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MIGRATION, HOUSING AND NEIGHBOURING: ZIMBABWEANS IN DIEPSLOOT INFORMAL SETTLEMENT, JOHANNESBURG

Trace Mangava

(1289238)

A RESEARCH REPORT SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF HUMANITIES, UNIVERSITY OF WITWATERSRAND, IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF ARTS IN DEVELOPMENT STUDIES.

Supervisor

Dr Obvious Katsaura

MARCH 2018

DECLARATION

I, **Trace Mangava**, student number **1289238,** declare that this research report is my own work and has not been submitted to any university or institution as a prerequisite for a degree or qualifications. I am submitting this research report to fulfil the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in Development studies at the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg.

Signature…….Date……

Trace Mangava

DEDICATION

I dedicate this work to my Mother, Kezineth Mangava and Father, Langton Mangava.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Glory be to God for I have made it this far. It’s not by my wisdom but by God's might and grace.

I am deeply indebted to my supervisor and mentor Dr. Obvious Katsaura for his patience, encouragement, guidance and unwavering support throughout my research journey. Thank you for always being available and for giving me all the constructive feedback that has made this research report a success.

I would like to extend my gratitude to my adorable sisters Fungai and Memory and brothers Crispen, George, Super and Collen for their unconditional love and support. Thank you all for being my pillar of strength during my academic journey. Tunji Tubo I consider you as part of my family now, thank you for the financial assistance. Thank you for your devotion and support towards my education.

My profound ‘thank you’ also goes to my comrades, the people I have shared my great moments with: Mpumelelo, Londzi, Mandla, Aldridge, Themba and Khumo. Thank you all for the unforgettable moments we have shared together and lastly the love, understanding, companionship, support and encouragement.

I also express my heartfelt appreciation to all my participants who took their precious time to participate in this research. Thank you for making this research a success, without you this research wouldn’t have been possible.

To my mentor Monwabisi Gebhuza (PhD), you have been an inspiration throughout my masters journey. Thank you for all the support you have given me.

To my niece Mitchell, I did this for you.

Abstract

The precarious nature of access to housing is faced by migrants, either documented or undocumented as opposed to what the literature claims. The perilous and disbarring experience related to access to housing by Zimbabwean migrants in Diepsloot informal settlement attests to this. However, migrants' access to the neighbourhood differs for those with no documentation as they have to constantly take precaution when moving around their social milieu to avoid falling victims to the police because of their illegal status. Thus, inculcating feelings of unacceptability and thereby limiting the migrants' chances of assimilation.

The research explores the procedures that Zimbabwean migrants follow to acquire a shack in Diepsloot informal settlement and also how these migrants navigate the neighbourhood and with what challenges. It employed a qualitative approach as it is interested in the lived experiences of these Zimbabwean migrants. The concepts of 'the stranger' and 'social networks' were used as a theoretical framework guiding the research. The data was gathered by the use of the semi-structured interviews, which were later transcribed for the purposes of the research report. Snowball sampling was used to identify the participants of the research with the initial participant being randomly chosen. This participant then referred the researcher to other participants.

The findings reveal that most Zimbabwean migrants have gained purchased access to Diepsloot. These Zimbabwean migrants do not have ownership of these shacks but rent from some of the locals who once resided there and now are beneficiaries of the RDP housing. Regarding the supposition that Zimbabwean migrants rely on social networks for access to housing, the findings corroborate this hypothesis as some of the Zimbabwean migrants have gained access to the shacks via their social networks. The minority Zimbabwean migrants who claim ownership of the shacks did not get these shacks through proper channels; either they got it through corruption or via their social networks. Zimbabwean migrants' access to the neighbourhood as demonstrated by informal business ownership, the establishment of churches and entertainment activities is still marred by issues of nationality. This is demonstrated by the concept of 'living apart' with locals, and also identity swapping; with Zimbabweans disguising as people from Limpopo and Mpumalanga. The Shona who face double exclusion from the Ndebele group and from the locals, pretend to be the Ndebele people. This is superficial and failed form of assimilation.

Contents

DECLARATION 2
DEDICATION 3
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS 4
Abstract 5
LIST OF ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS 8
CHAPTER ONE 10
INTRODUCTION 10
1.2 Research problem 12
1.3 Historical Background of Diepsloot 13
1.3.1 The introduction and construction of the RDP housing in 1999 15
1.3.2 The present Diepsloot 15
1.3.3 The politics of the area 18
1.4 Theoretical orientation 19
1.5 Research methodology 19
1.6 Outline of chapters 19
CHAPTER TWO 21
LITRETURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK 21
2.1 Introduction 21
2.2 Zimbabwe to South Africa migration: 'the past and present trends'. 21
2.3 Informal settlement: " a perpetual challenge" 24
2.4 The neighbourhood concept 25
2.5 A place called home 25
2.6 Contestations over access to housing by migrants 25
2.7 Gender inequality and access to housing 28
2.8 The politics of belonging: the insider and outsider debate 29
2.9 Theoretical underpinnings 32
2.9.1 The stranger 32
2.9.2 Social networks 34
3.10 Conclusion 34
CHAPTER THREE 37
METHODOLOGY 37
3.1 Introduction 36
3.2 Qualitative design 36
3.3 Research methods 36
3.3.1 Sampling technique 36
3.3.2 In-depth interviews 37

3.3.3 Participant observation 37
3.4 Diepsloot: a haven of migrants 38
3.5 The everyday life of Zimbabweans in Diepsloot 39
3.6 Data Analysis 41
3.7 Methodological Limitations 42
3.8 Ethical consideration 42
3.9 Reflectivity 43
CHAPTER FOUR 46
FINDING A SHANTY HOME IN DIEPSLOOT: Who goes there? 46
4.1 Introduction 45
4.2 Reasons for residing in Diepsloot 45
4.3 SANCO, the Gatekeepers of Diepsloot 49
4.3.1 SANCO's Requirements for accessing a shack 52
4.4 Social networks and access to housing 54
4.5 Varying levels of strangeness and access to housing 56
4.6 Money as a mediator of access to housing 'Money speaks all languages' 60
4.7 Conclusion 60
CHAPTER FIVE 64
TOGETHER APART: MIGRATION, NEIGHBOURHOOD, CREATION OF NEW IDENTITIES AND ASSIMILATION 64
5.1 Introduction 63
5.2 At home but not at home: Zimbabwean migrants in Diepsloot, Johannesburg 63
5.3 Social organisations and networks 65
5.4 Discrimination in the neighbourhood 68
5.5 Creation of new identities and assimilation of the migrants 'The Making of Home Away From Home' 73
5.6 Conclusion 73
CHAPTER SIX 77
CONCLUSION 77
6.1 Introduction 77
6.2 Research Conclusion 77
Reference List 81

Appendix

Appendix A. Interview schedule……87

Appendix B. Participation information sheet…….....89

Appendix C. Showing the participants' profile……..92

Appendix D. Ethics Clearance

LIST OF FIGURERS

Figure 1: Illustrating the percentages of formal and informal settlement in Diepsloot

Figure 2: Illustrating a small stream that runs close to some shacks

Figure 3: Depicting the informal business in extension

Figure 4: The location of Diepsloot

LIST OF ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

SANCO	South African National Civic Organisation
EFF	Economic Freedom Fighters
ANC	African National Congress
IFP	Inkatha Freedom Party
DA	Democratic Alliance
COPE	Congress of the people
RDP	Reconstruction and Development Programme
ID	Identity Card

CHAPTER ONE
INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction

This thesis is premised on the argument that in South Africa legal and illegal migrants face the same challenges when it comes to access to housing. The Housing Act 107 of 1997, as amended by the Housing Amendment Act (no 4 of 2001) has continued to exclude documented and undocumented migrants from accessing low-cost housing. South Africa is faced with housing shortages and exorbitant rents which most people cannot afford. This growing housing problem in the country has manifested itself through land invasions mostly by the landless black majority. Within these invaded spaces, the locals have managed to establish their self-made houses which scholars such as De Beers (1980) and Turner (1976) refer to as 'self-help housing'. Some migrants have relied on the informal housing because of its affordability. Greenburg & Polzer (2008: 13) state that the housing situation for migrants is often precarious and insecure. The informal housing market is characterised by poor, overcrowded and substandard conditions. Housing in South Africa has remained a significant area of conflict potential and a persistent cause of poor relations between the foreign nationals and the locals, particularly in informal settlements (Barolsky et al 2008: 33).

In instances where foreign nationals have acquired housing they still have to negotiate through disbarring tendencies from the locals with regards to identity and exploitation. This limits assimilation and access to the neighbourhood. To add to this debacle is the issue of documentation which results in many hiding their identities to evade both the law and also exclusion by the locals. For migrants, settling in is volatile as issues of identity and space easily turn into violent acts of alienation. Rigoni (2016: 16) states that the violent acts towards migrants are sparked by intolerance especially in politically unstable areas. This makes living quite uncertain.

This project focused on the role played by national identity in the accessing of housing and neighbourhood by Zimbabwean migrants in Diepsloot informal settlement in Johannesburg. Firstly, the suppositions that framed this research are that national identity mediates one's access to housing and to the neighbourhood. Secondly, being a migrant makes one vulnerable to exploitation by slum lords. Thirdly, it is assumed that Zimbabwean migrants rely on social networks in order to access housing and neighbourhood.

The concepts of 'social networks' and 'the stranger' are the analytical lenses used in this research. Therefore, the applicability of 'the stranger' and 'social networks' theories were tested analysed and assessed in this research. The concept of social networks is approached from Mitchell's (1969: 8) definition which defines the concepts "sets of interpersonal ties that connect migrants, former migrants and non-migrants in origin and destination areas through ties of kinship, friendship, and shared community origin". The family and ethnic networks play a vital role in acquiring resources in Diepsloot by the Zimbabwean migrants. This validates previous studies on social networks and migrants but in this case in access to housing.

One other crucial framework is that of the stranger as applied by Simmel (1903). In understanding the dynamics of strangeness in the context of a host country in changing forms of migration, it is conceptually awkward that the migrant is still presumed as a stranger regardless of his/her subjective familiarity or level of assimilation to the host country. The stranger is supposedly someone not permanent, however, according to Simmel (1903) the meaning of stranger has evolved as the dynamics of migration are changing. The stranger is now defined as someone who comes to stay in a society with intentions of an indefinite period of stay.

In South Africa, there has been evolved collective consciousness or discourse about the stranger that rejects and accepts the migrant. In a study done by Mataure (2013: 3), there is high uniformity in negative sentiments about migrants and what should be done with them. The stranger/ migrant navigate these chains of acceptance and unacceptance through varying forms of social networks in order to survive. Hungwe (2015: 2) argues that Zimbabwean migrants in South Africa rely on family and church networks in order to cope with the hostility and challenges of nationality.

This study fills the gap in the literature on how Zimbabwean migrants gain access to the informal settlement with Diepsloot being the research site. Most studies by scholars such as Maphosa (2007), Bloch (2008) & Polzer (2008) focus on the reasons for migration to South Africa by Zimbabweans. However, their work casts a blind eye on how Zimbabweans gain access to informal settlements. Scholars such as Sibanda (2010) and Hungwe (2013) focus on social networks as a mechanism for survival but do not cover on how these networks are utilised by Zimbabwean migrants to penetrate informal settlements such as Diepsloot.

1.2 Research problem

Migration is a hot topic but it is not much discussed in housing studies. Although Diepsloot has a lot of Zimbabweans, I have not come across any published study that shows how Zimbabwean migrants acquire housing on the informal part of the area and what kind of challenges and complexities they face during this process. Most studies conducted on migrants and their access to housing usually draws their focus on access to the formal housing market. For instance, a study done by Desai (2008) looked at the role played by social networks in migrants' access to housing in Lenasia. Desai's (2008) study focuses on how migrants access housing at a formal settlement (formal housing market) and cast a blind eye on the informal housing which has been a growing phenomenon in contemporary contexts. Thus, my research seeks to cover the gap on how migrants access housing and neighbourhood at an informal settlement. Scholars such as Bloch (2008), Chereni (2014), Hungwe (2014) and Siziba (2013) in their studies have focused on the living experiences of migrants particularly Zimbabweans in South Africa.

However, Zimbabweans have been portrayed as the victims of exclusion when it comes to issues of social solidarity and cohesion within the neighbourhood. This research aims to also find out if national identity has any impact on the exclusion of Zimbabwean migrants from the neighbourhood or if there are other factors that contribute to this for example lack of interest by Zimbabwean migrants to assimilate or integrate into the society. Landau & Haupt (2007: 10) claim that as a way of dealing with the xenophobic effects some migrants have distanced themselves from the societies. The migrants have distanced themselves from the present societies by the maintenance of relationships with people outside South Africa which is known as transnational networks (Landau & Haupt 2007: 10). Further, the migrants have self-excluded themselves from the South African group thereby hindering the possibility of their assimilation (Landau & Haupt 2007: 10). However, migrants have claimed their legitimacy in South Africa by using the philosophies of Pan Africanism. According, to Landau & Haupt (2007: 10) these migrants have used all these tactics to reside outside belonging but at the same time claiming the same benefits as the insiders.

Therefore, the question to ask is no longer about why people migrate but how they access housing and settle in the destination countries. The justification for focusing on this research is that housing does not only provide physical shelter, it impacts heavily on livelihood, health options and also determines whether or not one feels at home in the city. Khan (2004: 271) argues that the 'housing crisis that migrants face raises a question on who has the right to the city'. There is a need to understand the dynamics and complexities that make migrants find themselves in 'precarious housing' circumstances. Since migrants are viewed as 'strangers' by the local people in Diepsloot, it is fascinating to learn how Zimbabwean migrants negotiate their membership in

this area and with what challenges. Moreover, I want to investigate if social networks play any role on how migrants access housing and neighbourhood in Diepsloot.

The study seeks to answer the research question: How does national identity mediate Zimbabwean migrants' access to housing and to neighbourhood in Johannesburg's informal settlements?

In an attempt to answer the research question the researcher has formulated the following two sub-questions:

- What procedures do Zimbabwean migrants follow to acquire a shack in Diepsloot informal settlement?
- How do Zimbabwean migrants navigate the neighbourhood and with what challenges?

1.3 Historical Background of Diepsloot

Towards the end of the apartheid era the rise of informal settlements presented black South African people with a chance to fight for their right to the city. Diepsloot was one amongst other informal settlement that came to existence at the dawn of freedom in South Africa in the 1990s (Engel et al ND: 34; Harber 2011: 15). Harber (2011: 9) notes that Diepsloot was a "*phenomenon of the new era, conceived in the old era*", meaning that the informal settlement was an idea before the end of apartheid that materialised when South Africa had acquired its democracy. During the 1990s a lot of people were relocating from the rural areas into township in search of job opportunities (Harber 2011: 10). This created pressure on the available space that the apartheid government had set aside for the black people to settle, leading to the proliferation of informal settlements (Bosworth 2016: 1).

