in South Africa as well. Chireshe's (2010:195) study on the narratives of Zimbabwean migrant women in the Eastern Cape found that most of the women are homeless and they live in poor and unhealthy conditions. In another study on HIV risk perception and health care access among 15 Zimbabwean migrant women in Johannesburg, 10 of the women were found to live in very poor conditions and some of them even live at a church shelter (Munyewende et al., 2011:154). These migrants endure poor housing conditions due to their inability to afford rent. It also has to do with the difficulty of convincing landlords to rent them rooms since they lack traceable references (Chireshe, 2010:195).

Over-crowding is an issue for most migrants when it comes to housing. A study on housing conditions of Somalis in Johannesburg found over-crowding (with 6, 8, 10, or 11 people sharing a room) to be a concern. The argument is that over-crowding denies privacy and is a threat to health. It is physically and psychologically problematic. The over-crowded situation occurs because migrants have irregular employment which means irregular income. Those working full-time earn very low wages as most of them work in retail, factories, and as street traders (Peberdy & Majodina, 2000:279-280). In a study on the remitting behaviour of Congolese migrants in Johannesburg, the migrants also attribute over-crowding to the high rent and cost of living in South Africa. They maintain that it is also the need to save money to send back home which leads them to share living space (Kakonde, 2010:228). In comparing the housing situation in Somalia and South Africa, many Somalis experienced accommodation in South Africa as uncomfortable,

crowded, and as only a roof over their heads as they have few options (Peberdy & Majodina, 2000: 283-284). The migrant women of Johannesburg in Kihato's (2013:60) study similarly agreed that their home countries are relatively safe in terms of housing. They argue that it is because they have their own space, in comparison to Johannesburg where they live in crowded situations, sometimes even with strangers who can steal from them.

For migrants who stay on their employers' properties, conditions are just as bad. Migrant domestic workers in Johannesburg who stay on their employers' property, for instance, reported that they have no access to a bathroom with running water and only a few of them have access to a tap inside their rooms (Dinat & Peberdy, 2007:196). According to a study on Basotho migrant farm-workers, migrants stay on the farm and they are housed in rooms that had been stables or storerooms. Over half said their accommodation is unsatisfactory and they raised several concerns. They include over-crowding with up to 20 workers in a storeroom, inadequate sanitation, and no electricity, no beds or mattresses to sleep on, and old roofing leading to problems during harsh weather. The migrants said they have to collect wood from the bushes to make fire in order to warm bathing water, and they are forced to use the bush as there are no toilets (Ulicki & Crush, 2007:164-165). Staying with employers however provides migrants with security from the hostile host society (Griffin, 2011:88). With migrants who stay on their own complaining about crime and police raids at their places of residence, security becomes the responsibility of employers for migrants who stay at work.

2.2.2.4.2. Health care

Although migrants are often blamed for bringing diseases to the host country, in many cases migrants contract diseases after migrating. Illness is caused or increased by difficulty in accessing health care. The majority of diseases occur due to unhealthy living and working conditions (Calavita, 2005:103). For example, according to a study on the vulnerability of migrant domestic workers to HIV/Aids in Johannesburg, the major health problems the migrant domestic workers had were joint, back, and limb problems, all of which were related to their work (Dinat & Peberdy, 2007:197).

While migrants are practically denied health care services in other countries (Calavita, 2005:104-109), migrants in South Africa report health care services as generally accessible. In a study on HIV risk perception and health care access among Zimbabwean migrant women in Johannesburg, the women acknowledged that health care services are more accessible in South Africa than in Zimbabwe where drugs are usually unavailable. However, they mentioned several barriers to accessing these services. These include financial constraints, fear of being asked for legal documents and negative attitudes from medical personnel particularly at hospitals (Munyewende et al., 2011:156-157). In another study on the vulnerability of domestic workers to HIV/Aids in Johannesburg, the women also reported access to health care services as generally easy. For these women, the difficulty in accessing health care occurs because they work long days and weeks for meagre wages. The situation is worsened by the fact that visiting the clinic requires time off, which, in turn, implies loss of pay. They therefore prefer state services to private doctors because the former are affordable (Dinat & Peberdy, 2007:194,198). The idea of employers not paying workers when they are ill was also discovered in a study on Basotho migrant farm-workers, who said they continue working even when they are ill as they cannot afford to lose a single cent from the little wages that they earn (Ulicki & Crush, 2007:166).

It is because of all these problems that Madsen and Naerssen (2003:62) argue that merely crossing an international border poses a challenge to belonging in the destination country regardless of how close it may be to the home country. While migrants from Lesotho may not experience a language or cultural barrier in South Africa, they still experience xenophobia, restrictive immigration policies and they are excluded from opportunities which are open to South African citizens. Crush's (2000:114-115) study on public attitudes towards the rights for migrants, immigrants, refugees and non-citizens in general addressed migrant perceptions of their own treatment in South Africa and most of them admitted to having experienced verbal and physical harassment by both authorities and South African citizens. This finding was in contrast to the assumption that migrants from neighbouring countries would be viewed more favourably. Thus apart from the physical border, Basotho migrants experience numerous covert social boundaries in their everyday lives and they may therefore be considered as living precariously in more

than one place. They are neither fully included nor excluded from their country of birth or their current home.

In light of the aforementioned challenges in their everyday lives, migrants are not completely passive to their circumstances. They do show a degree of agency by forging a sense of belonging. They employ several tactics to make a home in the host country while simultaneously maintaining ties to their countries of origin. The remainder of the chapter shows how migrants forge a sense of belonging to both their countries of destination and origin.

2.2.3. Forging a sense of belonging

Just as Antonsich (2010: 646) has defined belonging as a *"personal, intimate, feeling of being 'at home' in a place"*, we see how in this section migrants try to attain this feeling through transnationalism. Due to the challenge of exclusion posed by the dominant culture discussed in the previous section, the tradition has been to study the extent to which migrants are able to integrate into the dominant culture. In South Africa, the literature (Madsen, 2004; Ndlovu, 2010; Vidal, 2010) has considered migrants as trying to integrate by remaining as invisible as they possibly can. They maintain such invisibility in order to gain general acceptance in the South African society. In a study on undocumented migrants in Johannesburg, the absence of legal documents, for instance, meant that migrants have to avoid authorities and remain invisible. To remain invisible, the migrants have to adopt the South African culture by dressing like South Africans and learning some of the South African languages, especially English and Zulu (Madsen, 2004:178). In a study that was conducted on the migration patterns of Ndebele-speaking Zimbabweans, it was claimed that this particular group of migrants feel at home in South Africa because they can easily assimilate into Zulu society and speak Zulu fluently (Ndlovu, 2010:123). In studying the city life of Mozambican migrants in Johannesburg, the migrants held similar sentiments: they feel it necessary to speak Zulu and English fluently without a recognizable accent, to be sure of South African greetings, to wear South African clothes, to know their way around the city and how to handle the police, as well as to develop good relationships with neighbours and colleagues (Vidal, 2010:59, 64).

The idea of transnationalism has, however, become common in recent migration studies (Yeoh & Huang, 2000; Dannecker, 2005; Stodolska & Santos, 2006; Kelly & Lusis, 2006; Gielis, 2009; Ehrkamp, 2010; Moores & Metykova, 2010; Ralph & Staeheli, 2011) and is of more interest for the present research. This is because transnationalism is a concept not commonly explored in migration studies in South Africa due to the tendency to view migrants as temporary, as just coming in to work and returning to their countries after accumulating enough money. However, Petra Dannecker (2005:658) argues that transnational ties are just as significant for temporary migrants, and by using transnationalism in the current study, it is believed that it will bring about a new perspective to the literature on migration in South Africa. It is especially attractive because of its ability to challenge the idea that migrants have only two choices in the countries of destination, namely, to either integrate completely into the dominant culture or to completely maintain their original cultures. Following is a definition of transnationalism and its various manifestations in the everyday lives of migrants.

2.2.3.1. Transnationalism

Transnationalism refers to the idea that migrants remain connected to their place of origin while also adapting to their place of destination (Crush & McDonald, 2000:8-9; Dannecker, 2005: 659). They actively partake in familial, social, economic, religious, political, and cultural processes in their countries of origin and at the same time become part of the destination society (Levitt & Jaworsky, 2007:130; Gustafson, 2009:503). Holding onto people, memories, and aspects of the culture of the home country while also gaining acceptance in the destination country helps migrants satisfy some of their belonging needs.

Transnationalism furthermore supports the idea that home is not necessarily tied to place. Antonsich (2010: 646) describes home as *"a symbolic space for familiarity, comfort, security, and emotional attachment"* in his definition of belonging. Blunt and Dowling (2006:27) have observed that home places are not necessarily limited to a house, they can be a suburb, neighbourhood, or even the world. Consequently, feelings of belonging and relations with others can be associated with a neighbourhood, a nation, or transcend

transnational space. This shows then that it is possible for migrants to forge a sense of belonging, or a feeling of being at home in a place in the destination area as well.

To forge a sense of belonging, migrants engage in numerous transnational practices, namely, economic, social, and cultural transnational practices. In addition, there are home-making practices which involve domestic decor and furnishings, as well as the preparation and consumption of food by which migrants remain connected to both countries of origin and destination. Moreover, migrants have a transnational habitus which helps them to deal with situations that they are faced with in the destination area. Below is a discussion of each.

2.2.3.1.1. Transnational practices

Stodolska and Santos (2006) have shown that migrants achieve a sense of belonging by engaging in numerous transnational practices which can be classified into economic, social, and cultural transnational practices.

Economic transnational practices entail sending financial remittances to family, informal cross-country trade and the development of small businesses on return (Stodolska & Santos, 2006:632-633). Ifekwuningwe (2006:92) insists that the sending of remittances is the most common practice that ties migrants to their countries of origin. In a study on Congolese migrants in Johannesburg, Kakonde (2010:226) found that the migrants sent remittances as a way of showing personal achievement and to present themselves to their families and communities in the country of origin as successful. With migrants' absence from home, remittances are the only way migrants can show that they are still part of the family. In transnational family ties, remittances therefore constitute the *"most emotionally meaningful objects".*

Social transnational practices include maintaining contact with family and friends in countries of origin. This can be done indirectly, as in writing letters, making phone calls and through the internet. It can also be done directly through physical visits to the country of origin. It furthermore involves the exchange of ideas and values, membership in social clubs and organisations and maintaining ties with migrant communities in the destination area (Stodolska & Santos, 2006:636-640). In a study conducted on undocumented

migrants in Johannesburg, Madsen (2004:177) discovered that migrants depend on close-knit migrant communities which help them with finding accommodation, jobs, safety from crime and the police, financial support as capital or in times of crises. As such, membership in these communities offers migrants a sense of belonging. Newly arrived Somali migrants also rely on community networks as well as family and friends already in Johannesburg for accommodation, according to a study by Peberdy and Majodina (2001:281).

Cultural transnational practices, on the other hand, encompass engaging in cultural activities from countries of origin and activities aimed at preserving indigenous culture. The latter involve membership in ethnic cultural clubs and organisations and teaching children traditional culture (Stodolska & Santos, 2006:641-643). In Lliteras's (2009:221) study on the Senegalese Tijans in Cape Town, the Senegalese had established a religious association whose practices are similar to those in Senegal (Lliteras, 2009:221). Cultural activities from the country of origin include watching home-language television, reading home newspapers and listening to home music and visiting local ethnic bars, as was confirmed by a study on Turkish immigrants in Germany (Ehrkamp, 2010:352, 355-356). The migrant women of Johannesburg in Kihato's (2013:83-84) study also reported that they teach their children values from their home countries so that the children can know their roots. They discipline children according to home moral codes (Kihato, 2013:83-84).

2.2.3.1.2. Home-making practices

Home-making is a dynamic process which is influenced by combining and reworking cultures (Blunt & Dowling, 2006:215). It is about migrants reinterpreting and reinventing the traditions of their countries of origin in the new destination area in order to construct belonging (Jones & Krzyzanowski, 2008: 46). According to Levitt and Jaworsky (2007:139), the resultant combination of cultures is a cultural hybrid. In the present research study, however, the cultural traits cannot be on a national level because South Africa is a heterogeneous country. The research takes into account the fact that Bloemfontein is merely a city in the Free State Province. It is different from many other cities in South Africa. Although ethnically and racially diverse, it has many Sesotho-

speaking people and so there is a possibility of similarities in culture between migrants from Lesotho and the so-called “local” South Africans.

One form of home-making practice concerns materiality such as domestic decor and furnishings. It involves decorating the home in the destination area with items from the country of origin (Blunt & Dowling, 2006:212). Moores and Metykova (2010:183) conducted a study on the environmental experiences of trans-European migrants in Britain. Their participants took pictures, houseplants, souvenirs, and other items of sentimental value when they moved from the new European Union Member States in Eastern Europe to London. The idea is that by hanging pictures, postcards, and displaying items from home, a place that was once strange will become familiar and be endowed with meaning (Moores & Metykova, 2010:172, 179). Patricia Ehrkamp (2010:351) supports the claim by arguing that such items provide familiarity and comfort in migrants’ everyday lives. This, in turn, brings about a feeling of ‘at-homeness’.

Another home-making practice can be seen in the preparation and consumption of food. This is where migrants can, for example, use spices from their countries of origin to prepare local meals (Blunt & Dowling, 2006:216). Levitt and Jaworsky (2007:140) explain that in a similar fashion, migrants bring cultural material from their places of destination to their home countries on return or during visits. For example, Moores and Metykova (2010:183) reported that the trans-European migrants in Britain took objects (from London) such as shortbread biscuits when they visit their respective countries. This idea of integrating cultures to form a hybrid shows that migrants embrace both aspects of their cultures from place of origin and place of destination. This is an important step towards attaining a sense of place-belongingness. The present study explores these practices of home-making in order to see whether there is any integration of certain cultural aspects from Lesotho and Bloemfontein in an attempt to form a hybrid culture. There are a number of aspects to home-making and the material aspect just discussed is only one of them. We now turn to the more psychological aspect of home-making, where individuals cognitively negotiate ways of dealing with circumstances in their everyday lives through the transnational habitus.

2.2.3.1.3. Transnational habitus

Ruben Gielis (2009:603) suggests that migrants have a transnational habitus. In other words *"they have a dual frame of reference through which they constantly compare their situation in their current country of residence with situations in their former country of residence"*. In Kihato's (201383-84) study on the migrant women of Johannesburg, the women often compared circumstances in their countries of origin to circumstances in South Africa. By so doing, they resisted and negotiated cultural boundaries. Their observations of circumstances in South Africa led them to decide to teach their children values from their country of origin as they considered the South African society as lacking in morals. The women's moral codes were linked with their homes and they influenced the women's behaviour in South Africa. This is not to say that the transnational habitus only applies in the country of destination, migrants also take with them ideas, values, and behaviours from the destination area to their home countries. Therefore there is a constant negotiation and exchange involved, based on what migrants consider best. This shows that migrant lives can transcend more than one place by individuals relying on their internalised norms and customs (Casey, 2001:686). Indeed habitus has been characterised as durable and transposable. This means that it can be transferred from one field to the next. It is also not fixed because individuals, in their ever-changing complex situations, can adapt the habitus (Ritzer, 2012:531-532). In this sense, drawing from 'here' and 'there' makes it easier to forge a sense of belonging because what is lacking 'here' can be complemented with something from 'there'.

Kelly and Lusis (2006:838) similarly agree that habitus is not tied to place and that migrants can still evaluate their situations on the basis of rules and norms of their countries of origin. They take habitus a step further by empirically studying how Pierre Bourdieu's forms of capital are evaluated and exchanged by way of a "transnational habitus" among Filipino migrants in Canada. Kelly and Lusis's (2006:836) study is driven by Bourdieu's argument that forms of capital can be converted. They show how economic capital in the form of remittances can be converted to cultural capital, for instance, in the form of a qualification. It also shows how a qualification in turn can be converted to social

capital via an alumni network, and how social capital can be converted back to economic capital when someone finds a job.

As noted in the ideas of Pierre Bourdieu by King (2005:223) and Ritzer (2005:69), we cannot speak about the habitus without referring to the field because a person's position in the field is shaped by his/her habitus. We equally cannot talk about capital without taking the field into consideration because the value of capital is influenced by the field in which one operates (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992:17). There are numerous partially independent fields within the social world (Ritzer, 2012:532), each with its own values and principles, rules of participation, resources in terms of assets that participants can use and stakes or what participants stand to gain or lose from participating (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992:17; Inglis, 2012:217). Keeping in mind that each field is also characterised by conflict and competition (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992:17), each field attaches value to capital in such a way that the same capital will serve the field's own interests. For migrants who move between places, especially between countries, there is a possibility that they will experience such alterations in the value of capital as they exchange it between their countries of origin and destination.

Consequently, Kelly and Lusis (2006) conceptualize capital exchange as occurring within a transnational field linking the Philippines and Canada. For example, they report that although the cultural capital of Filipinos is devalued in Canada and they have to settle for jobs in the informal sector, their economic capital is improved because they earn more than professionals back in the Philippines and they are able to sustain a decent livelihood in Canada (Kelly & Lusis, 2006:839-840). The financial remittances that they send home are converted into cultural capital since the money pays for their children's and siblings' education. The same economic capital is also converted to social capital as parents and children establish networks with people of higher social class. Similar research is lacking in South Africa, and the present research aims at contributing to migration studies by exploring how the different forms of capital are moved in a transnational field, in other words within the space between Lesotho and Bloemfontein.

2.3. Conclusion

The chapter focuses on belonging in the context of migration. It begins with a brief background on migration from Lesotho to South Africa, and we see how this changed over the years from predominantly male to female migration. The chapter continues to define the concept of belonging, which, according to Antonsich (2010:645), is two-fold: place-belongingness and the politics of belonging. The following section discusses the many challenges that migrants face in the host country. It shows how the mere fact of being perceived as different by the dominant culture can pose a challenge to group membership, which is the central aspect of the politics of belonging. The implication for migrants then, if they want to belong, is to adopt or accept the dominant culture. Other challenges include experiences of xenophobia, economic hardship and barriers to accessing public services. While it is evident that the presence of borders cannot be denied, the last part of the chapter shows that migrants are able to forge a sense of place-belongingness through transnationalism. What became evident in the review however is the fact that the literature on belonging, and especially transnationalism draws heavily from studies conducted in overseas countries and less from studies conducted in South Africa. I plan to overcome this gap by gathering knowledge about it through a rigorous methodology, which is discussed in the next chapter.

3. METHODOLOGICAL ACCOUNT

This chapter accounts for the design and methods used in carrying out the present research. It is divided into six sections. The first section deals with the qualitative research approach to the study. The second section explains the choice of the design, in this case a narrative design. The third section provides a discussion of the methods used, while the fourth section focuses on ethical considerations. The fifth section explains how data are analysed and the last section addresses issues of quality in qualitative research.

3.1. Qualitative research

The present study follows a qualitative approach. This is because it is grounded in an interpretivist paradigm which, according to David Gray (2014:23), focuses on how individuals interpret their life worlds. Gray (2014:23) maintains that interpretivism is especially interested in the uniqueness of individuals and as such it adopts the qualitative approach. As the study focuses on how migrants experience and interpret the notion of belonging in their everyday lives, a qualitative approach to research seems appropriate. This is because, as John Creswell (2013:47-48) argues, qualitative research is ideal when one wants to explore a phenomenon among a group of people, especially people whose voices have previously not been heard. The aim is usually to get a deeper understanding of the phenomenon through a direct conversation with people either in their homes or work places by giving them an opportunity to tell their stories.

According to Lawrence Neuman (2012:89), qualitative research is mostly concerned with the construction of meaning. This is central to the interpretive paradigm which forms the theoretical basis for this research. Individuals constitute meaning to experiences and events in their everyday lives and through research, interpretive researchers can access such stories and interpret them (Creswell, 2013:25; Gray, 2014:20). Similarly, qualitative research looks at the complex aspects of social life by gathering in-depth information and making sense of it. In other words, the interest of qualitative research lies in interpretation and with how individuals attach meaning to different situations and events. As such, qualitative research views social life from multiple perspectives (Neuman, 2012:89). By

taking into consideration the individual's point of view, Uwe Flick (2009:16) argues that qualitative research leans more towards subjective experiences. This approach lends itself well to my research as I am interested in Basotho migrants' subjective experiences of belonging in their everyday lives and the meanings that each individual migrant attaches to such experiences. To understand the migrants' subjective experiences, it is necessary to get as close as possible to the individual migrants. This is another reason why I choose qualitative research. According to Flick (2009:16), it enables the researcher to be directly involved in the research.

3.2. Research design

The study follows a narrative design. My interest is in the experiences of Basotho migrants as told by them. That is, similarly, the interest of narrative inquiry, according to Susan Chase (2005:651) is in the stories that individuals tell about their life experiences. Merriam (2009:202) adds that the way in which the story is told is equally important because each utterance, repetition, noise, and even silence becomes part of the data. She reports that a narrative entails first-person accounts of experiences and that, according to Chase (2005:651), it *"may be oral or written and may be elicited or heard during fieldwork, an interview, or a naturally occurring conversation"*. Narrative research is about gathering individual stories, after which the researcher reports on lived experiences of individuals. Butler-Kisber (2010:62) suggests that narrative inquiry is an appropriate design when one wants to gain a deeper understanding of the lived experiences of individuals, which is the case in the present research.

Narrative inquiry involves the construction of meaning. It is about telling the individual's story from the individual's point of view in a meaningful way. As such, the narrative does not only report on actions and events, it also includes emotions, thoughts, and interpretations (Chase, 2005:657). By enabling the exploration of feelings, thoughts, and intentions, the narrative allows entry into human consciousness (Webster & Mertova, 2007:16). Creswell (2013:71, 75) notes that meaning is in fact derived from the co-construction of the story between the researcher and participant. As much as the participant shares his/her view of reality and experiences, the researcher, through

questioning and probing, also contributes to knowledge since the questions serve as triggers which stimulate the participant into giving richer data (Peredaryenko & Krauss, 2013:11). This is what I did through interviews with participants. By asking open ended questions and probing into the responses of the participants, a story evolved. By going back and forth with questions and responses, and by also probing on participants' words, phrases, and other aspects during interviews, meaning was jointly constructed.

Narrative research is an appealing design as it enables the participant to take an active role in research as s/he tells the story. In other words, it gives voice to individual participants, thereby acknowledging that individuals are experts of their own stories. Peredaryenko and Krauss (2013:8), in their study of the interviewing experiences of qualitative researchers who are at the beginning of their careers, show that researchers who are informant-centred view knowledge about phenomena as lying with participants because participants know better about their social realities. Telling their own stories also holds the possibility of making participants aware of certain aspects of themselves of which they were previously unaware (Chase, 2005:657, 668; Creswell, 2013:75). To some extent, it can be said that narrative research empowers participants. By shedding light on crucial events and experiences, Webster and Mertova (2007:69) believe that narratives give *"insights into human understanding"*. In the process, they also enable us to see the effect of an experience to people living the experience. In a way, narratives enable us to experience others' experiences without necessarily going through their realities ourselves. But narrative inquiry is not without limitations, it raises the issue of subjectivity. In other words, researchers can select which stories to include and which to leave out depending on their interests (Webster & Mertova, 2007:20). By leaving out certain stories, the initial purpose of giving participants an opportunity to be heard is not completely achieved. This has the possibility of challenging the credibility of the research.

3.3. Methods

3.3.1. Sampling

Miles and Huberman (1994:34) are of the opinion that sampling is an essential aspect of research since it focuses research and sets its boundaries. They maintain that knowing

exactly what one wants and from whom to get it gives direction to the study. For the present study, the purposive method of sampling is used to obtain participants. Purposive sampling involves selecting people who are knowledgeable about the topic of interest (Flick, 2009:122). Miles and Huberman (1994:27) insist that sampling in qualitative research is often purposive. This partly has to do with the fact that the logic and coherence of social processes cannot be reduced to the interpretation of random sampling. Furthermore, sampling in narrative inquiry is purposeful rather than random because the aim is not to generalise the findings but to interpret the meaning that participants attach to the stories that they tell (Riessman, 2008:60).

Flick (2009:122) proposes that in order to understand a specific area of interest by means of purposive sampling, the researcher chooses subjects who are particularly knowledgeable in that area. This implies that participants can be chosen according to the researcher's assumptions about their experiences. As such, Neuman (2012:149) claims that the researcher relies on his/her judgement and prior knowledge to choose participants. By studying knowledgeable participants, Michael Patton (2002:230) observes that the researcher will be able to answer the research questions. In other words, he argues that the researcher selects participants for the purpose of his/her research, and hence it is called purposeful sampling.

With my interest in understanding how Basotho labour migrants negotiate belonging in their everyday lives, I chose Basotho labour migrants themselves as participants since they are supposedly the most knowledgeable about their experiences. I also used my judgement to choose Basotho labour migrants in the informal sector without work permits because I believe that they struggle more with a sense of belonging than other groups of migrants who hold work permits. Neuman (2012:149) suggests that purposive sampling is ideal for specialized, hard-to-find populations, which applies to Basotho labour migrants because they are difficult to locate. He argues that it is also appropriate when the researcher wants rich data from a specific group of people with the aim of getting a deeper understanding into their situations.

According to Patton (2002:243), there are several strategies for choosing participants in purposive sampling. Miles and Huberman (1994:29) believe that these strategies

increase confidence in the findings. Among these strategies, I employed only three because they seemed relevant for the purposes of this research study. These are maximum variation sampling, homogenous sampling, and snowball sampling. Patton (2002:235) believes that varying the sample is especially important in purposive sampling because common themes that may emerge across cases reveal *"core experiences and central, shared dimensions of a setting or phenomenon"*, which leads to significant findings. He adds that the thorough description of each participant allows for uniqueness in the findings. For the present research, there is variation in occupation and gender. Participants are male and female and their occupations include taxi driving, hairdressing, building construction, and domestic work. With homogenous sampling, Patton (2002:235) asserts that the researcher selects a small homogenous sample in order to explore it in greater detail. In the current study, among all Basotho migrants, I selected only those without work permits and who work in the informal sector.

I lastly used snowball sampling to obtain the sample. Kobus Maree (2007:177) states that snowball sampling is especially appropriate where there is an interconnection of some sort between participants in an area of interest. The participants of the present study are all Basotho migrants. They all work in the informal sector, and they all lack work permits. Neuman (2012:150) indicates that snowball sampling involves the researcher asking participants to refer him/her to other participants in the same situation and asking those to refer him/her to others until the required sample size has been reached. Initially the sample comprises a few people but it grows as a result of referrals. As Patton (2002:243) puts it, the researcher seeks participants of interest by *"sampling people who know people who know people who know what cases are information rich, that is, good examples of study, good interview participants"*.

To recruit participants, Kathryn Roulston (2010:98) suggests that researchers can rely on their personal networks, which can be family, friends, colleagues or acquaintances, who can recommend people that meet the requirements for participation. After identifying such people, she maintains that the researcher can then use snowball sampling to find the rest of the participants. This is exactly how I obtained participants. I used my personal network to find the first few participants. I asked my friends, colleagues, and acquaintances

whether they knew any persons from Lesotho who work in the informal sector in Bloemfontein and they recommended a few people. After interviewing them I asked them to refer me to other Basotho migrants that they knew of who also work in the informal sector. I also randomly asked people wherever I walked whether they were from Lesotho. I used prior knowledge that most Basotho migrants work in downtown Bloemfontein, and in the locations (primarily African residential areas on the outskirts of Bloemfontein) at pubs and grills. Those are the places where I asked around. In a taxi to Lesotho on my way home I would similarly ask the people sitting next to me whether they would be interested in participating in my study. I also found one participant at the Department of Sociology at the University, who had been working on the renovations that were done on the building.