Prior 1990, the Diepsloot location was white people farms. It was in the 1990s that it was developed into a human settlement when the squatters of Zevenfontein informal settlement had reached 8000. The Rand Provincial Administration saw it appropriate to take at least half of the people to this new settlement which was Diepsloot (Harber 2011: 11).The Zevenfontein informal settlement emerged in the mid-1980s as a group of homeless people came to build their shelter close to the Juksei River. The occupants of the shelter were expected to pay 30 rand per month for rent by the owner of the farm. However, the owner of the farm decided to forcefully evict these squatters by destroying their shelter. Upon failing to evict these squatters, the owner of the farm yielded the farm to the Transvaal Provincial Administration. In 1991 the Zevenfontein settlement became a recognised settlement. Nevertheless, in 1994 some of the people in the area were moved to go start a new settlement in Diepsloot.

Although, the Administration wanted to move approximately half of the Zevenfontein population to Diepsloot, only 200 families were first to settle in Diepsloot (Engels et al ND: 35). Immediately when the Zevenfontein people were moved to Diepsloot the white owners of the farms became furious. Clashes between the white farmers and the newly moved strangers became inevitable. The whites claimed that the newcomers were stealing from them. Harber (2011: 13) states that two white men including the chair of Chartwell Residents' Association took the law into their hands and shot two squatters. Dr Denise du Toit, a sociologist from the Rand Afrikaans University, observed that "*Residents of Diepsloot were culturally and socially incompatible with the Zevenfontein squatters, and to place them next to each other would create a potential conflict situation"* (Harber 2011: 13). These observations made by Dr Denis were quite reasonable. However, Harber (2011: 13) points out that the observation by Dr Denise had racial connotations as the Zevenfontein people were viewed as insensitive to social norms. It can be argued that Dr Denise shared the same sentiments as the other racist organisation that saw the Zevenfontein people as a threat to the suburban peace.

It was then proposed by the Chartwell Local Area Committee that the Zevenfontein squatters be moved to existing communities such as Tembisa, Alexandra and Ivory Park where their assimilation would not be problematic rather than Diepsloot. It was considered that the assimilation of the Zevenfontein people to the existing communities such as Alexandra, Tembisa and Ivory Park would not be problematic as the squatters were culturally and socially compatible with the people in these areas. However, the Glen Austin Residents' Association situated in Ivory Park declared the proposal null and void (Harber 2011: 14). They claimed that their area was fully occupied and that they were not in a position to accommodate the squatters. Stuart Aitcheson a landowner reviewed the Administrator of Transvaal's verdict of settling the Zevenfontein people in the area. It was then claimed that an establishment of a settlement in the area would be devastating as the burning of coal and firewood would cause air pollution, crime rates would escalate and that they will not be able to use the land to fruition as the value of the land would diminish (Harber 2011: 14).

According, to Harber (2011:14) the white land owners took the provincial administration to court hoping that the court would be on their side. Unfortunately, these white land owners did not take into consideration that the times were changing and so was the law of the country. However, a judge by the name J de Villiers ordered the settlement to be stopped (Harber 2011: 14). Nevertheless, the complainants took the case to the highest court of the land the Appeal court, that took into consideration that the laws had changed in favour of squatters and that the Administrator had followed all the correct channels to establish the settlement. The court

approved the decision by the Administrator to establish a settlement in Diepsloot (Harber 2011: 14).

The Zevenfontein people settled in Diepsloot and with time the numbers of people in the area started to increase as people moved from the rural areas in search of the promises by the ANC of provision of jobs, housing and security (Harber 2011: 15). The following year the people of Alexandra were moved into Diepsloot and also some people from Honey Dew. Diepsloot was to serve as a temporary place for people waiting to be issued the RDP housing. As mentioned above, 200 families from Zevenfontein were the first to settle in Diepsloot. These families settled in the extension 1. In 1996 Diepsloot continued to become a reception area with temporary settlements in Diepsloot west built in a privately owned farm. From 1996 until now Diepsloot has expanded to approximately 13 extensions. This settlement was never intended for the foreigners, it was meant for the black South Africans. However, Harber (2011: 16) points out that Diepsloot became an oasis of the influx refugees claiming their right to the city.

1.3.1 The introduction and construction of the RDP housing in 1999

In 1999 the Rand Provincial administrative wanted to turn the Diepsloot into a formal settlement with the help of the transitional metropolitan council which was in charge of the register of the people that were in the place. A sub-structure in Ransburg was introduced by the transitional metropolitan council, with intentions to serve Diepsloot. They also pointed out places that were in need of water, electricity and housing.

1.3.2 The present Diepsloot

Contemporary Diepsloot is characterised by three types of housing the first type of housing is the shacks which are made of corrugated iron located in extension one, twelve and thirteen (Mahajan 2014: 11). Secondly there are houses that are made of tiled roofing and bricks which are located in the extension 3 known as Tanganani which is characterised of tarred roads (Mahajan 2014: 11). Lastly there is the RDP Housing (bond housing) which can be found in extension two, four, five, six, seven, eight, nine, ten and eleven (Mahajan 2014:11). However, within the RDP housing some people have set up shacks in their yards and they rent out these shacks to people in need of accommodation. This has also served as means of income to some people. However, even if there was introduction of the RDP housing which is a form of formal structure many people in Diepsloot have continued to stay in the informal settlement. Mahajan (2014: 11) points out that approximately 30% of people in Diepsloot reside in formal structures whereas the rest of the larger population relies on the informal settlement.

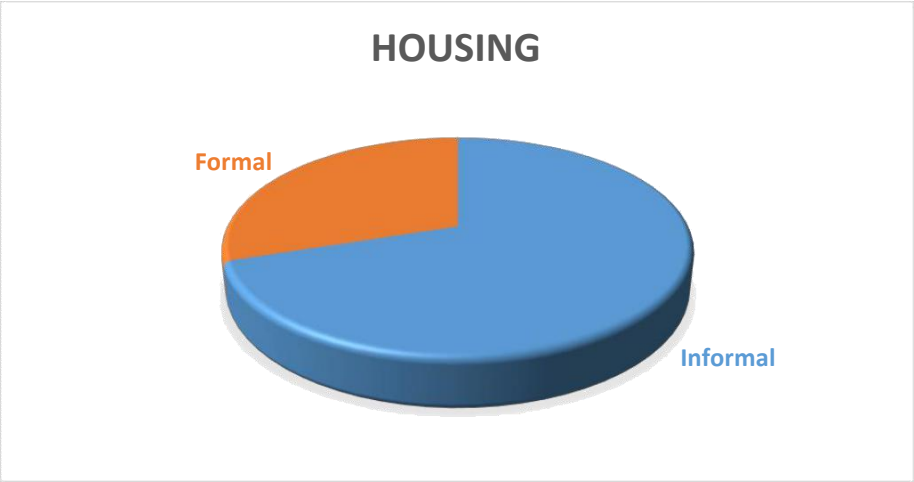

Figure 1: Illustrating the percentages formal and informal settlement in Diepsloot.

Source: Mahajan (2014)

Diepsloot just like any other informal settlement is characterised by burst sewages, unpleasant smells and litter (Mahajan 2014; Harber 2011). In some areas there are dust road whereas in some areas the tarred roads are now damaged as they are marred with potholes. The streets in Diepsloot have got names but the public seem not to know the names of the streets (Mahajan 2014: 11). It is not like places like Hillbrow, Yeoville and Berea alongside others were the street names are so important and most people are aware of them. The people in Diepsloot are more familiar with extension numbers and also house addresses. The researcher notes that there is a stream that runs from the west to the south west. Along the stream there are some shacks located there and most participants highlighted that whenever the stream floods during rainy seasons, it wipes away the settlement that is along this stream.



Figure 2: illustrating a small stream that runs close to some shacks.

Source: The Researcher (22/10/2017)

Nonetheless, there is much development that has been done in Diepsloot. Harber (2011: 28) notes that *"*no community has experienced development like this*"*. The area has informal businesses some set on the sides of the road. There are vendors on the sides of the road selling second hand clothes, vegetables, live chicken, kitchen utensils and some selling facial products (Mahajan 2014: 12). The area also has spazas shops some owned by Ethiopians and Pakistan (Mahajan 2014: 12). Some of the businesses are located at the Diepsloot mall. There are also taverns in the area where people go and drink whilst listening to the radio.



Figure 3: Depicting the informal businesses in extension 1.

Source: The Researcher (22/10/2017)

Although, there is much evidence that the place was undergoing development it seems the development was put to a halt. There are no longer houses being built for people (Engel et al ND: 37). It has been suggested that the area is full and there is no longer space to build more houses for the people. Engel et al (ND: 37) asserts that the Department of Development Planning stated that the present problem faced by Diepsloot is the shortage of land to build more houses for the families with inadequate housing. Diepsloot has uncompleted road and electrification projects which are visible in extension 10 (Mahajan 2014: 11).

Diepsloot is largely a black dominated area. There are different ethnicities residing in the area. There are people who speak Zulu, Pedi, Tsonga, Shangani and Xhosa (Harber 2011: 15). There are also people from different countries residing in the area namely Zimbabwe, Mozambique, Nigeria, Malawi, Ethiopia, Somalia, Lesotho and Bangladesh (Harber 2011: 15). The people from Pakistan, Ethiopia and Bangladesh are mainly in the area for business purposes. Harber (2011: 16) notes that '*everyone in Diepsloot is from somewhere*'. Most people in Diepsloot live in abject

poverty as they do not work and the money that they get from their small businesses is directed to their everyday consumption.

When people moved into Diepsloot, racial tensions were more visible than the ethnicity tensions (Harber 2011: 17). It is of late that tensions are now being witnessed between the locals and the foreigners. The locals claim that the foreigners are taking away their wives, jobs and houses. Diepsloot has been identified as the worst when it comes to the issues of xenophobia. Nyamnjoh (2006: 49) notes that xenophobia is not only about dislike for what is foreign but it is also violent in nature. The majority of the xenophobia victims are black people who share the same skin colour with instigators of the violence (Nyamnjoh 2006: 49). Reports reveal that during the 2008 xenophobia attacks most cases of violence were towards the people from Zimbabwe. Myriad Zimbabweans who were fortunate enough to escape death lost their properties and some had their shacks burnt down. Additionally, those unlucky enough were burnt alive during the episodes of violence in the area. Mahajan (2014: 144) argues that such cases of xenophobia have made most foreigners to be reluctant to own properties in the area.

The media depicts Diepsloot as an oasis for criminals. The place is seen as the most violent place because of the criminal activities conducted in the area and also how the 2008 xenophobia manifested in the area (Harber 2011: 3; Mahajan 2014: 144). Further, Diepsloot has been viewed as a home to service delivery protests by the angry citizens questioning the government why they have not fulfilled their promise of provision of adequate housing and other facilities (Harber 2011: 3; Mahajan 2014: 144). Diepsloot has one of the biggest police stations and yet it has got alarming crime rate.

1.3.3 The politics of the area

The dominant political party since the establishment of Diepsloot in the 1990s has been the African National Congress (ANC). Parties such as EFF, Democratic Alliance (DA), Congress of the people (COPE) and Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) are less present in Diepsloot. The presence of SANCO in Diepsloot which is an ANC alliance has been given as one of the possible reasons why ANC still dominates the area. However, even if SANCO has to be party blind and be able to attend meetings by any party, they are still seen as ANC spies by those parties. The parties perceive that since SANCO is an ANC alliance it will surely jealously guard the interests of its ally. Most people in Diepsloot view politics as the driver of development. The ward councillors of Diepsloot are perceived by most people as doggy and corrupt.

1.4 Theoretical orientation

This research is guided by the following concepts 'social networks' and 'the stranger'. The concept of social networks has played a pivotal role in migration research. It has facilitated better understanding of the dynamics and the processes of migration. These networks have been created based on what Sibanda (2010) calls 'shared understanding'. The relationships can be formed within a family, friends or people from the same county. Most researchers like Sibanda (2010) and Muzondidya (2008) have acknowledged the essential role played by social networks when it comes to matters of access. This access can be access to job opportunities and also housing. Thus, it was crucial for this concept to be invested in this research as the research is focusing on the matters of access. Further, "the stranger" concept by Georg Simmel (1903) which has been further developed by well-known researchers like Zygmunt Bauman (1990) was used for the benefit of this research. The stranger is defined as an outsider who comes to a society or community that they do not belong to but with intentions of staying. This concept has helped in understanding the exclusion practices by the locals towards migrants. It is conceptually tied to the social network concept as 'the stranger" in this case are the Zimbabwean migrants who form relationships based on shared understanding. The strangers are then helped by their networks to form new identities that will assist them in the process of assimilation.

1.5 Research methodology

A qualitative research design was employed for the fruition of this research. The research methods such as face to face in-depth interviews and participant observation were used for the purposes of this study. The Diepsloot SANCO community leaders served as the key informants of the study. The snowball sampling technique was utilised in locating the participants. The interviews were recorded and later transcribed. Then after the data was analysed using the thematic analysis alongside the narrative method. Though some of the respondents they never wanted to be recorded.

1.6 Outline of chapters

The research report consists of six chapters. The initial chapter which is chapter one introduces the study. The chapter gives the justification for carrying out the research. The historical background of Diepsloot is given in this chapter. The chapter also gives an account of Diepsloot presently. Further, the politics of the area is also covered in this chapter. Chapter two presents the literature review which focuses on past studies that have been done by different scholars concerning national identity and access to housing and also neighbourhood. Chapter three presents the qualitative research methodology. It focuses also on the research methods that have

been used for the fruition of this research which are in-depth interview, participant observation and also the snowball sampling technique. This chapter also covers how the data was analysed of which the thematic analysis was used for this study. Further, this chapter covers the research site and also justifications of why the site was chosen for the purposes of this research. Chapter four which is titled finding a home in the informal settlement of Diepsloot addresses sub question one which focuses on the procedures that Zimbabwean migrants follow to acquire a shack in Diepsloot informal settlement. This chapter provides the findings of the research drawing from the narratives of the participants concerning national identity and access to housing and neighbourhood. Further, the chapter provides a discussion of the findings focusing on how the past studies or literature corroborates, extend, contradict and qualify these findings. The fifth chapter titled together apart: migration, neighbourhood, creation of new identities and assimilation addresses sub question two which reads how Zimbabwean migrants navigate the neighbourhood and with what challenges. This chapter also presents discussion of the findings focusing on the existing literature.

CHAPTER TWO

LITRETURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1 Introduction

Access to the informal housing by migrants in South Africa as a research topic is gaining attention; however, the dynamics of acquiring and inhabiting these spaces remains under-researched. Social networks and issues of strangeness form a key theme in this research; this literature review seeks to place the research within cognate fields of study. The common assumption is that only undocumented migrants face challenges when it comes to acquiring and inhabiting foreign spaces. However, the research shows that both documented and undocumented migrants encounter similar challenges because of their nationality. Issues that derive from the precariousness of migration are experienced by both types of migrants; these include access to neighbourhood, assimilation and security. Past studies indicate that informality goes hand in hand with illegality, but in fact with some migrants, the exorbitant rentals caused by the shortage of accommodation has relegated both documented and undocumented people to informality. This chapter will start by examining the past and present trends of Zimbabwe to South Africa migration. The contestations over housing and neighbourhood will also be discussed. Lastly, the theoretical tools which are concepts of "the stranger" and "social networks" will be looked at in detail.

2.2 Zimbabwe to South Africa migration: 'the past and present trends'.

Historically, in Southern Africa, South Africa and Zimbabwe were the most receiving migrant labour countries. According to Crush and Tevera (2010: 52) "the uneven development of capitalism in Southern Africa with its emerging mining and agricultural economic centres in South Africa in the 19th century and Zimbabwe in the 20th century led to new forms of migration, as workers from neighbouring countries migrated in search of employment". In South Africa there was the development of sugar plantations in Natal (1850), the discovery of diamonds in Kimberly (1870s) and gold found in the Witwatersrand (1886). Zimbabwe was also a supplier of migrant labour to South Africa but its percentages were very low (Crush & Tevera 2010: 52; Chereni 2014: 294). According to Crush and Tevera (2010: 52) the porous borders were one of the many factors that enabled work seekers to travel to the plantations and mining centres in South Africa and Zimbabwe. Moreover, Van Onselen et al (1979: 291) notes that the mining jobs in South Africa were undertaken by the male migrant labour force that lived without women in two suburbs along the line of Reef- Jeppe in the east and Fordsburg in

the west. These are the areas where capitalism before Apartheid (1880s) settled them, close to the mines. Throughout this period there was an infringement on "*the right to the city*" since the opportunity to live in the city was offered to mostly those who were working for the capitalists (Chereni 2014: 295).

In 1911, South Africa's mining industry and agricultural sector began to grow and plenty cheap labour was needed and it was not obtainable locally due to varied reasons (Crush & Tevere 2010: 68; Van Onselen et al 1979: 291). The government tried to coerce people to work by introducing taxations. According to Crush and Tevera (2010: 68), Zimbabwean young man became interested in the idea of going to *"kuWenela"* (South Africa) as a way of earning money to pay taxes and also bridal prices for their women. The "Wenela" experience became so significant and famous that these young men did not mind to travel for weeks in the bushes full of lions. Travelling to South Africa in search of opportunities became a ritual also to the Ndebele people in the Southwest of Zimbabwe. The Ndebele people referred to Johannesburg as '*Egoli'*. In the 1990s Zimbabwe had changed drastically from being a migrant-receiving country to being a migrant-sending country (Crush & Tevera 2010: 70).

The status of Zimbabwe being a migrant sending country intensified around the 2000s when the country was faced with political unrests and economic crisis. Many Zimbabweans had no choice but to legally and illegally jump the border to South Africa for the economic opportunities that the country was potentially presenting. South Africa has been the most attractive destination for most Zimbabweans (Southall 2001:1). De Jager & Musuva (2016: 24) suggest that this might be so because of its proximity to Zimbabwe. It has been also suggested that even if the crime is high in South Africa, one cannot ignore the country's powerful economy and stable democracy (De Jager & Musuva 2016: 24). Further, De Jager & Musuva (2016: 24) state that Zimbabwean migrants that came to South Africa usually settled in Gauteng province and Limpopo but now things have changed as these migrants have dispersed to all the areas of the country. The ethnic composition of migration has also changed as in the past it was the Ndebele and the white settlers that migrated to South Africa but now the Shona speaking people have increasingly migrated to South Africa because of factors such as job opportunities, business and also academic reasons.

Muzondidya (2008: 4) in his study 'coping strategies of Zimbabweans in South Africa' views the Zimbabwean migrants as not defenceless victims but as people who are in charge of their destinies and lives. Further, the study shows that because of the political and economic crisis these migrants from Zimbabwe had to find new strategies for coping. Thus, migration has turned out to be an essential response to the crisis that people in Zimbabwe are facing. According to Chikanda et al (2015: 363), Zimbabwean migrants have seen South Africa as a

place to stay and not a place of temporary economic opportunity for survival. Zimbabwean migrants have viewed South Africa as a place to start a new life.

The South African statistics of immigration shows that Zimbabwe has the largest population that migrate into the country (Bloch 2008). It is estimated that approximately 1.5 to 3 million Zimbabweans are living in South Africa (Human Rights 2008: 1; Polzer 2009: 3). The influx of migrants into South Africa has had constraints on the broader housing market in South Africa. Dovey (cited in Hass & Olsson 2016: 45) reveals that the pressure on housing has led to the emergence of informal housing, which is viewed as a reaction by the citizens against the government for its failure to provide adequate housing. Kota (2004: 2) posits that informal housing is a way of reclaiming the 'right to the city' by the dwellers. Unlike the past whereby Zimbabweans migrated to South Africa in search of work at the plantations and mines, contemporary Zimbabweans migrate to South Africa fleeing from political unrests, economic reasons, humanitarian reasons and also academic purposes (Musuva 2016: 24).

Migration was in the past decades dominated by man but of late there is the feminisation of migration whereby women have been seen also migrating. In the year 2010, it is estimated that approximately 44% of migrants were women (Crush et al 2013: 1). These female migrants have also played a pivotal role in supporting the families left in their countries of origin. Just like their male counterparts they send remittances and also help their family members to come to South Africa.

Further, Mawadza (2008: 2) notes that Zimbabwe to South Africa migration has of late witnessed an increased number of undocumented migrants. Mawadza (2008: 2) puts blame on the porous borders and the government of Zimbabwe for not issuing the passports in time. But one may argue that even if the government of Zimbabwe has improved on their system of issuing the passport still the trend of undocumented migrants migrating has increased. One might assume that this might have been caused by the fact that the South African Immigration has tightened its laws pertaining migration. Most people at the border they get the permit to stay in South Africa for just one week of which this becomes a problem as one needs to go back to Zimbabwe when their stay is over and yet at the same time they have to go to work. Thus, most Zimbabwean migrants have abandoned using their passports since at the border it limits their stay.

Zimbabwe to South Africa migration has benefited the families of most migrants. These migrants send remittances back home in order to assist with living expenses (Maphosa 2005: 3). The 2008 Zimbabwe crisis whereby there was a shortage of commodities saw most of the people in Zimbabwe relaying on their relatives in South Africa to send them food and also money.

Trimikliniotis et al (2008: 11) estimates that there are 2 million undocumented Zimbabwean migrants in South Africa and the numbers of those that are documented are less. Thus, Chereni (2014: 294) contends that most Zimbabwean migrants who lack documentation and skill are forced to turn to the informal sector for jobs and housing since they do not hold any qualification to participate or compete in the formal sector.

2.3 Informal settlement: "a perpetual challenge"

Informal settlement is an unplanned urban settlement where people set up temporary housing made out of corrugated iron. This kind of settlement is usually illegally set up on government or privately owned land (Huchzermeyer 2003: 11). Most informal settlements in South Africa such as Alexander are linked to the apartheid era as the government policies separated people in education, housing and job opportunities based on race. The right to the city was granted to the white people. The black people were evacuated from the urban spaces to the fringes of the city where they managed to establish their self-made homes.

The people residing in this area usually face poor basic services delivery. In some of these spaces, there is no electricity and water. The area is usually home to some middle-class people and also the poor people (Huchzermeyer 2003: 12)**.** The informal settlement as an alternative in accommodation has managed to accommodate a lot of people who desire to live in urban spaces and at the same time do not have the means to pay the exorbitant rents at the formal housing market. Pillay (2010: 13) states that in developing countries the informal settlements provides a home to millions. In South Africa from 1994 to 2011 there has been a proliferation of the informal settlements from roughly 300 to 2700 (Pillay 2010: 13). Although these settlements have managed to alleviate pressure on the housing systems, the statistics reveal the seriousness of house shortages and informality in South Africa. The South African government must find lasting solutions to these problems. The dwellers of these settlements are usually in precarious situations as they face the threat of eviction from the government owned or privately owned lands that they settle in. However, Huchzermeyer & Karam (2006: 23) view the phenomenon of informal settlement as a 'perpetual challenge' meaning that it is not a simple matter that can be fixed in a day. In places such as Nairobi, Luanda, Dar es Salaam and Lusaka the informal settlement accommodates more than 50 percent of the citizens (Huchzermeyer 2003: 13).

2.4 The neighbourhood concept

According to Berk (2005: 2), 'neighbourhood is usually used to describe the sub-divisions of urban or rural locations such as cities, villages and towns. In its purest definition, a neighbourhood is vicinity in which people live'. In a study carried out in the South African townships by Anderson et al (2012), it was discovered that in low-income spaces or neighbourhoods with the presence of immigrants there are low levels of social solidarity, sense of belonging and cohesion. The major reason presented for lack of cohesion in these neighbourhoods is clashes that occur between the migrants and locals over resources which are inadequate (Freemantle et al 2012).

2.5 A place called home

The concept home is a multi-layered concept. It carries different meaning to different people. According to Constable (1999: 223) home is constantly negotiated, it is defined by the feelings that an individual attaches to certain spaces. For instance, one can refer to a place as home because it's a place where they grew up and the place reminds them of their childhood. To some, a place can be referred to as a home because that is where their family members reside. Yet again a place can be called a home when an individual is recognised and accepted in the society. Home is constantly negotiated, in the case of migrants when they face challenges in their new homes they tend to think of their homes that they left in their respective countries Constable (1999: 223). Some they go to an extent of living their new homes and going back to their old homes in their country of origin. However, when such people are faced with challenges in their old homes they tend to think about their new homes that they had constructed.

2.6 Contestations over access to housing by migrants

Morare (2017: 1) poses a question; 'do migrants have access to adequate housing'? Most scholars such as Grice (2015), Greenburg & Polzer (2008) have shown that migrants face challenges in acquiring housing especially the undocumented ones. One activist cited in (Benit-Gbaffou 2013: 87) points out that most migrants are desperate for a place to stay to an extent that they are willing to pay more for it. The migrants who easily acquire housing are those that are rich and they are just a minority. These individuals have legal and financial resources that facilitate them to easily access housing (Morare, 2017: 2). Further, most of the migrants are hardworking and are able to pay for a basic house but their precarious legal status often leaves them with no option but to opt for an inadequate housing. Morare (2017: 2) states that at some discussion on migrants and social housing hosted by the Catholic Parliamentary Liaison Office. It was noted that the housing

in South Africa is really a serious issue that has caused most South Africans to reside in the shacks and the migrants in the most uncertain and hard situations.

One of the biggest challenges that migrants face starts with their legal status. The Department of Home Affairs is not effective in processing and giving migrants their documentation in time. Therefore, Morare (2017: 3) argues that this has left a lot of migrants with no documentation, incomplete documentation, wrong documentation and some with temporary documentation. Thus, making it difficult for them to access bank services which are essential when accessing or buying a house at a formal house market (Morare 2017: 4). Further, these migrants cannot have access to housing because of lack of documentation. Thus, they become vulnerable to landlords who do not require documentation but willing to charge exorbitant rents alongside other exploitations. Some of the landlords demand deposits when these migrants are moving in and when they are moving out the landlords refuse to give them their deposit money.

Exclusion based on citizenship and illegality has been identified as a barrier to migrants' access to cheap affordable formal housing in urban spaces. Therefore, most migrants turn to informal housing as an alternative. Bastia's (2015) suggests that exclusions based on one's identity leave migrants with no choice but to turn to the informal sector for jobs and housing. Geddie et al (2014: 5) assert that migrants (especially undocumented ones) across Europe in countries such as United Kingdom, Hungary, Sweden and Greece have been excluded from state-subsidized housing thereby being pushed to the margins of the private housing market. In these European countries, the law does not allow leasing of housing to undocumented migrants (Grice 2015: 1). Any landlord that provides accommodation to undocumented migrants faces punishment. As a result, these illegal migrants are relegated to the informal housing market (Grice 2015: 1). Further, in some instances, migrants find themselves in vulnerable or precarious situations as the landlords would take advantage of their illegal status and charge them exorbitant rents. These migrants have less negotiating power and restricted reach to complaint mechanisms. Moreover, within housing, there are gender issues, as one sees that a lot of women become homeless because of domestic abuse. However, even if the trends are changing and woman in formal space are owning houses there are some women who are not able to claim ownership (Grice 2015: 1).

According to Nyamnjoh (2006: 31), the South African government has perpetuated the exclusion of migrants from accessing formal housing by the laws it has passed. For instance the Housing act 107 of 1997, as amended by the Housing Amendment Act (no 4 of 2001) stipulates that 'beneficiaries of the government-funded housing should be South African citizens only'. Therefore, one may argue and say public housing programmes clearly exclude migrants. In the case of Imizamo Yethu (IY) in Western Cape, the community leaders made it clear that by law foreign nationals are not supposed to benefit from the low-income houses that the government has built for the locals. They argue that the foreign nationals staying at the area stay at the shacks which are built in backyard or shack settlements situated on the slopes of the mountain and they live with local people in these areas (Barolsky et al 2008: 41).

The South African constitution's section 26 of the Bill of Rights which addresses the question of access to housing is problematic. Sub-section (1), stipulates that everyone has the right to sufficient housing. Further, sub-section (2) states that 'the state must take reasonable legislative and other measures, within its available resources, to achieve the progressive realisation of this right'. In addition, sub-section (3) defends everyone from being removed from their homes and this includes people who have settled illegally at an informal settlement. The sub-section (1) is problematic as it does not clearly state if it includes or accommodates migrants.

However, Barolsky et al (2008: 41) assert that despite the stringent government policies on who has access to government housing, there are foreign nationals who reside in formal built government housing that is rented out by the locals. It is argued that the locals earn an income by renting their homes and shacks to foreign nationals who are willing to pay the amounts that the owners want. In the study carried out by Barolsky et al (2008) a group of people in Alexandra showed resentment for the foreign nationals since they believe that these foreigners are occupying their RDP houses that they have been waiting for (Barolsky et al 2008: 37). The government and corrupt officials have been blamed for not allocating the houses to the needy local people. It is alleged that instead, these corrupt officials are selling the RDP houses to foreigners (Benit-Gbaffou 2013: 36). At some xenophobic saga in Alexandra Township, locals who had noticed that there are migrants who are occupying social housing concluded that these migrants had access to these spaces because of corruption (Morare 2017: 3). The locals then demanded that the council must remove these migrants from the houses. However, it turned out that these migrants had legally acquired these houses and it wasn't due to corruption (Morare 2017: 3). It is claimed that such scenarios have discouraged most deserving foreigners from pursuing social housing and thus, they have ended up in informal settlements (Morare 2017: 4). One activist whose name was not mentioned blames the government for not being in a position to provide adequate housing to its citizens and also the documented migrants. The activist continues to state that the government

is the one that has caused the tensions between the locals and the foreigners (Benit-Gbaffou 2013: 36). Further, the activist disregards xenophobia and claims that we are all Africans and that there must be unity amongst Africans (Benit-Gbaffou 2013: 36). However, one may argue that the activist encourages unity amongst diversity but still excludes the undocumented migrants from access to housing.