Eventually I reached the required sample size of nine; four women and five men. Since narrative inquiry studies a few cases in-depth (Riessman, 2008: 60), a sample size of nine is appropriate because it is sufficient to identify themes across cases, but also small enough to analyse each case in-depth. However, with referrals I ended up with eleven participants. I discarded two interviews since one was incomplete and the participant was not available for a follow-up interview. The other participant did not quite fit the profile of participants I was looking for because she was not a labour migrant but rather a student back in Lesotho who was just working during the school holidays while visiting her husband in Bloemfontein. I was therefore left with a sample size of nine.

It was not easy to obtain the participants. It was in fact harder than I had imagined. I had thought that the fact that I am also from Lesotho would make it easier for participants to trust me. But they turned out to be very reluctant to take part in the study. Some of them brushed me off as soon as I told them about the study and they said they were not interested. It is possible that they were afraid that I worked for authorities such as the Department of Home Affairs and that I would get them arrested because they do not have work permits. Others asked what they would get in return for their participation and I told them that I could not pay them; the only thing I could offer them is a shopping voucher as a token of appreciation. I explained that they were probably not going to get any immediate benefits from participating but that the findings of the study would be useful for

future studies and might influence policy makers to be aware of their situations. Women were particularly difficult to recruit. For instance, two women initially agreed to participate but when the time came to meet they cancelled. One of them told me that she had discussed what I told her with her husband and her husband had told her not to do the interview. The other woman told me that she had fought with her husband the previous night and so she could not do the interview. Others told me that they would call me back but they never did. This was all in spite of my efforts to assure them that the sole purpose for this study is for my Master's degree and that only my supervisors and I would have access to the interview data. Men on the other hand were generally understanding and I encountered no problems in getting them to participate. A possible reason for this gender difference could be that women are generally more suspicious about the possibility of harm than men are.

3.3.2. Data collection

The data collection tool that I use is an interview. Kathleen DeMarrais (2004:55) defines an interview as *"a process in which the researcher and participant engage in a conversation focused on questions related to a research study"*. Brigitte Smit (2014:10) indicates that the purpose of the conversation is to elicit information from the participant. The researcher uses such information to answer the research questions. Sharan Merriam (2009:88) suggests that interviews are appropriate when it is impossible to observe behaviour, feelings, or how individuals make sense of the world in which they live. She maintains that interviews are an appropriate data collection tool when one wants to study a few individuals for in-depth understanding. It is with this reasoning that I decided that an interview is the best data collection tool for the present research because the aim is to gather in-depth information from a small group of Basotho labour migrants that will answer my research questions. The only way to gather such information about the migrants' feelings and how they understand belonging in their everyday lives is through engaging in a conversation with them. David Silverman (2011:168) adds that interviewing is ideal when one wants to study previously ignored, misrepresented, or silenced voices and experiences. I believe that Basotho migrants' individual experiences have been ignored in the past and that by interviewing them their voices will be heard.

The type of interview that is most suitable for the study is the semi-structured interview. According to Merriam (2009:90), the semi-structured interview takes on the view that each individual makes sense of the world in his/her own way. The questions are, as a result, more open-ended to enable the participants to express themselves. Silverman (2011:167) asserts that open-ended questioning has a higher probability of producing more considered responses, and as such it enables the researcher to access participants' experiences, perceptions, opinions, understandings, and interpretations of events. Since the aim of the interview is to gather specific information from participants, Merriam (2009:90) observes that the interview is structured although its direction mostly depends on issues which have to be explored. The precise wording and order of the questions is not established beforehand. Therefore the interview is a combination of more and less structured questions. The semi-structured interview is attractive for its ability to enable the researcher to adapt the interview and accommodate emerging perspectives and ideas that the researcher had initially not thought of. In other words, as Peredaryenko and Krauss (2013:9) report, the researcher must be open-minded and be ready to discover ideas beyond his/her current knowledge. In the present research, the questions are more open-ended but at the same time guided by some form of structure in order to attain the specific information necessary to cover the research questions. Neuman (2012:312-313) supports the idea that asking open-ended questions and probing help the researcher to gather rich data.

I formulated the interview schedule, which Merriam (2009:102) defines as *"a list of questions you intend to ask in the interview"*, according to the research questions, theoretical concepts and the information from the review of the literature on migration studies. It is divided into six sections, each with a main issue to be explored and framed as an open-ended question, and follow-up questions. The wording of the questions is such that participants can openly express themselves and it makes provision for probing on their responses. Merriam (2009:103) encourages the use of an interview schedule on the basis that it enables the researcher to build the confidence and experience necessary for open-ended questioning. It also ensures that the researcher covers all the intended areas of interest. I personally benefited from the use of the interview schedule because

with semi-structured interviews, the allowance of participants to express themselves and the emergence of new topic areas can easily lead one to lose focus of the issues that the researcher wants to explore. The interview schedule therefore becomes a useful frame of reference. Miles and Huberman (1994:35) point to the limitation of the interview schedule. They observe that it has the possible effect of making the researcher overlook significant information during the interview just because it is not included in the interview schedule. To accommodate this limitation, at the end of each interview I asked participants whether there was anything that they felt was important concerning their experiences as labour migrants which I had not talked about.

Before starting with data collection, I conducted a pilot interview in order to see whether there was anything I needed to add, take out, or change in the interview schedule. I met the research participant at the chain grocery store where he works. I was busy doing my shopping and he asked what had happened to my arm, pointing to the Bacille Calmette Guerin (BCG) injection scar (the vaccine for tuberculosis that children receive at birth, whose scar lasts for a lifetime). This scar is on the lower arm for Basotho and is oval shaped, while it is on the upper arm for South Africans and looks more like dots that make a circle in a clump. I told him that nothing had happened and I asked him how he could notice such a minor detail. That is when he told me that he also came from Lesotho. I took the opportunity to ask him whether he could participate in my study. I mentioned to him that he could only participate provided he did not have a work permit and a South African ID. He had neither. We then agreed on a suitable date to meet.

The pilot interview went well; he seemed comfortable and he was very forthcoming with his feelings, thoughts, and opinions. He understood the questions well and responded freely. As a result, I intended to make no changes to the wording of the initial interview schedule. I was impressed that the pilot interview had gone well until I switched off the digital recorder and the participant told me that he actually had a South African ID. I asked him why he had lied and he said he was only trying to help. That made me question whether everything he had said in the interview was really true. Although I was disappointed, that experience made me realise that participants sometimes tell us what we want to hear instead of their real experiences. I learned that I have to take as much

as possible into consideration in as far as biographical information when I conduct the interviews. Not only could the participant in the pilot research have felt intimidated because of my level of education, but it is also possible that he might have had other motives. It is therefore important to weigh up all that is being said against as much as what is available in terms of biographical information.

Seidman (2006:99) affirms that social identities, such as gender, race, ethnicity and class, of the researcher and participants influence the interview and the researcher has to take them into consideration. He (2006:102) maintains that sexist attitudes and behaviours can influence the interview if the researcher and participant have different genders, and this could yield more different results than if their genders were similar. For example, if a female researcher is interviewing a male participant, she might find it difficult to steer the interview in the direction that she wants and the participant may also be indifferent towards her, especially in patriarchal societies. This could result in the researcher finding it difficult to explore all possible areas, thereby affecting the findings of the study. For the present research, I was specifically sensitive that the male participants that I interviewed did not carry any indifference towards me into the interview. I was able to explore all the issues that I had intended because they did not seem to express any sexist attitudes or behaviours. On the contrary, the participants were mostly respectful towards me. From my point of view then, gender difference did not adversely affect the process of data collection.

Seidman (2006:103-104) argues that it is important to pay attention to issues of class in as far as the researcher and participant are concerned. Where class is defined in terms of status, education, and wealth, researchers, especially in South Africa, are mostly middle-class and university-based while participants are often of lower status. Participants of lower status are often uncomfortable with interviews because they are not used to speaking for long periods in a spontaneous and coherent manner. I experienced this during the interviews. Most of the participants had low levels of education and as the interview went along some of them started to ask me to repeat and clarify questions. One of the participants even asked that we stop with the interview and continue the next day because he could not take it any longer. It becomes evident that they found it difficult to

deal with the open questioning which required them to constantly reflect and express themselves. I could also see from some of their responses that they required approval every time they answered a question, as if I am supposed to know better because I'm supposedly more educated than they are. I tried as much as I could to withhold my knowledge and to assure them that they were the experts on the issues that I was exploring.

According to Seidman (2006:105), it is equally important that the researcher be mindful of the age difference between him/herself and participants. He argues that in the case of older participants, the researcher must be sensitive of the way s/he conducts the interview so that participants do not feel patronized. When the researcher is young, it is possible that participants will be uncomfortable with the interview, and even more so if they view the interview as placing them in a subordinate position. Most of the participants in the present research study were older than I am. As a result, I had to be careful not to appear disrespectful in any way. The participants' constant need for approval when responding to questions also made me aware that they regarded themselves as being in a subordinate position. I tried to explain that I was merely a student seeking information in an area that they were knowledgeable about. Seidman (2006:104) asserts that the influences of gender, class, race, and age might result in restricted and distorted responses from participants. This is in addition to the bias, predispositions and attitudes which Merriam (2009:109) observes that the researcher and participants carry into the interview and which also influence the relationship and data obtained.

From the aforementioned, it becomes clear that the relationship between the researcher and participant is complex. For the present research I assumed an insider role as Creswell (2013:21) suggests. Rather than being an observer external to the phenomenon that I was studying (King, 2005:221), I was directly involved in the interviews. I worked closely with the research participants because, according to Gray (2014:20), doing so enables the researcher to understand the meaning that participants attach to their experiences and as a result interpret their stories. By working closely with the participants, I constantly reflected on what they were saying to ensure that I understood the responses and I also probed more on their responses in order to get in-depth information. The use of filler

sounds such as “mm”, “okay”, “yeah” also propelled participants to expand and elaborate on their responses, thereby deepening the understanding (Silverman, 2011:164). This way of doing research also shows collaboration (Creswell, 2013:21) between me and the research participants so that together we contribute towards the construction of meaning. Interpretivism, the theoretical lens through which I approach the research study, advocates for the joint construction of meaning between the researcher and the research participant (Bryant & Peck, 2007:103). While I maintained a closer relationship with research participants, this was done only in relation to the research. I constantly attempted to distance myself from their personal affairs. Participants sometimes attempted to engage me in their personal problems, such as the problem of employers who fail to pay them after completing a job. I explained to them that I am merely a student doing a research project and that I was not able to help them.

Roulston (2010:99-100) urges that interviews must be scheduled at a time and place convenient for both the researcher and participant. The norm is to contact the participant by means of telephone, email or letter and organise a time and place that is suitable. She indicates that interviews can be conducted in private homes, participants’ places of work, researchers’ offices, or public places such as coffee shops or restaurants. She emphasises that it is important that the interview be conducted at a place where the researcher and participant both feel safe and comfortable, and that has enough privacy to record the interview without any interruptions. In scheduling my interviews, I called participants on the phone and asked them which time and place would be most appropriate for us to meet. I conducted most of the interviews at the participants’ places of residence and work. Only one interview was held at the university campus. All interviews were conducted during the day for convenience and safety purposes. Just as Roulston (2010:100-101) has shown that it is usually difficult in practice to find a setting without any interruptions, there were several interruptions during the interviews except for the one I conducted on campus at the university. For the interviews conducted at participants’ places of work, there were interruptions from participants’ colleagues and customers while for those conducted at participants’ places of residence the sources of interruption were family members, friends and neighbours. To avoid such interruptions

from having an effect on the data, I made use of the pause button on the digital recorder until the source of interruption was resolved.

All the interviews were audio recorded with the permission of the participants. Before starting the interviews, I familiarised myself with the functioning of the digital recorder, bought rechargeable batteries and made a sound check as Roulston (2010:104) advises. I did a sound check by recording myself and listening to whether the recording was audible or not. Before each interview, I ensured that the batteries were fully charged so that they would last until I completed the interview. On return from the field, also on Roulston's (2010:104) advice, I copied the recordings onto the computer, and then saved them. After each interview I also wrote field notes about what I observed both about the participant and the setting of the interview.

I conducted a total of nine interviews, with four women and five men. Out of the nine participants, I had follow-up interviews with three participants. Although it might have been beneficial to have follow-up interviews with all the participants, based on the logic that participants could be more relaxed and open the second time around and therefore provide more in-depth information, in most cases it was not possible. I therefore had to ensure that I made use of the first opportunity to conduct an interview. Most of them worked even during weekends and so I had to use the one time opportunity that they gave me to get everything I needed. I did the best I could to gather as much information as possible in one interview. As Tracy (2010:841) has shown, the amount of time spent in the field does not necessarily matter, as long as the data provide answers to significant claims.

3.4. Ethical considerations

The Ethics Committee of the Humanities Faculty at the University of the Free State approved my ethics application. I had taken into consideration the following ethical issues:

3.4.1. Informed consent

Informed consent indicates that participants are aware that they are the subject of research. They must be fully informed of the nature of the research. They must know that

they are free to withdraw from the research at any point should it get overwhelming for them. This includes the necessity for participants to sign a written informed consent form (Ryen, 2011:418). Before starting any interview, I explained the research study and what it is about to the participants and asked them if they were willing to participate. I then asked them whether they preferred to read the informed consent form or if I should read it to them. Most of the participants asked me to read it out to them, after which I asked if they understood what I had read. They all said they understood and I asked them to sign the informed consent form.

The informed consent form entails an invitation to participate in the present study. It gives an explicit outline of what the research is about and how the results will be used. The expected duration of the interview as well as the possibility of follow-up interviews are outlined. Participants are made aware that the interviews will be recorded but that only the researcher and supervisors will have access to the transcripts. The researcher states that participants can leave some questions unanswered if the questions make them uncomfortable and that they are free to withdraw from the research study at any time. Efforts are made to guarantee confidentiality in that the participants' real names are not used in the research study report and the recordings will be destroyed after two years. It is made clear that participation in the study is completely voluntary and that each participant will be given a shopping voucher as a token of appreciation. There is controversy among scholars surrounding the ethical aspects involved in the use of incentives in research. Those in favour maintain that participants must be at least partially compensated for the costs they incurred during participation such as time, energy, and for their contribution, and that incentives generally enhance recruitment. Those opposing the use of incentives, on the other hand, argue that incentives coerce participation, restrict free consent, lead to the commodification of knowledge, and hinder participants' ability to adequately calculate the costs and benefits involved in participating (Zangeneh, Barmaki, Gibson-Wood, Levitan, Romeo, & Bottoms, 2008:518-519; Ripley, Macrina, Markowitz, & Gennings, 2010: 63; VanderWalde & Kurzban, 2011:549; Hammett & Sporton, 2012: 497-498; Seymour, 2012:55; Tyldum, 2012: 200, 202). For the present research study, I regard it necessary to compensate the participants for their time because although they're

busy and they work even during weekends, they gave me time to interview them. I opt for a shopping voucher instead of direct monetary payment because the latter would seem like I was buying information, while the former is an appropriate choice for showing appreciation. The supervisors' contact details are included on the informed consent form in case the participant has any inquiries. At the end of the form, each participant has to sign against the statement "*I understand the contents of this consent form and voluntarily consent to participate in this research.*" I sign the statement "*I have explained this study to the above participant*".

3.4.2. Avoiding harm

Neuman (2012:55-56) points out that social research might have the possibility of causing physical, psychological, and legal harm. It is the researcher's responsibility to protect participants throughout the research. Just as he claims that physical harm rarely occurs, participants did not endure any physical harm in the present research. Psychological harm which, according to Neuman (2012:56) entails inducing stress, discomfort, and anxiety in participants, was minimized as much as possible. The informed consent form that I read out to participants at the beginning of each interview states that participants are free to leave the interview at any time that it becomes overwhelming for them or whenever they feel uncomfortable. Moreover, it is clearly stated that if participants choose to withdraw from the study they can do so without any obligations. None of the participants raised discomfort as a concern during the interviews and none of them actually withdrew from the study. I also did not sense any anxiety emerging as I interviewed the participants. They willingly shared their experiences, expressing the difficult challenges that they face in some cases even without prompting. Therefore I can say that psychological harm did not occur in this research. Neuman (2012:58) argues that researchers place participants under legal harm if participation in their research study increases participants' chances of arrest. He adds that legal harm is also involved if researchers witness illegal behaviour during data collection. As much as the participants in the present research do not have work permits, the legal permission to work in South Africa, their participation in the research did not put them at risk of arrest in any way. The data are only used to address

the research questions and nothing more. Furthermore, in collecting the data, I did not witness any illegal activities. Therefore legal harm was not an issue in this study.

3.4.3. Confidentiality

Kobus Maree (2007:41-42) considers the issue of confidentiality as a crucial ethical aspect in the protection of participants' identities and in the reporting of findings. Flick (2009:42) maintains that confidentiality implies that readers of the research report should not be able to identify which company or persons took part in the research. In other words, the report should be written in such a way that the responses cannot be traced back to particular individuals (Neuman, 2012:62). To achieve this, Flick (2009:42) suggests that specific details such as company names, names of participants, and addresses should not be used. Pseudonyms are used under all circumstances. He also encourages researchers to store data safely so that no unauthorised individual will be able to access the data. In protecting the identities of participants in the current research, their real names are not used in the reporting of findings. Pseudonyms are used instead. The recordings will also be destroyed two years after the completion of the dissertation. At the end of the data collection period and after having copied all the recordings onto the computer and saving them, I deleted those on the digital recorder as a way of maintaining confidentiality since the digital recorder is shared with other students. The recordings saved on my personal computer cannot be accessed by anyone except me because the computer is password-protected. I keep the printed transcripts safely and I am the only person with access to them.

3.5. Data analysis

After data collection, the data are transcribed verbatim. During transcription, non-verbal information such as silence, pauses, tone of voice, and gestures (Roulston, 2010:106-107) were included for the purpose of analysis. Since the interviews were conducted in a language different from the language of representation (Roulston, 2010:108), Sesotho, I had to translate the transcripts into English after the transcription phase. I translated the transcripts in such a way that the manner in which the participants expressed themselves and the meaning that they conveyed are still maintained. This is so that after translation

the transcripts are as close as possible to what is in the original recordings. However, translation is an increasingly difficult and time-consuming task. I realised that aspects of the meaning, especially metaphors, expressed by participants can be lost during translation. The way in which participants uniquely expressed themselves remains difficult to maintain since I simultaneously have to avoid literal translation. But after translating the transcripts, I went through them again, referring back to the original transcripts in order to ensure that I had translated accordingly. Only after making some alterations and after satisfying myself with the quality of the translations, did I begin data analysis.

Merriam (2009:175) defines data analysis as *"the process of making sense out of the data"*. She proposes that the process entails consolidating, reducing, and interpreting participants' stories. In other words, data analysis creates meaning. This meaning is what makes the findings of the study because by analysing the data, the aim of the researcher is to answer the research questions. In this section I outline how I make sense of the data in order to answer the research questions.

It was mentioned earlier that the present study assumes a narrative design (section 3.2), which is about the stories that people tell of themselves. Merriam (2009:202-203) observes that there is no specific way of analysing stories. She argues that they can be analysed thematically, structurally or visually, depending on the specific discipline or perspective. For this research, I analyse the data thematically.

According to Catherine Riessman (2008:54), thematic analysis is applicable to various narrative texts, ranging from stories constructed in interviews and focus groups, to those written in documents. I use interviews to collect participants' stories and so thematic analysis is applicable to the current research study. Riessman (2008:54, 62-63) maintains that thematic analysis involves the interpretation of data with respect to themes established by the researcher. In other words, the ultimate concern of thematic analysis is to identify common patterns across cases. The source of these themes can be concepts from the theory on which the research is based. Themes can be derived from the purpose of the research, as formulated by the researcher. Themes can come from the data directly. Theory becomes the tool that enables the researcher to connect people's every

day, taken for granted acts to social change processes. It can then be said that stories serve to change the ways in which individuals see every day, mundane events. In other words, drawing from phenomenology studying the consciousness of people moves them from simply seeing and perceiving objects or situations in their everyday life to a more deeper level of reflection which involves how they understand, experience, respond to, emotionally feel about and engage with such objects and situations (Inglis, 2012:86). Riessman (2008:54) claims that with thematic analysis, there is more interest on what participants said. That is their reports of experiences and events.

In thematically analysing the data, I follow the five steps presented by Asta Rau (2014:3-5). The first step is data immersion, which is about familiarising oneself with the data. She believes that transcribing one's own data makes it easier to know the data in-depth. The second step is open coding, which involves identifying common ideas or themes. In this step, the researcher critically goes through the transcripts line by line, and allocates a code for any central ideas s/he finds. It may happen that the researcher already has a-priori codes from the theory and literature review but it is also important to stay open to emergent themes which had initially not been thought of. The third step, known as axial coding, entails finding relationships in the data. The researcher initially organises the open codes from the second step into categories since there is usually the possibility that some of the open codes can be combined into a single category. It is also possible that some open codes share meaning and it therefore makes sense to group them into a single code. The fourth step is the second part of axial coding, and it involves establishing the main themes. It is about finding the relationships between the categories, the circumstances surrounding the context, relationships in time, contradictions in the data, and how participants view themselves in relation to others. It is especially important to pay attention to metaphors because they are highly personal and they embody deep meaning. The last step is called selective coding and this is where the researcher establishes a story. The researcher brings together the data, theory, and literature review in order to tell a meaningful story.

In a similar fashion, I began by reading the transcripts over and over again until they were familiar. I also transcribed the data myself and that contributed significantly towards my

knowledge of it. After that I started to analyse the data transcript by transcript. I went through the transcripts line by line, and phrase by phase, identifying central ideas. I put pieces of paper beside each idea and assigned it a code which reflected its meaning. Some of the codes were concepts from the theory and literature review, while others emerged from the data themselves. I did the same for every transcript. After identifying the central ideas, I combined those that fit together and those that had similar meaning into categories. I then developed main themes by finding relationships between the categories, and focusing on what exactly the participants were saying, in what contexts the events occurred, when they occurred, and seeking the meaning they attached to their experiences. Lastly, I weaved the data with information from the theory and the literature review into a coherent and meaningful story.

3.6. Quality in qualitative research

In qualitative research in general and narrative inquiry in particular, reliability and validity take on different meanings from those of quantitative research. This is because narrative inquiry is more concerned with individuals' understandings and perceptions of their experiences and events than with generalisation (Webster & Mertova, 2007:89). As such, comprehending the meaning that individuals attach to their experiences and events in their lives is more important than proving the existence and scale of such experiences and events (Riessman, 2008:187). Moreover, narrative inquiry yields multiple perspectives and interpretations. This means that, based on who is conducting the research study, the same experience can lead to different stories (Butler-Kisber, 2010:66). Thus we cannot talk of validity in the real sense of the word in qualitative research because procedures for determining validity depend on realist assumptions (Webster & Metorva, 2007:90). However various authors (Webster & Mertova, 2007; Riessman, 2008; Butler-Kisber, 2010; Tracy, 2010) claim that it is still necessary to maintain rigor in qualitative research and to achieve validity and reliability. I combined these researchers' methodologies in order to come up with qualitative measures that coincide with the search for quality such as trustworthiness, researcher reflexivity, coherence, and transferability in research. Below is a discussion of each of these measures.

3.6.1. Trustworthiness

Lynn Butler-Kisber (2010:14) maintains that qualitative researchers measure the quality of their studies in terms of trustworthiness or credibility. In narrative inquiry specifically, Webster and Mertova (2007:93) indicate that reliability is obtained by the trustworthiness of the data as well as how accurate and accessible the data are. Trustworthiness in research can be enhanced by persuasiveness, transparency, and triangulation.

It is vital that analysis be persuasive. The researcher can manage to persuade readers by supporting theory with empirical evidence from the data and by taking alternative interpretations into account. Directly quoting participants enhances persuasiveness even more (Webster & Mertova, 2007:93; Riessman, 2008:191). Trustworthiness is similarly strengthened when researchers prove that they spent considerable amounts of time in the field by presenting numerous field texts to support explanations (Butler-Kisber, 2010:14). In the present research study, data analysis entails using transcripts as evidence in support of the theories and participants are directly quoted in an effort to provide their own testimony. By so doing, the researcher attempts to include persuasiveness. It can be argued that I did not spent considerable time in the field and that this counts as a limitation on the part of the research. Sarah Tracy (2010:841) argues that there is no standard amount of time allocated for data collection, as long as the data will support significant claims. In spite of the shortcomings in terms of my data collection, I managed to gather enough information to support the claims of the research.

According to Tracy (2010:842), transparency is about being honest about the research process. It requires the researcher to give a detailed account of how the study was conducted. This includes documenting research decisions and methods, disclosing the researcher's degree of participation, how data was transcribed, the challenges experienced and unexpected turns in the study. By providing thorough details of the processes involved in the research, Butler-Kisber (2010:16) asserts that the researcher convinces the reader about the trustworthiness of the research, and enables other researchers to improve or adapt the processes in the research. Making primary data, such as transcripts or notes, which informed the findings, accessible to readers also shows that the researcher is honest (Webster & Mertova, 2007: 94, Riessman, 2008:196).

I, however, do not make the transcripts available to the reader for confidentiality reasons. I had promised the participants at the beginning of the data collection period that only the supervisors and I would have access to the interview transcripts. That is why I do not make the data available for the reader. Other than that, I have been honest about the current study and provided thorough details of how I conducted the research study in the preceding sub-sections (3.1-3.5).

Webster and Mertova (2007:91) suggest that triangulation is one way of validating one's research in qualitative research. It enhances the quality of research by drawing on different methods. There are four types of triangulation, namely data, investigator, theory, and methodological types of triangulation. Data triangulation and investigator triangulation involve using different data sources and different researchers respectively. Theory triangulation means interpreting data from different perspectives, while methodological triangulation is studying the same phenomena using different methods (Patton, 2002:247). Triangulation then implies that the findings will be considered trustworthy if two or more sources of data, types of data collection, theories, or researchers reach similar conclusions. In other words, if different methods yield similar findings about the same phenomenon, the findings are taken to be trustworthy (Tracy, 2010:843). Triangulation is usually considered to be problematic since similar interactions may yield different results in different contexts, based on the argument that reality is contextual. It then becomes increasingly difficult to understand a phenomenon by combining data from different contexts (Webster & Mertova, 2007:92). However, triangulation remains valuable because reliance on different methods, theories, researchers and data sources enables for the exploration of various aspects of the phenomenon and increases the opportunity for deeper understanding (Patton, 2002:248; Tracy, 2010:843).

In qualitative research, Patton (2002:248) recommends that triangulation can be achieved by either doing interviews and observations, combining various kinds of purposeful sampling or interpreting data from different conflicting theoretical lenses. I combined different purposeful sampling strategies, namely, maximum variation sampling, homogenous sampling, and snowball sampling (see section 3.3, sub-section 3.3.1

above). I also use different conflicting theoretical lenses to interpret the findings. Phenomenology and existential sociology focus exclusively on the individual while reflexive sociology focuses on the individual acting within structural constraints (see section 1.2, sub-sections 1.2.1, 1.2.2, and 1.2.3 in chapter 1). Interpreting from these different theoretical lenses enables me to explore various aspects of belonging and migration and as such, deepens my understanding thereof. Triangulation is achieved in this regard and the trustworthiness of the findings enhanced.