It has been observed that the use of social networks by migrants allows them to accrue a range of benefits such as access to accommodation, employment, security and participation in social activities. Granovetter (1973: 1361) defines social networks as 'interpersonal ties that bring together migrants, non-migrants and former migrants'. Kane & Leedy (2013: 8) states that through these networks migrants build what Pierre Bourdieu (1986) and Portes (1995) refer to as 'social capital'. Further, Pierre Bourdieu (cited in Hungwe 2015: 2) defines social capital as "the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalised relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition in other words, member-ship in a group that provides each of its members with a backing of the collectively owned capital…a credential which entitles them to credit, in the various senses of the word". Khan (2004: 271) states that on arrival to a new country most migrants live with friends from the country of origin. They learn about their first residence through 60% and a few through family and relatives 22.9%. Khan (2004: 271) argues that it is through these networks that housing is accessed and job opportunities. The access to housing via the social network is referred to as *'arranged accommodation'* by Burgers (1998: 295)

2.7 Gender inequality and access to housing

Under precarious conditions of existence, gender is creatively used to justify patriarchal relations in access to resources, such as housing. The security, wellbeing and the perceived prominence of males as natural providers and agents that bring peace and stability to households and communities in transit, make men to be the preferred figures when it comes to establishing and determining distribution of resources. This in fact disadvantages women and justifies societal dominance of men and even women capacity to decide their fate. According to Pasura (2010: 446) "Gender as a social construction that organizes relations between males and females can greatly differentiate the causes, processes and impacts of migration between the two sexes. Many female migrants are poor and earn low income, this is due to the fact that they occupy inferior jobs that no one wants and those jobs do not correspond with their educational qualifications (Nsengiyumva 2007: 43). These women find themselves in a position whereby they cannot afford to access formal housing. Some women become forced to enter 'liquid love' whereby they have to do cohabitation so as to have a roof over their head. These practices of cohabitation are very

common in South Africa especially for rent and living expenses. However, some female migrants who fail to secure formal accommodation find themselves residing in the informal settlements (Nsengiyumva 2007: 44).

2.8 The politics of belonging: the insider and outsider debate

In Africa 'belonging' has been seen as a growing matter of concern as the insiders are excluding the outsiders from access to the routes of riches and power. Scholars such as Nyamnjoh (2006) and Geschiere (2009) have pointed out the seriousness of issues of belonging. They have shown how the insiders are constantly in conflict with the outsiders on who belongs where and who has access to what. Rutherford (2011: 1306) points that 'belonging' can be classed, gendered and raced, for instance, white migrants settle freely in most African countries because their right to migrate is seen as natural, unlike black people. Thus, mostly white migrants have a sense of belonging in Africa than black migrants who are Africans.

Nyamnjoh (2006: 14) states that in places such as South Africa the 'insiders' are creating boundaries against the 'outsiders' through Xenophobia. In support of this, the state has responded by tightening its borders with strict migration laws. Nyamnjoh (2006: 29) notes that the contemporary South African immigration laws have not changed that much from those of Apartheid period. Selective immigration which resulted in the country's history of apartheid has influenced how the black South Africans view migration. Nyamnjoh (2006: 29) notes that the black South Africans see white people as having the natural right to migrate, unlike blacks who are supposed to remain in their respective country of origin.

Georg Simmel mentions that disassociating factors such as envy, hate, need and desire are the main causes of conflict between two parties (Simmel 1971:70). However, conflict is also somehow considered as a method of forging unity between the conflicting parties (Simmel 1971:70). Further, Simmel points out that the acceptance of the outsider or relationships between the outsider and the locals is based on exchange. He elaborates on exchange *'as the purest and most concentrated form of all human interactions in which serious interests are at stake'* (Simmel 1971: 43). One individual provides what another individual is in search of. Thus, a migrant is welcomed into a society based on what they can offer.

Barolsky (2008: 45) suggests that there has been growing resentment of 'outsiders' by the 'insiders' as the insiders accuse the outsiders or 'strangers' of stealing their economic opportunities and accommodation. This resentment has sparked tensions between the insiders and the outsiders leading to the xenophobic attacks towards the outsiders by the locals. This resentment has led to name calling of migrants as '*makwerekwere*'[2]. Siziba (2013: 174) argues that the term makwerekwere marks 'a lack of enoughness', notable in the fact that the

pejorative term is itself a pointer of strange languages'. Nyamnjoh (2006) cited in Siziba (2013: 176) claims that name calling or labelling denies one the voice and a space of belonging. Moreover, Hungwe and Gelderblom (2014: 88) point out that the media worsens the situation as they constantly write stories of 'floods' or 'hoards' of migrants in the nation. In addition, Muzondidya (2008) also points out that the media and the public discourse has portrayed the migrants as 'murderous criminals responsible for all conceivable social ills' this thereby fanning the flames of xenophobia. The xenophobic attacks against the immigrants have been viewed by Nyamnjoh (2006: 15) as the 'obsession with belonging' by the locals. However, there are counter arguments against what most scholars such as Nyamnjoh (2006), Siziba (2013) and Muzondidya (2008) claim, these arguments suggest that structural explanations on the causes of xenophobia do not account for why xenophobia happens in other parts of South Africa and whereas the other parts of the country do not experience it (Abe & Katsaura 2016: 57). It is further argued that there is more to it on what is causing this ugly violent outburst.

In a study conducted by Bastia (2015) in Argentina's informal settlement named Buenos Aires, it is demonstrated that national identity plays a huge role in the everyday lives of migrants. National identity is defined by Fenton (2010: 7), 'as one's identity or sense of belonging to one state or to one nation'. Moreover, Bastia's (2015) findings show that one's identity also plays a pivotal role in the ways that migrants are socially excluded. In addition, it was discovered that past exclusions experienced by the internal migrants who are now leaders and influential in the informal settlement is being replicated by these leaders on migrants. These leaders use the basis of identity to determine who has the legitimacy to access resources (Bastia 2015: 1812). Moreover, Siziba (2013: 174) argues that in the South African context language is a 'crucial form of capital' that migrants use in positioning themselves in different neighbourhoods of Johannesburg. He sees language as an entry fee for negotiating one's identity and inclusion into the South African neighbourhoods. Further, Siziba (2013: 175) asserts that "*language is deployed to assess the legitimacy of one's identity and as such is an identity marking facet that distinguishes and otherizes amakwerekwere".* Basically, Siziba (2013) centres the analysis of identity and the politics of exclusion in South Africa in terms of language. Bourdieu (1991) cited in Siziba (2013: 176) argues that language gives a perception or idea about the identity of the speaker. Further, as a way of assimilation, most migrants tend to construct new identities (Ngwato 2012: 561).

In most countries, the negative attitudes by the '*insiders'* against the '*outsiders*' have reinforced migrants' sense of not belonging and unrecognition (Kane & Leedy 2013: 11). The recognition theorists claim that recognition can help build one's identity. In developing of my argument, I draw on Nancy Fraser's notion of '*recognition*' which she redefines as follows "the act of

acknowledging or respecting another being, such as when we 'recognise' someone's status, achievements or rights." (McNay 2008: 272). It is argued that the desire for recognition is usually not met in unequal societies (McNay 2008: 272). Honneth's (cited in McNay 2008: 273) basic argument is that the urge for recognition is so important to a person's self-realisation that it is the pushing force behind social development. Further, there are other types of recognition which are legal and status which basically focus on the granting of the rights. McNay (2008: 273) claims that the existing forms of recognition are inadequate and must be extended. However, it can be argued that unrecognition of migrants by the natives causes migrants to feel 'unwanted' and not belonging to these foreign spaces.

However, Menon (2013: 258) points out that the city is characterised by anomie, as there is the emergence of vibrant 'individualism'[3] which is surfacing at the cost of the loss of community. Furthermore, Menon (2013: 258) questions the new forms of living together that are emerging, as she talks about scenarios whereby people can live together but then divided. Menon (2013: 259) states that the city dwellers venture into a social contract that forces them to give up their independence to the body corporate that enforces regulations and rules ordering community severe fines acting out of the community norms for instance partying late night. She further, points out that individuals from different backgrounds reside in these type of communities but there seems to be little socialisation (Menon 2013: 259). In keeping with the idea Abe & Katsaura (2016: 55) observe that 'living together' in South Africa remains as one of the constant social problems.

Hungwe and Gelderblom (2014: 78) claim that the severe instances of discrimination which result in exclusions have forced most migrants to acquire South African citizenship legally and illegally. Furthermore, Kane and Leedy's (2013) notion of 'transnational connection' claims that migrants choose to maintain their relationships with their family members back in their country of origin through sending remittances and also returning home every now and then. The connection with their families back home provides them with the support systems they desire. In navigating discrimination some migrants have mastered the art of self-exclusion which is isolating themselves from cultural assimilation (Landau & Freemantle 2009; Kane &Leedy 2013). Moreover, Klotz (2013) and Hungwe and Gelderblom (2014) assert that some of these migrants have been assimilated into South African society by adopting the language and culture thereby hiding their true national identity. It is claimed that in hiding their identities some of the foreigners have gone as far as legally and illegally acquiring South African IDs (Benit-Gbaffou 2013: 36). According to Benit-Gbaffou (2013:36), these foreign nationals should not be judged because they are also trying to secure a livelihood. This is proof that migrants face exclusions and in order to navigate them, they go as far as acquiring ID cards in trying to negotiate citizenship

and having access to opportunities. A question that comes to one's mind is does hiding of identity offer these migrants easy access to a shack or resources?.

According to Hungwe & Gelderblom (2014: 79), some of these migrants have applied for asylum to have access to rights of residence and work. However, the UNHRC'S 2016 report shows that only a handful use asylums to justify their position in South Africa and the asylum seekers have dropped by approximately 900 000 in one year only (Collins 2017: 1). Landau & Freemantle's (2009: 376) notion of 'tactical cosmopolitanism'[4], states that most migrants claim the "*right to the city*" centred on what their countries of origin did to help South Africa during the apartheid phase. Oucho and Crush (cited in Nyamnjoh 2006: 16) contend that South Africa is far from allowing free movement of black Africans even if they are within the SADC region.

In this regard, it is difficult to believe former president Nelson Mandela's rhetoric of African cosmopolitanism[5] that South Africa belongs to all who live in it. For Henri Lefebvre in Bastia (2015: 1812) the city provides channels through which individuals learn from one another how to deal with their differences. Besides, the exclusions or stereotyping of people or groups hinders all dwellers of the city from wholly benefiting from it (Bastia 2015: 1812). In addition, Friedmann (2002: 12) suggests that in order to accomplish what he terms '*the good city*'; all the city dwellers must experience inclusion. Further, he points out that positive inclusion is advantageous in the development of the city (Friedmann 2002: 12).

2.9 Theoretical underpinnings

The theoretical underpinnings that are deduced from the literature review that are going to be my lens in explaining issues in my study are a) 'the stranger 'and b) 'social network'. These concepts will be further discussed below and how they fit into my research.

2.9.1 The stranger

The notion of 'the stranger' by Georg Simmel (1903) will be used as a theoretical lens to understanding the dynamics that come into play on issues pertaining challenges that Zimbabwean migrants face in accessing housing and neighbourhood at Diepsloot. In defining the notion "the stranger" Simmel (1903) rejects its old sense of meaning as the 'outsider' who has no precise relations with the 'insiders' and also as the 'wanderer' who comes today and goes tomorrow. Rather he redefines it as an individual who comes today and stays tomorrow. Therefore by this individual staying and not going back where they came from, this means that the individual needs to secure a place to stay. Moreover, Simmel (1903) also focuses on the costs of being 'the stranger' and also the effects of the existence of the stranger on the 'natives' or other group members. This will help me understand some of the conflicts that arise between

locals and Zimbabwean migrants regarding access to housing. Whenever there are unrests or demonstrations, Zimbabweans migrants who are the 'strangers' are always blamed for occupying housing that is meant for the local people.

Simmel (1903) goes on to unpack his concept and say that, 'the stranger' is a member of the group with whom he shares the social space with and yet is excluded or remains distant from the 'locals' (members of the group). The social exclusion or distancing that the stranger faces has got to do with his 'origins', 'ethnicity' or 'citizenship' (Simmel 1903). Consequently, 'the stranger' is seen as an 'outsider' to the group regardless of the persistent relations with other members of the group, 'his distance is more emphasized than his nearness'(Simmel 1903). This will help me in understanding that no matter the years Zimbabwean migrants have settled in the area they will always be seen as strangers in the neighbourhood. Thus, this has an implication on them as decision makers in the neighbourhood they reside in. This notion will also help me in understanding the assimilation or integration dynamics as Zimbabwean migrants experience a series of unacceptance and acceptance into the society or the neighbourhood.

Moreover, Simmel (1903) asserts that due to the stranger's position in the group, strangers usually undertake special tasks that the other members of the group are not willing to undertake. Wilkinson (2015: 1) states that the locals perceive the foreigners as job stealers yet the foreigners venture into the jobs that the locals are unwilling to occupy for instance farm work and security jobs. Thus, this will assist my understanding of the causes of tensions and lack of solidarity between the "stranger" and the "locals".

In elaborating Simmel's (1903) notion 'the stranger', I deploy the works of Wolf (1950: 403) who claims that the insiders have always been worried about the coming in of an individual into the group. This has been caused by the insider's thought that the individual might come and take over. This individual is regarded as a 'stranger' as the insider is not familiar with him/her. Simmel (1950: 17) points out 'that when the stranger arrives, he is outside the system of social relationships and poses a set of problems for the existing order'. Scholars such as Briffault (1927) and Westermarck (1921) argue that illiterate people are most likely to view strangers as enemies whereas amongst the literate a 'stranger' may be seen as a guest or a friend. Simmel (cited in Wolf 1950: 67) goes on to unpack and say that prejudice or scramble in sharing of the available resources with the "outsider", sparks or causes conflict between the outsiders and the insiders who are the rightful owners of resources. Simmel (1971: 143) states that the stranger lives in a group where their position in the group is affected by that they do not belong to the group. The stranger brings to the group qualities that the group does not allow (Simmel 1971: 143). However, the stranger might be attractive and interesting but as long as he is seen as a stranger

he has no right to land ownership (Simmel 1971: 143). This would guide me in understanding who has ownership of the shack and also why this is so.

Further, Bauman notes that the stranger as the cultural other brings about their own cultural practices that cause disruptions or destabilises the culture of the natives (Marotta 2002: 43). Thus, the exclusionary practices by the natives maintain the in-between the 'outsiders' and the 'established'. It is advocated that the outsiders they threaten the identity of the established/natives since the identity confines begin to be unclear (Marotta 2002: 43). For instance, in South Africa, it is at times difficult to differentiate between a foreigner and a local as mentioned by Siziba (2013) that some foreigners use language to legitimise their identity and some go to an extent of legally and illegally acquire the South African ID.

In his interpretation and assessment of post-modernity and modernity Zygmunt Bauman brings to discussion two crucial themes 'order' and 'ambivalence'. These two themes have intrigued Bauman to investigate on how the stranger symbolizes the ambivalence that the ordering impulse is trying to get rid of. The strangers interfere with the confines that the ordering needs to bring about stability and also predict the social world. Bauman (cited in Marotta 2002: 42) notes that *"strangers befog and eclipse the boundary lines which ought to be clearly seen".* Bauman tries to bring out the "us" and "them" way of thinking which has brought about the creation of collective identity. Further, Bauman (cited in Marotta 2002: 43) uses the concept strange-hood in understanding the emergence of nationalism. Bauman (cited in Marotta 2002: 43) posits that "*nationalism seeks unification and homogeneity and this is achieved through the act of drawing boundaries between natives and aliens".* The stranger is defined as those in an ambivalent position, who challenge the locals as due to their presence the cultural and social boundaries become precarious. The concept stranger is used by Bauman to strengthen the question of boundaries between the other and self.