3.6.2. Researcher reflexivity

According to Riessman (2008:193), being reflexive enhances validity in research. Researcher reflexivity means that the researcher becomes honest and authentic not only with him/herself, but also with the research and audience. This reveals the research study's strengths and weaknesses. Researcher reflexivity implies that the researcher discloses and deals with the assumptions and bias that s/he brings to the study. It is the researcher's responsibility to consider the way in which the study is socially situated and the impact thereof on the study. The researcher can keep notes about his/her feelings and understanding as part of the field notes. Using first person voice, "I", also makes readers aware of the presence of the researcher in the study (Butler-Kisber, 2010:16, Tracy, 2010:842). In situating the current research (see chapter 1, section 1.1, sub-section 1.1.3), I explicitly stated my biases. Most of the participants needed a degree of convincing in order to agree to participation in the research, and the fact that I come from Lesotho worked in my favour. Upon hearing that I came from Lesotho, I got the impression that the participants felt that this fact assured their safety, that I was one of them and that I could not hurt them. During the interviews, however, the fact that participants knew that I came from Lesotho sometimes led them to be vague in their descriptions and explanations based on the assumption that I already knew what they were talking about. Many of them would repeatedly say: "You know, isn't it?" To deal with this assumption, I asked participants to imagine they were talking to someone who was less knowledgeable, and that they should be as thorough as possible in their explanations. I often used probes to get more in-depth information of their experiences. Conducting the interviews in

participants' mother tongue enabled them to fully express themselves and as a consequence, rich data was gathered.

3.6.3. Coherence

Validity in narrative inquiry can be enhanced if the researcher's interpretation connects parts of the data in such a way that they are theoretically meaningful and coherent (Riessman, 2010:191). Coherence is the extent to which the data support the literature and theory (Butler-Kisber, 2010:78). Research is taken to be coherent if it achieves its aim, what it claims to be about, if the methods and interpretation are linked to theories and if the literature review is linked to the research questions, methods, and findings. In other words, the research design, data collection, and analysis must all be connected. Put simply, the entire study must fit well together; the literature review must inform the findings, the findings must answer the research questions, and the conclusions must have a link to the literature and data. The essential ingredient of coherence is that the study achieves what it claims to be about. Starting with a clear purpose statement and referring to it throughout the study makes it easier for the reader to understand what the research is about as s/he reads along the report (Tracy, 2010:848). Throughout the study I have constantly taken the purpose of the present study and research questions into consideration. The interview schedule is developed on the basis of the literature review and research questions. The design and methods (see sections 3.2 and 3.3) are all informed by the purpose of the study, which is to understand belonging in the context of migration. In analysing the data, I draw on the theory and literature review to answer the research questions. In the end, the study achieves what it is about; understanding how Basotho labour migrants negotiate belonging in their everyday lives.

3.6.4. Transferability

Although qualitative researchers often cannot generalize their findings to larger populations, the findings from their studies can still be applied to other settings, populations, or circumstances (Tracy, 2010:845). Transferability is the extent to which the findings of a specific study are applicable to people in other situations in such a way that they can confirm or find new insights of participants' experiences (Butler-Kisber, 2010:15).

The researcher must then give enough information to allow someone who wishes to apply the findings of the study to a different setting to make the necessary comparisons. This requires thorough detail and accessibility to enable others to apply the study elsewhere (Webster & Mertova, 2007:101). Transferability can be obtained if the research makes readers to feel as if participants' stories intersect with their circumstances and that they, as a result, automatically transfer the research to their actions. The researcher can invite transferability by collecting direct testimonies, providing rich descriptions and writing the report in a clear and inviting way. Rich descriptions imply that the researcher provides sufficient information to enable the readers to draw their own conclusions from what they understand about the study, rather than necessarily telling them what to think (Tracy, 2010:843, 845). I have provided enough information about the current research with great detail and clarity that any researcher interested in belonging and migration, especially the migration of unskilled individuals, can situate the findings. The findings could inspire additional studies, including quantitative studies.

3.7. Conclusion

This chapter takes the reader through the methodology and methods undertaken to carry out the present research study. Beginning with the choice of the qualitative approach, the chapter continues to explain the decision to select narrative inquiry as an appropriate research design. The methods are thoroughly discussed, covering both sampling choices and the interview as the primary data collection tool. Ethical issues implemented in order to protect participants are also explained. The chapter goes on to discuss how the data are thematically analysed. Finally, the chapter ends off with issues of reliability and validity and how they take on a different meaning in qualitative research to maintain quality. Data analysis is taken a step further in the next chapters where the findings are presented and discussed.

4. THE FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION: MIGRATION AND LIVED EXPERIENCES IN BLOEMFONTEIN

This data analysis chapter narrates the everyday life of Basotho labour migrants in Bloemfontein, especially their stories with respect to belonging. In analysing the data, four themes were identified, with each theme having sub-themes. The first theme, *moving to Bloemfontein*, contains the story of how the migrants ended up in Bloemfontein. The second theme, *life experiences in Bloemfontein*, narrates the everyday lives of the migrants in Bloemfontein. The third theme, *continued ties with Lesotho*, focuses on migrants' efforts to remain connected to Lesotho. The fourth theme, *survival of the fittest*, shows migrants' determination to survive. The Following is a presentation and interpretation of each of the themes according to participants' narratives. Participants are directly quoted, as testimony to support their claims. Pseudonyms are used for the purpose of confidentiality.

4.1. Moving to Bloemfontein

The participants in this study moved to Bloemfontein in search of better opportunities. This statement concurs with that of other researchers[1] who pointed out that the living conditions in Lesotho are unbearable. It also supports the idea of the existential self and social change[2], which shows that in the event of uncertainty or change, such as poverty and lack of opportunities, individuals are forced to act and do something about their situations. The search for better opportunities varied for each participant. Some migrated because of financial constraints, failed businesses back home or the desire for financial independence. Others were motivated by those who had migrated before them. These reasons are an indication of the motives for action[3]. These assume that an individual's circumstances often guide action, and actions are normally purposive. Itumeleng is a 24 year old woman, who is married and has three children. She works as a domestic worker.

[1] See section 2.1 on migration from Lesotho to South Africa (literature review chapter)
[2] The existential self and social change is discussed in more detail in section 1.2.2.4 (theory chapter)
[3] Motives for action are explained in section 1.2.1.2 (theory chapter)

She narrates that she moved to Bloemfontein as she and her husband were struggling to make ends meet:

> *I left home because I had problems in life, we were struggling with my husband, then I asked him that no, may I go and work. He agreed. Then I came to Bloemfontein. We struggled with things such as food and clothing for the children. [p3]*[4]

Tumelo is a 45 year old man, who is married and has three children. He works for a building construction. Tumelo's situation is similar to that of Itumeleng. He moved to Bloemfontein because he was struggling in life and wanted to provide for his family. He says:

> *Okay, I ended up staying in Bloemfontein due to some difficulties in life. This means that I came to Bloemfontein in order to find a job so that I could be able to provide for my family, you see. [p2]*

However, some participants moved to Bloemfontein because their businesses back home were not doing well. Liteboho is a 36 year old woman. She is married and has three children. She works as a hairdresser. She left home because her business operated on credit and because clients took advantage of her. She was not making enough money. She says:

> *It is because there was no business at home. I don't know, isn't it you know that business at home operates mostly on credit, and that causes conflicts...I mean that it's as if it doesn't exist…When I left home I was selling clothes and plaiting people's hair, so all those things were sold on credit, and it gets difficult when dealing with credit. [p2]*

Limpho is a 45 year old woman, who is widowed. She works as a hairdresser. According to her story, she also left home because her business failed:

[4] Refers to the page number of the transcription of the interview

I was working in Maseru neh, and then my business did not succeed. When it failed…I had a small salon, and when it failed, I came here because my mother was already living here. [p2]

In contrast, other participants migrated because of a desire to gain financial independence. Kutloano is a 33 year old male, single, and works with ceilings and partitions. He claims that he moved to Bloemfontein to make his own money:

It has to do with the fact that I loved money, and to ask someone for money was something that I found difficult. That's when I found that no, it's better for one to obtain a passport to enable me to come to South Africa and make my own money. [p2]

Still, some participants were recruited to come and work in Bloemfontein. Rethabile is a 30 year old woman. She is married and has one child. She is currently a domestic worker. She explains that a lady went to Lesotho to recruit workers and she registered:

It happened that one lady who stays at the flats in town and has containers, arrived in Lesotho saying she is looking for three workers. So I registered on that list of three people. But we didn't leave in that month that she said we would start. She took two people. In the next month, she came and looked for two more people, then I went with her. [p2]

On the other hand, some participants were motivated to migrate by the great improvements other migrants had made back at their homes. They observe that people who migrate achieve something when they get home during visits – they make changes such as building houses and buying new furniture. They also dress smartly and they lead a generally better life than people staying in Lesotho. When asked about her expectations, Rethabile is shocked by how she cannot make enough money in Bloemfontein to keep up with other migrants who, during visits to Lesotho, stand out from people staying back home[5]. Although she mentions this later in the interview under a different question, her narrative is a possible explanation of why she migrated:

[5] The reciprocity of perspectives is explained in section 1.2.1.2 (theory chapter)

No, the way I had thought I can't say I was disappointed. My thoughts were that maybe because I came to Bloemfontein…People who came to Bloemfontein were people who made me think that the money is better, because whenever they appeared there was a huge difference with us people who stay in Lesotho. I thought I would be like that, but when I checked and I got money, I found that I could not be able to reach those people with this money. When they were around at their homes, you could see, when one is from town they will be carrying boxes, groceries and other things. Children having smart (?[6]) and looking good, and even the person him/herself will be looking smart and well dressed. But when I look at myself, I find that I am not able to reach things like those. [p48]

The various reasons that participants give for why they moved to Bloemfontein support the idea of multiple realities[7], on which the interpretive approach is based. Depending on their different backgrounds and situations, they migrated for different reasons and purposes.

The participants chose Bloemfontein as a destination area because of several reasons – information passed on by others about job opportunities in Bloemfontein, established networks in Bloemfontein, proximity to Lesotho, and Bloemfontein as the last option. These reasons reflect the 'because' motive[8] in particular, since they provide the circumstances that underlie the participants' decision to move to Bloemfontein. Tumelo heard through his cousin that there are many job opportunities in Bloemfontein and this reinforced the idea that migrants are dependent on each other, especially significant others, for knowledge[9]:

Eh, I had left Maseru because I had lost my job, and I found myself having to stay at home with nothing to do. I then started small businesses. I made...I asked my wife to brew traditional beer so that we could sell it. We sold things like tripe, and also clothes, in order to survive. The person who stayed here was my cousin. He

[6] The question mark shows that there is a word the participant said which was inaudible
[7] The idea of multiple realities is explained in section 1.1.1 (theory chapter)
[8] The 'because' motive is explained in section 1.2.1.2 (theory chapter)
[9] Intersubjectivity is explained in detail in section 1.2.1.3 (theory chapter)

told me: 'No cousin, the life that you lead, it's true that you are really trying to earn a living but let's go to Bloemfontein, there are more job opportunities there and you can be able to find one and provide for your family'. [p2]

Many also opted for Bloemfontein because they had family or friends already staying in Bloemfontein. This serves as reassurance that they will be fine should they encounter any problems. Tebello is a 34 year old male, who is married and has one child. He is a taxi driver. For Tebello, there are places he wished he could have moved to, but he ended up settling for Bloemfontein because it is the only place where he knew at least someone who would help him with accommodation:

I didn't necessarily choose it. There are places where I felt that when I work I would wish to work there, but there was no way I could go, because when you go to a place, you ought to know where you are going to stay, how, accommodation. So other places where I wanted to work, I didn't really know anyone who could...who I could stay with. [p3]

Itumeleng also agrees with Tebello that it is better to move to a place where there are people one knows, like family, who can help in times of trouble:

It's because I knew that if I experience any kind of problem, I have an aunt nearby whom I can go to for help. [p2]

Other participants decided to move to Bloemfontein because of proximity; they maintain that it is closer to Lesotho. From the Maseru and Mafeteng border posts, where most of the participants cross, the distance is 152 km and 118 km respectively to Bloemfontein. Thabo is a 30 year old man, who is married and has two children. He works as a taxi driver. He narrates that he found Rustenburg (507 km and 569 km to Maseru and Mafeteng respectively) to be far from home, and that is why he moved to Bloemfontein. Since moving there, he can now visit home more often:

I worked in Rustenburg, and as I worked there I found it to be very far from my home. So I decided to come and work in Bloemfontein. Eh, I was able to…and since I stayed in Bloemfontein I can go home twice a month. [p2]

Pule is a 30 year old man, who is married, and he works as a brick layer. He notes that places that are far away from Lesotho require a lot of money for transport:

> *Yes ma'am, but I also realised that it was very far there. Even when one goes, you spent a lot of money on transport looking for a job. It's very far, sometimes the passport visa expires, you are not working, you see. [p4]*

Some participants on the other hand tried to find jobs in other places in South Africa but without any success. They then moved to Bloemfontein. Liteboho tells the story of how she went to Rustenburg but did not find any business. This is why she moved to Bloemfontein:

> *Before I came here, I had gone home for some time. I think it was...around the 7th or the 5th October. Then I went to Rustenburg. They had said that there was business there and it was good. However, on arrival I did not find any business. I stayed there for a week before I came here. [p3]*

Pule shares similar sentiments. He went to Klerksdorp and Rustenburg seeking employment. After failing to secure work he came to Bloemfontein:

> *I was going to Klerksdorp, and I stayed there for about three months, going home every month end and coming back. Then I went to Rustenburg and found that it was not working at all. Then I came here. [p3]*

The different reasons for choosing Bloemfontein as a destination area also highlight the idea of multiple realities[10]. The participants' perceptions of what to consider in choosing a place of destination vary. Now that we have an overall picture of why the participants moved in the first place as well as why they chose Bloemfontein as a destination area, the chapter moves on to the life experiences that constitute migrants' everyday lives in Bloemfontein.

[10] The idea of multiple realities is explained in section 1.1.1 (theory chapter)

4.2. Life experiences in Bloemfontein

According to the participants' stories, their everyday lives are characterised by marginalisation, exclusion, and insecurity. They are marginalised in that they are harassed by the police and they feel that the wider Bloemfontein society is hostile towards them. They also experience exclusion due to challenges posed by language and accessing public services. Furthermore they are physically and economically insecure. These sub-themes are presented below.

4.2.1. Marginalisation

The participants appear to lead marginalised lives as they experience xenophobia. They experience harassment by the police and they perceive the Bloemfontein community as being hostile towards them. This finding coincides with the literature[11] which states that xenophobia – both in the form of harassment by the police and negative societal attitudes – is a common challenge for migrants in South Africa. The following is a discussion of each of these forms of xenophobia.

4.2.1.1. Harassment by the police

The migrants' narratives show that they often experience harassment by the police in their everyday lives[12]. They report that the police show up at their places of residence, demanding to see their passports and at their places of work demanding work permits[13]. Police randomly stop them in the streets to search them. In responding to the question on how comfortable[14] he is where he stays, Pule maintains that the police wake them up at night demanding passports:

[11] Xenophobia as a challenge for migrants is discussed in section 2.2.2.2 (literature review chapter)
[12] Harassment of migrants by the police is demonstrated in section 2.2.2.2.1 (literature review chapter)
[13] Police check the passport to see if the migrant has not overstayed his/her visa, and they demand a work permit to ensure whether a migrant has permission to work in South Africa. The fact that each field has its own rules and principles is discussed in section 1.2.3.2 (theory chapter)
[14] Comfort is vital to the attainment of place-belongingness, and it is compromised in this instance. The definition of place-belongingness is provided in section 2.2.1 (literature review chapter)

Yes, but these people from South Africa sometimes come and wake us up at night you see, demanding passports. When they find them, they go, but if they are not there, they take those without them. That's all. [p7]

Asked if he feels safe[15] where he stays, Tumelo replies in the negative and attributes the feeling of insecurity to the arrival of the police at night at his place demanding to see his passport:

No, you understand that at <u>any time</u> [emphatically stated] if there is something that happens...Like the police, they sometimes arrive here in the middle of the night demanding to see our passports and the like. If you happen to ask: 'Who are you?' 'We are the police!' When you tell them: 'I cannot open for the police at this time of night, come during the day because I cannot open for you now!' They are going to kick the door, they kick it, they kick it. You will eventually open the door so that they can enter. [p6]

He adds that the act of the police knocking at their doors at night endangers their lives. He recites the possibility of criminals coming to their houses at night and posing as police since the police usually come at night. The ability to foresee what might happen in the future reaffirms the importance of typifications[16] in that they help people to make sense of everyday life by enabling them to make assumptions about the future. He argues:

And that thing of knocking on our doors at night is dangerous. Like now, a person can come here and knock pretending to be the police. And they kick the door until you believe that it's indeed the police. And you wake up and open the door because you don't want them to break your door. After opening you find that these people are wearing uniform but they are not the police…Or because they call themselves the police, they take you and throw you in the car. They drag you. You are going to end up dead somewhere. I mean you can see that our lives are in grave danger here when it comes to such things. [p51]

[15] Safety is a necessary component for the attainment of place-belongingness, and it is compromised by visits by the police at night. The definition of place-belongingness is provided in section 2.2.1 (literature review chapter)
[16] The use of typifications in predicting the future is discussed in section 1.2.1.2 (theory chapter)

Itumeleng admits that she has not experienced any encounter with the police but she knows of fellow migrants who are bothered at their places of residence, and forced to produce passports. Based on the information that she has received from other migrants[17], when one has overstayed his or her visitors' visa[18], the police rather than making an arrest, assault the person or ask for a bribe. Itumeleng expresses herself as follows:

> *They always bother [emphatically stated] people from Lesotho by constantly saying: 'Give us your passport, give us your passport!' And if it shows that you have overstayed your visitors' visa, THEY BEAT YOU UP [loud voice]. They don't arrest you they assault you, or they say: 'Give us a bribe!'…Yes, they will beat them up, insult them. 'You makhonyo[19], bring the passport!' When you take it out and s/he finds that you have overstayed your visitors' visa, they will beat you up, they will beat you up [emphatically stated]. If they don't beat you they say: 'Give us R250 if you have it so that we leave you'. If it's there and you give it to him/her, the following week they send others. [p30]*

The participants claim that the police also arrive unexpectedly at their places of work demanding work permits[20]. Liteboho explains that some people had just been arrested when she first arrived:

> *When I arrived at the salon last year they had just taken some people and arrested them, but now they haven't gone at all, although it's something that happens. They arrested them at other salons only… They ask for passports. If you have overstayed your visitors' visa it's a problem, if not they ask for a work permit. [p43]*

Limpho recalls an incident when two of her colleagues and fellow migrants were arrested:

> *Mm, even in here they've once arrested two people. I don't know how they talked to them when they got outside. This very one whom I asked if she doesn't like…I*

[17] Socialization of knowledge in general, and genetic socialization specifically is explained in section 1.2.1.3 (theory chapter)
[18] A visa granted to people who visit South Africa, which expires after 30 days
[19] A word people in Bloemfontein use to curse someone
[20] A work permit grants the holder permission to work in a place. None of the participants in this study hold work permits and therefore they are not allowed to work in South Africa.

was here, having a visitor, just like we are talking now. And I was busy talking to the person. They were about to go out I think, and when they got to that corner of power save, the police arrived and arrested them, went with them to the van. I don't know what they discussed because they let them go. [p21]

Tebello and Thabo share similar experiences. They are both taxi drivers and they report encountering the police at roadblocks that they claim are meant especially for people from Lesotho. Tebello believes the police spend most of their time bothering them:

Iyoh, the police, when you talk about the police, the police on the road, they have a lot of time. Most of their time I have actually seen that they spend it bothering us...They bother us in a way that, eh, we are supposed to have work permits, we are supposed to work with work permits…And they make arrests you see. Yes, they do not only bother us. Sometimes s/he can just talk and say: 'No, you have to have a work permit. Talk to your employer. Meet with your employer and see how you can get a work permit'. And it ends there. 'No, I will talk to him'. But then at some other time s/he no longer has...it is not time to talk, they have a van and they arrest you. [p26]

The frustration about work permits can be seen in the way Tebello actually went to the office concerned to try and find a work permit. This points to the fact that humans are indeed driven to act by feelings and emotions which emanate from the body[21], as the feeling of frustration from Tebello's physical body influenced his sense of self into acting, thereby proving that the self and body are one. It also shows that humans are rational beings who are capable of perceiving their situations and responding accordingly[22]:

Yes, there is...there is a role I once played in trying to find a work permit, you see. It happened that when the police stopped me on the road and told me that I have to get it, I gave myself time to ask them how I can find it. They said: 'No, you will find it in Lesotho!' I will find it in Lesotho? Yes, okay, that's how s/he answered me, so when I got to Lesotho, I tried to find where I can find a work permit, where they

[21] The idea that the existential self is embodied is discussed in more detail in section 1.2.2.1 (theory chapter)
[22] The existential self and agency is discussed in more detail in section 1.2.2.3 (theory chapter)

are found. Then I found the office which grants work permits. Eh, I think it is where students go to find study permits. So there at the office, the people I found at the office explained that: 'Eh, there is no way that people who drive taxis can qualify. We cannot issue them work permits here because South Africa has many people who drive taxis!' S/he explained it like that, saying that it is the reason that makes that...there is no way we can issue work permits for people who are going to drive taxis in South Africa. [p28]

Thabo is the only one among the participants who has actually been arrested. The rest have merely witnessed other people they know get arrested. He is of the opinion that he was arrested just because he comes from Lesotho. On both accounts, he was arrested after producing his Lesotho driver's licence. He was never asked to produce a work permit. The first time he was arrested was in 2010 and this is his story:

I met them at Phahameng. So there isn't much s/he said, just took my driver's licence, and asked me to off-load the passengers and give them away. Just because I am from Lesotho I was arrested, because I found others already arrested. They took us to Mangaung police station. I think we stayed there for about (pause) a week. After that week, the officers from Home Affairs arrived, took our finger prints and deported us to Van Rooyen's border gate. [p10]

He states that the police did not demand a work permit prior to arresting him:

No, s/he didn't demand anything, once s/he saw that I was holding a Lesotho driver's licence, s/he commanded me to off-load the passengers. [p11]

The second arrest was in 2012, and Thabo says it was still in relation to the issue of work permits. He firmly believes that the roadblock was targeting people from Lesotho. In responding to the question of whether he was caught because of the Lesotho driver's licence like last time, he says:

Licence, yes, their intention was to catch people from Lesotho…We arrived during the road block, and people from Lesotho were being arrested. [p13]

He tells the story of what happened:

It was still in relation to the work permit, at Rocklands, next to Shoprite. It was on the 24th December. So they just arrested us, we drove the cars to (?), when we arrived at (?)...at Tuturonto…It is a traffic department. So we drove there, and the owners of the cars were called. Some came… we drove the cars to Tuturonto, and they called the owners of the cars to come. Some came and some did not, so my boss at the time worked at…S/he was a nurse at Pelonomi. So s/he said s/he couldn't, and the officers from Home Affairs arrived, took us to Home Affairs where they told us that they don't keep people locked up in December. We should just go home and see our children, so they released us right there. [p13]

Pule and Tumelo have also received unexpected visits from the police at their places of work. They both work in construction. However, it seems confrontation never occurs since they run away. In responding to the question of how comfortable he is where he stays, Tumelo says:

No, honestly in my position, I can say that I'm comfortable in this yard, and also outside on the streets because I have a valid passport. But I'm not completely comfortable because it happens that the authorities demand work permits when we are at work, and you find that if you don't have a work permit you get arrested. But it all depends on the kind of people who demand them, what kind of police they are. I mean, it is things like that. [p6]

Asked if there are any major challenges he has faced as a migrant in Bloemfontein, Tumelo still puts emphasis on harassment by the police at the work place, and shows that one has no option but to run away:

Not really, ma'am! The only challenge we actually face, and it is indeed a challenge, is that of being harassed by the police. That is the challenge we face. I mean Basotho in general and not only myself, we are faced with that challenge of being harassed by the police in that when you are busy at work, they arrive. It doesn't matter if you have a valid passport, as long as you are at work you have to run away because they are going to arrest you, demanding to see a work permit that allows you to work here. [p31]

Even at the end of the interview when asked if there is anything he would like to add regarding his experiences as a labour migrant in Bloemfontein, Tumelo continues to talk about the issue of the police:

> *Not really. I can only add on or talk about the issue of…if you allow me to talk about it again. It's the issue of struggling [emphatically stated] at work because of the permits that are demanded…I mean that situation makes our lives difficult as Basotho. That we're just stopped while walking and we are searched. They want this and that. It's true the police have to do their job because if they just let people walk around, sometimes you find that I walk around carrying dangerous weapons, which I'm going to use for illegal purposes. It's their job, but (sigh) hey, they make our lives difficult, ma'am, because of this issue of permits. Because honestly while you are working, busy working, you are not stealing, you are not doing anything bad, you are going to be chased and arrested because of the absence of a work permit. [p50]*

In the streets too, the police harass the migrants by randomly stopping them and searching them. Kutloano admits that the police stop them on their way to work and search them:

> *Eh, the police! Just like when we come to work, you will find that they stop the car and search you, before you know it they are already arresting others saying that they are from Lesotho. [p24]*

Pule similarly agrees that they sometimes come across the police, and he adds that he has once been searched:

> *We sometimes meet them, and they once searched us…And then we asked: 'What is going on?' They said they are looking for tobacco and knife, dagga. We told them we do not smoke. One mentioned passports, and we replied that they are at home we don't always take them with us as they might get lost. And again it was raining, what if they become wet and damaged? Then they let us free. [p41]*

With participants' narratives pointing to the fact that the police arrive at their places of residence and that they randomly stop them in the streets to search them, one is curious to know how the police know which houses to go to and which people to stop in the streets. I asked the participants who have received unexpected visits from the police at their places of residence how the police know that particular houses are occupied by people from Lesotho. They assumed that there are probably other people who show the police the houses where people from Lesotho stay because the police do not enter every house. According to the participants, the police go to certain houses only since they already have knowledge that Basotho stay there[23]. Tumelo says:

> *They know, ma'am, they know. I think there are people who sometimes show them that the occupants here are Basotho, the occupants there are Basotho. Because you find that there are some houses they don't enter, the owners of those houses don't allow them to enter their premises at night to do such things. [p51]*

Rethabile responds to the same question as follows:

> *I think there is someone who tells them that there are people from Lesotho staying there, because there are some houses in this street which they don't enter. [p8]*

Participants also said that the police identify Basotho by the kind of jobs that they do. They claim that there are certain jobs dominated by Basotho workers, and so that is how the police catch them. Tumelo believes that the police are well aware that most workers in construction are Basotho:

> *These people, they actually know, ma'am, that in construction work <u>most</u> workers are Basotho. They know exactly that most workers are Basotho. Even at work on the way, you find that as you are walking they just stop you and start searching you. [p29]*

He thinks that the fact that construction workers carry bags when they go to work in order to take lunch boxes makes them noticeable to the police:

[23] The idea that individuals depend on each other, especially for information, is discussed in section 1.2.1.3 (theory chapter)

Eh, I really can't say, ma'am! Because you will really see that when...Or maybe they just suspect. I don't know. Or for example, let me say maybe they see you walking in a group of three or four persons. Eh, I mean I don't know how they see. But then during the week or even weekends, isn't it we walk carrying bags because we take lunch boxes? I think in most cases they notice us because of such things. [p29]