2.9.2 Social networks

Social networks concept will also be used in my study. Social networks are increasingly observed as crucial sources of 'social capital' for migrants, which increase their chances of access to services, resources and social support (Kane & Leedy 2013; Ryan et al 2008). Putnam cited in Ryan et al (2008: 675) suggests that 'social capital,' a notion derived from the work of Bourdieu (1986) can help alleviate the insidious effects of socio-economic disadvantage. The Utilisation of this theory in my study will help me investigate on what kind of connections Zimbabwean migrants create. It will allow me to understand why Zimbabwean migrants in Diepsloot rely on networks when it comes to accessing of housing and participation in social activities and if the access is always via these networks. Moreover, when investigating on the connections created by

the Zimbabwean migrants I will focus on the two prominent Zimbabwean tribes namely Shona and Ndebele. It will be scrutinised if both groups are connected and also what forms of relations and in what ways. Rayan et al (2008: 673) views networks as essential to understanding patterns of migration, settlement, links with a home and employment.

Social networks are characterised by reciprocal exchange and they are useful for the first time migrants as sources of referral and information. Muzondidya (2008: 12) claims that 'social networks among Zimbabwean migrants are mainly based on kinship and extended family ties'. These networks are maintained through social visits during weekends or important family events like birthdays and regular phone calls to discuss developments at home. The networks are normally activated in times of need, such as periods of unemployment when the migrant would need support in terms of accommodation (Muzondidya 2008: 12). Churches, especially Zionist churches which operate in many of South Africa's townships and informal settlement, also provide a vital network linking migrants together especially women. Women interviewed in Pretoria pointed out that they go to the Zion Christian church, 'every Sunday not just to pray but to socialise with fellow Zimbabweans and updates on news from home'. They explained that the church fills a big vacuum in their lives because it offers them the only chance to socialise with others outside their homes (Muzondidya 2008: 12)

The concepts 'social network' and 'the stranger' are conceptually tied in that the Zimbabwean migrants 'strangers' create networks with other Zimbabwean migrants who migrated before them, who already know how to navigate their way to access resources. They also form and maintain networks with the people that they left in their country of origin which Kane & Leedy (2013) refer to as '*transnationalism*'. This transnational network is maintained by sending remittances back home and also revisiting every now and then. The concepts are also tied in the sense that the deconstruction of the representation of 'stranger' as a visitor who departs her or his territory has been caused by social networks. The 'stranger' now stays as he or she forms networks with those who travelled before him/her to the destination area. Those that the stranger has contact with in the country of destination they have negotiated their strangeness with their new societies and there is a form of acceptance that helps them in establishing themselves. Thus, they help the newcomer with accommodation, food and job. Thus, allowing the 'stranger" to negotiate the degree of permanency.

2.10 Conclusion

This chapter has shown the contestations surrounding migrants and access to housing and neighbourhood. South Africa is one of the countries faced with the housing crisis. This housing crisis has led to the formation and proliferation of informal settlement. Scholars such as Grice (2015) have shown the challenges that undocumented migrants face when acquiring housing. The literature also indicates that migrants are excluded from the low-cost housing. This has caused the migrants to opt for the informal settlement for housing. The chapter has shown that migrants have to fight for belonging in their new societies which are characterised by a series of acceptance and unacceptance of the migrant. The chapter also discusses the theories that were utilised in this research and also their significances.

CHAPTER THREE
METHODOLOGY

"You should understand that a person will never speak out their mind 100% with regards to questions of confidentiality" [Interview, Fortunate]

3.1 Introduction

This chapter illustrates the research methodology that the researcher employed to meet the aims of the study. The study employed a qualitative research methodology which will be further discussed in this chapter. Further this chapter also presents the research methods and instruments that were used by the researcher in conducting the research. The research site and the justifications of the choice of the site will also be given in this chapter. The chapter will also present the sampling technique that was used for the study, the ethical consideration, and also how the data was analysed.

3.2 Qualitative design

The study adopted a qualitative research methodology as it wanted to gain a deeper insight and more information about the problem studied. More so, qualitative inquiry allows one to answer questions about the nature of the social phenomenon rather than the prevalence of the phenomenon (Janesick 2010: 46).

3.3 Research methods

This section focuses on the methods that were used in the research. These methods include the in-depth interviews, participant observation and the snowball sampling technique.

3.3.1 Sampling technique

The snowballing technique was utilised as the sampling technique for recruiting participants for the study. Bless *et al* (2013: 161) states that snowballing is useful in identifying people difficult to find. The target participants were the ordinary Zimbabwean migrants, locals and South African community leaders residing in Diepsloot. My participants ranged from those who have been in the area for a long time and the new comers. In locating participants for my study I started at the side of the road with a vendor who later was instrumental in locating other participants in the area. The snowball technique was very instrumental in the study as it helped to quickly find other participants with no struggle. The problem with the sampling technique was when I would be referred to an individual and that individual refuses to participate and claim that they are not Zimbabwean. This would force me to go back to my last participant and ask him/her to show me who else I can ask to participate in the research.

3.3.2 In-depth interviews

The researcher conducted 14 in-depth interviews. An in-depth interview involves face to face communication between an interviewer and the participant (Johnson 2001: 1). Creswell & Miller (2000: 127) state that in-depth interviewing involves a certain method of social and interpersonal interaction. They further state that in order for the interview to be effective it is crucial to create rapport so that interviewees are comfortable with revealing information. This is one of the techniques that I used in getting my interviewees to talk. I created friendly relationships with the informants whom I interviewed. This was with the aim to make them open to sharing with me their experiences, perspectives and worries. This might have paved the way to less biased responses, opened channels of conversation between the researcher and the respondent and at the same time made the respondent to feel free around the researcher and maybe allowed them to share hidden or secretive information.

A tape recorder was used to record the interviews. Johnson (2001: 111) notes that when conducting these in-depth interviews one must seek for permission from the respondents to use the tape recorder. He points out that one must design five to eight questions that go to the exact point. Johnson (2001: 111) argues that people can hardly remember what they heard or what they saw. Thus, it is crucial for interviewer to obtain verbatim records of the interviews. I will also take down notes during the interview. As Creswell & Miller (2000: 128) mentions that handwritten field notes are essential as the interviewer tends to write down all the things that a tape recorder can-not record for instance expressions or actions of the respondent. Moreover, throughout these interviews I will take note of the gestures and cursing sounds which will potentially go a long way in allowing me to interpret some of the meanings, perspectives and feelings towards the procedure and challenges of access to housing and to neighbourhood at Diepsloot informal settlement.

3.3.3 Participant observation

In further understanding the dynamics of Diepsloot participant observation was used alongside the in-depth interviews. As a way of observing if migrants have access to the neighbourhood, I visited the mall of Diepsloot and I attended a church service at a church called the African Apostolic Church. I managed to interview the participant that had brought me to the church and also one of the church elders. I did not get the chance to interview the church members and the pastor as the church started early morning and ended up late. As a researcher I had to take precaution of the time I leave Diepsloot as it is known that the area is dangerous. I wanted to attend community meetings but unfortunately I could not attend as the person that I relied on to update me if there was a meeting kept on giving excuses. However, I managed to have an interview based on the meetings that take place in the

area with one of the community leaders. This interview was essential as it highlighted a lot of aspects that are fundamental to this research. The participant observation was crucial for accruing first-hand information.

3.4 Diepsloot: a haven of migrants

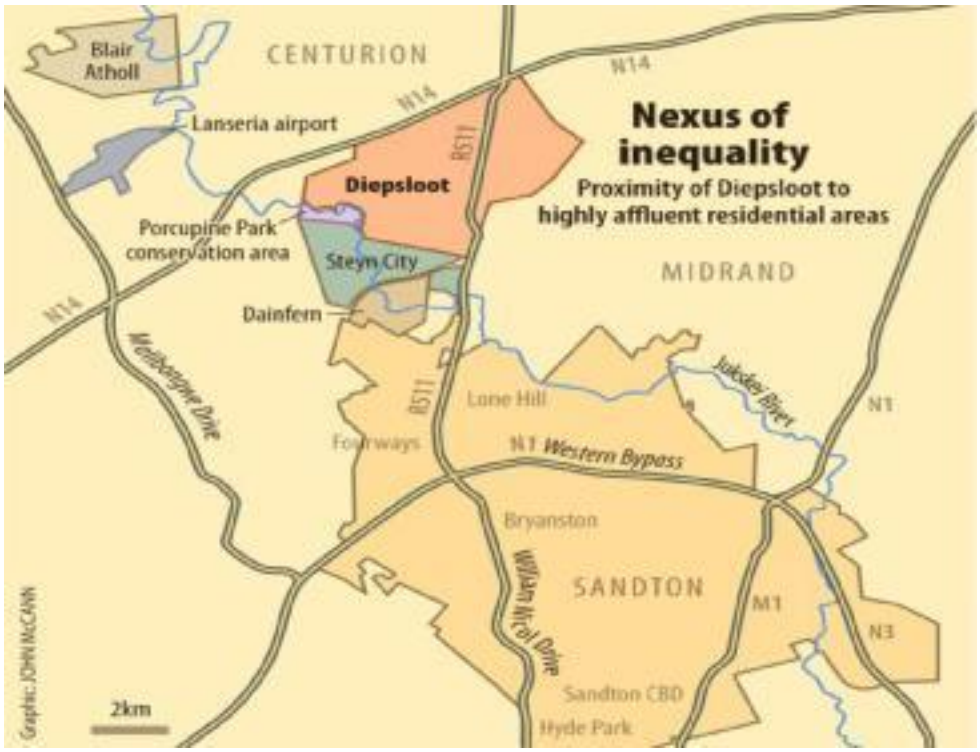

Figure 4: The location of Diepsloot

Source: Google maps

The research site selected for the purposes of the research is Diepsloot which is located in the north of Johannesburg. As shown on the map above for one to get to Diepsloot they have to use William Nicol Street which passes through Hyde Park, Sandton and Fourways. Diepsloot is a township that is full of foreign nationals coming from different countries such as Zimbabwe, Mozambique, Malawi, Somalia, Lesotho, Pakistan and Bangladesh. The largest immigrant population of Diepsloot is from Zimbabwe. Most Zimbabweans who come to reside in Diepsloot are unemployed and usually lack documentation (Mahajan 2014: 51). The Pakistanis and Bangladeshis come or reside in Diepsloot for business purposes such as spazas[1] and small supermarkets (Mahajan 2014: 51). However, there are tensions witnessed in the area which are related to the intense competition between the foreign nationals and locals over the scarce resources such as housing and jobs (Mahajan 2014: 51). These tensions started to manifest with the 2008 xenophobic attacks against the foreign nationals. The locals also claimed that the foreign

[1] A 'spaza' "a small usually unlicensed shop that sells food and other small household items in townships/ high density areas" (Hungwe 2013: 1)

nationals come to their country and own all the spazas and supermarkets that is why during xenophobia they also targeted the spaza shops. Therefore, Diepsloot is such an exciting area for my research, as I am investigating on the relationship that exists between national identity and access. I choose to focus on Zimbabwean migrants because they are the largest number to migrate to South Africa. According to McGregor & Primorac (2010: 38) there are approximately 1 to 3 million Zimbabwean migrants in South Africa. One of the reasons this is so is that Zimbabweans tend to assimilate better than other nationalities. This is because of the almost similar languages and culture that Zimbabweans share with South Africa.

3.5 The everyday life of Zimbabweans in Diepsloot

It was on a hot Saturday morning on the 2nd of September 2017 when I visited Diepsloot to do my interviews. The moment I dropped off the taxi I realised that Diepsloot was a busy area full of different kinds of businesses ranging from spaza shops, vendors, small supermarkets and taverns. I quickly spotted one woman who was selling second hand clothes. As I approached the woman, she looked happy as she thought I was a customer but when I got closer, I greeted her and explained that I am searching for Zimbabweans and South African people to participate in my masters' research. She instantly looked uncomfortable and insecure. I asked her which nationality she came from and she said she was from Zimbabwe, specifically Bulawayo. As she saw me pull out a book and a pen from my bag she grew more uncomfortable. She kept on looking over her shoulders showing signs of uncertainty. I gave her a consent form that explained my reasons for being in Diepsloot. I helped her to read it through and I even showed her my student card for assurance that I was a student. I then asked her to participate in my research and she agreed but all over her face I could tell that she was uncomfortable.

I asked her to tell me about herself and this is what she said:

> "Look here you are now challenging me if you say I must tell you about myself" [Interview, Sakhile (Zimbabwean)]

This was evidence enough that still she did not trust me. Again I assured her that this was a research and it was going to be used for my masters' report and it was going to be kept private and confidential. When I took out a recorder and asked her to record the interview, she refused. She said she does not want to come out on social media[2]. Thus, I had to interview her whilst taking done the notes.

[2] Social media is a set of applications or websites that allows people from different parts of the world to connect and share and create content. The most famous applications are Facebook and WhatsApp.

As the interview was progressing the woman began to feel free. She expressed the challenges that she encounters because of her illegal status and that is why when she first saw me she was afraid because she thought I might be working with the police or home affairs. The reactions by the woman show the challenges of being a migrant; one can never be at a safe space because they do not know what might happen to them next, especially if undocumented. South Africa is well known for its deportations. Many Zimbabweans have been deported because of lack of documentation. However, in the interview Sakhile states that some of Zimbabweans have formed social networks with even the police to avoid deportation. Most migrants lead precarious lifestyles. Scholars such as Hungwe & Gelderblom (2014), Nyamnjoh (2006), Kane & Leedy (2013) & Muzondidya (2008) write on the experiences of Zimbabwean migrants in South Africa. These scholars argue that migrants face discrimination, social exclusion and they are constantly battling for recognition and belonging.

Simmel's (1903) concept of the stranger fits well with this scenario as the woman kept on looking over her shoulders which was so unusual. She exhibited a character of a person who is uncertain about a place and displayed reactions of someone who does not belong to a place. She still has the feelings of a stranger. She is a member of the society but still remains distant from the locals. Even if the woman has established relations with the insiders still she does not belong to the group because of her origins.

3.6 Data analysis

According to Cohen et al (2007: 461), 'data analysis can be described as the process of making sense from research participants' views and opinions of situations, corresponding patterns, themes categories and regular similarities'. This research used thematic data analysis. Bless et al (2013: 334) states that thematic content analysis is frequently used form in qualitative research. Immediately after the interviewing process, interviews were transcribed to the English language whilst the reader is familiarising themselves with the data. Bless et al (2013: 342) notes that the initial step in qualitative data analysis is the process in which the reader has to read and reread the data to be familiar with it. Reading the data over and over again will help me to have a mental picture of the whole data set. This assisted the researcher in identifying what important data is missing. Secondly, the researcher did coding and labelling which is whereby the text is broken into pieces that share the same themes. Bless et al (2013: 342) notes that the core element of qualitative analysis is coding. In analysing the data differences and similarities that emerge from the themes will be identified.