When asked if the police have ever stopped her in the street asking to see her passport, Rethabile says no, arguing that if she was perhaps carrying a bucket of maize on her head, then maybe the police would stop her since jobs like selling are mostly done by people from Lesotho:

While walking in the street and someone just stops me and asks: 'Where is your passport?' I think they would stop me if I was perhaps selling things like maize in town, and I have a bucket on the head. They would see that the person doing this job is without doubt from Lesotho. Maybe that is when they would stop me…Yes, jobs like those of selling in town, they know that those are jobs done by people from Lesotho. [p37]

Still other participants believe that the police spot Basotho by the way they speak and run[24]/[25]. Kutloano maintains that he has witnessed many people from Lesotho being arrested just by the way they speak and run. When asked if there is anything out of the ordinary with Basotho who get arrested, Kutloano replies:

No, again the problem that I've realised…You should see how easily we get arrested. We are caught because of the way we walk, the way we speak. [p24]

He argues that the police catch Basotho by the way they say 'two', because their accent is different from that of the people in Bloemfontein:

[24] Markers of difference which make a person stand out from the dominant group are discussed in section 2.2.2.1 (literature review chapter)

[25] The idea that habitus occurs at the mental and bodily level such that even the smallest detail such as walking and talking are a reflection of the habitus of the group is discussed in section 1.2.3.1 (theory chapter)

When they tell you to count from 1 to 5, they are going to catch you when you get to 2. How does a person from Lesotho say 2? 2 (saying it in a different tone), they say 1, 2. A person from Lesotho when they say 2, they say 2 (saying it in a different tone). When they are told to count from 1 to 5, they say 1, 2 (saying it in a different tone). They tell you: "Get into the van!' [p24]

He says Basotho are also caught by the way they run:

They say: 'Run from here to that door!' Before you even get to the door they say: 'Come, get into the van!' Have you seen what they do? They (demonstrating). [p25]

He claims he has personally asked the police how they know that a person is from Lesotho and they said that there is a difference[26] between how people from Lesotho and Bloemfontein run:

This thing, isn't it they always get arrested in my presence. They say: 'Run from here until there, run!' When a person runs they say: 'Come back!' Then I ask them how do you know that that person is from Lesotho? They say a person from Lesotho and one from Bloemfontein don't run in the same way. They say it's only people from Maseru who are tricky. [p25]

From the aforementioned narratives on harassment by the police, the importance of documents and their impact on the participants cannot be underestimated. While they all have valid passports, they do not have work permits which allow them to work in South Africa. The lack of work permits implies that the migrants can never be at ease and, as a consequence, feel at home in Bloemfontein. They are aware of their illegality. There is consensus among all the participants that experiencing harassment from the police has a negative impact on their everyday lives in Bloemfontein. They admit that their everyday life is characterised by fear[27] because they never know when the police might arrive and when they might get arrested[28]. Liteboho says that she is always afraid and insecure and

[26] Perceived difference between groups is discussed in section 2.2.2.1 (literature review chapter)
[27] The importance of feelings and emotions is discussed in section 1.2.2 (theory chapter)
[28] The impact of harassment by the police on migrants is discussed in section 2.2.2.2.1 (literature review chapter)

always under pressure because her colleagues threaten to report her to the police whenever they get into conflicts:

> *So, we're always afraid that the police will come and arrest us. That's what makes us insecure…And also that whenever you get into a conflict with someone at work, s/he already tells you that you're going to (?) you don't have a work permit. So you understand you're always under pressure. [p65]*

Asked how this fear of the police affects her everyday life, she says:

> *It affects your life in that, even if you want to make plans with your budget, you still think that it might fail because sometimes you will be arrested, and you won't be working then the budget isn't working. Your monthly budget might fail (pause), because sometimes you will be arrested, isn't it? I mean you're not able to plan properly, you're not sure of whether your plans will happen. Because every day YOU'RE STILL EXPECTING THAT YOU WILL BE ARRESTED [loud voice]. [p66]*

Itumeleng indicates that the issue of the police hurts her and makes her live in fear:

> *No, it doesn't sit well with me, it hurts me. It makes me live in fear, I ask myself, what if it happens to me? Because you find that when the date arrives for you to go and renew the visitors' visa, you don't have money, isn't it? And you're going to stay, I'm going to stay afraid, asking myself iyoo! Where can I find the money? And if I don't find the money and go to renew my visitors' visa, if they come here again to check, they are going to catch me. And they're also going to beat me up or demand a bribe. [p31]*

She maintains that it affects her everyday life in that each time her visitors' visa is about to expire, she has to find the money to go home and renew it so that it should be valid when the police arrive[29]:

[29] The idea that social structures influence human action is explained in detail in section 1.2.3 (theory chapter)

It affects it in that at that time, I will have to stress about how to get money. And sometimes I will not find it, so I will end up getting in debt, asking people to loan me money so that I can go and renew my visitors' visa. [p31]

For Tebello, the issue of the police means that he sometimes has to abstain from work for a while during police roadblocks. He raises this as a major challenge:

You know I haven't faced any major challenges, except (pause), maybe what I can call a challenge, is that right here at work, there is a time when people from Lesotho, especially these ones who drive taxis. You find that there are many road blocks, they are looking for these people from Lesotho. So much that sometimes you end up having to be outside work, and your employer finds someone from here…That is the problem that I could see that I'm facing a challenge because now you understand I'm at work, I'm now facing losing my job, because the owner of the taxi will not wait, I mean. The owner of the taxi will not have his business suffer and not generate money because it is busy avoiding the police because it is driven by someone from Lesotho. [p29]

Tebello states that the roadblocks can take up to three weeks, and that sometimes he ends up going back home:

You know, often you see when it's about to be December like this, you will find that the whole week or more, up to three weeks. You find that no, sometimes you end up leaving, saying no, let me go home for Christmas already, I will see after Christmas. [p30]

Thabo affirms what Tebello says, that the issue of the police bothers him, and as a result he is never at ease in his everyday life, especially in December since it is the time when roadblocks are usually prevalent:

It bothers me very much! It really bothers me. You understand: you're never at ease. Especially at this time of the year in December. We already know that they might start at any time. [p14]

Tumelo responds with great emotion to the question of how the issue of the police affects his everyday life:

> *Eish, it affects it very badly! It honestly affects my soul badly (sad)! It affects my soul very badly! And seeing my fellow migrants who you find that one of them is arrested, and s/he is arrested like that but has a passport. They say s/he is arrested because of the absence of a work permit. I mean: no! Not only on my side but it gives me a problem with all Basotho who are here. I mean it is something that doesn't give me pleasure. It doesn't sit well with me. [p32]*

He admits that his life is marked by fear and lack of freedom. He observes that he lives a difficult and unstable life as a result of the harassment:

> *It is a big problem, it really is a big problem. You understand, your soul cannot be free. Because at that time when you are at work, your soul isn't free. Even your work, you don't do it with much encouragement [emphatically stated] so that it makes you happy. You work in fear that, hey, they might arrive at any time and I'm going to have to run away. Now imagine someone like myself running, and jumping over the fence to the other side. There is one more fence, I run and have to jump over the fence again! I mean you understand what kind of things those are. That one really is a difficult life, it really is difficult! I mean, it is not the kind of life that gives stability. [p32]*

Pule highlights that the issue of the police affects his life badly since he does not experience such things back home. He compares circumstances back home with circumstances in Bloemfontein, and he realises he only experiences harassment by the police in Bloemfontein[30]:

> *It affects it badly because back home all those things they do to us here are not done. I experience them here. [p41]*

[30] The idea that migrants have a transnational habitus, i.e. they can compare situations in their current destinations to situations back home, is discussed in detail in section 2.2.3.1.3 (literature review chapter)

The emotions[31] with which the migrants talk about harassment by the police play a vital role in the understanding of their experiences. These emotions furthermore facilitate numerous courses of action, showing the negative impact they have on participants' everyday lives.

4.2.1.2. Societal attitudes

The participants admit that it is not every South African who has a negative attitude towards them. They maintain that some local citizens are generally good people who have no problems with them. However, others are hostile towards them; they call them names, mock their dressing style, and accuse them of a number of things. This finding coincides with the literature[32] which reports that South Africans are often intolerant of non-citizens. Like migrants anywhere, local citizens use them as scapegoats and blame them for job shortages[33].

Almost all of the participants raise name-calling when asked about how they view the attitudes of South Africans in general towards them. They maintain that local people call them 'moholoane'[34]. In responding to the question Tebello says:

> *You know people, people are not the same. When one knows that you are from Lesotho, I mean I don't know how that person takes people from Lesotho to be. But the other one you can see that...Others take you just like any other person, but others sometimes use certain words: MOHOLOANE! [loud voice] Have you heard? Yes, moholoane, I mean, they use it...Isn't it? Moholoane is a Sesotho word that we know means to respect a person. But sometimes you hear someone saying it in a way that you feel that it is not about...Yes, in a degrading way, but it's not all of them. [p25]*

But he says it is something he takes lightly:

[31] The importance of feelings and emotions in everyday life is discussed in section 1.2.2 (theory chapter)
[32] Negative societal attitudes towards migrants are discussed in section 2.2.2.2.2. (literature review chapter)
[33] The idea that migrants serve as scapegoats is discussed in section 2.2.2.2 (literature review chapter)
[34] A word used in Lesotho to show respect among men, but which local people in Bloemfontein use to degrade Basotho

In another country, yes. From there, no. Words such as, isn't it that there are words that people use to mock people that...Like my colleagues here: 'Hey you moholoane, hey you, are you from Lesotho?' No, I just take it as something. I just take things like that lightly. [p43]

Tumelo feels that South Africans despise Basotho. He notes name calling and the mocking of dressing style as evidence to support his claim:

South Africans, ma'am, most of them actually, don't like us Basotho. They really despise us. If you look closely, even in their conversations when you listen. There is also that thing that you will hear them saying: "Baholoane"[35], "Baholoane". It's true that in Sesotho we know what it means to say "moholoane". But the way in which they use it, I mean you find that it's like they belittle [emphatically stated] us…Apart from that thing of "moholoane", there are other words they use, you will hear them saying Basotho, eh, "Basotho ba Moshoeshoe"[36]. Sometimes let's say maybe I appear wearing my gumboots, you see? Yes, there are those who you will find a person just standing there and mocking you and saying: 'These ones wearing gumboots, these ones wearing gumboots!' Swearing and insulting us! But now you find that the person doesn't speak to you directly. S/he is talking about you but not to you directly. S/he is talking to another person that side or anybody in sight. [p27]

Itumeleng has equally had the experience of local people mocking her dressing style while at the same time calling her "moholoane". Asked in what way people discriminate against her, she says:

In that, when I just appear: 'Ooh! She's wearing a long dress, she's a moholoane!' Others when I appear will say: 'Hello ma'am, how are you?' 'I'm very well!' You see that they are happy for me, they don't have that kind of discrimination of saying: 'Ooh! She's wearing a sun hat, she's a moholoane, she's a moholoane. She's from Lesotho!' [p29]

[35] Plural for 'moholoane'
[36] Basotho of Moshoeshoe

She admits that hearing people say that to her does not sit well with her:

> *No, I feel like they are discriminating against me in a bad way, when they are busy saying: 'Ooh! 'Mamoholoane[37]with a long dress, 'Mamoholoane with a sun hat'. It doesn't sit well with me at all. [p29]*

Thabo agrees that there exists name calling but like Tebello, it does not bother him:

> *No, it doesn't bother me at all. They do call us that but it doesn't bother me. Honestly no, I don't have a problem with them, because I know what moholoane means, but they say it as if it's a bad thing, isn't it? [p23]*

Asked if he ever experiences discrimination at work due to the fact that he is not from South Africa, Thabo says some local people have a problem with them (Basotho) while others have good relations with them:

> *Yes, there are still those who practice that kind of discrimination: 'You are from Lesotho [emphatically stated], you are not supposed to be working here!' Others still love us, they say they have good working relations with people from Lesotho. [p34]*

Liteboho also feels that there is discrimination in the work place. Asked in what way she experiences it, she says:

> *In that, you will find people forming groups. If you're a Mosotho, they don't have that much love for us, especially because they say we are witches, isn't it? Because there at work we have three groups. It's Xhosas, it's people from Bloemfontein, it's Basotho. [p62]*

She believes the other two groups unite and fight against them, and she attributes the hostility to the fact that Basotho work hard:

> *Yes, because the other two groups are able to come together to form one group, and get along, and even be against us. Again what I've realised is that, we are the*

[37] There is no such word in the Sesotho vocabulary, but people in Bloemfontein use it to refer to women from Lesotho

kind of people who are able to work for a long time, who are also able to work efficiently. So people don't like us because of that. [p61]

She states that the discrimination at work does not sit well with her but she takes comfort in that she came to Bloemfontein to work:

It doesn't sit well with me! But I'm able to manage it in that I KNOW [loud voice] I came to work, isn't it? I mean I know that I don't work at their homes, I don't care about them. I'm even able to tell them that I don't care about them. [p62]

Limpho has experienced all kinds of hostility from the Bloemfontein society: the name calling, the mocking of dressing style, as well as being accused of stealing jobs and men. When asked to compare relations with her neighbours in Bloemfontein to those with her neighbours back in Lesotho, she says:

Like here, you can hear them saying that: 'We are going to take their jobs, we are going to take their…' There were people we used to work with before I came here. In Shoprite, they liked saying that: 'Basotho take people's men (pause), they take our jobs!' And yet you find that RIGHT THERE AT THE LOCATION [loud voice]), we leave them behind and come here and look for jobs and even find them, while they are just SITTING. [p8]

Asked how her relations are with the wider Bloemfontein community, she continues:

Yes, they are those small talks which will sometimes annoy you. Just like I said that when I was in there, there was a person who… A girl who liked saying girls from Lesotho take their men (pause), we're witches. What is it again? WE EVEN TAKE THEIR JOBS [loud voice], but you find that when you leave the location for work, those very people from here are the ones just sitting there not looking for jobs. They claim that we take their jobs, and of which I don't think there is someone's space I have occupied because I have never seen them coming here seeking jobs. It's people from Lesotho who come here seeking jobs, while they are relaxing at the location. [p18]

Her dressing style has also been mocked but she claims it does not hurt:

Yes, they will tell you that: 'Hey, you're dressed just like a moholoane, you're wearing boots in this hot weather (laughs)!' You see. Let me say myself: I'm wearing a seshoeshoe[38], and then I wear boots in this summer…'How can you dress like a moholoane like this?' But it doesn't…It doesn't leave a scar, it doesn't hurt when you've accepted it. It can only hurt when you don't want people to know who you are. [p39]

Kutloano on the other hand has never personally experienced any negative attitudes from South Africans and he views them as nice people, but he maintains that he has heard in local people's conversations that they do not like people from Lesotho:

I see them as nice people, or maybe I'm the one who makes them to be nice to me because I'm not a chaotic person. I don't like trouble. I'm sure I'm the one that makes them to be nice towards me. But when they talk about people from Lesotho you can hear that they don't....They don't like us. Eh, firstly they say we take their jobs; secondly (pause), they say we are the criminals here in Bloemfontein; thirdly they say we are the ones killing people here in Bloemfontein. [p23]

Some of the participants are disrespected in their own homes, whereby local people enter their yards and do as they please. In responding to the question of what can be improved about his living arrangements, Pule suggests that the yard should be fenced because people just go in and use the toilet without permission. And if he says anything they remind him that he's from Lesotho:

Yes, also the yard should be fenced, because anybody can get in, you understand. You don't know who it is. They just pass through even those you don't know. A person will be coming from any direction and pass you sitting outside without even greeting you and go to the toilet then leave. If you say anything: 'Hey you! What are you saying, you are from Lesotho, this is so and so's place'. [p9]

The negative attitudes and hostility from the Bloemfontein community imply that the local people do not take the migrants as part of them and the migrants in turn do not feel

[38] Traditional Sesotho dress

welcome in Bloemfontein. According to the definition of belonging,[39] which puts an emphasis on being part of a group, it can be said that the participants in this study struggle with a sense of belonging in Bloemfontein.

4.2.2. Insecurity

The participants' everyday lives are marked by insecurity. The insecurity is physical in the sense that the participants live in poor conditions. It is also economical since the migrants are exploited by their employers, leading to material instability. The poor living conditions and exploitation are discussed in more detail.

4.2.2.1. Poor living conditions: housing perceived as just a roof over one's head

All the participants live in the townships, in the outskirts of Bloemfontein. I conducted most of the interviews at the participants' places of work or residence[40]. When interviewing people at their places of residence, I noticed that the majority of them live in generally poor quality housing. This is in conjunction with studies[41] which have found housing to be a major problem for most migrants in South Africa. One participant's room for instance, had three double sized beds taking almost the entire space, and the roofing was poor with plastic used as ceiling. At another participant's place, the room was in very bad shape: the roofing was old, the floor was cracked, and plastic had been used to cover the walls. Crates were used to hold things, and a curtain had been used to divide the room. At another participant's place, the roofing was old, the walls were peeling off and pieces of cloth had been used to fill in the holes, laces had also been used to cover some parts of the wall. The room was also divided into kitchen and bedroom with a curtain. All the houses looked old from the outside. The participants' narratives reflect the poor housing conditions that they live in. They raise concerns such as leaking roofs, dust during strong winds, overcrowding, and unresponsive landlords. Most of them maintain that housing back in Lesotho is much better in comparison to Bloemfontein, where housing is just a

[39] The definition of belonging is provided in section 2.2.1 (literature review chapter)
[40] The need to interview participants in their world of lived experience is explained in section 1.1.2 (theory chapter)
[41] Housing for migrants as a concern is discussed in section 2.2.2.4.1 (literature review chapter)

matter of having a roof over one's head. This corroborates other studies[42] which indicate that migrants perceive housing in their home countries as more comfortable than housing in South Africa. Tumelo points out that although he has tried fixing the roof, it still leaks, and he also has problems with dust:

> *Definitely, it gives me problems. The roof is leaking although not that much, but it leaks right there, (Pointing to the roof) even on this side. There was another part that was leaking, I fixed by inserting corrugated iron but it is still leaking, although not like before. I also encounter problems like dust. It gets in, as you can see (Pointing to the dust on the table). This is dust which...Because sometimes when it's dusty you find it's everywhere in the house, sometimes even in the water if you didn't cover it. [p5]*

Rethabile is so disturbed by the rain and dust which enter the room that she has even inserted cloths to curb the situation:

> *This one's condition doesn't please me. Sometimes the rain comes in through there but now they have put something to stop it. You see how the walls are, even there where the pots are I have put in that cloth which sometimes comes out (Pointing to the walls of the room). It disturbs me because it has collapsed at the back, and even there where I have put those things it's not safe. That wall wears off day by day. When it's windy the dust gets in. It enters through here. You see I have even put this, the cloth there (Pointing to the cloth beneath the door). At least if there is dust while I am inside the house, I normally do this at the door so that the wind does not strongly reach there. [p6]*

Itumeleng fears for her life when it is windy:

> *The condition of the house, the roof is leaking, and when there's wind…This one, when it's windy it makes us feel unsafe. That there's a room whose condition is not good, the roof might be blown off. [p6]*

[42] The comparison between the housing situation in home country and South Africa is discussed in section 2.2.2.4.1 (literature review chapter)

Pule points to the cracks in the door which make it easier for dust to enter the room:

> *Yes it is, but somewhere at the door there are some gaps you see. Even when it is closed, you still have to fill them with something, like papers. The dust enters. For example, you can go somewhere after washing your things, but when you come back it will be like they were never washed. Things like those, there is a lot of dust. [p6]*

Limpho reports that the house is small and it is over-crowded:

> *They are small, they are small houses. Like, I am not staying alone, I stay with my sibling and her children. It is small. Indeed it is over-crowded. So obviously I will sleep with the children. If I am going to sleep in the bedroom, I sleep with the children, and the other sleeps here in the kitchen on the couch, you see. [p5]*

In comparison to the houses where they stay in Lesotho, the participants view housing in Bloemfontein as unsatisfactory. This finding is similar to that of other studies[43] which show that migrants insist that housing back in their home countries is more safe and comfortable than housing in South Africa. Tumelo narrates that housing in Bloemfontein is merely for one to have shelter:

> *Oh, okay. This house that I stay in ma'am. It is just a house because one is on the move you understand. As long as you just have a roof over your head so that you can work. I mean, in comparison with where I stay in Lesotho, no, this one is not in good condition. It's just a shelter to protect one against rains and to ensure that you don't sleep outside. I mean, even you can see. [p5]*

Thabo and Rethabile feel the same and they maintain that their houses back in Lesotho are in good condition:

[43] The comparison between the housing situation in home country and South Africa is discussed in section 2.2.2.4.1 (literature review chapter)

The one in Lesotho is a house, which is really in good condition, it's not leaking, it's a beautiful house. So this one I'll say it's just a house in that someone is renting it out, just for one to have shelter. [p6]

No, in Lesotho I stay in a good house, it's a good house which is in good condition, it is different from this one… It's a flat roofed house. It's good, the rain doesn't pour in when it falls, the dust also doesn't get into the house. I mean it is a well built house. [p6]

In addition to the poor living conditions, the participants who rent believe that the landlords do not care about them. Even when they lay complaints about their situations, landlords never respond accordingly. When asked about what could be improved about his living arrangements, Tumelo maintains that he cannot really say anything as it is the landlord's responsibility to do so:

Not really, no, to me…It's true it matters because I stay here but (pause), I mean it's not something that I consider so much that I can say improvements are necessary. Because the landlord is the one who has to see to it that improvements are made when conditions are bad isn't it? We always report to the landlord that: 'Hey, you need to improve the conditions of your houses!' But he never does anything. So you understand I'm a tenant, I have just accepted the conditions here because I just want a roof over my head. And again I might go to Lesotho at anytime and never come back. [p8]

Rethabile confirms the idea that landlords are usually unresponsive to their needs, and she observes that the houses that are rented out to people from Lesotho are mostly in poor condition. This is how she responds when asked about her living arrangements:

Hey, I'm happy about them, they are good. The only problem is that the houses we normally live in are not good. In fact the houses that people rent out in Bloemfontein are not good houses, especially if they rent them out to people from places like Lesotho. Even if you tell the landlord: 'You see how it is here!' S/he will not even take the initiative to maintain there. [p8]

When asked if the poor condition of housing is related to the price of rent she says:

> *Not really, I was still paying R450 where I stayed before, but then its problem was that when the rain came in, the water would run along the walls in such a way that I wouldn't even be able to put something to collect the water. It runs down…I think you can see how this carpet looks like. It was destroyed by that water during our stay there. That is when it swelled like this and then cracked like this. When you try and tell the owner that: 'You see this room is leaking!' S/he will say: 'You can go and find a place elsewhere'. [p9]*

Feeling irritated[44], Rethabile states that landlords do not care about people from Lesotho:

> *They don't care, that is why I am saying they don't care about people from Lesotho, to ensure that they live in houses that are in good condition. [p9]*

The poor quality housing conditions in which the participants live endanger their lives as they might get physical injuries. For instance, the dust which constantly gets in during winds can cause lung diseases, while the damp from the leaking roofs can cause colds. Even worse, if the roofs get blown off by strong winds, the participants can sustain serious injuries. Their physical health is therefore at risk.

4.2.2.2. Exploitation by employers

According to the migrants' stories, they suffer exploitation at the hands of their employers in their everyday lives. Their employers usually pay them less than the amount they had initially agreed on. Sometimes employers do not pay the migrants at all and most migrants feel that they earn meagre wages. Some participants have also been unfairly dismissed. The participants are afraid to report any of these incidents out of fear that they will get themselves arrested due to the absence of work permits. The employers are well aware of this fact and that is why they continue to exploit migrants. Studies[45] conducted in South Africa reinforce this finding that employers normally pay migrants low wages out of awareness that migrants cannot report them to authorities. This finding also highlights the

[44] The importance of feelings and emotions is stated in section 1.2.2 (theory chapter)

[45] The idea that employers exploit migrants because they know the migrants cannot report them to the authorities is explained in section 2.2.2.3 (literature review chapter)

importance of documents and how the lack thereof prevents migrants from taking necessary measures against employers. It is testimony that people act within structural constraints as Bourdieu's[46] work proposes.

In Rethabile's three previous jobs, her employers paid her less than what they had agreed on when she started to work, and that is the reason why she left the jobs. In one of the jobs, where she worked at the phone container, an amount of R100 was taken off her salary after her employer told her she had a shortage of exactly that amount. Rethabile however did not understand how she had a shortage since people always left their change after making calls. This is her story:

> *One day she told me that I had a shortage, and I asked with what. She said I had a shortage of R100. I said how did I have a R100 shortage? Instead of having shortages I should rather have profit because people leave their 20c after making calls. Someone is in a hurry and s/he leaves R1. S/he doesn't say give me R1 change. Changes like 50c are left behind after people make calls. Sometimes you find that 30c is left and one doesn't want it. I told her that I'm not supposed to have shortages considering the way people leave their money. And she said indeed she doesn't know how there is shortage, she will try and check the phone to see if there is no place where she made a mistake. I said maybe there was a phone that you did not erase yesterday. When we knock off she used to erase all the daily sales in the phones so that in the morning the phones start to record new sales. She said she would check, but I don't think she did. When I had to get my salary, she took the money that she had said was short off my salary. A shortage I don't know how I had reached. Then I got angry. You understand, I already had a long time, so when people came to make calls, I would ask, is there no one looking for a person there? I was then able to chat with people. I was then used to the place. [p20]*

[46] The idea that human action is influenced by structural constraints is discussed in section 1.2.3 (theory chapter)

The amount taken off her salary is what made Rethabile leave the job, especially because she was already earning little money. She says:

> *Yes, she withdrew the money in addition to…She was paying me little money. Since I was staying with her in the house she paid me R400. I was earning R600. R200 was for food since she was feeding us then I received R400 as cash in hand. So you understand, I had a shortage, I am now going to get R300. That is when I realised that in the end I will not earn anything at all. [p20]*

People who came to call at the container also made her aware that her employer was cheating her:

> *Again, I heard while you were still calling: 'Oh, containers make a lot of money, your employer is cheating you, how much do you earn?' Then I told them and they said: 'No! People from Lesotho, really! What do you do with R400?' So since in Lesotho I knew that at least R300 is the amount of money a working person can get, I understood it was too much for me[47]. Only to find when I'm chatting to other people that this person is cheating me. So I left. [p20]*

Like Rethabile, Tumelo remembers that they are often paid less than the agreed upon wages and he recalls an incident when he was not paid his full wages:

> *Oh, I nearly forgot one of the things I despise about working in construction. You find that you have worked, let's say we get paid per fortnight. You work. After a fortnight when you have to get paid, sometimes you are paid only half of the money. You no longer get the amount that you expected depending on how much you had agreed you would make per day with your employer. You find that the money is no longer…For example, let's say you agreed that the money you make per day, when you calculate it's supposed to be R400 in a fortnight. You find that when it's pay day your employer gives you only R350. When you try to find out what happened with the rest, the supervisor is going to explain that: 'No man, the money arrived or our employer didn't send the full amount, we didn't get the full*

[47] The idea that the value of capital is influenced by the field in which one finds him/herself is discussed in section 2.2.3.1.3 (literature review chapter)

amount of money that is why I give you this much'. As time goes on… Just like now, there is someone that I worked with. I think I worked with him for about two weeks and three days. Out of that money, he paid us R500, out of the amount we had agreed on, eh, on top of that R500 then this R800…I mean the total amount of money that I had to get from that person was R1 300, depending on the job description and the number of days we would take to finish the job. But he only paid R500. Eh, the remaining R800 is with him. It is still with him. So when we went to confront him about the rest of the money, he kept on beating about the bush. And now he doesn't even answer his phone when we call. [p16]

Asked if they ever get the rest of the remaining amount, he points out that they never do and he mentions that sometimes they are not paid at all:

We will never get it. As we continue working you are going to find that, eh, you work for a fortnight. That fortnight, by the time that person has to pay you, he has disappeared. He is gone. There is no money. You have worked for nothing. You no longer get that money. [p16]

He points to the challenge they face when they think of reporting their employers to the police. The fact that they do not have work permits, permission to work in South Africa, prevents them from reporting the exploitation[48].

Hey, now we have a problem, because when we think of reporting him to the police, there is a problem at the police station. When we get there they are going to ask. We are asked [emphatically stated] if we have work permits that allow us to work in this country. That is the challenge we are facing. When we go and report them to the police that: 'Hey, we have a problem, we worked with this person but now the problem is that he no longer pays us as per our agreement'. Then comes up the issue that we don't have work permits, permission to work here. If we don't have such a document then we are facing a challenge. [p17]

[48] The argument that actors act within structural constraints is presented in section 1.2.3 (theory chapter)

Pule has also experienced the pain of employers disappearing when they have to pay them after the completion of a job. When asked about the crime in the area in which he stays, Pule narrates that apart from his clothes that are stolen on the washing line, his hands are also stolen when he works for free:

> *No, really it's just the clothes that get stolen. Well and also our hands when we work for free. When you have worked, a person leaves. He is said to be from somewhere in Gauteng. It's like...Eh, for example, we worked at that school there. We build the toilets and completed. When we finished the person who was given the project ran away with the money. We were not paid. [p8]*

Pule tried reporting one employer who failed to pay them. Unfortunately they could not be assisted because they did not have the full particulars of the employer:

> *We tried to report this person at small Court in town. And we were requested to provide his full particulars. So the man who offered him the job refused to give us his names as he was from Gauteng that guy. And we couldn't find his full particulars. When they called him he did not pick up his phone. It would just ring or he'd just drop it. [p25]*

Kutloano is one participant who learnt first-hand that employers from Lesotho are generally paid less than local workers. He indicates that employers no longer know that he's from Lesotho as he knows that they take advantage. Asked if employers are not reluctant to give him a job because he is from Lesotho, Kutloano states:

> *Mm, they don't even know that I'm from Lesotho. They will take advantage of me if they know I'm from Lesotho. Isn't it a fact that people from Lesotho are undermined? And you should know that if you work for an employer who knows that you're from Lesotho, you will find that your salary is not equal to other people's salaries…Yes, they are paid less. You are going to find that people are being paid R150 a day, while you are only paid R120 or R100. [p16]*

Kutloano tells the story of how he came to realise that people from Lesotho are paid less than the local people:

Eh, I realised because I saw, my first employer knew that I am from Lesotho. When I came to check my salary I found that: nah man, my salary is little. These other people have more. Then I thought that maybe it's because I found them already at the firm. Then I learnt...Those who found me already at the firm, these people are also getting more money than I am. Then someone said: 'No, it's because that person knows that you are from Lesotho and there is nowhere you can complain'. After I left that firm, moving from that firm to the next, I never again disclosed that I'm from Lesotho. [p17]

He argues that the reason employers pay Basotho less than the local people is because they know that there is nowhere they can complain since by complaining they would be incriminating themselves:

Yes, they know that there is nowhere you can complain. From there if you decide to complain you're going to get yourself arrested, because there is nowhere your passport states that you are working for the period that you are given to stay in South Africa. It only states that you are visiting. [p17]

Itumeleng, like her fellow migrants, has had the experience of not being paid. She did a part-time job of washing blankets and spring cleaning, after which the employer told her she did not have money and would therefore pay her with clothes. Asked if employers pay her well for part-time jobs, she reports:

Yes, this one of blankets, washing clothes: some pay me well, others don't pay. She tells me that: 'No, I will pay you with clothing'. And mind you, she tells me when she is supposed to give me money, she doesn't tell me at the time I start work…Any clothes that can fit me. She will be telling me: 'I have these shoes, what size do you wear?' I say: 'I wear size seven'. Then she says: 'I have size seven shoes, I'll give them to you. What size do your children wear?' Then I tell her: No. 'I will give you those clothes'. I say: 'No, I'm not going to be able to work for clothes'. [p19]

In replying to the question of whether she did not find it better to take the clothes, Itumeleng emotionally says:

Honestly no. I didn't see it better to take them because I also have to send my children something so that they get food to eat. So I found it useless to take the clothes because they're not going to eat them (sad). [p21]

In the end, she did not get the money and she did not take the clothes:

I didn't take the clothes. I didn't get money. [p21]

When asked if there was anything she could do to rectify the situation, Itumeleng also raises the fear of reporting to the police due to the absence of a work permit:

Eish, I don't know what I can do because when I tell the story to someone s/he will say: 'Ooh! When you go to the police they're going to ask you to produce a work permit'. It's things like that. [p20]

Itumeleng was furthermore unfairly dismissed from her second job. She states that when she was given time off she usually left on Friday evening and returned on Sunday evening. On the day she was expelled from work, she had left on Saturday and came back on Sunday evening, and as such it is unclear why she was relieved of her duties. She had been working well with her employer without any conflicts when she was suddenly fired. She explains:

Yes, she agreed. After she agreed then there was no problem. We continued with work without any conflicts between us. We worked well for that month. It ended with us working well, when I got into this week…I finished a month and I started the second month with her. That's when as I was in the second month, she fired me and told me the job was over. [p14]

She maintains that it was after she returned from her time off. She remembers the incident vividly:

Yes, she wasn't there. Then I waited at the gate, at around 6pm. There were dark clouds and the rain was falling lightly. Then she arrived. On arrival she passed me without greeting and opened the gate. After she opened the gate and got the car in, I also got in, she drove the car into the garage and she still didn't greet me. After

a while they greeted and I responded. We went inside the house. When we got in she said: 'Sister, please sit on the chair I'll be back'. Then she went to her bedroom. When she got back she said: 'Sister'. I said: 'Yes ma'am'. She said: 'Do you know, you no longer have a job. It's over'. I said: 'No, I don't know'. She said: 'You should know then that from today your job is over'. I asked: 'Why is it over?' She said: 'You asked to go to Bochabela. I agreed and you went. When you've gone to Bochabela you know that this baby cries a lot and I struggle with him/her. You don't ensure that you come back in the morning or that you should have come back yesterday'. Then she told me that she had taken my clothes and brought them to Bochabela here at my aunt's place, and that I should leave. Her husband would accompany me. Then I said: 'No ma'am, please forgive me if I made a mistake'. And she said: 'I don't see how I can forgive you. Yet you know very well that my baby cries a lot and I struggle with him/her. Were you expecting me to look after the baby while it's your job to do so?' Then I said: 'I understand that I have made a mistake and I won't do it again. Please forgive me. You will fire me if I do it for the second time'. She said: 'No, leave, I will call you tomorrow morning. Leave'. Then I left. I was so angry that I didn't ask her to pay me for the days I'd worked. I just left (sad). [p15]

Still, she got scared to lay a complaint of unfair dismissal:

When I was going to lay a complaint I heard people telling me that they were going to demand a work permit from me there. They're going to demand IDs. Then I got scared to go. [p167]

Some participants, on the other hand, are of the opinion that they earn meagre wages, especially considering how much money they make for their employers. Pule observes:

Eh, you would be doing a lot of work and only register...You'll find that the work you have done there per day is worth R10,000 you see. And you will be given R1,200 or R1,000 only, or R500 after working for 4 or 3 days. [p13]

Liteboho also agrees. She says that their wages are calculated in percentages, and that her employer is cheating them when it comes to certain hairstyles which require only a little of her employer's resources. She makes her point:

> *In different percentages, plaiting is 40 percent, relaxer is 30 percent and 35 percent. They cheat us, they cheat us. Plaiting is hard work. It should be 50 percent because it takes long. Again there's nothing of hers that is wasted. Hers is only the income. Only a small amount of shampoo is wasted for washing people's hair, that's' all. So you understand she takes more money than us. [p27]*

Employers' exploitation of migrants robs them of their livelihoods and a full sense of belonging to the society insofar as economic security is an important component of belonging more generally. By being paid less than the agreed amount, not being paid at all, or being unfairly dismissed migrants enter an unstable material condition which leads to both economic hardship[49] and heightened feelings of social exclusion.

4.2.3. Exclusion

The participants' everyday lives are furthermore characterised by exclusion. They are excluded first of all with regards to language as they experience difficulty communicating with the local people. They are also excluded from public services as access is not as easy for them as it is for local citizens. The challenges associated with the language barrier and accessing public services are discussed.

4.2.3.1. Language barrier

In Bloemfontein there are many Afrikaans speaking people. Sesotho is also a common spoken language. There are other languages such as Tswana which is related to Sesotho although it is still a different language. While Sesotho is spoken in Bloemfontein, it differs from that which is spoken in Lesotho. According to their narratives, the migrants suffer exclusion in terms of language. They come across people who speak different languages in their everyday lives, and as a result their interaction with local people in Bloemfontein is limited. The difficulty in communication is a significant challenge for migrants as the

[49] Economic hardship is discussed in section 2.2.2.3 (literature review)

literature[50] indicates that language is a very important prerequisite for being accepted in the destination area since it is the sole means for interaction. The participants acknowledge that their first language, Sesotho, is one of the spoken languages in Bloemfontein, and that they are able to communicate with local people, at least to some extent. However, according to their experience, when it comes to public services, Sesotho does not help them much since they sometimes come across service providers who do not understand Sesotho. Similarly with work, they maintain that they struggle to find jobs as some employers are not Sesotho speaking. To enable communication, some of the participants resort to English. For those who cannot speak English, communication is done through the help of a translator. The language barrier emphasised by the participants is in contrast with the literature[51] which suggests that migrants from Lesotho do not experience a language barrier in South Africa.

In responding to the question of how Sesotho as her language counts in her favour in her everyday life in Bloemfontein, Limpho asserts that she has no problem communicating because people in Bloemfontein speak Tswana, which is still related to Sesotho:

> *Well, Sesotho is somehow related to Tswana isn't it? So it's not so difficult for me to communicate with people here because of Sesotho. [p23]*

When asked what she does when her clients do not speak Sesotho or Tswana, she replies:

> *WE HAVE TO SPEAK A COMMON LANGUAGE [loud voice]. We will have to speak English, and they are mostly people from the villages, from places like the Eastern Cape. But they are mostly school children. So there is no problem because they speak English. [p23]*

She demonstrates that even if she can speak English, communication is still a problem sometimes when local people do not understand it:

[50] The fact that inability to communicate with local people leads to the exclusion of migrants is stated in section 2.2.2.1 (literature review chapter)

[51] The idea that people from Lesotho do not experience a language barrier is discussed in the concluding section of challenges of belonging, just under section 2.2.2.4.2 (literature review)

Yes, when you come across people who won't be able to understand you. Because even those people whom I said speak…Let me say it's Xhosa. You understand if they don't know English. It's going to be difficult to communicate. Like there is a woman in my zone, she is from mak'haea[52] there. It's a problem talking to her…She doesn't know English, and I also don't know Afrikaans. They know Afrikaans isn't it? So we people from Lesotho don't know Afrikaans. It's a problem communicating with her. And she will want to chat [emphatically stated] to you. Let me say you're passing by her house and you're greeting her. She wants to chat to you, maybe about the weather or anything. YOU DON'T UNDERSTAND [loud voice], she's speaking this difficult Xhosa. [p29]

Liteboho on the other hand maintains that Sesotho is useless to her. Like her fellow migrants, she also speaks English when talking to people who do not speak Sesotho. In her own words:

I speak English, I speak English. It's important that one knows English because this Sesotho can only take you as far as the Caledon River[53]. That's it, you can never go anywhere with it. I've travelled a lot to many places, I mean you can speak it as your language but it cannot be of any use to communicate with other people. [p48]

Asked what she thinks was going to happen if she did not know English, she predicts[54] that she was not going to make money as her colleagues would take her clients:

If you didn't know English you were going to have a problem, money was going to pass you by because other people were going to take your clients. There's that thing of other people instructing a client in their own language. [p47]

[52] Rural area

[53] Border between Lesotho and South Africa

[54] The idea that typifications are important as they enable people to predict the future is stated in section 1.2.1.2 (theory chapter)

Liteboho insists that although Sesotho is a spoken language in Bloemfontein, communication is still a problem as local people do not understand the Sesotho people from Lesotho speak:

> *Mm, it is a spoken language, which is mostly spoken. But then again when you speak Sesotho, people from Bloem[55] still don't understand. I don't know what kind of Sesotho they speak. There are instances where they don't understand when you speak. [p48]*

However, Tumelo only experiences problems with Sesotho when it comes to work:

> *Eh, Sesotho as my language here in Bloemfontein, it honestly gives me problems sometimes. Especially at work because you find that Afrikaans is the most generally spoken language. Since we work with white people, you are going to find that it is necessary to know Afrikaans. And if you don't know Afrikaans you cannot work. Most Whites indeed you find that since we mostly work...We even prefer to work with Whites because they are trustworthy. Now most of them don't know Sesotho. They speak Afrikaans. So if you don't know Afrikaans you cannot be able to work with him because you will not understand each other when you communicate. [p30]*

Other than work, Tumelo has no problem with Sesotho:

> *No, the only sphere in which it doesn't really count in my favour is that of work. Other than that, I don't see it giving me any problems. [p31]*

Later on in the interview when asked about the influence of his upbringing in Bloemfontein, Tumelo mentions how he regrets not going to school. This has deprived him of learning English, which he now thinks would improve his work prospects here in Bloemfontein. He says:

> *Not really. The only instance where it affects it in a…It is only that issue I spoke about of school, where I mentioned things like Afrikaans. That's the only thing,*

[55] Short for Bloemfontein

other than that there is nothing really. You see the fact that I didn't go to school. It's only now that…When I enter the labour market, it's only now that I realise that: hell! Being uneducated is a disadvantage, but I don't blame my parents. [p44]

He believes that knowing English would have made it easier for him to learn Afrikaans:

Yes, but at least if you can speak English you understand, Afrikaans…It's true it is difficult but if you understand English, it's easier to also understand Afrikaans. [p44]

Rethabile and Itumeleng on the other hand explain that Sesotho does not always work in their favour, especially when they try to access services at public service points. Itumeleng reports that Sesotho only counts in her favour when she has conversations with people, but it does not count in her favour when she is conducting business or going about official activities:

It's my language but it counts in my favour. Sometimes it doesn't. It helps me when I communicate with people like this. When I go to the shops, I will find people who don't speak Sesotho. Then I become confused as to what language I'm now supposed to speak in order for this person to understand… Let me say I go to the hospital there, I will find a lekoerekoere[56]. S/he is not going to understand what I'm saying. If I go to the shops where they say there's a job available, when I arrive I won't find a Mosotho[57] person. I will find that s/he speaks Xhosa, Zulu, English, so I will have to speak English. And I don't know it that well. I will then have to find someone who knows English to translate what I'm saying. [p32]

Like other migrants, she tries to speak English in such cases or otherwise the person she's talking to finds a translator:

I just try my luck with that English (laughs). I try until the person understands what I'm trying to say. Or even if the person doesn't understand what…S/he calls someone else who can be able to translate what I'm saying into English. [p32]

[56] A name Basotho use to call people from other African countries
[57] Singular for Basotho

To the same question of how Sesotho counts or does not count in her favour in her everyday life in Bloemfontein, Rethabile replies:

> *It is my language but there really are some times when it doesn't work for me. For example, let me say I get to a certain place, say ABSA. When I get inside I will find someone to talk to, s/he doesn't know Sesotho. Maybe s/he speaks Xhosa or something that I cannot understand, so I find that sometimes it's not a powerful language to count in my favour. [p35]*

Asked what she does when she encounters such a problem, she says:

> *I leave him/her and find someone who I can be able to talk to and who will be able to understand me. Or that person says no, when s/he hears that s/he doesn't understand what I am saying. Then s/he goes to find someone I will talk to, who will then tell him/her what I am saying. [p36]*

When asked if it still gives her problems in other domains, Rethabile affirms that Sesotho is not useful:

> *No, Sesotho definitely doesn't work for me. Because even at my current job I work with Xhosas not Basotho. It's just that they understand Sesotho. So if they didn't understand it, what was I going to get out of it? Nothing. [p36]*

She admits that Sesotho is spoken in Bloemfontein, but she is certain that one cannot find a job with Sesotho alone:

> *It is spoken but you cannot a find job with Sesotho. Yes, it is definitely a language that…In the location, everywhere, it is spoken. But you cannot find a job with Sesotho. Even when you go around looking for a job. You cannot say to an employer: "Ke tlo batla mosebetsi"[58]. S/he will not understand what you are saying. S/he is going to be surprised of what "mosebetsi"[59] is. S/he will leave you there. Sometimes if there is a vacancy there, s/he will ask another person what it is you are saying. And that person will say you're looking for "mosebetsi". And s/he will*

[58] Sesotho version of "I'm looking for a job"
[59] Translated job in English

wonder: "Mosebetsi!" So how is this person who is looking for "mosebetsi" going to handle the customers? S/he will see that you know nothing about "tiro"[60]. Even if you would be able to do that thing. Just because you said "ke tlo batla mosebetsi". You will not find it. S/he can already see that you won't be able to communicate well with the customers. [p37]

To overcome the language barrier, Rethabile even went as far as enrolling into some school called Marang with the sole purpose of learning English:

Marang, down there, I got in at 2pm and knocked off at 6pm in the evening. I was studying everything. But my main goal of going to school was because I wanted to learn English. It was because I realised that everywhere at work when you arrive, everyone will be speaking English only. I succeeded and I attended really. I…When I arrived I was asked in which class I was when I left Lesotho. I told them. Hey, I continued and continued. When I checked I found that they were teaching me things which are low level, things which I was taught in Lesotho. I completed but when I had to go again the next year, I didn't go. You understand I was taught things that I did. Look at their books… [p51]

Although she did not benefit from the school as she had hoped, Rethabile's attempt illustrates that humans are not merely passive victims in a world beyond their control, they actually have a degree of agency[61] by which they perceive situations and rationally respond.

4.2.3.2. Accessing public services

According to the participants' narratives, the accessibility of public services appears to vary from service to service. For instance, all participants who have been to the clinic or hospital maintain that healthcare service is easily accessible and that the treatment they receive is good. This is in harmony with the findings of studies[62] which report that migrants

[60] Tswana term that means "job"

[61] The existential self and agency is discussed in more detail in section 1.2.2.3 (theory chapter)

[62] Healthcare services concerning migrants in South Africa are discussed in section 2.2.2.4.2 (literature review chapter)

perceive healthcare services in South Africa as generally accessible. Some participants even go as far as saying that the treatment is the same as back in their homes in Lesotho. As long as they have the necessary documents, they claim that they get assistance. Each independent field [63] – whether formal education or the healthcare system – has its own guiding principles which must be followed to enable participation. In this case, the migrants need to produce their passports in order to receive healthcare services. Pule narrates that he is treated like any other person and that he received good treatment at the hospital:

> *No, they treat me like any other person. Honestly, if I have a passport, even when I went for tooth extraction in Pelonomi, I mean, National, I never had a problem. [p25]*

Limpho also asserts that healthcare services are available, provided one has a passport:

> *No, there they just tell you that if you are a person from Lesotho you should bring a Lesotho passport so that you can register with it. [p20]*

Itumeleng experiences the treatment she receives at public service points, especially at the hospital, as good:

> *No, I receive good treatment at public service points. Like when I'm sick and I go to Pelonomi, the treatment is as good as when I'm in Lesotho. [p29]*

Tebello notes that there is no discrimination at hospitals:

> *Oh, no, hospitals, you know at hospitals. I have seen that, I have seen that I get the same treatment as everyone else who is visiting the hospital. I cannot single out any discrimination that: 'No, am I being treated like this because I'm from Lesotho?' [p26]*

Tumelo similarly does not see any discrimination:

[63] The idea that each independent field has its own rules and principles is discussed in section 1.2.3.2 (theory chapter)

Eh, at public service points, we are treated similarly to South Africans in my view…Yes, at the clinic yes. You are assisted well without any problems. During my visit I have seen them helping us without any problems really. I get help. They help me without any problems, honestly. I know there are no problems through first-hand experience because I usually visit hospitals. [p28,31]

Rethabile has even been assisted without documents. She did not have a passport at the time she was pregnant but the hospital helped deliver the baby. Asked how she experiences the treatment she says:

The treatment is good you know. The thing that put me in a corner initially was when I didn't have a passport. But it was their right to ask for it when I was registering. But since I didn't have it, I got impatient with them. Like if they say: 'Bring your passport!' Then I'd say: 'I forgot it'. Yet I know deep down my heart that I don't have it. [p30]

The hospital opened a file for her despite the absence of a passport:

Yes, they managed to open it for me and they said…When you come again…They asked me to give my names, and I told them, then they managed to register me. They also registered the house address. They said, 'Whenever you come here, you must always bring it along'. [p31]

After that she no longer had a problem receiving services since she already had a file. This is her story:

While I was going, I didn't have to go with it because I had already opened the file. So I just produced it, that's when… I just gave them my file. The problem was that when I first opened it, I had to use the correct names, isn't it? And they had to check who I really was. I even gave birth without having it. That's when after giving birth, and I wanted to take the child to school, that is when I had to register the child so that he can have access to things here. So that is when I had to apply for a passport, and apply for one for the child as well. So that we can both be able to easily access services. [p31]

In contrast, Liteboho has never visited a clinic or hospital because while she was working in New Castle, she witnessed a fellow migrant being denied services at the hospital just because she is a passport holder. Liteboho's situation serves to show the importance of intersubjectivity[64] in that an individual's experience often influences the experience of others. She narrates:

> *So, when we were at work again there's a lady who left, then she got raped, and when… In that section of the factory, there are people who rape women there. Then when she…Then we took her to the hospital, I don't remember what the name of that hospital is. And she wasn't assisted because it was said that she uses a passport… We returned with her, she was never assisted. They said they don't provide services to people who hold passports. [p42]*

She admits that the incident is the reason she does not go for healthcare services:

> *Mm, it's even one of the things which discourage me from going to the hospital here. I mean it's one of the things which discouraged me even more. [p43]*

Regarding the opening of bank accounts, there are mixed feelings among participants. Some say they have generally opened them with ease while others say it is a struggle. For those who opened them, they also had to produce the documents required by the bank. Banking is an independent field[65] and it also has its own guiding principles which differ from those of healthcare since in addition to a passport there are other documents required for one to open an account. Kutloano and Rethabile are some of the participants who managed to open bank accounts with ease. When asked if they struggled when opening bank accounts for the first time, Kutloano and Rethabile respond respectively:

> *They just told me to bring my passport. To bring, what is it called? A document from my place that proves that no, I stay there. I brought it and they opened a bank account for me. [p23]*

[64] Intersubjectivity is discussed in more detail in section 1.2.1.3 (theory chapter)
[65] The idea that each independent field has its own rules and principles is discussed in section 1.2.3.2 (theory chapter)

I asked if I could open an account for Lesotho and they said yes. When I open an account for Lesotho I have to bring along my passport, and proof of address from the person in whose place I stay. She must bring her ID, to serve as proof to fill in the form that shows that I indeed stay in her yard. I came with her and she filled in the form. She gave them her ID and I gave them my passport, then they opened an account for me. [p33]

However, it is a problem for other participants to open bank accounts. Tebello narrates that he tried to open one but he failed because he could not get an affidavit from his landlord. As a result, he could not meet the requirements of the bank:

I was opening an account, and then they needed things like (pause), an affidavit from the landlord. So what I did, like I explained that my landlord doesn't stay there, he stays far and he is also working. It is difficult to track him down, I...I talked to somebody here at work, because they wanted something like a photocopy of his ID and... [p44]

Desperate to open the account, he sought help from a colleague but he also did not help him:

For the landlord that...Maybe a water bill. So the person I talked to who had agreed to assist me with such things, he never helped me…A colleague, somebody that I am working with. I was looking for anyone then, so...I just wanted to open a bank account there. [p45]

Limpho feels that when it comes to public services in Bloemfontein, she always encounters problems. She argues that it is difficult to get services anywhere because she is not a South African citizen[66]:

Everywhere you meet deadlines, everywhere. You can go to the bank to open an account, the problem is that you don't have an ID. Obviously you cannot find your own right, because you're not…What do they say a person is? You are not a citizen. In many things we're hindered by citizenship. You are not a South African

[66] Exclusion based on citizenship is discussed in detail in section 2.2.2.1 (literature review chapter)

citizen so you don't have the right to these and that…For instance, JUST OPENING AN ACCOUNT [loud voice]. To open an account, you will find that if you use a Lesotho passport they don't want to open an account for you. For clothing, for…Not for clothing because I have a clothing account…A furniture account. There is no furniture shop which can open an account for you. You will find them saying: 'No, we don't open accounts for people from Lesotho!' So I don't know whether Basotho have disappeared with their things or what…Mm, this thing that if you're…You are (pause), a passport holder there is nothing you can…It's not easy, in everything they say: 'No, not people from Lesotho. We want IDs'. [p23]

Still in relation to the treatment at public services, Thabo admits that services are being offered although with bias. He speaks in relation to education because his children were denied access[67] to school because they are from Lesotho:

No, services are being offered, but sometimes with that bias [emphatically stated]. For schooling of children, there is still discrimination. In some areas they don't allow them. They say they don't take children from Lesotho. [p23]

In contrast, Rethabile had a different experience with her child. The child got accepted into school without any difficulty. The school just asked her to bring a document from Home Affairs which she had. The school, which falls under the independent field[68] of formal education, likewise has its own regulating principles in terms of the required documents for enrolling in school. This is how she got her child into school:

I used the letter. But I thought that…I went to school to ask if a child that was born here was allowed to attend school. They said it's okay as long as I went to Home Affairs. That ticket/sticker I was given to register the child before ten days. If I went I can be able to bring that thing. Fortunately I had kept it, then I took it with me and they registered him...Yes, he got admitted, they asked if I would be able to pay well every month, and I said: 'Yes, I will be able to pay'. [p32]

[67] Exclusion, deprivation of access to education, is discussed in section 2.2.2.1 (literature review chapter)
[68] The idea that each independent field has its own rules and principles is discussed in section 1.2.3.2 (theory chapter)

Still on the discussion of public services, there are migrants who maintain that they are denied services by the police. The literature[69] similarly corroborates this finding that the police deny migrants services when they seek help. Tumelo is one such participant. He claims that while there are police officials who are lenient with them, some do not attend to their grievances when they go to police stations to report employers who fail to pay them:

> *No, they don't...It still, I mean it still depends on the police. Sometimes you can find a police official who understands what humanity is. And when you report your problem to him, he immediately calls your employer: 'Hey man, I'm a police official calling from a certain police station. Report here right now!' They make sure that when they get such news, some people get their money. But when you…There are those, MOST OF THEM [loud voice], there are those police officials who will ask whether you have permission to work here… That is where the problem is. [p17]*

Considering that intersubjectivity is an integral component of the theoretical basis of this research, we're interested in the individual functioning within society. As such we acknowledge the stories that participants tell of others, even if they personally have not experienced such things[70]. Itumeleng has not been denied services by the police but she knows of a fellow migrant who has. Asked about her experience with other public services she says:

> *Others include the police. Well, they haven't done anything to me but they do to my fellow migrants. They won't be treating them well when they have complaints, they will be like: 'She is a moholoane'. Yes, they will be like: 'Ooh! She is a moholoane!' My fellow migrant will be going to the police to report, 'My husband assaulted me'. When she arrives they will be saying: 'Ooh! These baholoane are irritating!'…And they don't assist them. They will be saying: 'You should come at a certain time'. When you return they say: 'Come at a certain time!' [p30]*

[69] The ways in which police harass migrants is mentioned in section 2.2.2.2.1 (literature review chapter)
[70] Intersubjectivity is discussed in more detail in section 1.2.1.3 (theory chapter)

While migrants sometimes experience difficulties in accessing public services, the language barrier exacerbates this difficulty as participants struggle to communicate with service providers.