3.7 Methodological limitations

The limitations encountered in this research were that most of the Zimbabwean migrants' participants were afraid to participate in the research because of their illegal status. Bastia (2015) observes that there is causation between informality and illegality. Thus, it was not surprising that some of the participants I found in Diepsloot were illegal Zimbabwean migrants. The challenges I encountered were that the people in Diepsloot viewed me firstly as a stranger since no one knew me from the place, I was seen as a spy and some saw me as a home affairs worker who had come to identify people without documentation. In addition landlords of certain homesteads did not want me to have access to their tenants who are Zimbabwean migrants since they were afraid that their exploitation of migrants might be exposed. To overcome the challenges I would show my participants my student card and also give them a consent form that stated that I am doing a research for academic purposes.

In this research, I used the snowball sampling technique whereby my initial participants referred me to other participants. When I approached the participants some of them would deny being Zimbabwean but from their accent I could tell that they were Shona speaking. It is easy to identify a Shona speaking person when they are speaking in Zulu language than the Ndebele speaking because the Ndebele language is similar to the Zulu language. Thus, I would speak to them in Shona and they would respond. This presented me with an opportunity to engage them with my study.

Furthermore, conducting interviews in a setting such as Diepsloot was not as easy as I thought. During the interviews, some of the residents of Diepsloot would come and interrupt. They would start talking about things that are not linked to the research. I would stop recording and ask the participant to kindly tell them that we are doing an interview and that their interference was barring the progress of the interview. At times what I would have recorded initially would be lost and I would start to record again. This was a huge challenge as this would waste time which I considered crucial to the researcher and the participant. Most of my participants I got them at their business places meaning that they would be busy and I would not want to take much of their time. I was also mindful of time considering the dangerous nature of Diepsloot; I never wanted to stay in the area until it was dark. In dealing with such a challenge I would write down important points from an interview so that if the recording is lost I would not start afresh with the interview. I concluded that interviews are hard to conduct in a place such as an informal setting because of its too much activities overcrowding and noise.

Moreover, some of the participants seemed not to be honest with the information that they were sharing. One of the participants even indicated that:

> You should understand that a person will never speak out their mind 100% with regards to questions of confidentiality [Interview, Fortunate]

Thus, I had to also depend on observations. Some of the participants would highlight that they are enjoying life in Diepsloot but their appearance said otherwise. They appeared as if they were struggling to make ends meet. The condition of the area, for instance, the busted sewage, dirty streets, dilapidated houses, noise and overcrowding are worst conditions that one would not want to find themselves in.

Further, given that the interviews were not conducted in English as the participants are Shona and Ndebele speaking, the transcription of the data from these two vernacular languages into the English language altered the intended meaning of the interview. In overcoming this limitation some of the data will be left in its original language in order not to alter the meaning.

3.8 Ethical considerations

Reliable research is one that maintains certain moral standards. In my research I chose not to mislead participants or to send wrong signals, through promises of money, beer and jobs. I wanted participation and acceptability to be natural and not economically driven. Some of the participants I found in Diepsloot were illegal Zimbabwean migrants. In this case, my visit to Diepsloot raised issues of trust and misguided agendas as migrants thought I was working for home affairs. In order to deal with this challenge I had to show the participants my student card and I assured them that I was in Diepsloot only for the purposes of research. I had to also show them the participant information sheet that stated my reasons of being in Diepsloot. Further, a participant consent forms giving their permission to be interviewed were presented to the participants.

However, the participants were not interested in signing the consent forms and thus consent was verbal. I fully explained the purposes of the research to the participants and made it clear that participation was not forced but voluntary. Hence, voluntary informed consent was sought from the participants. Bless *et al* (2013: 30) asserts that no person must be coerced. Therefore those unwilling to participate were not bothered. The participants were assured that the interviews were confidential. Pseudo names were used to protect respondents. In this regard the names that will appear on the thesis will not be the actual names of the respondents.

3.9 Reflectivity

Reflexivity was essential for my study. According to Creswell (2013: 216) reflexivity is a process whereby the researcher is aware of experiences and biases brought into the qualitative study. Reflectivity permits a researcher to show how their experiences relate to their research. As I am also a migrant in some instances I had to reflect on my experiences to understand the experiences that some of the participants in Diepsloot shared with me.

I came to South Africa in 2011 to study at Monash South Africa in Rumsig. Although, the campus was located in Rumsig our residences were located in honeydew just a street away from an informal settlement called Zandspruit. I was scared of this informal settlement as we had to pass through it when going to the shopping centre. However, at times we could not have access to the shopping centre because of the protests that kept on occurring on the matters of service delivery. These protests usually occurred on Wednesdays. Tyres were burnt on the roads and huge stones thrown on the streets whereas the police would be firing rubber bullets and teargas. The incidences that took place in this informal settlement sparked my interests of researching on informal settlements.

It was not as difficult as I thought to find the initial participant in Diepsloot soon as I dropped off the taxi I quickly identified one of my participants who later directed me to some of the participants close to the main road by extension 1. However, other participants I had to convince them that the research was for my academic purposes and I was not working with the home affairs or the police. I could understand their fears and worries because I just came from nowhere and started asking questions about whom they are and so forth. If I was the one in the situation I would not just be free to entertain the person. I would have my suspicions. However, I managed to convince some of the participants who were a little sceptical in participating in the research.

Conducting a research in Diepsloot was not as intimidating as most of my colleagues thought it would be. I am familiar with an informal setting since I once stayed next to Zandspruit informal settlement for three years. Even though there is some information that I know about informal settlements, I did not let it spoil the information that I was being given by the participants. Also as a migrant I related to some of their experiences for instance the police asking for passports and also avoiding using Shona language in the taxi because I wouldn't want to be easily identified as a Zimbabwean. I never interfered when they were sharing all this information.

It was easy for some participants to open up to the researcher about their experiences in Diepsloot because the researcher is also a migrant and speaks the same languages as them. Some of the experiences they shared they assumed that the researcher was familiar to them as the researcher is also a migrant. When they spoke on the issues of social exclusion and expressed sadness the researcher related to this as the researcher understands how exactly it feels to be excluded. However, the researcher made sure that whatever she knew or felt about issues of exclusion did not interfere with the findings. One of the participants expressed that when they are in the taxi they do not like to answer their phones because they are afraid to be identified as a Zimbabwean immediately. The researcher also related to this as at times she doesn't like to answer the phone from family members as she has to communicate in Shona which makes it easy for someone to quickly know that one is Zimbabwean. The Ndebele language is similar to Zulu that is why it is not easy to quickly tell if a Ndebele speaking person is South African or Zimbabwean.

CHAPTER FOUR

FINDING A SHANTY HOME IN DIEPSLOOT: Who goes there?

4.1 Introduction

This chapter is premised on the argument that Zimbabwean migrants have gained purchased access to Diepsloot. This purchased access is largely governed by social networks that the Zimbabweans have established and through illegal means with locals conniving. The researcher established that what current literature understands as a relationship between informality and illegality does not always hold. The housing crisis and the relative poverty dictate that some migrants would have to be exposed to the informal irrespective of their legal status. The issue of strangeness is a barrier to accessing housing at an informal settlement because of the laws that are set aside when accessing housing. Immediately after the migrants have precariously acquired residence the issue of strangeness emerges whereby the issue of nationality becomes the bases of their alienation.

4.2 Reasons for residing in Diepsloot

The narratives of the participants indicated that the economic situation in Zimbabwe acted as a catalyst to most Zimbabweans migrating to South Africa seeking better opportunities. The situation was tough as most Zimbabwean migrants describe it. There were food shortages that caused most people to sleep on empty stomachs. Hunger became an everyday phenomenon. The poor became poorer as the minority rich people were benefiting from the whole situation. The service delivery also became poor as some places in the country went for months without water and electricity. The unemployment rate was skyrocketing and there was no hope that things were ever going back to normal. Thus, migration to South Africa for most Zimbabweans became inevitable. Some Zimbabweans who came to South Africa as a way of escaping the poverty that they were facing back home came to South Africa to face abject poverty. South Africa just like any other African country is faced with its own problems regardless of its attractive economy. It was not as easy as some of the Zimbabweans thought it would be to find employment. Some of the participants expressed that qualified nurses and doctors came to South Africa to seek better opportunities but only to find themselves working as waiters in restaurants and domestic workers. These qualified professionals find themselves taking up jobs that do not match their educational attainment.

Some of the Zimbabwean migrant participants highlighted that they feel trapped in poverty. Their hopes for a better life did not materialise as the poverty that they are facing has been a determining factor of their everyday lives. Some Zimbabwean migrants expressed that poverty has been the determining factor when it comes to their residential location. Due to the poverty that they are facing they cannot afford to acquire or reside in flats or houses such as other Zimbabweans residing in Hillbrow, Berea and Yeoville rather they had to come to Diepsloot informal settlement to find a place to stay. One of the participants had this to say regarding the issue:

> I came to South Africa from Zimbabwe running away from poverty but when I came here I still found myself living in poverty [Interview, Fortunate (Zimbabwe)]

Although the gentlemen did not state how he arrived in Diepsloot. It is likely that the hardships that he was facing due to poverty might have determined his residential location just like some Zimbabwean migrants residing there. The situation of poor migrants differs from that of rich migrants who can actually afford to purchase or rent a house in any area that they desire. These findings corroborates with Hungwe's (2013: 126) study that also points to the Zimbabwe economic crisis having been the biggest push factor for most Zimbabweans migrating to South Africa.

However there is the 'middle class' amongst the Zimbabwean migrants, those that are not poor but still find themselves residing in Diepsloot because of their social networks. The empirical evidence shows that family members that travelled before and are now familiar with locations are at a position to offer information to their family members on which location to choose and at times they accommodate their family members. Participants highlight on how their family members who travelled before had a part to play in their choice of residence. Mpumelelo a domestic worker had this to say:

> I came straight from Zimbabwe to come and live here in Diepsloot as my husband was already living here [Interview, Mpumelelo (Zimbabwean)].

Another participant noted that their family member resided in Diepsloot before and later left the place for the participant after finding another place to stay. The participant explains:

> My brother is the one who was staying here so he left the place for me [Interview, Evans (Zimbabwean)].

This finding corroborates with the findings of Amado et al (2006) and Mulder (2007) who note that kinship relationships are influential and helpful for migrants coming into a country for the first time. These kinship relationships are important as they are sources of referral and information (Amado et al 2006; Mulder 2007). Further Leedy &Kane (2013) points out that family ties are advantageous to first time migrants as they face minor challenges when it comes to accessing housing and job opportunities.

The narratives of the participants indicated that migrants often find themselves in precarious situations when it comes to accommodation and that is why most migrants prefer to stay at the informal settlements which are usually situated at the fringes of the city. The participants stated that they came to settle in Diepsloot because they had no any other alternatives since getting a house at a formal house market comes with myriad demands which range from documentation to finance. One of the migrants had this to say:

> Being a migrant is tough especially when it comes to issues of accommodation. When I came to South Africa and did not know anyone I had no any other place to go stay but Diepsloot. This is the place I got dropped off by Malaitsha[3] when I arrived from Zimbabwe to seek for a job opportunity and so I decided to live here. We live a nomadic life in this place as we are forever moving from one shack to another [Interview, Sakhile (Zimbabwean)].

The narrative by the participants expresses the challenges and dangers of being a migrant at the same time not knowing anyone at the place of destination. Literature reveals that migrants who do not have networks or relations at a place of destination usually face difficulties in finding a decent accommodation. This shows that housing for migrants is still a huge problem that needs to be addressed. This finding corroborates with what Bastia's (2015) study in Brazil that migrants are often excluded from the formal house market because of their identity and that these exclusions have left migrants with no any other better alternative but find a home in the informal housing sector.

As for people like Fortunate finding a home at a formal housing market was hindered by the fact that they lacked documentation thus why she decided to stay at a shack in Diepsloot where she will not need any proof of documentation to stay. She explains:

[3] This is a name given to the people who transport migrants from Zimbabwe to South Africa

> Yes, I have faced a lot of challenges due to lack of documentation without documentation you cannot get a good job or open an account. It's challenging to even access formal housing market. [Interview, Fortunate (Zimbabwean)]

Lack of documentation or the illegal status of most migrants has been seen as an obstacle when it comes to finding a home in the formal house market. This finding is in agreement with literature that points out that in European countries migrants without documentation are excluded from accessing a house at a formal housing market (Geddie 2014: 5). Further, literature reveals that in these European countries there are strict laws put in place regarding renting or leasing of a house to migrants without documentation (Geddie 2014: 5). Therefore, the undocumented migrants are marginalised from accessing housing from the formal market. However, exclusion is not only faced by the undocumented migrants, the documented migrants also face rejection when it comes to accessing low cost housing thus they have to rely on the private house market which is costly. Matthew Wilhelm-Solomon points out that "I don't think foreign nationals should get most of the housing but I do think that there should be mechanism in low-cost housing development schemes for some level of inclusion*"* (Dlamini 2017: 1).

The findings revealed that accommodation in South Africa is expensive especially in the formal house market. The participants highlighted that Diepsloot is a preferred place of residence because of its cheap rentals as most people residing there are either self-employed or unemployed. It was indicated by one of the participant named Concilia that when she lost her job she had no any other alternative but to find a place to stay in this informal settlement. She explained:

> I came from Zimbabwe to South Africa to work as a house help and I stayed there where I was working. My employers told me that they were going back to Germany and that my job had ended. I had no place to go but to come to this place. That is how I came to live here in Diepsloot……Here at extension 1 rentals range from 150 to 300 and this is affordable especially for some of us who are unemployed [Interview, Concilia (Zimbabwean)].

Additionally, Fortunate a vendor at the Diepsloot mall shared the same sentiments as Concilia, she pointed out the difficulty of paying expensive rents when one does not have a proper job. She then explained why she chooses to stay in Diepsloot. She states:

> The challenges are that when you do not have a good job, as you can see that I am a vendor you cannot be able to pay expensive house rent. Therefore I rely on informal housing as I cannot pay for the formal housing [Interview, Fortunate (Zimbabwean)].

Mahajan (2014: 10) states that the streets of Diepsloot are characterised by groups of unemployed and idling people. Finding a job remains a difficult task for most people in Diepsloot (Mahajan 2014: 12). Harber (2011) and Mahajan (2014) in their books point out to the serious percentages of unemployment rates in Diepsloot. In the interviews that I conducted in this area most of the participants are unemployed. For their daily survival they rely on selling on the streets and some on piece jobs. One may argue and say these high levels of unemployment in Diepsloot might have contributed to the high crime rates in the area as Diepsloot is well known for the high crime rates which have ruined its reputation.

One participant named Evans who is unemployed added that if one has ownership of the shack they do not pay rent because the place belongs to them unlike if one is renting then it is a must to pay rent. The participant noted:

> I do not pay because I own the shack but others who rent they are the ones who pay rent [Interview, Evans (Zimbabwean)].

Anton Harber's (2011: 127) study on Diepsloot reveals that most foreign nationals settle in Diepsloot because rent is quite cheap there unlike other places or areas. Thus, Harber's study proves or confirms my finding that people choose to settle in Diepsloot because of its affordability to those who do not have white collar jobs, who rely on piece jobs, self-employment and those who are unemployed.