4.3. Conclusion

The first part of the data analysis chapter focuses on how migrants came to live in Bloemfontein and their everyday life experiences in the city. According to their narratives, they left Lesotho for a number of reasons. The lack of job opportunities and the struggle to survive, unsuccessful businesses back home, the desire for financial independence, and motivation by people who migrated before them are some of the reasons the migrants left their homes. The interplay of motives for action, such as 'in-order-to' and 'because' motives[71], is evident in the reasons why the participants migrated. As to the choice of Bloemfontein as a destination area, the migrants seem to have relied on information from significant others[72] about the availability of jobs. Others however chose to come to Bloemfontein because it is close to Lesotho, they already had networks in Bloemfontein or because they failed to find jobs elsewhere in South Africa. We see the varied challenges to belonging which constitute their everyday experiences in Bloemfontein. They experience marginalisation which manifests itself in the form of regular harassment by the police even in their homes, and local people in Bloemfontein are hostile towards them. Insecurity constitutes their everyday reality as they live in poor housing conditions – endangering their lives. Their employers subject them to continuous forms of exploitation, resulting in unstable material conditions. Moreover, the migrants suffer exclusion because they experience difficulties in accessing public services, and they encounter language problems which make communication difficult. We see the complexity involved in attaining a sense of belonging[73] when a migrant's everyday life is characterised by fear, discomfort, and insecurity. The next chapter looks at efforts by

[71] Motives for action are explained in section 1.2.1.2 (theory chapter)
[72] Intersubjectivity is discussed in more detail in section 1.2.1.3 (theory chapter)
[73]The challenges of belonging are discussed in detail in section 2.2.2 (literature review chapter)

participants to remain connected to Lesotho and how they survive at all costs in Bloemfontein.

5. THE FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION: CONTINUED TIES WITH LESOTHO AND SURVIVAL

In this second part of the analysis attention is focused on the themes of *continued ties with Lesotho*, which demonstrates migrants' efforts to remain connected to Lesotho, and *survival of the fittest* which shows migrants' determination to survive.

5.1. Continued ties with Lesotho

As a way of remaining connected to Lesotho, the participants in this study engage in various transnational practices such as economic, social, and cultural transnational practices. They also engage in home-making practices which involve domestic décor and furnishings. Moreover, they prove to have a transnational habitus[74] – a frame of reference by which they constantly compare their current situations in Bloemfontein to situations in Lesotho. This finding coincides with Dannecker's (2005:658) argument that transnational ties[75] are equally important for migrants who are viewed as temporary. That is, migrants who move frequently between their country of origin and destination. It furthermore shows that feelings of belonging and relations with others can actually transcend transnational space.

5.1.1. Transnational practices

Almost all of the participants engage in economic transnational practices by way of sending remittances. This concurs with the literature[76] which reports that the sending of remittances is the most common practice which links migrants with people back in their home countries. Tumelo narrates that he sends money home at any time, provided he finds someone who is going home, failing which he has to go home:

> *You know when it comes to remittances, ma'am, let me say that there is someone who goes home maybe in the middle of the month. As long as I find someone who*

[74] Transnational habitus is discussed in detail in section 2.2.3.1.3 (literature review chapter)
[75] Transnationalism is discussed in detail in section 2.2.3.1 (literature review chapter)
[76] Economic transnational practices and what they entail are discussed in section 2.2.3.1.1 (literature review chapter)

goes home in the middle of the month, I give him/her money for my family. It doesn't matter…Just like now when it's the middle of the month, I'm able to give it to someone to take it home with. I do it once a month. I send it if there is someone who happens to go home, because it can happen that you hear of no one who is going home for the whole month, even if you make calls: 'Hey guys, is there anyone going home?' You find that no, there is no one going home. In that case, I'd obviously have to go home at month end. [p34]

In addition to the money he sends home through other people, Tumelo also gives money to his wife every time he visits home just so that they never have to run out:

Yes, ma'am, every month, whenever I arrive home I give them money. It doesn't matter...For example, it doesn't matter if I go home and it's month end, I leave them with R500. It doesn't matter how much it is, I leave them with whatever I have, whatever I have on me. Eh, it's just to make sure they never run out of money. Because you understand if, say it's month end now and I'm going home, you understand when I arrive home I buy them groceries and other supplies, whatever my wife needs. She is the one who knows what is needed, she buys them. After that I sometimes leave her with some of the money, that: 'Hey, this is for later to buy things when they run out. I believe that maybe by the end or middle of the month I will have found a way to give you money again'. [p35]

Like Tumelo, Tebello says he sends money to his family twice a month so that they can continue to meet their needs:

Once before I visit because it happens that I have already sent money. It is a regular thing. I already...Maybe it is an estimation that at a certain time there are needs, I have to send them. And then, I already know that again when I visit, there will be needs again to be met. [p32]

Pule, similarly to Tumelo and Tebello, maintains that he sends money home twice a month, but he adds that he sends it also during emergencies:

I send it twice a month. Sometimes when they need it urgently as things happen unexpectedly, I do send it through the bank. [p30]

However, there are some participants who do not send money home at all while they are in Bloemfontein – but rather they take the money with when they visit home. Itumeleng says:

I don't send it to them through bank deposits. I take it home myself. [p35]

Kutloano's statement agrees with that of Itumeleng when he asserts that he takes the money home in person:

Once during month end, I take it with, straight, straight home. [p31]

Rethabile does the same and she clarifies that the reason behind taking money with her is that she already has to go home monthly to renew her visa. This finding concurs with Bourdieu's theory[77] that individuals act within structural constraints, as Rethabile's need to renew the visitors' visa influences the sending of remittances:

I don't send them money, I go home every month. When I get home every month I give them money. I take it myself because my days expire every month isn't it? That is why I am saying if the visa in the passport never expired, I would find the means to…I would send it without going home. [p40]

Most of the participants narrate that the remittances they send home are useful to their families as the money helps to buy food, clothing and other necessities, as well as pay for their children's and siblings' education. The fact that remittances pay for the education of family members is a clear indication of capital exchange, whereby economic capital is converted to cultural capital. This observation is in harmony with the findings of a study by Kelly and Lusis (2006)[78] in which they conceptualized capital exchange. Liteboho says that remittances help pay for her children's fees and other needs:

[77] The argument that social structures influence individual action is discussed in section 1.2.3 (theory chapter)
[78] The ways in which forms of capital can be converted is discussed in section 2.2.3.1.3 (literature review chapter)

They pay school fees, it helps them with everything they need. They pay school fees, and other needs, to supplement where their father has a shortage. [p54]

Tebello also reports that remittances help with food, clothing, doctor's visits, and the child's school:

They help them to find things...Maybe I can say food, clothing, including maybe things like visiting the doctor if they are not feeling well. Oh, the child, also to pay for the child at school. I almost left it out and it is also an issue. [p33]

Some participants, on the other hand, do not provide for immediate families only but they take care of other family members as well. Itumeleng takes care of her two brothers in addition to her children. She points out that remittances help to feed and clothe her children and brothers:

It helps them with…It helps my children with food and other household necessities. It helps my other brother in that I will say…When I arrive he will say: 'My sister, please buy me a pair of trousers; please buy me a shirt'. The other one will also say: 'My little sister, I don't have maize meal; I don't have cooking oil; I don't have body lotion. Please buy me those things'. I will buy them. [p37]

Just as is the case with Itumeleng, Tumelo does not only support his children with remittances, but he also provides for his mother, sister, and niece in terms of food and school necessities:

You know it helps them a lot, ma'am, because they are able to eat. When I have bought food supplies in my home, since sometimes you find that we were not able to plant anything in the fields due to drought, when I have bought food supplies in my home, eh, 50kg maize meal, maybe 25kg bread flour, and I do the same at home for my mother, sister and that child…Yes, they don't stay in the same house. So I'm still able to buy them food supplies, both families, and even the children. I'm able to buy them school uniforms, when I buy school material for my children. I'm able to buy for my sister as well. [p36]

In addition to capital exchange, the value of capital itself is increased in the transnational space. The majority of the participants narrate that the money they make in Bloemfontein is far more than what workers in Lesotho make or what they would get for doing the same job back home. This finding coincides with the findings of a study by Kelly and Lusis (2006:839-840)[79], whereby the Filipinos agreed that their economic capital is improved in Canada since they make more money than workers back in their home country. The finding also shows that the value of capital largely depends on the field in which one finds him/herself[80]. Liteboho explains that her hairdressing job is better because her salary is similar to that of a person with a Diploma in Lesotho, and more than what other hairdressers in Lesotho make:

> *This one is better because you may find that your salary here is equivalent to that of people with a Diploma in Lesotho, or equivalent to…Or your weekly wage is equivalent to what you would get in a month in Lesotho. Just like I was working at the factories, I knew that when I wanted to get…No, I never got it. I think I got a R1000 wage only once, when it was Christmas. If you want to get a wage of R1200 or something close you have to work from the first to the 31st. But here you can make the same money in six days or three, because Tuesday and Wednesday, and Monday we don't have much work, so often in a week, the money we make is from Monday, Thursday, Friday, and Saturday…So back home isn't it people are paid little money? I've heard people working at salons saying they are paid R1000 per month, and you will have made around R24 000 for your employer. You understand how cheating it is. So here if you have made R4000 for your employer in a week, you know that you have around R900 or R1000. [p18]*

Rethabile's story echoes that of Liteboho in that she also views the work situation in South Africa as better than in Lesotho as she earns twice the amount of what she would get in Lesotho:

> *The situation in South Africa is much better. There are many jobs. You don't sit without a job. Even people here pay more because they are able to double the*

[79] The findings of Kelly and Lusis are discussed in section 2.2.3.1.3 (literature review)
[80] The value of capital in a transnational field is discussed in section 2.2.3.1.3 (literature review)

money that you used to earn in Lesotho. They double the amount of money that you have to be earning in Lesotho. They will be doubling it twice, even though we often hear that they are cheating us. But since we know how much we earn in Lesotho, it is still much better to us. [p22]

Contrary to numerous studies[81] which claim that labour migrants struggle to meet their basic needs in destination areas, the participants in this research appear to be coping quite well. They were asked how the sending of remittances influences their everyday lives in Bloemfontein and the majority responded that it does not influence them negatively as they can still meet their basic needs in Bloemfontein. Kutloano maintains that the sending of remittances does not influence his everyday life in any way since he attends to his needs first:

No, it honestly doesn't influence it in any way. I start with my needs here in Bloemfontein. And then when I send them money, I know that, no, I'm not short of anything here. I make sure that after I buy my necessities and send money home, I also have money that is left that I keep. [p32]

Liteboho also explains that she ensures that she leaves some money for herself when she sends money home:

No, when I send money I leave some for myself which I know I need, isn't it? For that week, but it's not always that I leave any because I already know that I'm going to get money. There's money that we get every day. The amount which I leave for myself, I think I can leave maybe R50, R100. Just so that if I don't get that one, I still have something. I don't have a need. I only have needs for clothing and food. When I get my wages I'm able to cover them and send the money that remains. [p54]

Like Kutloano, Rethabile states that she attends to her needs first before sending money home:

[81] The economic hardship of migrants is discussed in section 2.2.2.3 (literature review chapter)

It doesn't affect it because when I give them money, I do it in such a way that I know I will also be able to sustain myself here. If I know that I gave them money this month, I will try and struggle, and ensure that I give them more money the next month. I mean I am not able to limit them and say, this month I gave them this much, next month I'm going to give them…I don't give them the same amount of money every time, it depends on my needs for that month. I take care of my needs first, and only pay attention to them after. [p41]

Tebello indicates that the sending of remittances does not make him suffer as he can still afford everything he wants, even clothes:

There is nowhere I...I don't see how it influences it, because here where I stay, the things that I use that I have bought, I buy them once. I don't buy them regularly, I buy them once. And then, they last me since I stay alone. They take time. I get everything because even clothes I don't struggle to...I mean the sending of remittances doesn't make me suffer because I can even afford to buy clothes. [p34]

Only one participant, Itumeleng, tells the story of how negatively the sending of remittances influences her life because she does not make enough money to cover her needs. This leaves her in never ending debt:

It affects me in such a way that I will be…I will have to take more money home, and I find that I'm left with only a little, which isn't enough to cover all my needs. You will find that I don't have something like body lotion. It will have to wait because you understand I have sent most of the money home…It's something that always has to be there. So I will again have to go and borrow, and say: 'Hey aunty, can I borrow. I will pay it when the month ends'. I'm always in debt because the money I make isn't enough to cover all my needs. [p38]

A possible explanation for Itumeleng's situation of economic hardship, which does not seem to be the case for other participants, is that she had only been in Bloemfontein for four months at the time of the interview and she was still trying to find her feet. Other migrants had been in Bloemfontein for at least a year. The economic hardship of other

migrants can however be seen in their inability to invest. In other words, as the literature[82] on labour migrants in South Africa suggests, their income restricts them from generating savings. Only a few of them have made investments from their income in Bloemfontein – saving money at the bank and buying livestock. For instance, Kutloano bought livestock:

> *Yeah, I bought that livestock, built myself a house. That's what I did. [p33]*

Rethabile invests at the bank:

> *No, I haven't made any investment with the money I make here. It is the money that upon entering my account, I know how much I'm going to use from it. My investment is that I know my account has to always have a few cents in it. [p42]*

Other participants on the other hand make only enough money to sustain a livelihood and they cannot make any investments. Thabo explains that the money he makes can only cover so much:

> *Honestly, ma'am, like I told you that the money I make covers only so much. I haven't made any investments. The money I make only covers basic needs. [p43]*

Liteboho also cannot afford to make any investment because she still has debts to settle:

> *No, I haven't. I had huge debts when I arrived here so I had to pay them. There are many things I still have to cover. [p54]*

The participants also engage in social transnational practices[83]. They maintain ties with family and friends back in Lesotho through phone calls, text messages, WhatsApp, and social networks and through physical visits home. They also maintain ties with fellow migrants in Bloemfontein. Rethabile narrates that she maintains contact with her family once a week through phone calls instead of text messages as she knows that her family does not have the means to respond:

> *I talk to them through the phone. I buy airtime so that I can talk to them: 'How are you doing?' 'Well'. 'Where is my child?' 'He is here'. 'Give him the phone'. Then I*

[82] The idea that migrants earn meagre wages is discussed in section 2.2.2.3 (literature review chapter)
[83] Social transnational practices are explained in section 2.2.3.1.1 (literature review chapter)

talk to my child. When I am done talking to my child I talk to her: 'No, we don't have this and that'. 'No, I have nothing now. I will see some other time'. I call. I am not able to talk to them through text messages because I know they don't have the means of getting back to me. I think I talk to them once a week. [p38]

Like Rethabile, Tebello similarly maintains contact with his family through phone calls rather than text messages, but unlike Rethabile, he communicates with them on a daily basis:

> *My communication with people back home is most of the time by phone. You know it is calls, not necessarily sms. Since it's different people, it is my siblings, and my wife and kids. You will find that I call every day. There is never a day when I don't call, I swear. Honestly, like now, I just spoke with my younger brother. He had to go to...It's like he was going, going for an interview. He is going for an interview with the police. I don't know when it is but it is soon. So I tried to talk to him, to encourage him. [p31]*

Thabo on the other hand uses various means of communication to talk with people back home:

> *I communicate with them by phone, that is what links us. It's calls, sms and WhatsApp. Hey, you know I talk to them…I can say sometimes I talk to them say THREE TIMES [loud voice] a week. [p27]*

According to most participants' stories, when they look at their communication patterns between when they first arrived and now, communication appears to have changed overtime – it has either increased or decreased. Pule for one, narrates that when he first arrived he was struggling and so he could not maintain regular communication like he does now:

> *No, I was struggling. Sometimes I was communicating with them once a week. But these days I am able to call them every day. Honestly I think I was struggling a lot at that time. Now it looks like God has answered my prayers, really. [p29]*

Limpho shares Pule's situation in that she also did not have the means to maintain contact as she was not working back then:

> *No, at first I didn't communicate with them but now since I've been going to renew the visitors' visa, I talk to them regularly. I think it's that thing of being lost, of being lost. Isn't it they say when a person has left his/her home, s/he is said to be lost? When I left there then after some time I didn't… Again I wasn't working…Initially I wasn't working when I arrived here. So I didn't communicate much with them, but honestly now I talk with them. I think it was the issue of not having money, of…But now I have a Vodacom Lesotho phone, and I travel with it because we communicate all the time. [p25]*

Tebello is aware of the increase in communication, however for him the increase is because he now has his own family which he has to take care of:

> *You know from...Initially, I still communicated with them but now I think I communicate with them more and more. Or is it because...It is no longer like before? Right now it has increased more than before. At first when I arrived here, I didn't have a family when I arrived. It was only my siblings. So they were still attending primary and high schools. So now they are about to look for jobs, they are almost done with school. And also I now have a wife and child. I have to check on them to find out how they are doing. [p31]*

While Limpho, Pule, and Tebello notice that communication has increased over time, some participants observe that communication has decreased. Thabo claims that he used to communicate with people back home every day but now it has decreased to three times a week. Initially he says he does not know the cause of the change but with the help of probes during the interview he realises that it probably has to do with the fact that he does not miss home as much as he used to because Bloemfontein has become familiar. Thabo's story is in accordance with the definition of place-belongingness[84] whereby it is

[84] The definition of place-belongingness is provided in section 2.2.1 (literature review)

stated that for a place to feel like home, it must be among other things familiar. He narrates:

> *I can say sometimes I talk to them say THREE TIMES [loud voice] a week. When I first arrived I usually talked to them every day. Hey, I really don't know, it just happened that I now call them after a few days, maybe three times. There's nothing that I can say contributed to that, or stopped, no, there's nothing…Yes, isn't it when you first leave home, normally one misses home a lot. But as you get used to the place you no longer miss home as much. But you still miss the people that no, I still have to call them and talk to them. You still miss them but not like before. Because you have now moved from that place, isn't it? [p27]*

All the participants in this study report that they visit home each month, and the majority point out that the reason for monthly visits is to go and renew their visitors' visas[85]. This finding corresponds with Bourdieu's[86] idea that actors act within the strength of the field, which the field imposes on all actors in it. In other words, the participants are forced by the immigration policy to go back to Lesotho each month to renew the visitors' visa if they are to continue to be legal in South Africa. Most of the participants are of the opinion that if it were not for the visitors' visa, they would not visit home monthly due to travel costs. Tebello says he takes the opportunity to visit when it is time to renew his visitors' visa, and he adds that if it were not for the visa, he would not go home each month:

> *Once in a month. Yes, like when I have to renew my visitors' visa, I also take it as an opportunity to visit. I mean, like I have to renew my visitors' visa every month. I already use that time to visit as well. The main reason is to go and renew my visitors' visa, because if it were not for the fact that I have to renew it every month, I would take two months without going home and find a way to send money by making a deposit at the bank. [p32]*

[85] The visitors' visa expires after 30 days

[86] Bourdieu's argument on the strength of the field is explained in section 1.2.3.2 (theory chapter)

Likewise, Rethabile indicates that the reason she goes home every month is to renew her visa, and that if it were not for the visa she would also skip at least a month before visiting home in order to save money:

> *I go every month. There are no factors that affect them, what makes me go home every month. Even if I would tell myself that I didn't want to go home this month and I only wanted to give them money to see what they can do, I have to go home because of the passport. My passport, when I come this side, I'm only given days that make a month, I am not able to be given two months. So you understand even if I don't have money to go to Lesotho, I definitely have to look for money to leave South Africa and go to Lesotho, because once I'm this side and I'm not able to go to that side, that is when the police will arrest me when they find that I'm still here yet my days to be here have expired. If it wasn't for the passport I wouldn't go home every month, I would maybe skip a month. If I don't go this month then I know next month I'm going. This month I should at least just send them money so that they can see what to do. I would skip months so that I can save more money so that when I give it to them this month, they should be able to see what they can do. The R200 that I use for transport to Lesotho, I should know that instead of using it for transport, I add it to what I give them so that they can see what to do. [p39]*

Limpho affirms what Rethabile and Tebello are saying in that if it were not for the renewal of the visitors' visa, she would not go home every month since it is costly:

> *No, no, I wouldn't go every month because HONESTLY [loud voice] it's taxing going home every month, it is <u>costly</u> [emphatically stated]. [p25]*

However, there are other migrants who genuinely do not care about the visa and would still go home every month even if it were not necessary to renew the visitors' visa. Tumelo narrates that the reason he goes home monthly is to check on his family and property and that he would still continue the monthly visits even if it were not for the visa:

> *The reason I go home every month is because I left my children and part of my property behind. I came here to work and if I have worked and got what I came*

here for, it comes to mind that I will have to go home, and see to it that my children have school uniform, something to eat, cosmetics, anything you can think of which is used for personal and household purposes…Definitely, ma'am, indeed I would go home every month. Even now, my visitors' visa hasn't expired, but as soon as I get money, whether I have two weeks in a month or three before my visa expires, whenever I have money I leave and go home. [p33]

In a similar vein, Kutloano reports that he would still go home every month even if it were not for the visa because he wants to check on his livestock:

From there it's during month end like now when I go home. Eh, it's livestock. Even if I don't want to visit, thinking I could only send money, it's the livestock that makes me go home straight, just to see that they are still safe. I don't want to hear someone saying it's like this, it's like this. I want to see for myself, straight. It's only livestock that makes me go home every month…No, the passport issue I could go and return right there at the border gate, but now there's no way I can return at the border gate. I definitely have to see the livestock. [p30]

Apart from maintaining contact with people back in Lesotho, the participants also maintain ties with fellow migrants in Bloemfontein. The majority report that they have good relations with fellow migrants. Limpho says that she meets some fellow migrants in town and picks up from their accent[87] that they are also from Lesotho and that makes her happy:

They are good, they are good! Most of them are here in town isn't it? Some you just hear from their accent in the streets when you are buying. You find that it's someone from home, then you become happy: 'Where are you from? You see, I can hear you are from my country'. [p18]

Tebello is also happy that in a fellow migrant he finds someone who can understand him when he speaks and foresees someone who can help him when he has problems. He describes the relation in that it is like that of siblings:

[87] Markers of difference such as accent set the migrant apart from the dominant group, a topic explained in detail in section 2.2.2.1 (literature review chapter)

No, my relations with people from back home, I mean it's like...They are warm, it is like relations between siblings. You will find that I often don't know the person. He is from Lesotho, I only know him from here, I know him when I get here that this person is from Lesotho. But it ends up like we are now siblings. Regarding language, you will find that no, this person speaks pure Sesotho. We are able to understand each other well when we speak. I mean, many things, I become very close with that person. I see a person who might help me if I have a problem. [p24]

Itumeleng agrees with Limpho and Tebello, and she adds that after the realisation that they all come from Lesotho, some kind of friendship develops:

We get along. It's that when we talk she will ask: 'Where are you from?' I'll say: 'I'm from Lesotho'. Then she will say: 'You know I'm also from Lesotho'. And when I look I find that she is happy for me, and I also become happy for her. We will get along. She will call me: 'Hey, how are you doing?' 'No, I'm still doing okay'. Sometimes I will also call her: 'Hey, how is it going?' She will tell me: 'Things are going fine'. [p27]

However for some participants, relations with fellow migrants go beyond just being happy at the realisation that they all come from Lesotho and checking up on each other. The participants actually go to the extent of helping each other. Thabo explains that he has good relations with fellow migrants and that they help each other financially:

No, they are just our friends, they are my friends, our relationship is good…Not that much, just to say hi and to comfort each other. When I say that I'm already including helping each other, when I have a problem: 'My fellow man, I have certain problems. Can I borrow money?' [p22]

Similarly, Pule states that although they no longer trust each other due to recent events concerning Basotho artists[88], he gets along very well with fellow migrants, and they help each other with jobs:

[88] At the time the interviews were conducted, Basotho artists were fighting against each other in Bloemfontein, and many people were killed

Eh, we are truly very close, ma'am, but what I have noticed, I mean it's like we don't trust each other these days because of these things that are happening lately. I really think...But we get along very well. Of course not as close as we should due to things that are happening here especially in relation to these music issues…When it comes to work, we go to work together, and sometimes we can call each other: 'Hey guys, let's go somewhere and do some job'. [p22]

Tumelo's view supports those of Thabo and Pule in that he describes his relations with fellow migrants as good and involving assistance in terms of sharing information when one returns home and helping those with problems:

No dear, my relations with other people from Lesotho around here with whom we interact, honestly I've seen...Each of them when we meet, our relations are still the same. Our relations are actually <u>good</u> [emphatically stated] in a way that, when we meet we are always pleased to see each other. We greet each other warmly. If one went home, s/he tells us that: 'Hey, I went home. I found the situation like this and like that'. Or by phone: 'Did you hear that so and so has a certain problem? Tell the others, let us meet and see how we can help that person solve his problem'. They are really relations that...[p26]

Finally, the participants in this research engage in cultural transnational practices[89] such as listening to home music, taking up membership in ethnic societies, and teaching children Basotho culture. Some of the migrants agreed that they listen to Sesotho music while they are in Bloemfontein, for example Itumeleng says:

Yes, I listen to Sesotho music when I'm here, it's that Sesotho music of Famo[90]. [p25]

However, other migrants narrate that they do not listen to it anymore because at the time of the interviews Basotho artists were fighting in Bloemfontein and the participants

[89] Cultural transnational practices are explained in section 2.2.3.1.1 (literature review chapter)
[90] Traditional Sesotho music

believed that openly listening to Sesotho music endangered their lives. Thabo is one of those who no longer listen to Sesotho music:

> *You know, ma'am, I used to listen to that type of music, but since these killings began I no longer [emphatically state]…Get involved in things like that. Haven't you heard of how these people from Lesotho kill each other, those who sing Sesotho music? Right here, isn't it you'll hear some saying, eh…They classify you with a certain group, some call themselves 'letlama' others 'terene'. So they classify you as belonging to terene or letlama according to the type of music you are listening to. Your life is in danger. [p19]*

Rethabile affirms Thabo's story:

> *No, I feel it's not important, because if I listen to it my life will be in danger. I will be listening to it, enjoying a particular artist's music. One person passes while I am listening to that music. When s/he passes s/he is going to say: 'That one is listening to that particular artist's music'. I now become an enemy, they say I love that particular artist more than another one. So this is where you end up hearing that people from Lesotho are killing each other somewhere. Have you heard that somewhere…Such things are caused by this music of theirs. You understand my life is now going to be in danger. Sometimes I will be listening just because I hear that the song of that artist holds a certain message. Someone who doesn't like that artist is not going to be happy about it. Basotho are people who naturally do not have love. They are people who are like…I mean they don't wish each other success, especially those musicians. They fight amongst themselves, and they include the supporters, because isn't it you will buy that thing because you love a specific musician as s/he sings in a certain way? Those whose music you didn't buy will get angry. [p26]*

Some of the migrants have established societies in Bloemfontein, where they help each other. Pule narrates that they have come together with other migrants to help one another financially and he explains how useful the society money is for him and his family:

You know we sometimes meet here, we have organised ourselves, but I think we are only ten. Honestly we've come together for the purpose of financial assistance. We contribute money weekly and give a certain amount to one member, then rotate it among the members on weekly basis. Every month, when I say every month, I mean after every two weeks, we give one person. And another one month end, just like that. Eh, it helps me with many things. Things like ploughing the fields with tractors back home and also with buying fertilizers. Even when I give it to my wife at home as a lump-sum she can see what she gets for the house. I've seen it's better when it comes as a lump-sum. It is more useful. [p21]

Tumelo also tells the story about a funeral scheme that he has joined:

Yes ma'am, there is a funeral scheme, I'm a member. We have come together as Basotho. Eh, like now when there is a funeral, eh, we each contribute R100. It only works when there is tragedy, like when a person dies, we come together and each contributes R100. If there are financial problems, we take money from the contributions and pay for transport to take the corpse home, and we buy a coffin. We give those contributions to the deceased's family. [p25]

Regarding the practice of teaching children Basotho culture, only two of the participants had their children staying in Bloemfontein and both see the importance of teaching their children Basotho cultural norms. Rethabile's child was born in Bloemfontein but she sent him back home four years later after realising that he was adopting bad manners in Bloemfontein. Gielis's (2009:603) suggestion that migrants have a transnational habitus[91] is evident in this case, whereby Rethabile compares upbringing in Bloemfontein to that in Lesotho and decides that it is better for her child to grow up in Lesotho. Asked the importance of her child in knowing about Basotho culture she says:

It is very important. What he has to know about Basotho culture is that he doesn't have to smoke, he must not be in the company of many people because in such a group of many people, he will end up getting involved in bad things. For example, last year when we ended up taking him home, he was then a child who…Eish, we

[91] The transnational habitus is discussed in more detail in section 2.2.3.1.3 (literature review chapter)

noticed a difference in his life. He loved money [emphatically state]. To everyone who passes by: 'Please give me R1'. That style of here, whereby a child who doesn't know you, asks you to give him/her R1 when you go to the shop. Mind you s/he doesn't even know you. So we noticed that he was adopting things like those. That's when I realised that, no, it seems like he will grow up in a way that is different from the way we grew up. Because he grows up already with an understanding of what money is. That's when I realised that the difference of growing up here, and the difference of growing up in Lesotho will be much better. Because now I know that even if I can arrive in Lesotho, he will never ask me for R1. That thing of money: his grandmother took it out completely [emphatically stated] when he arrived at her place. [p28]

Thabo's children on the other hand were born in Lesotho and they have recently joined him and his wife in Bloemfontein. He explains that he wants his children to know Basotho culture so that they know where they come from:

Mm, I raise them in their Basotho culture. I find it important because I love my culture. I'm always, what can I say, I'm a Mosotho, and I'm proud of my culture. So my children should also know that they are Basotho. Their culture as Basotho: To teach them things like their clans. So that they always know they are from Lesotho. Here [emphatically stated] we're just staying temporarily. [p21]

All the other migrants whose children are back in Lesotho also note the importance of teaching children Basotho culture. Liteboho proposes that the only thing she wishes to pass on to her children is respect. And this is because of the perception that children in Bloemfontein lack respect. Again the evidence of a transnational habitus[92] comes to the surface. She puts her story as follows:

I think it's only the issue of respect, that I can teach them about the upbringing of Basotho when it comes to respect. Approach to people, that's all. I have realised that we are the kind of people who have respect at all times. We have a good approach to people, we are always humble, Basotho. You can't just talk badly to

[92] The transnational habitus is discussed in section 2.2.3.1.3 (literature review chapter)

someone you don't know, or like…Or just call an older person by name. No, we don't do that…Here there's no difference between a child and an older person. Children here are free to do as they please. They do things they aren't supposed to do EVEN [loud voice] in the presence of AN OLD PERSON [loud voice]. They respond anyhow they want. If s/he doesn't want something s/he doesn't want it. S/he doesn't care who s/he's talking to. For…children…What I've learned, they…Let me refer to the child I stay with here. Like yesterday, he arrived at 12 midnight, at around 8pm and 9pm he was still around but I don't know where he disappeared to. When he arrives at that time he won't apologise to the old person. I mean he understands that he is doing what he likes. They may arrive drunk, he won't apologise. He understands that he's doing what he likes. Even when he is made aware, he already has answers beyond what he is being made aware of. So even when they arrive there at the salon, I never hear them asking, they just demand: 'Do this for me, I want this'…Those that are children, may be coming in with their parents. They don't ask, they demand. [p33]

Rethabile and Liteboho's narratives focus on upbringing and respect. These were also raised as concerns in Kihato's (2013:83-84) study, where the findings[93] showed that the migrant women of Johannesburg discipline their children according to home moral codes as they believe South Africans lack morals.

5.1.2. Home-making practices

In addition to transnational practices, the participants also engage in home-making practices, especially practices that involve domestic décor and furnishings[94]. They have decorated their current homes with traditional mats and hats from Lesotho and they also have photographs of their loved ones. This finding is in line with the literature[95] which suggests that migrants bring with them items from their countries of origin to decorate their homes in the destination area. Liteboho says she has photographs of her family,

[93] The findings of Kihato's study in relation to discipline are presented under the discussion of cultural transnational practices in section 2.2.3.1.1 (literature review chapter)

[94] Homemaking practices in general, and domestic décor and furnishings in particular are discussed in section 2.2.3.1.2 (literature review chapter)

[95] Home-making practices are discussed in section 2.2.3.1.2 (literature review chapter)

friends, and colleagues, and their significance is that they remind her of the life she led back in Lesotho:

> *Oh, it's only photos…It's that you will not forget the people you lived with for a long time, those you worked with, your friends, your children, the life you led back home, as compared to life here. [p55]*

Tumelo similarly brought photographs of his wife and children with him, and he explains that they play a huge role in that every time he misses home he looks at them and the memories they bring give him peace of mind:

> *Eh, I think the only thing I have with me here is a photo of my wife, I think it's a photo…It is photos of my wife and children. They play a huge role because every time when I miss home and I look at them, I find myself laughing alone in the end. I THINK [loud voice] about what happens when I am with them. When I look at one of them, I think to myself that, hey, this is one naughty person, this child! He can do this and that, and from that thing I find myself laughing with these photos. And what does it bring back again? My peace. [p39]*

Tebello on the other hand has displayed a traditional Basotho hat in his current home, and he narrates that the significance it has for him is that it reminds him of who he is:

> *It is a traditional Basotho hat, hand-made from grass. I have displayed it in such a way that it decorates, because I don't wear it. Its significance you know is...Often when I look at it I, I mean, it reminds me that I am a Mosotho and that I have to keep home in mind. It gives you an image of home. [p34]*

Limpho agrees with Tebello in that the traditional Basotho hat and mat serve as a reminder of who she is and where she comes from:

Yes, I have them, things like mokorotlo[96], moseme[97], yes. I think you…You still remember where you come from. I mean you don't forget that you are a Mosotho, you're from Lesotho. They resemble my country. [p27]

The significance that the participants attach to the items that they brought from home shows that they are still emotionally attached[98] to Lesotho. According to the definition of place-belongingness[99], the participants struggle to feel at home in Bloemfontein since they lack emotional attachment to the place, in addition to the lack of comfort and security discussed in the previous chapter, which all constitute essential symbols of home. The emotional attachment to Lesotho can also be seen in the way migrants go home whenever they get a chance to do so and when they are not working. For example, Liteboho says that whenever she is not working she goes to Lesotho:

There's never a time when I'm not at work here. I go to work all the time. When I'm not at work, I go home. [p29]

Thabo confirms Liteboho's story in that he goes to Lesotho every time he is not working as he does not like spending time at the location where he stays:

Yes, I go to Lesotho. Because most of the time when I'm here I'm working. I actually don't like spending my time at the Location. [p18]

The fact that the participants always go to Lesotho when they are not working implies that they do not have social lives in Bloemfontein. Their stories show that they do not have relationships with their neighbours and they do not participate in any activities in the communities in which they live. As a result, they lack a sense of community and consequently a sense of belonging. The politics of belonging[100] is about belonging to a group, and if the participants have no relations with their neighbours and the community at large, they cannot attain a sense of belonging. Liteboho explains that while the people

[96]Basotho hat
[97]Traditional mat
[98] Emotional attachment as a significant symbol of home in the definition of place-belongingness is mentioned in section 2.2.1 (literature review chapter)
[99] The definition of place-belongingness is provided in section 2.2.1 (literature review chapter)
[100] The politics of belonging is explained more under the definition of belonging in section 2.2.1 (literature review chapter)

in the community in which she lives are neighbourly people, she has no relations with them:

> *You know I don't really know much about what happens with people here. But I have seen that they are neighbourly. What I have realised… No, it doesn't play any role in my life. I don't even know their names. I think I only know a few who frequently come to this house. I think the only people I know by name are the family this side, and that one and this one. That's it…No, we don't have any relations. I mean it's like any other relations between people. Just like when you arrive and they see you there, although they don't know you. [p9]*

When asked if she participates in any activities in the community where she lives, Liteboho maintains that she does not as she has noticed that community members do not care about her:

> *No, I don't. I don't even attend funerals. Isn't it that people here, I mean I've seen that they don't care about me. So I don't care about them either. I don't want to mind their business. But I can go if I like, provided I have time. I think another thing that makes me not to attend is the fact that I work every day. But you can still sacrifice isn't it and go to a funeral? It's just a matter of I'm not well acquainted with them and vice versa…I don't know, people still come in here. They come in but you will see that they don't care about your presence or absence. Sometimes a person can just come in…Like the lady from there. She can come and talk for a long time without even greeting. Can you say a person cares about you when she's like that? Sometimes she comes to ask where her child is. So you see, isn't it I'll be the older one in here? She won't greet. She will just talk and then only greet sometime after ten minutes. [p11]*

The emotional attachment to Lesotho can once again be seen in how the participants consider Lesotho as home as opposed to Bloemfontein in spite of the years they have spent in Bloemfontein. Tebello narrates that he considers home as Lesotho instead of Bloemfontein because most of his life in Bloemfontein is only about work:

*It is Lesotho because here in Bloemfontein (pause): A LARGE PART [loud voice] I take it as part of work. And even when I have time off work, if I'm maybe off work but I'm still in Bloem, *my mind is still at home* [lower voice]. If I have an opportunity to leave, I can board a taxi and go to Lesotho. I use that opportunity to get to Lesotho, especially because it is not far. I can go and come back during working hours, for example, like now when it's the weekend, I will knock off on Saturday and go to Lesotho, I can spend Sunday home and part of Monday. I can spend them at home, attending to personal matters. [p37]*

Kutloano shares similar sentiments. He explains that he considers Lesotho and not Bloemfontein as home and that if he could get what he gets in Bloemfontein back in Lesotho, he would not have even come to Bloemfontein in the first place:

It's Lesotho. Because it's my home, it's home. That is where I grew up, where I was born…Eh, it's home just because I work here. In actual fact Bloemfontein is not, it's not home. It's only home because I work here. If it wasn't for work no, if what I got here in Bloemfontein I could also get in Lesotho? No! I wouldn't have come to Bloemfontein. [p36]

The emotional attachment to Lesotho which is demonstrated through different ways in the above narratives points to the fact that the participants view Bloemfontein as a temporary place where they have only come to work, and where they do not belong.

5.2. Survival of the fittest

In spite of the challenges to belonging that participants experience in their everyday lives, as discussed in the previous chapter, and the continuing emotional attachment to Lesotho, the migrants continue to display a determination to survive. They employ various tactics to make more money such as doing part-time jobs in between jobs, working long hours, and saving on rent, utilities or transport. This finding coincides with that of other scholars[101] whereby migrants have been found to employ different tactics to

[101] The idea that migrants employ tactics in the destination area as a way of making more money is explained in section 2.2.2.3 (literature review chapter)

supplement the little wages they make. It also agrees with the ideas of the existential self[102] in that people influence society to their own advantage, as participants appear to exploit all the resources at their disposal to make more money. The participants moreover choose to endure the struggle and pain in Bloemfontein because at least their dreams are finally realised. The fact that they are able to weigh the costs and benefits of staying in Bloemfontein and to decide that the benefits outweigh the costs demonstrates the level of agency[103] the participants have, that they are rational beings who can perceive situations and act accordingly.

5.2.1. Tactics to make more money

The migrants employ tactics such as doing part-time jobs in between jobs, working long hours and saving on rent, utilities, or transport. Itumeleng narrates that she has been doing part-time jobs since she lost her recent job, and although she did not have any money to send home, at least she was able to buy Christmas clothes for her children from the money she made from those part-time jobs:

> *Eish, when I lost my job, I came to stay here at my aunt's place. And while I was staying I found some part-time jobs. Sometimes a person will be asking me: 'Please come and wash my blankets, please wash my curtains'. Right now I found the one of babysitting: I go to fetch the baby from his/her home in the morning and bring him/her here for babysitting. In the evening I take the baby back to his/her home. I have four weeks not working, doing those part-time jobs. There was a time when I was just sitting. From the first week when I left Vista Park, I did nothing for the whole week and for the second week as well. Then the third week I got that part-time job that lasted a week. In these other days I was…A person will be saying: 'Come and do my laundry'…I don't send it to them through bank deposits, I take it home myself. It's only this month that they didn't get it. I lost my job, so I wasn't able to find…The money I got while I was doing part-time jobs. I used it to buy them clothes for Christmas. [p19]*

[102] The existential self is becoming is discussed in section 1.2.2.2 (theory chapter)
[103] The existential self and agency is discussed in section 1.2.2.3 (theory chapter)

Tumelo also works part-time during weekends to complement his income from his job in building construction. Even when he is out of a job he finds other part-time jobs to do. He tells the story of how useful the money he gets from part-time jobs is:

> *I started it in June this year, and I do it only on Friday, Saturday, and Sunday. My job there is that of parking cars only. As you've seen that day, those cars were nicely packed in a circle like this. Well that is the job that I do, and also to look out for any misconduct because sometimes you find that someone comes and opens or breaks a window or...And s/he steals someone else's car. I look out for things like that…I sought it for the purposes of…I have explained already that the money we get is sometimes very little. And when you get that little money, if you work in here for those three days you can be able to…Sometimes you don't have maize meal, you don't have this and that. You are able to buy those things, and for a person who stays alone like myself. I think that if I have bought maize meal and other food, they can last me the whole month. And that money, for those two Saturdays when you are working there, if I take it and save it, take it and save it, take it and save it, I sometimes find that it can help me accomplish even way more than I do with money from my daily work pay…So when I have sorted the issue of food, I am able to see that hey, I can buy my child a pair of shoes with this R100 when I get to town. Tomorrow again or next week I find a part-time job and say, hey, I can buy my child a dress with this R50. Some other time I find that, hey, I have R200! No, I have to go and buy that child a pair of shoes, buy the other child a different pair. Then I buy them and keep them, buy them and keep them. At the same time I save R20, I keep on saving, I save R20. And when I count those R20 notes I find that, hey, this money has accumulated to R1000! Oh, goodness, it's not even month end yet and I have R1000! No, this money is okay. I start again, if I don't have a job, I look for part-time jobs. I find one and I work, I find one and I work, just like that. ALTHOUGH IT IS WITH DIFFICULTY [loud voice], but the time you get a part-time job you will earn something. Each will give you something. Sometimes I find that, hell, before month end I have about R1500. And next week it is month end, you see. [p13]*

However, some participants work extra time in order to make more money. Limpho, for instance, explains that one has to work long hours if necessary to make money:

> *Okay, they are still the same because the hours you have to push yourself isn't it: arrive in time at work, if it's necessary to knock off late, so that you can have money…[p14]*

Although she has set her time to leave work at 6pm, Liteboho also narrates that she can leave even at midnight provided there are clients and that she never takes time off because she needs the money:

> *You can knock off at any time you want. I like to knock off at 6pm. I have set the time for myself that I will start work at 9am and knock off at 6pm. As long as there aren't any clients. If there're clients I knock off even at midnight…Another thing that helps us find clients is working on Sundays. So you will be working on Sunday, you will find that we are about three people who have come to work. I go to work on Sunday because I've realised that chances of making money are good. Many people aren't working, isn't it…I give myself time off, isn't it? So I never take it. I never see a reason to sit at home. I think it has to do with the fact that I love money. Again I'm struggling a lot. [p64]*

Still other participants make more money by saving on rent, groceries, or transport. Liteboho admits that the only reason she still stays with her aunt is because she saves on rent and transport:

> *So I think even…Our perceptions differ. The way in which they live doesn't [not audible]. So I'm only staying because I know that by staying here I save on rent. Because if I use public transport I'm going to spend more money than what I spend. I'm able to save on rent, transport. I mean the costs I can incur when I stay alone are more than when I stay here. [p6]*

In the same way, Pule saves money on transport by no longer using his employer's transport. He reports that he is already earning little money and has many things to take care of so he decided to walk to work:

We walk. Our employer says we should pay for our own transport. Honestly we cannot afford as we already earn little money. He deducts it from our salaries when we…He deducts it from our salaries: money for transport in the morning and evening. When we get paid, by the time he gives us money he deducts it saying we were riding his car. If at the time...You understand in the morning you ride his car, when he pays for fortnight, he deducts that amount, if you get R800, you add R80 for two weeks. How much is it? We truly saw that we were getting very little money…It was picking us up and returning us. Sometimes you find that you've earned R500, yet have debts, nothing to eat, even children at home have nothing to eat. On the other hand the passport visa has expired and you have to go home. So I decided: no, it's better to walk. [p15]

Kutloano on the other hand saves money on groceries by buying household necessities himself. He claims that women waste money by buying things which do not last, hence he finds it better to do the shopping himself:

No, I'm the kind of person who doesn't give away money, I buy things. Isn't it I know what is needed in the house? I buy them myself. Right now when I leave here I'm going to buy them. When you give women money they just buy rubbish. You should <u>buy</u> [emphatically stated]. That's it…I always look at them isn't it. Women! When a woman buys meat she buys, what is this thing called, 2kg braai pack[104]. Before you know it on Monday there's no cooking oil, there's no what. No, that's why when I take my money out of the pocket, I buy. That's it. They buy things that don't last, small things. When you take a look they cost a whole R1 000. As a man, I know that when I get to R500, buying food that costs R500, it will definitely last a month. [p33]

Tumelo similarly saves on groceries by buying food in bulk so that while he's busy struggling to find a job he still has something to eat:

Even in those times I still have food in the house. Like I told you that even here when I buy groceries, I actually buy things which will...Since I'm aware that it's a

[104] Chicken pieces

struggle to find a job, I don't buy food that will only last me a week. I actually buy plenty of food, so that while I'm busy struggling, I know that I have something to eat. Then at the time when something comes up, I just take care of a few things or budget for later. [p38]

While saving on rent, transport and food might not bring in more income per se, it reduces the expenses that participants incur, leaving them with more money to spend on other needs.

5.2.2. Enduring the pain in Bloemfontein because at least dreams are finally realised

Although their experiences in Bloemfontein suggest that the everyday life of participants in this study is characterised by challenges and struggle, they would rather endure the suffering in Bloemfontein because their goals are being accomplished. According to their stories, they are all glad that they decided to move to Bloemfontein. Pule explains that it is painful being in a foreign country because of the ill-treatment. But then again he feels he cannot go back home as he needs to provide for his family:

It's painful because I don't see any other way in which we can live back home. We live here in a foreign country where we are being ill-treated. You understand, when you are sleeping you keep being bothered. Even on the streets you are harassed. But in my home country I don't experience those things…Hey (sigh), it's tough, my children will starve to death. There is no way we can live. [p42]

He maintains that he is happy about his decision to move to Bloemfontein because he has managed to build a house for his family and they no longer struggle with food:

I am really happy because I find that my family now has something to eat, considering how I used to struggle. Honestly I can say I am very proud because all the plans that I wanted to do I have achieved them. I have built my house; my children have their home and even the furniture that I wanted I managed to get. [p37]

Tumelo narrates that although there are problems here and there, he is glad about the decision to move to Bloemfontein because at least in Bloemfontein his plans can become a reality. This is not the case in Lesotho:

> *The decision to move here, it has truly brought me happiness because although there are difficulties here and there, at least I can see the light, like providing for the family. Because I understand that it would have been a very difficult life if I were at home, since life is money. I understand that it would be one difficult life, one which would be very unbearable for me. But being here makes things easier because I am still able to accomplish this and that, although with difficulty but sometimes I'm able to work here and there. I am able to meet the needs of my family. Sometimes I think, I sometimes have dreams that: Hey, you know if I can accomplish this sometime, or if this thing can happen my way. I'm short of this thing and I want it. But things like that only depress you when you are home because they are only thoughts of which you don't even have a plan of action that when I wake up or what steps can I take to make money in order to buy that thing I want…Let me say to you then, maybe here you find that I want corrugated iron for roofing, and when I'm home, it's only a thought that will cross my mind, which will even give me a lot of stress. That, hey, I want to buy corrugated iron but now I can't find a plan to do so. But here you find that, eish, I want to buy corrugated iron, if I happen to do something or find a job that will give me money, I will definitely have to put aside a certain amount of that money. Put it aside in order to buy corrugated iron. I mean life here, it's really much easier because part-time jobs are available, <u>although hard to find</u> [emphatically stated] but they are there, more than is the case back home. [p46]*

Like Pule, Tumelo has also built a house although it still needs roofing, and he has managed to provide clothing for his family:

> *Eh, you know now, dear, concerning my goals, the only thing I have accomplished is building a house although it hasn't been roofed yet. But the house is there. My goal now, with the help of God and when I have met my children's needs, is to see to it that I budget enough money to buy roofing material. My goal, ma'am, is*

definitely to have another house because I already have a two-roomed house, so I want to have an extra room…Eh, my goal, ma'am, was to put clothes on my children's backs. I mean like I explained, I wanted to see to it that my family becomes similar to other families. In a sense that you find that sometimes when a child is going somewhere, s/he is able to have decent clothes to wear. When a woman is going somewhere, she is also able to have decent clothes so that she appears presentable. That one is a goal which I have really managed to accomplish. [p47]

As is evident from the narratives, moving to Bloemfontein has brought remarkable positive change to the lives of participants and their families back in Lesotho. In less than the period of two years that Pule and Tumelo have been in Bloemfontein, they have both managed to build their own houses and to provide for their families' basic needs.

5.3. Conclusion

The findings of the research have proved that transnationalism – the idea that migrants remain connected to their places of origin while adapting to their places of destination – applies even in the case of temporary migrants. However, the participants appear to lean more on the side of remaining connected to Lesotho than adapting to Bloemfontein. Their narratives indicate that they engage in economic, social, and cultural transnational practices to continue ties with Lesotho. They send financial remittances which are used to pay for food, clothing, other household necessities, as well as pay for the children's and siblings' education. Capital exchange becomes evident whereby economic capital in the form of remittances is converted to cultural capital in the form of education. The value of capital also proves to depend on the field in which one is, as participants claim that they make more income than they would back in Lesotho. Participants also keep in contact with family and friends through various means of communication and they visit home mostly on a monthly basis. We see social structures influencing the migrants' actions in that they have to go back home each month to renew their visitors' visa. Furthermore the participants engage in cultural activities such as listening to Sesotho music while in Bloemfontein although not openly anymore due to recent killings among

Basotho artists. A few of the participants are members of societies established to help fellow migrants while in Bloemfontein, while others teach their children about Basotho culture. In addition to the transnational practices, the participants engage in home-making practices involving domestic décor and furnishings. It becomes clear that they are still emotionally attached to Lesotho, and that they merely view Bloemfontein as a temporary place. This implies that their sense of belonging in Bloemfontein is compromised. The participants' determination to survive is seen in their tactics to generate more income, and in their decision to stay in Bloemfontein despite the struggle because their dreams are finally turned into reality.

CONCLUSION

Most studies which focus on belonging in a migration context are from Europe and North America. Few studies of this kind have been conducted in South Africa although South Africa is a major host country for migrants – especially from other countries in Africa. Research in South Africa usually considers topics such as migration flows, policies regulating migration and the prevalence of xenophobic attacks. Furthermore, most of these studies are quantitative in nature. Belonging is a phenomenological concept as it involves feelings and emotions of being at home in a place, feelings of being welcome in a place, feelings of being part of the community in which one lives and being able to freely express oneself. Feelings cannot be adequately quantified hence a qualitative approach seems more appropriate to undertake this research. To enable the researcher to gather, in an in-depth manner, the experiences of the everyday lives of migrants, a narrative design is adopted. Therefore, in addition to bringing a nuanced perspective on migration and belonging to the South African context, the study also makes a methodological contribution.

This study seeks to narrate the stories of Basotho men and women who work in Bloemfontein, to explore their everyday lives and to gain an understanding of how they experience belonging. Starting with the circumstances which led to their migration, their narratives show that they left Lesotho due to conditions of poverty and lack of opportunities. Just as existentialists suggest, when people notice some uncertainty or change which might affect their lives, they normally act and do something about their situations. Hence the participants left their homes in Lesotho and moved to Bloemfontein in order to seek better job opportunities and to provide for their families. Because humans function within a broader society and therefore rely on each other in their experience of the world, the participants learnt through other people that there are job opportunities in Bloemfontein. For some, the fact that Bloemfontein is close to the border with Lesotho helped to make the city an appealing destination. Others preferred it because they already had networks (relatives) in Bloemfontein. There are also others who went to various places in South Africa to seek opportunities. However, after failing to find what they were looking for, they eventually landed in Bloemfontein.

Finally when they are in Bloemfontein, struggle and difficulty characterise their everyday life. In exploring their everyday, taken for granted life-worlds – how they see, perceive, understand, experience, respond to, emotionally feel about and engage with situations – stories of sacrifices, fulfilment, pain and suffering evolve. The participants live mainly marginalised lives. They suffer high levels of insecurity and are often subjected to exclusion. Their marginality can be seen in a number of contexts. They are harassed by the police at work, in the streets and in their own homes where people are supposed to feel safe. They cannot feel comfortable and safe in an environment where they are harassed by the very same people who are supposed to ensure their protection. It is, therefore, increasingly difficult for the participants to feel at home in Bloemfontein as their place-belongingness is challenged. It is not uncommon for the participants to experience discrimination in the wider Bloemfontein society. People often call them names, mock their dressing style and accuse them of things such as stealing jobs and partners and of criminal activities. The migrants do not feel welcome in Bloemfontein as a result of such hostility, and the Bloemfontein community in turn does not recognise the migrants as equal members of the society. Consequently, the migrants cannot attain a sense of belonging.

The insecure status of the migrants is evident in other domains as well. The participants tend to endure poor housing conditions, which often do not hold the promise of being improved given the unresponsiveness of landlords. Such conditions often put the participants' physical health at risk. At their places of work, the participants report suffering various forms of exploitation at the hands of their employers. These range from receiving very low wages and, unfair dismissal to not being paid at all. As a result, they lack economic security, a factor which makes feelings of belonging impossible. Lastly, the participants are excluded in terms of language and accessing services. Contrary to the assumption that Basotho cannot experience any problems with language since Sesotho is one of the spoken languages in Bloemfontein, most participants in this study identify a language barrier. They explain that Sesotho does not count in their favour, especially in relation to work and seeking public services as they come across many people who do not understand Sesotho. Given the fact that language is the basic means of communication, the frustration the participants experience makes a feeling of belonging

even more unattainable. Accessing public services is similarly problematic due to the fact that the participants do not hold South African citizenship and therefore, with the exception of healthcare services, some participants struggle to access services such as banking, education, and opening accounts. These challenges point to the fact that crossing an international border poses a challenge to belonging, irrespective of how close the distance is between the place of origin and destination.