4.3 SANCO, the Gatekeepers of Diepsloot

The South African National Civic Organisation (SANCO) also known as *'amacomrades'* by most of the Diepsloot residents plays a pivotal role in the community of Diepsloot. The organisation is an alliance of ANC though it claims not to look down upon other parties. Ntlokonkulu and Heller (2001: 7) point out that SANCO is a body that is found in most informal settlement and townships. In Diepsloot SANCO's role is to solve disputes in the community, issue out space for shack setup with the assistance of housing department, organise meetings whenever there is an issue to be solved in the community and also to present the grievances of the people of Diepsloot to higher authorities. SANCO claims to have a good relationship with the migrants especially the Zimbabwean migrants whom they work with at times.

In an interview with the SANCO chairperson Joe stated that as SANCO they try and protect the migrants from being victimised by the locals. Joe mentioned that SANCO usually calls for

community meetings when they know that there is going to be a demonstration commonly called "*toyi toyi*" in South African townships. Joe stated that from such demonstrations that is when foreign people fall victims of xenophobia. Joe stated that in the meetings they encourage solidarity, love and respect. They discourage violence in the neighbourhood. Joe stated that he encourages foreigners or anyone who owns a business to close their businesses so that if the xenophobia happens they are safe and also their businesses.

> …If there is going to be a toyi toyi here we hold meeting to tell people that we do not want foreign nationals to be attacked, people must continue peacefully with their business and there must be no stealing of their property. Though I usually advice vendors not to sell on that day and shops to close down for their own safety… [Interview, Joe (South Africa)]

Joe stated that there even if they call these meetings against attack of foreign nationals, there are people who are forever dragging the SANCO name to the mud. These people they claim that xenophobia incidences take place in Diepsloot because of SANCO that summons meetings edging people to attack foreigners. Joe has declared null and void to such rumours. He stated that they are an organisation that follow the constitution and that they can never encourage violence or commotion in Diepsloot.

Further, Mr Musemola states that they usually solve conflicts between landlords and the tenants and usually the tenants are migrants. Joe stated that most of the times landlords and tenants are at war it's either its issues to do with the rent or someone is practising what another person does not like.

> As SANCO we are also responsible for solving people's conflicts….most of the times these conflicts are between a landlord and a tenant. As I have mentioned before that SANCO is responsible for giving people a place to stay but most people who happen to gain access to a shack rents it out and they do not come and tell us here.… we only hear of the issue when they are now having problems with their tenants. It is either the tenant does not want to pay rent or they are doing what the landlord does not like [Interview, Joe (South African)].

According to the interview with Mr Musemola who described SANCO as *'the gatekeeper of Diepsloot'*, SANCO is the one which determines who gets a place in Diepsloot and who does not. However, in the interview Mr Musemola indicated that most people who met the requirements of getting a place in Diepsloot and managed to get these places are going against the rules and norms of SANCO. In the Interview it was highlighted that the people who were granted spaces to set up their shacks at Diepsloot, have turned these shacks into businesses as they rent these shacks to foreign nationals. Some have even gone to an extent of selling these shacks

to migrants who are desperately in need of accommodation. This goes against the rules and norms of SANCO as shacks are not supposed to be rented or sold out and also SANCO's preferences of who to accommodate in Diepsloot. In the interview Mr Musemola had this to say:

> Well, you cannot control an individual. In actual fact a shack must not be rented or sold to anyone. Unless the owner is travelling and wants to leave someone looking after the shack, they can go to the housing department which is located at extension 2 and then sign papers that a certain individual will be staying there for some time while they will be away [Interview, Mr Joe (South African)].

Gugulethu one of the South African participants who relies on selling Avon products as a way of survival added that most locals who were fortunate to get the RDP housing never surrendered their shacks back to SANCO or the housing office, rather they chose to keep these shacks for the purposes of earning an income. Further, these individuals have also set up shacks at the backyards of their RDP housing and rent them to migrants. In the interview Gugulethu had this to say:

> Some of the landlords they do not live here. They leave us here at the shacks and they go and stay in better places where there is electricity. Most of the landlords are beneficiaries of the RDP housing instead of them surrendering these shacks for people like us who do not have places to stay; they still cling on to the shacks for business purposes. At the backyard of their RDP houses they have also erected many shacks that they benefit from. This act is an act of greediness…. this is sad as SANCO is not taking any measures to bring such people to book [Interview, Gugulethu (South African)].

As for Ntobeko a 54 year old, unemployed South African woman the shack rental business has managed to feed her and the family. Ntobeko is beneficiary of RDP housing at Diepsloot extension 6. She has illegally set up shacks all over her yard. Most of Ntobeko's tenants are foreign nationals. In the interview she indicated that she is getting old and she can't be working as a domestic worker thus why she has heavily depended on the shack rental business. Her husband who is also unemployed has no other means of feeding the family and also educating their children.

> I no longer work and I am dependent on the rent that is paid by tenants which amounts to R1 400 per month [Interview, Ntobeko (South Africa)].

Mahajan (2014: 16) points out that the rental activity or business in Diepsloot has grown and it has become a stable source of income for many landlords. However, one may argue that this rental activity has gone against the government's efforts of getting rid of informal settlements. The issuing out of the RDP housing for those waiting at the informal settlements was as a way to putting an end to these informal settlements.

4.3.1 SANCO's Requirements for accessing a shack

SANCO has a set of requirements set aside for anyone who wants to settle in Diepsloot. Documentation is needed for anyone who wants to access housing in Diepsloot. This documentation could be South African Identity card, passport and asylum. During an interview with Joe Musemola he made it clear that anyone from any country can get a place to stay in Diepsloot. When asked what is needed for one to gain access to housing in Diepsloot this is what Joe Musemola had to say

> People must have the documentation from South Africa and even if you are a foreigner and you have correct papers that say that you are legal in South Africa then we can give you a place to stay. We do not care whether you are a foreigner or what [Interview, Joe (South African)].

However, this might be a prerequisite for accessing a place to stay in Diepsloot but this is just on paper and not what is really happening in Diepsloot. Most of my interviewees who are Zimbabwean migrants, lack documentation but still they managed to access housing in Diepsloot. Although Joe Musemola had emphasized on the importance of documentation when accessing a house he tends to contradict himself when he mentions that there are more undocumented people than those documented. This might mean that people are having access to Diepsloot using corrupt ways or these requirements by SANCO are not being followed. Most of scholars such as Bastia (2015) & Geddie *et al* (2014) point out that most people found informal settlements are the undocumented foreigners who would have failed to secure accommodation in the informal settlement because of their illegal status.

Further, SANCO claims that there is vetting that is done when a new person wants to acquire a shack in the area certain things must be known about who they are and where they come from. In order for this to be done Joe stated that they have to contact the people that you were living with so that they can know who you are. In the interview Joe Musemola had this to say

> We need to know where you are coming from and we need to confirm from your previous neighbours. We need to know if the person is the right person [Interview, Joe (South African)].

This confirmation is done to avoid bringing a stranger in the Diepsloot, whose practices and behaviours are not known. This shows that an outsider is not easily accepted in the Diepsloot. Their penetration of the area comes with challenges. Thus, most participants highlighted that they relied on purchased access meaning they had to rent rather than have ownership of the shack.

Moreover, three men are not allowed to share the same shack. It can be two men and one woman. When I questioned Mr Musemola on why they disregard three men staying together, he had this to say:

> When determining who is going to get a place in the shack we do not allow three man staying in a shack because of concerns of crime. It can be two men and a woman that's all [Interview, Joe (South African)].

This requirement by SANCO of prohibiting three men from occupying one shack is consistent with the apartheid influx control law of 1923, which controlled black man from migrating as they please between the rural and the urban. Under this law men were told where to stay and how to stay there (Van Onselen et al 1979: 291). These men were under constant surveillance. One might argue that during the apartheid period men were seen as a threat that is why they were seriously monitored. The other reason was that same-sex relationships between black men were forbidden during era. This apart from crime might be other reasons as to why SANCO does not allow three men to stay together. Even if they allow two men in one shack they want a woman to also live with these two men. This shows the existence of some homophobic sentiments.

Furthermore, women and children under the age of 18 are prohibited from owning a shack. Joe states that children under 18 must focus on school and not thinking of owning a shack. Women who come alone to seek for a place to stay in Diepsloot are not entertained. This somehow has forced women to enter marriage of convince or relationships because they want to have a roof over their head. They are told to bring their husband or a boyfriend by SANCO if they want to have access to a shack. In the interview this is what Joe stated:

> …children under 18years do not have access to a shack as they are not the right age, they must go to school…even women who come looking for a shack alone, we ask for their husbands or boyfriend and if they respond by saying they do not have a husband or boyfriend then I tell them to go and look for a boyfriend or husband and then come back to me [Interview, Joe (South African)].

SANCO might not want to accommodate single women because of fear that when these women get a shack they will go and bring their foreign boyfriends who will benefit from this as they will not have to pay rentals for the place. More so, as much as patriarchy demands women to get married and have children, women of these days can stay alone without a man. Nonetheless, I was forced to probe further to find out the reasons why women were not given a shack if they came alone. Joe had this to say:

> …a woman can never stay alone in a shack, if they come alone something is fishy and we want to know. I as a man can stay alone but a woman cannot do the same. When a woman comes here with no husband or boyfriend they tend to cause conflict when they take someone's husband or boyfriend that is why I urge women to bring their own men when they come here… [Interview, Joe (South African)].

Mutopo's (2011) study found out that women still face exclusion because of the patriarchy that still dominates our societies. As much as the SANCO can claim that they do not want women without a husband because it causes conflict in the society based on Mutopo's findings Diepsloot is patriarchal society that still sees men as superior than women. I argue that this rule by SANCO of excluding women and children is problematic as the organisation turns a blind eye on the existence of women and child headed households. Women have to maintain relationships with man so that they can have access to a shack in Diepsloot. Hunter (2010: 6) notes that the women's '*right to the city*' depended on marriage and women have fought against such limitations. The repetition or imitation of the olden laws draws women back to the oppression that they fought and somehow won in the past. Mutopo (2011: 1022) notes that land use and control has continuously remained under men, making land a male-controlled resource.

However, it was highlighted in the interview by Mr Musemola that the people who own shacks have turned these shacks into businesses and they do not care whom they bring to settle there as long as the person is going to pay rent. Consequently, this undermines the authority of SANCO. It undermines all these rules and regulations that they have put aside when it comes to accessing a shack.

4.4 Social networks and access to housing

The narratives of the participants reveal that it is not easy to get a place to stay in Diepsloot. Social networks have been pointed out as the most reliable mechanism utilised when securing a place to stay in Diepsloot. One needs to have people or relations that they know in the area so that the can have easy access to the housing. People that are hardly known in the area are

hardly accepted. Gugulethu, a Venda speaking woman from Limpopo residing in extension 1, states that she only helps people that she knows with accommodation. When I asked her why in the interview she had this to say:

> If you know me you come to me and tell me that you want a place to stay. We do not just take anyone because we are scared in our days "life is too expensive' if I may say. It's not easy to get a place to stay here because we are scared of each other and we do not trust each other. I might bring you where I stay and you start doing your habits. I don't know what kind of a person you are. If you come looking for a place and I know you and I have a place or I know where there is a place, I will definitely consider you. You can get the place [Interview, Gugulethu (South African)].

The extract from Gugulethu reveals the importance of social networks to accessing of housing. The researcher then asked Gugulethu, if a person's national identity mattered when getting a place to stay in Diepsloot and her response emphasized on the importance of knowing each other. In the interview she explained:

> There are people from different countries here some they come from Zimbabwe, Malawi, Mozambique and Nigeria…we are mixed here….there is diversity. We take anyone as long as that person knows me and I know them. That is why I said one gets a place here in Diepsloot because of whom they know [Interview, Gugulethu (South African)].

This finding corroborates with the findings by Khan (2004), Kane & Leedy (2013) and Burgers (1998) that through social networks migrants are at a better position to have access to opportunities such as housing and jobs. These scholars present the importance of social networks when it comes to matters of access. Simmel (1903) and Bauman argue that cities are inherently sites for the mixing and cohabitation of strangers. It is feared that the stranger comes with different practises that they would want to practise in these societies thereby interrupting and diluting the cultures that they would have found in these societies. This finding also proves that by the mere fact that the stranger does not belong into a certain group their chances of access are limited.

Another participant named Walter had this to say on the subject:

> Yes it's much easier if you know other people because they will always tell you about places that need someone to fill up. Yes it's all about helping each other and joining our hands together [Interview, Walter (Zimbabwean)].

When I asked how they form these social networks. Gugulethu responded by stating that:

> Isn't you have an aunt, sister, brother, cousin and say you are at home and me as your relative I am here. You will call me and tell me that you want to come to Diepsloot. Then I will tell you the place where I stay and I can even get a place for you to stay because you cannot come and stay with me if I am staying with my husband. I will help you find a place to stay. Since where you will be staying you will have neighbours that is how you will get to know other people in the area and because I will be the one who brought you to the place [Interview, Gugulethu (South African)].

> Actually it's easy if someone brings you here to stay and not you just coming and not knowing anyone [Interview, Gugulethu (South African)].

4.5 Varying levels of strangeness and access to housing

Everyone is seen as a stranger in Diepsloot but the levels of strangeness vary. Harber (2011) notes that people in Diepsloot came from somewhere. Diepsloot never started as a settlement but it was farms that belonged to the white farmers. Today the informal settlement is a melting pot, a place of diversity with people from all parts of Africa. This is one aspect 'diversity' makes Diepsloot unique and outstanding from any other informal settlement. There are people from Zimbabwe, Nigeria, Mozambique, Malawi, Zambia, Botswana, Lesotho and the list is endless.

In Diepsloot there are South Africans who were present in the 1990s who witnessed the establishment of a settlement in the area. These are the South Africans that might have come from the Zevenfontein. And yet again in the area there are some South Africans who are migrants that come from other provinces like Limpopo and Mpumalanga. All these South Africans regardless of where they come from they are the rightful 'owners' of the land and yet they cannot claim the land in Diepsloot. These South Africans in Diepsloot are strangers in their own motherland. The South Africans that come from other provinces are considered as strangers by other South Africans to an extent that some foreigners assume their identity.

However, even if they are South Africans they still face uncertainty and othering just like the foreigners. Their fate is in the hands of the owners of the land the white farmers. Even if these South Africans have settled in the area for the longest period still the land can never be theirs some who were not fortunate enough to get RDP housing still reside in a shack and they cannot develop the area to build better houses because the land does not belong to them. In an interview

with Mr Joe Musemola, I asked him if it was possible for people to gather bricks and cement and build a normal house rather than residing in the shack. Mr Masemola had this to say:

> The people have the space already but the problem is that for instance the squatter camp over there in extension 11 is someone's land the person wants to come and build a shopping centre [Interview, Joe (South African)].

This extract is mere evidence that the spaces that were given to these South Africans are not truly theirs as they cannot develop them. Further, these South Africans just like foreigners face the possibility of evictions when the owners of the land want to develop these spaces. In the interview Joe mentioned that some areas in Diepsloot will soon undergo development. He explained:

> But what I hear is that extension 1 is going to turn into an industrial site soon and other places are going to change to RDP housing [Interview, Joe (South African)].

The question that comes to one's mind is that during all these developments where are they going to place the evicted. Does this mean that another informal settlement will mushroom somewhere else or another better alternative housing will be sort before the evictions. I asked Mr Musemola were the evicted would go and he had this to say

> ….the government has to make a plan they cannot remove you from the squatter camp whilst they do not have a place to put you and this is according to the constitution the bill of rights [Interview, Joe (South African)].