While in Bloemfontein, the participants continue to remain connected to Lesotho. In this respect, they substantiate what is often recorded in the literature that transnationalism – as a means of maintaining ties with both the places of origin and destination – applies even to temporary migrants. They engage in various types of transnational activities and in doing so, maintain economic, social, and cultural transnational ties. They send financial remittances home. These are used to provide for basic needs and to pay for the children's or siblings' education. As is the case in some other studies, capital exchange is an important issue in the lives of participants in this research. The migrants' earnings in Bloemfontein are exchanged for family members' education in Lesotho, which is later converted back to economic capital when their children and siblings obtain higher education qualifications that enable them to find jobs. Furthermore, the value of capital increases within the transnational space between Lesotho and Bloemfontein. In other words, while the participants all work in the informal sector, they indicate that they make more money in Bloemfontein than what workers – other people in the same industry as them – make back in Lesotho. As the literature has shown, remittances serve a vital role in transnational family ties as they improve the standard of living of the migrant's family.

The participants maintain regular contact with family and friends back in Lesotho through telephonic contact and through physical visits home. The frequency of visits seems to be influenced by the visitors' visa which has to be renewed every month. As a result, the migrants visit home on a monthly basis. It is observed how structural constraints such as the immigration policies influence individual action as migrants are forced to go back to Lesotho every month to renew the visitors' visa. The participants have good relations with fellow Basotho migrants in Bloemfontein. These range from simply being happy at the realisation that they all come from Lesotho and developing friendships to actually helping

each other in times of need. Out of concern for their own safety, due to the killings among Basotho artists which took place at the time of the interviews, the participants no longer engage in cultural activities such as openly listening to Sesotho music. There is consensus regarding the importance of teaching children Basotho culture and it stems from the transnational habitus which the participants have proved to have. In comparing the way children are brought up in Lesotho and in Bloemfontein, they find it better for their children to be raised according to Basotho cultural norms since they observe the Bloemfontein society as lacking in morals. In addition to the transnational practices, the participants in this research engage in home-making practices, particularly practices which involve domestic décor and furnishings. Most of them have traditional mats and hats displayed in their current homes and they also have photographs of their families and friends, which they all agree remind them of where they come from and as such serve to comfort them when they miss home.

What became evident in the participants' stories is that their emotional attachment continues to lie with Lesotho. Whenever they are not working, whatever chance they get, most of the participants go to Lesotho. In Bloemfontein, they spend most of their time at work, and they even work during weekends of their own accord. Many of them assert that they would rather work than spend time at the locations where they live. As a result, they neither have relations with their neighbours nor take part in the activities in the communities in which they live. This is an indication that they do not consider themselves as full members of the Bloemfontein community. The majority of the participants therefore consider Lesotho as home as opposed to Bloemfontein. The lack of emotional attachment to Bloemfontein raises concern with regards to place-belongingness, which highlights emotional attachment to a place as one of the crucial factors affecting how participants locate and define the concept of home. The specific ways in which these various factors affect emotional attachment is something that future studies will hopefully cast more light on.

However, the migrants are not just passive to their situations. They actively demonstrate a determination to survive. This finding is a reflection of the existential self and agency, which maintains that humans are capable of perceiving their situations and responding

accordingly. The participants employ tactics to make more money by working part-time in-between jobs, working long hours and saving money as best as they possibly can. The part-time jobs are meant to supplement the low wages that the migrants earn so that they can continue to meet their basic needs. Since they work in the informal sector and they lack job security, they also do part-time jobs while they are out of jobs. They work long hours and during weekends to make more money. They save on expenses such as rent by staying with relatives. They save on the cost of transport by walking to work and on the cost of food by buying in bulk. These tactics support the argument that the existential self is becoming as the participants exploit all the resources they can in order to meet their basic needs.

Finally, although the participants report that they experience many challenges and difficulties in Bloemfontein, they are glad that they moved to Bloemfontein because many of their aspirations are realised. The struggle and suffering back home have been made lighter and they can now provide better for their families. As they say, their families are now similar to some more fortunate families in that they seldom go to bed hungry and they mostly have decent clothing. In the time that they have been in Bloemfontein, most of the participants have achieved things such as building houses and buying furniture. They all had the idea of owning their own houses as a goal and many of them have accomplished it. Moreover, they foresee themselves achieving many more things for as long as they work in Bloemfontein. For the participants, accomplishing their goals outweighs all the difficulty and suffering that they endure in Bloemfontein. By weighing the challenges against the benefits, the migrants choose to stay in Bloemfontein. The reason why they moved to Bloemfontein in the first place – to provide for their families – is what keeps them going. If they could take the jobs and the money with them to Lesotho, the majority of narratives show that the participants would return permanently to Lesotho without thinking twice, as they view Bloemfontein to be a temporary place where they do not belong.

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APPENDIX A: ETHICAL APPROVAL

UNIVERSITY OF THE FREE STATE
UNIVERSITEIT VAN DIE VRYSTAAT
YUNIVESITHI YA FREISTATA

UFS·UV
HUMANITIES
GEESTESWETENSKAPPE

16 May 2014

Ms M. Moletsane
Department of Sociology
UFS

Ethical Clearance Application: Between two worlds: Everyday life of Basotho labour migrants in Bloemfontein, Central South Africa

Dear Ms Moletsane

With reference to your application for ethical clearance with the Faculty of the Humanities, I am pleased to inform you on behalf of the Ethics Board of the faculty that you have been granted ethical clearance for your research. The committee discussed some points that the applicant might consider in her research:

 The legality of Lesotho migrants: it is assumed that all migrants are legal. Will this necessarily be the case? It is a known fact that many Lesotho citizens (even working ones) live in the Free State (the border is extremely permeable) without the necessary legal documentation. This will obviously influence their sense of belonging to some extent?
 Is it a good idea to conduct these interviews at their workplace?
 Is it certain that the all the potential participants will be sufficiently literate to fully understand the written informed consent form? Consider making provision for the researcher to explain the constraints of consent to the participants and that the participants be given the option of providing verbal informed consent?
 The consent form needs to have contact names and numbers for participants – should they want to ask further questions or report anything they are unhappy with during the research

Your ethical clearance number, to be used in all correspondence, is:

UFS-HUM-2013-29

This ethical clearance number is valid for research conducted for one year from issuance. Should you require more time to complete this research, please apply for an extension in writing.

We request that any changes that may take place during the course of your research project be submitted in writing to the ethics office to ensure we are kept up to date with your progress and any ethical implications that may arise.

Thank you for submitting this proposal for ethical clearance and we wish you every success with your research.

Yours sincerely,

Katinka de Wet
Research Ethics Committee (Faculty of the Humanities)

Copy: Ms Charné Vercueil (Research Co-ordinator, Faculty of the Humanities)

APPENDIX B: CONSENT FORMS (ENGLISH AND SESOTHO VERSION)

Dear participant,

You are invited to participate in a study which focuses on the everyday lives of Basotho labour migrants in Bloemfontein. The findings are expected to raise awareness of the experiences of labour migrants. They will be used in the researcher's Master's thesis and possibly also in scientific journal articles.

The interview is expected to last between 1.5 and 2 hours, and it will be recorded. The interview consists of questions relating to your experiences of everyday life. There will be follow-up interviews for the purpose of gathering rich data. You can refuse to answer any questions that make you feel uncomfortable, and if you decide to leave the study at any time, you may do so without penalty.

Although your unique stories and experiences are valuable to this research and may be used in the written reports that come out of this study, the researcher will be sensitive to your privacy by taking a number of precautions. Your real name will not be used and all interviews will be conducted in a place that you feel is adequately private. Furthermore, only the research team will access the interview transcripts. All information collected will be kept in a secure place, and the recordings will be destroyed within two years after completion of the study.

Participation in the study is completely voluntary. At the end of the interview, you will receive a voucher for groceries as a token of appreciation.

The researcher's name is 'Malilimala Moletsane, a postgraduate student at the University of the Free State. For any inquiries, please contact her supervisors:

Dr Kelly: 051 4012984, kellym@ufs.ac.za

Prof Coetzee: 051 4012881, coetzeejk@ufs.ac.za

I understand the contents of this consent form and voluntarily consent to participate in this research.

…….. …….

Participant's signature Date

I have explained this study to the above participant.

…….. …….

Researcher's signature Date

Ho uena ea tlang ho nka karolo,

U memeloa ho nka karolo phuphutsong e shebaneng le maphelo a letsatsi le leng le le leng a Basotho ba sebetsang Bloemfontein. Liphetho li lebeletsoe ho hlahisa tl'hokomeliso ea tsela eo basebetsi ba linaheng tse ling ba phelang ka eona. Li tla sebelisoa lithutong tsa mofuputsi le mohlomong hape lingoloeng tsa mahlale.

Puisano e lebeletsoe ho nka hora le halofo ho ea ho tse peli, 'me e tla hatisoa. Puisano e kentse lipotso tse amanang le liketsahalo tsa bophelo ba hau ba letsatsi le letsatsi. Ho tlaba le ts'alo-morao ea lipuisano bakeng sa ho bokelletsa maikutlo a toma. U ka hana ho araba lipotso tse etsang u ikutloe usa phuthuloha, 'me hau ka ua batla ho khaotsa phuputso nako efe kapa efe, uka etsa joalo ntle le ts'itiso ea letho.

Leha ele mona lipale tsa hau tse khethehileng le liketsahalo tsa bophelo ba hau li le molemo phuputsong ena 'me li ka sebelisoa litlalehong tse ngotsoeng tse tla tsoa phuputsong ena, mofuputsi o tlaba hlokolosi ho nka mehato e lokelang ho boloka lekunutu la hau. Lebitso la hau hale na ho sebelisoa hape lipuisano li tla etsetsoa sebakeng seo u utloang sele lekunutung. Ho feta moo, ke sehlopha sa bafuputsi fela se tlang ho sheba lipuisano tse ngotsoeng fat'se. Litaba tsohle tse tlang ho bokeletsoa li tla bolokoa sebakeng se bolokehileng, le likhatiso li tla sengoa lilemo tse peli kamor'a hore phuputso e fele.

Ho nka karolo phuputsong ena ke boithaupi. Qetellong ea lipuisano, utla fumana pampiri ea ho reka ntho tse ts'esanyane tsa ka tlung ele mokhoa oa teboho.

Lebitso la mofuputsi ke 'Malilimala Moletsane, moithuti University of Free State. Bakeng sa lipotso, kopana le basupisi ba hae:

Dr Kelly: 051 4012984, kellym@ufs.ac.za

Prof Coetzee: 051 4012881, coetzeejk@ufs.ac.za

Ke utluisisa lintlha tsohle tsa fomo ena 'me ke ithaopela ho nka karolo phuputsong ena.

…… ……..

Tekeno ea moithaopi Letsatsi

Ke hlalositse lintlha tsa phuputso ena ho motho a kaholimo.

…… ……..

Tekeno ea mofuputsi Letsatsi

APPENDIX C: INTERVIEW SCHEDULES (ENGLISH AND SESOTHO VERSION)

The interview follows an open and flexible approach in that participants are given an opportunity to tell their stories but the researcher has prepared some key questions and possible follow-up questions should the interview need a bit more direction.

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

1. **Background information:**
   - 1.1. Where exactly in Lesotho are you from?
   - 1.2. Have you been staying in the same place before moving to Bloemfontein or have you been to several places in Lesotho?
   - 1.3. How old are you?
   - 1.4. Do you have any family in Lesotho?
   - 1.5. Are you married?
   - 1.6. What is your occupation?
   - 1.7. Since you arrived in Bloemfontein, how many times have you moved between Lesotho and Bloemfontein?
   - 1.8. Have you ever moved to other places in South Africa besides Bloemfontein?
2. **Moving to Bloemfontein:**

Key question

- 2.1. Can you tell me the story of how you came to live in Bloemfontein?

Possible follow-up questions include:

- 2.2. What made you decide to move to Bloemfontein?
- 2.3. Do you have family or friends working in Bloemfontein?
- 2.4. Did they influence your decision to move to Bloemfontein in any way?
- 2.5. Are there any other factors which contributed to this decision?
- 2.6. Why did you choose Bloemfontein as your destination area?

Key question

- 2.7. Can you describe the procedure involved in migrating?

Possible follow-up questions include:

2.8. Were there any documents to organise or did you find other ways of getting to Bloemfontein?

2.9. How long did it take to organise all the necessary documents?

2.10. Did you experience any delays in your move to Bloemfontein?

2.11. Had you ever been to Bloemfontein before?

3. Experiencing life in Bloemfontein:

Key question

3.1. Tell me more about your life in Bloemfontein

Then I would have a few different categories of follow-up questions:

Housing:

Key question

3.2. Can you tell me more about your living arrangements?

Possible follow-up questions include:

3.3. Where do you stay?

3.4. How did you find that place?

3.5. Can you describe your room or apartment?

3.6. How does it compare with the situation back home?

3.7. Who do you live with?

3.8. How comfortable are you where you live?

3.9. Do you feel safe where you live?

3.10. What makes you feel safe or not safe?

3.11. What do you like/dislike about your current living arrangements?

3.12. What could be improved?

3.13. What do you like/dislike about your neighbourhood?

3.14. What role do your neighbours/roommates play in your life?

3.15. How similar or different is this role to that played by your neighbours back in Lesotho?

3.16. Do you participate in any activities in the community in which you live?

3.17. Do you feel like the community in which you live recognises you as an important member of it?

Work:

Key question

3.18. Can you tell me more about your job?

Possible follow-up questions include:

3.19. What is your highest level of education?
3.20. What job(s) have you done back in Lesotho?
3.21. What is your current job?
3.22. How did you find it?
3.23. How long have you had this job?
3.24. What do you like/dislike about it?
3.25. How does it compare to the job(s) you had in Lesotho?
3.26. What is a typical work day like?
3.27. How do you get to work?
3.28. What will you do if you lose your job?
3.29. What are the best jobs in the informal sector, and why?
3.30. Can you tell me more about other places where you have worked?
3.31. What job did you do?
3.32. Why did you leave?
3.33. Can you compare the job situation in South Africa to that in Lesotho?
3.34. Can you say your skills are recognised in the South African labour market?

Social life:

Key question

3.35. Can you tell me more about your life besides work?

Possible follow-up questions include:

3.36. How do you spend your time when you are not working?
3.37. Is it any different from how you spend your free time back in Lesotho?

3.38. Who do you spend it with?

3.39. What role does religion play in your life?

3.40. How involved are you in politics?

3.41. Do you engage in any cultural activities from home e.g. read home newspapers, listen to home music, or visit local ethnic bars?

3.42. Are you a member to any ethnic cultural club or organisation?

3.43. What is your view on passing Basotho culture and values to your children?

3.44. Can you describe your relations with fellow migrants from Lesotho?

3.45. Do you have much interaction with the wider Bloemfontein community?

3.46. Do you have South African friends?

3.47. How do you view the attitudes of South Africans in general towards you?

3.48. How do you experience the treatment you receive at public service points?

3.49. What is your view on remaining in/visible as a migrant in Bloemfontein?

3.50. How does it influence your everyday life?

3.51. How does Sesotho as your language count in your favour in your everyday life in Bloemfontein?

3.52. What are the major challenges you have faced since you migrated to Bloemfontein?

4. Changing relations to Lesotho:

Key question

4.1. In what ways do you maintain ties with your family and other people back in Lesotho?

Possible follow-up questions include:

4.2. In what ways do you communicate with people back home?

4.3. How regular is this communication?

4.4. In the time you have been in Bloemfontein, what can you say about the consistency of this communication?

4.5. What do you think affects the consistency of communication over time?

4.6. How often do you visit home?

4.7. How does your permit allow/restrict your visits?

4.8. Are there any other factors which influence your visits?

4.9. How often do you send remittances home?

4.10. Do you send remittances just in times of need or regularly?

4.11. Between when you first arrived in Bloemfontein and now, have you been sending remittances consistently?

4.12. What do you think influences the consistency in the sending of remittances over time?

4.13. Is there anyone who is financially dependent on you?

4.14. Have you made any investments in Lesotho from your income in Bloemfontein?

4.15. How useful are remittances for your family?

4.16. How does the sending of remittances influence your everyday life in Bloemfontein?

5. Making a home in Bloemfontein:

Key question

5.1. In what ways do you make a home for yourself in Bloemfontein?

Possible follow-up questions include:

5.2. Do you have any material objects from Lesotho in your current home?

5.3. What significance do such material objects have for you?

5.4. Is there anything about South African society that you have found different or challenging?

5.5. Are there things you miss about Lesotho?

5.6. How does your upbringing positively/negatively influence your everyday life in Bloemfontein?

5.7. Between Lesotho and Bloemfontein, which place do you consider home and why?

6. Looking back:

I would now like you to reflect back on your experiences

6.1. Can you share your expectations when you first came to Bloemfontein?

6.2. Did everything turn out as you had expected?

6.3. Were you disappointed in any way?
6.4. Are you glad that you made the move?
6.5. Looking at where you are right now, what can you say about your goals and your accomplishments?
6.6. Do you have any intentions of moving to other places in South Africa?
6.7. Do you have any intentions of going back to Lesotho?
6.8. Do you have any specific plans or goals for the remaining time that you will spend in Bloemfontein?

This will be all, is there anything else you would like to add about your experiences as a labour migrant in Bloemfontein?

The interview follows an open and flexible approach in that participants are given an opportunity to tell their stories but the researcher has prepared some key questions and possible follow-up questions should the interview need a bit more direction.

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

1. **Background information:**
   1.1. U tsoa nqa efe Lesotho?
   1.2. Esale u lula moo pele u tla Bloemfontein kapa u sekile ua lula libakeng tse ling Lesotho?
   1.3. U lilemo li kae?
   1.4. Una le lelapa Lesotho?
   1.5. U nyetse/nyetsoe?
   1.6. U sebetsa eng?
   1.7. Esale u fihla Bloemfontein, u tsamaile hakae lipakeng tsa Lesotho le Blemfontein?
   1.8. Kantle ho Bloemfontein, na u kile ua lula libakeng tse ling kahara South Africa?
2. **Moving to Bloemfontein:**

Key question

2.1. Aku nqoqele na ho tlile joang hore u qetelle u lula Bloemfontein?

Possible follow-up questions include:

2.2. Ke eng e entseng hore u tle Bloemfontein?
2.3. Hona le batho ba lelapa kapa metsoalle ea hau e sebetsang Bloemfontein?
2.4. Na hona le karolo eo bae bapetseng qetong ea hau ea ho tla Blomfontein?
2.5. Ekaba ho na le lintho tse ling tse u susumelitseng ho nka qeto eo?
2.6. Hobaneng u khethile Bloemfontein ele sebaka seo utlo phela ho sona?

Key question

2.7. Aku manolle methati e amehang ha motho a tla South Africa?

Possible follow-up questions include:

2.8. Na hone hona le litokomane tseo u hlokang ho li lokisa kapa u ile ua fumana tsela tse ling tsa ho tla Bloemfontein?

2.9. Ho nkile nako e kae ho hlopha litokomane tsohle tse hlokahalang?

2.10. Na hona le lintho tse ileng tsa liehisa leeto la hau la ho tla Bloemfontein?

2.11. Une u kile ua tla Bloemfontein pele?

3. Experiencing life in Bloemfontein:

Key question

3.1. Aku nqoqele haholoanyane ka bophelo ba hau mona Bloemfontein

Then I would have a few different categories of follow-up questions:

Housing:

Key question

3.2. Aku njoetse ka litlhophiso tsa hau tsa bolulo?

Possible follow-up questions include:

3.3. U lula hokae?

3.4. U fumane bolulo joang?

3.5. Aku hlalose kamore eo u lulang ho eona?

3.6. Uka e bapisa joang le maemo a moo lulang Lesotho?

3.7. U lula le mang?

3.8. U lokolohile hakae moo u lulang?

3.9. Na u ikutloa u sireletsehile moo u lulang?

3.10. Ke eng e etsang u ikutloe u sireletsehile kapa usa sireletseha?

3.11. Ke eng eo u e ratang kapa eo usa e rateng ka litlhophiso tsa hau tsa bolulo?

3.12. Ke eng eka ntlafatsoang?

3.13. Ke eng eo u e ratang kapa eo usa e rateng ka sebaka seo u phelang ho sona?

3.14. Bahaisane kapa batho bao u lulang le bona ka tlung ba bapala karolo e feng bophelong ba hau?

3.15. Karolo eo e ts'oana joang kapa e fapane joang le e bapaloang ke bahaisane ba hau Lesotho?

3.16. Na u nka karolo liketsahalong tsa sebaka seo u phelang ho sona?

3.17. Na u utloa eka sechaba sa moo u lulang seu nka ule karolo e bohlokoa ea sona?

Work:

Key question

3.18. Aku njoetse haholoanyane ka mosebetsi oa hau?

Possible follow-up questions include:

3.19. Boemo ba hau bo phahameng ba thuto ke bofe?

3.20. U sebelitse mesebetsi e feng hau ntso le Lesotho?

3.21. U sebetsa eng hona joale?

3.22. U o fumane joang mosebetsi oo?

3.23. Una le nako e kae u sebetsa mosebetsi oo?

3.24. Ke eng eo u e ratang kapa eo usa e rateng ka mosebetsi oa hau?

3.25. U ka bapisa mosebetsi oa hau joang le mesebetsi eo u e sebelitseng Lesotho?

3.26. Aku hlalose letsatsi le tloelehileng la mosebetsi?

3.27. U ea joang mosebetsing?

3.28. Hau ka lahleheloa ke mosebetsi uka etsa joang?

3.29. Ke mesebetsi efe e betere karolong ee u sebetsang ho eona?

3.30. Uka nqoqela haholoanyane ka libaka tse ling tseo u kileng ua sebetsa ho tsona?

3.31. Uno sebetsa mosebetsi ofe?

3.32. Hobaneng u ile ua tsamaea?

3.33. U ka bapisa maemo a mosebetsi South Africa ho maemo a Lesotho?

3.34. Na u kare litsebo tsa hau li hlokomelehile kahara ‘maraka oa basebetsi oa South Africa?

Social life:

Key question

3.35. Aku njoetse haholoanyane ka bophelo ba hau kantle ho mosebetsi?

Possible follow-up questions include:

3.36. U sebelisa nako ea hau joang hau se mosebetsing?

3.37. Na e fapane le ka mokhoa oo u sebelisang nako ea hau ea phomolo hau le Lesotho?

3.38. U sebelisa nako ee ea phomolo le bo mang?

3.39. Tumelo e bapala karolo efe bophelong ba hau?

3.40. U kena-kene hakae lipolotiking?

3.41. Na u nka karolo liketsahalong tsa bochaba ba heno, mohlala ho bala lipampiri tsa hae, ho mamela 'mino oa hae, kapa ho ea libareng tseo ho noellang Basotho?

3.42. Na u setho sa sehlopha kapa mokhatlo o itseng o amanang le ntho tsa bochaba ba heno?

3.43. Maikutlo a hau keng tabeng ea ho fetisetsa meetlo ea Basotho baneng ba hau?

3.44. U ka hlalosa likamano tsa hau le batho ba bang ba tsoang Lesotho?

3.45. Na u na le kopa-kopano e ngata le sechaba sa Bloemfontein ka kakaretso?

3.46. Na u na le metsoalle ea ma-South African?

3.47. U ee u bone batho ba South Africa ka kakaretso bale joang ha ba ea bau lebile?

3.48. U ee u bone u ts'oaroa joang libakeng tsa lits'ebeletso tsa sechaba?

3.49. Maikutlo a hau keng tabeng ea hore u tsebahale kapa u seke ua tsebahala ule motho oa Lesotho moo Bloemfontein?

3.50. Taba ee e ama bophelo ba hau ba letsatsi le letsatsi joang?

3.51. Sesotho ele puo ea hau se u thusa joang bophelong ba letsatsi le letsatsi moo Bloemfontein?

3.52. Esale u fihla Bloemfontein, ke mathata afe a maholo ao u thulaneng le ona?

4. Changing relations to Lesotho:

<u>Key question</u>

4.1. U boloka maqhama le ba lelapa le batho ba bang ba Lesotho ka tsela life?

<u>Possible follow-up questions include:</u>

4.2. U bua le batho ba Lesotho ka litsela life?

4.3. U bua le bona hakae?

4.4. Ka nako eo u e lutseng Bloemfontein, u kare eng ka ho bua le bona ka tsela e ts'oanang?

4.5. U nahana ke eng e etsang hore tsela eo u buang le bona e fetohe ha nako e ntse ea?

4.6. U chakela hae hakae?

4.7. Permit ea hau e u lumella kapa e u sitisa hakae ho chakela hae?

4.8. Na hona le lintho tse ling tse amang ho chaka hoa hau?

4.9. U romela chelete hae hakae?

4.10. U romela chelete hae ha ho hlokahala fela kapa nako eohle?

4.11. Lipakeng tsa hau no qala ho fihla Bloemfontein le hona joale, na u ntse u romela chelete hae ka tsela e ts'oanang?

4.12. U nahana ke eng e fetolang tsela eo motho a romelang chelete ka eona ha nako e ntse ea?

4.13. Na hona le motho ea ts'epetseng ho uena lebakeng la chelete?

4.14. Hona le seo use entseng hae ka chelete eo u e etsang Bloemfontein ele mokhoa oa letsete?

4.15. Chelete eo u e romelang hae e thusa lelapa la hau joang?

4.16. Ho romela chelete hae ho ama bophelo ba hau ba letsatsi le letsatsi Bloemfontein joang?

5. Making a home in Bloemfontein:

Key question

5.1. U iketsetsa lehae Bloemfontein ka tsela life?

Possible follow-up questions include:

5.2. Na u na le thepa e tsoang Lesotho ka tlung eo u lulang ho eona hona joale?

5.3. Thepa eo e bohlokoa hakae ho uena?

5.4. Hona le ho hong ka batho ba South Africa hoo u fumanang ho fapane kapa ele bothata?

5.5. Na hona le lintho tseo u li hopolang ka Lesotho?

5.6. Tsela eo u holisitsoeng kateng e ama bophelo ba hau hantle kapa hampe joang bophelong ba hau ba letsatsi le letsatsi Bloemfontein?

5.7. Lipakeng tsa Lesotho le Bloemfontein, ke sebaka sefe seo use nkang ele hae, hobaneng?

6. Looking back:

Nka rata hore hona joale u shebe morao linthong tseo u fetileng tlasa tsona

6.1. Aku hlalose litebello tsa hau hau no qala ho tla Bloemfontein?
6.2. Na ntho e ngoe le e ngoe e bile kamokhoa oo uno lebeletse?
6.3. Na u ile ua phoqeha ka tsela efe kapa efe?
6.4. Na u thabile hore ebe u entse qeto ea ho tla Bloemfontein?
6.5. Hau sheba moo u leng teng hona joale, u ka reng ka litaba-tabelo tsa hau le ntho tseo u seng u li fihletse?
6.6. U na le maikemisetso a ho ea libakeng tse ling kahara South Africa?
6.7. U na le maikemisetso a ho khutlela Lesotho?
6.8. U na le merero e itseng nakong e setseng u tlang ho lula Bloemfontein?

Ke fella mona, ekaba hona le ho hong hoo u ka lakatsang ho eketsa ka hona mabapi le bophelo ba hau ule motho oa Lesotho ea sebetsang Bloemfontein?