Further, there is varying levels of strangeness between the Zimbabwean migrants that came years ago as migrant labour to work in the mines and the farms and the Zimbabweans that recently came to South Africa. The Zimbabweans that came long time ago have managed to establish relationships with the insiders. Although, Simmel (1903) argues that no matter what kind of relationships an outsider can create with the insiders he/she still faces some level of exclusion and distance because they are not originally from that area. More so, the Zimbabweans that came long time ago have managed to secure South African IDs although it is indicated on the ID that they are from Zimbabwe but still they have permanent residence than the Zimbabweans who recently came (Benit-Gbaffou 2013: 36). With these IDs they have managed to acquire and have access to housing and jobs availed for South Africans. One of the participants called Kenneth who came to South Africa to work at the mines in Catonsville had this to say on the matter:

> I came to South Africa in the 1990s but I have been staying here in Diepsloot for 11 years now…a lot of people here they know me. I have a South African ID and I have mastered a lot of South African languages….my wife is South African. I relate very well with the South Africans they even call me uncle. I fit in well in the society and at times I even forget that I am Zimbabwean [Interview, Kenneth (Zimbabwean)].

The narrative by Kenneth shows that some Zimbabweans who came long time ago have an advantage when it comes to issues of access as they have mastered ways to navigate their strangeness. They have mastered the country's languages, married South African women and also have acquired documentation legally and illegally. They are not like other Zimbabweans who just came into the country who are quickly spotted by their failure to speak the country's language especially the Shona people. One participant named Gugulethu stated that it is not easy to take in a stranger. She explains

> …If you come from Zimbabwe with your luggage here for the first time and no one knows you here. You can never get the place. Even if you tell me that you are coming from Venda, how will I accommodate you because I don't know you and no one knows you here? For one to accommodate you it's not easy [Interview, Gugulethu (South African)].

This extract from the interview with Gugulethu is evidence enough that the newcomers face challenges of acquiring certain things because of their strangeness. They are not known by the people residing in the area. Siziba (2013) states that language is a way of entry into a society thus those who cannot master languages of that place face difficulties.

However, even though everyone in Diepsloot is considered a stranger. South Africans are better strangers than the foreigners in the area. South Africans have ownership of the shacks whereas the foreigners rent from them. It is a challenge for an outsider to have ownership of a shack unless if they follow illegal ways to acquire the shack. However, one scholar points out that migrants have been reluctant when it comes to issues of ownership as they fear that during incidences such as xenophobia they might lose these properties. Some participants have expressed that South Africans have ownership of housing and do not find difficulties in accessing these houses because they are in their country. One participant had this to say:

> What happens here is that South Africans they do not rent these places but they actually have ownership to these places. There are some South Africans who rent but they are a handful. Zimbabweans are the ones that are renting in these spaces because we do not have our own places…it's easy to get and own a place isn't this is their country [Interview, Walter (Zimbabwean)].

Further, some South African participants speaks on the *'mastander* 'and '*back room'* concept. They argue that even if they have easier access to housing in Diepsloot they still need some foreigners to occupy the back rooms or set up shacks in the yard. The "mastander" is the owner of the house. One participant mentioned that:

> …we are in the housing struggle together when I get the house I will give the foreigner the backroom [Interview, Mpho (South African)].

One may suggest that the locals rent the 'back rooms' to the foreigners so that they can have a stable income. Harber (2011) points out to the high unemployment rates in Diepsloot. Most people in the area are vendors and some rely on piece jobs. Thus, weather the locals are happy or not to accommodate the foreigners they have to since they want an income and foreigners have been identified as good customers.

Furthermore, foreigners are excluded from accessing housing because of their national identity. In a case whereby a Zimbabwean was offered an RDP housing and one South African denied the access by the housing department. Joe Musemola the SANCO chairperson questioned this event on how a Zimbabwean was offered a house when they are not South African. In the interview this is what Joe said:

> ….. I have to go and meet the people of housing department. I want to meet them... we have a new RDP building in extension 2 but it's only two houses that are giving me a problem. The first guy is not from here he is from Zimbabwe and the other one is from here South Africa. The guy from South Africa does not qualify to access this RDP housing and yet the one from Zimbabwe is qualifies. So I asked if guy from South Africa has an RDP housing somewhere. And can you please explain to me why you are saying the Zimbabwean guy qualifies. At that time the Zimbabwean guy was back in Zimbabwe and he wants to build a house here. Who is going to stay in the house? This meaning that he is going to benefit because once he builds this house he is going to benefit from renting it out. Thus why I told the guy from housing not to build the housing and just wait a little bit [Interview, Joe (South African)].

However, in Diepsloot women are treated as strangers weather South African or foreigners. They do not have easy access to housing. As mentioned above on the requirements by SANCO women who want housing must bring their husbands or boyfriends. Women face exclusions as they are seen as strangers to the patriarchal system that is dominating the societies. The fact that they are single is seen as a challenge to the patriarchal system. Most of the participants who are women are married and live with their husband and kids

Those women participants that are not married were either renting or staying with a family member. However, Simmel (1903) does not talk about the issues of gender in his concept of stranger.

4.6 Money as a mediator of access to housing 'Money speaks all languages'

Foreign nationals have managed to gain access to Diepsloot because of money. Money has been used as a mediating factor when it comes to access to housing. Simmel views money as "a specific phenomenon linked with a variety of other components of life, including exchange, ownership, greed, extravagance, cynicism, individual freedom, the style of life, culture, the value of the personality" (Frisby 1978:7). Most of the participants agreed that they gained access to Diepsloot because of money.

> The determining factor for one to get a place to stay here is if you have the capacity to pay rent. It doesn't matter where you come from as long as you have money….[Interview, Walter (Zimbabwean)].

Foreign nationals especially Zimbabweans have been identifies as good customers than the local people who come from other parts of the country. In the interview Joe had this to say:

> People from Zimbabwe are able to pay rent, so if you have a space you will know that you will have to accept someone from Zimbabwe since a local won't bring you money. Some of the South Africans you hear them saying that they came from Limpopo to Diepsloot to look for money not to work and hand the money to someone else that is why they are difficult to deal with when it comes to paying rent [Interview, Joe (South African)].

In keeping with the extract from Joe, One of the participants by the name Concilia had this to say:

> Landlords love Zimbabweans because we are responsible enough to pay rent. South Africans they don't stick to their promise of paying the rent since they want free things [Interview, Concilia (Zimbabwean)].

These findings corroborates with those of HSRC (2008: 32) study that found that foreigners are at a position to access opportunities like housing, jobs and businesses as they come to the country with capital or cash and also skills. One of the participants in the HSRC study stated that foreigner have access to opportunities as they have money (HSRC 2008: 32).

Money speaks all languages when it comes to accessing housing in Diepsloot. The locals are willing to accommodate anyone as long as the individual is capable of paying rent. Money has

been identified as a weapon that destroys all obstacles. When one does not have money then their chances of accessing a place to stay are limited. One participant mentioned that:

> Yah it is not easy to find a place especially if you do not have a proper job because at times if you are not working it's hard to raise money for rent. At times you would look for a place to stay but no money to pay the rent. That is the challenge that I have faced. We are living but it does not mean we are living comfortable lives. We are really suffering [Interview, Walter (Zimbabwean)].

> I do not think where you come from or what language you speak matters when it comes to renting a place here in Diepsloot…what is important is that month end you are able to pay your rent thus all… [Interview, Concilia (Zimbabwe)]

The participants' narratives show the importance of money especially when one is a foreigner because foreigners do not enjoy the same benefits as South Africans of getting an RDP or owning a shack. This narrative also stresses on the importance of exchange between the South Africans and the locals. The locals become tolerant of having foreign nationals in their country because of their relations that are based on exchange. Simmel (1971: 43) notes that acceptance of foreigners is based on exchange. The '*insider*' provides what the '*outsider*' is in search of and vice-versa.

In this regard, society has reduced bonds and relationships to mere transactions. Simmel in his work the Metropolis and Mental life points out the effects of the big city on an individual. Simmel reveals the kinds of relationships that exist in small and big towns. Simmel points out to the lonely nature of big towns, unlike the small towns where there is the maintenance of emotional relationships. Diepsloot is one place where relationships have been reduced to transactions no one is interested in what one does. A tenant and a landlord they tend to stay together even if they have an unhealthy relationship. The relationship that they value is the transactional relationship or the exchange relationship. On the matter, the author interviewed one South African participant with a pseudonym Nontobeko, who is a landlord and owns 11shacks in her backyard. In the interview, Nontobeko revealed that she has no good relationship with some of her tenants the only thing that brings them together is money and her providing accommodation for them. Nontobeko even admitted to fighting with one of her tenants physically and that they were not in a good space but she lets her stay because at the end of the day she wants rent which is her only source of income.

> I do not get along with some of my tenants especially one Zimbabwean sister who is occupying that shack….she thinks because of the rent that her husband pays here she can challenge me in own place. She refuses to do chores like sweeping the yard in the morning or taking the bin outside… [Interview, Nontobeko (South African)].

When I probed further to know why she cannot chase her away, Nontobeko had this to say:

> I wanted to chase the girl away but her husband pays the rent on time unlike other tenants who come up with stories at times at the end of the month [Interview, Nontobeko (South African)].

The extract from Nontobeko's interview is evidence that money is a solution in overcoming distance or a vacuum between people. One finds an RDP stand holder hosting more than 11 tenants in one yard which is a definite example of maximisation of profit and income. Business is what is important in the cities more than 'Ubuntu'[4]. In the African context the value and appreciation that was once given to an individual even if they were an outsider is diminishing. Contemporary an individual is valued based on what they can provide. Transactional relationships are becoming more and more crucial in our societies. Simmel (2004: 162) argues that money transaction is related to strangeness. Further, Simmel (2004: 162) goes to unpack in his book and state that people who do not know each other prefer to use money as they do know each other. However, Simmel does not take into consideration that at times people prefer to do money transactions even with people that they do know. Further, Simmel states that money allows new forms of relationships to occur.

4.7 Conclusion

To conclude, this chapter has shown that Zimbabwean migrants have gained purchased access to housing in Diepsloot. The locals have been identified as the one with the ownership to housing. These owners are the ones that lease these shacks to the foreign nationals. The chapter indicated that transaction relationships are the most prominent kinds of relationships in the Diepsloot. Money has played a pivotal role in locals allowing migrants to reside in their shacks. Money in Diepsloot has bridged the gap between the locals and foreigners. The foreign nationals have been shown as the most preferred customers or tenants. The minority Zimbabwean migrants who have ownership to the shacks in Diepsloot have either acquired the shack by use of their social networks or corrupt means.

[4] Ubuntu is usually interpreted as "I am because we are, and also "humanity towards others "(Jolley 2011: 14)

CHAPTER FIVE

TOGETHER APART: MIGRATION, NEIGHBOURHOOD, CREATION OF NEW IDENTITIES AND ASSIMILATION

'Some people cannot always get along because we come from different countries; we just live together for the sake of living…' (Interview, Sakhile)

5.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the experiences by the Zimbabwean migrants after they have penetrated Diepsloot. It examines if the Zimbabwean migrants have access to their residential area. Further, challenges that these migrants face in the area and also how they overcome them is also identified. In discussing these debates I have divided the discussion to four major themes namely at home but not at home, social organisations and networks, discrimination in the neighbourhood and lastly the creation of new identities and assimilation of the Zimbabwean migrants in Diepsloot.

5.2 At home but not at home: Zimbabwean migrants in Diepsloot, Johannesburg

Myriad Zimbabweans have migrated to the neighbouring countries such as Botswana, Namibia and South Africa in search of economic and political refuge. Amongst these neighbouring countries South Africa has been the greatest receiver. Muzondidya (2008: 2) states that most Zimbabweans see South Africa as a favourable destination because of its attractive economy in the Southern region and its proximity to the country. However, scholars such as Muzondidya (2008), Hungwe & Gelderblom (2014) have highlighted on the challenges that migrants encounter whilst in South Africa because of their national identity. These migrants are victims of social exclusion; they do not have a sense of belonging. When asked if they felt at home in Diepsloot some of the participants expressed mixed feelings pointed out that home is not fixed but constantly negotiated. Due to the challenges that the Zimbabwean migrants face in Diepsloot at times they tend to feel not at home and at some point appreciate the place when they tend to also think of the challenges that brought them from their country to Diepsloot.

> At times I don't feel at home in Diepsloot because I am always fearing for my life since I am not South African I fear that something might happen to me. I am scared that maybe as I am walking on the streets I might get attacked or that someone might break into my place and steal my stuff….but when I think of the difficult situations that I passed through whilst in Zimbabwe I am happy to be here [Interview, Walter].

One of the participants named Mpumelelo shared the same sentiments as Walter on the concerns of crime in the area. She pointed out that at night she does not have access to the neighbourhood because of the high levels of crime in the area. Scholars such as Harber (2011) state that Diepsloot has continued to become an oasis of criminals and the levels of crime continue to escalate. In the interview this is what she had to say:

> …..what I can say is that I am safe but I am really not safe. If a friend of mine calls me around 8pm and tells me her child is sick. I cannot leave my house to go to her house because already I know that it's not safe here. This country has got its owners who have their own times so I cannot risk my life. What I can say is that I am ok because I am alive but I am not safe [Interview, Mpumelelo].

Additional to the narrative by Mpumelelo on Diepsloot and crime another participant had this to say

> What I can say is that Diepsloot is not a safe place no one can just sleep on the side of the road because the criminals would kill you regardless of the fact that you have money or not. People here don't live like human beings but like animals [Interview, Fortunate (Zimbabwean)].

Some of the participants argued that Diepsloot can never be their home as they are constantly reminded that they are not part of the society. They are treated like strangers all the time as they have to continuously prove their legality to the place. They cannot walk around freely without being stopped and searched by the police. One of the participants with a pseudo name Concilia had this to say on the matter:

> Diepsloot can never be home…I have to go around carrying my passport because I am afraid police might deport me if they ask for the passport and I do not produce it…I am constantly reminded that I am a foreigner. I am like an adopted child who eats with the family but is constantly reminded that he or she is not part of the family [Interview, Concilia].

However, some of the participants were content with Diepsloot. They stated that the area is slowly changing and becoming a good place to reside in. One of the participants had this to say:

> I am free and happy in Diepsloot. I think the situation is becoming better in the area…back in 2007 people were being burnt here in Diepsloot [Interview, Evans].

The narrative by the participant shows that they feel at home in Diepsloot but from my observation the participant looked like someone who is struggling to make ends meet. He was wearing tattered clothes, torn shoes and he kept on licking his mouth showing signs of hunger and also considering the fact that the participant is unemployed, I could see misery. However, this forced me to probe further to find out why they are happy in Diepsloot. What do they really mean by happiness? When probed further I understood that the happiness that he was referring to is different from the mainstream which constitutes owning of expensive material things such as cars and jewellery. The participant expressed that he was happy because he can wake up every morning healthy and well. Thus, his definition of happiness differs from what most people can refer to as happiness.

5.3 Social organisations and networks

Zimbabwean migrants in Diepsloot have managed to create social networks amongst themselves, with the South Africans and other foreigners. It is important to break these down to manifested networks that include familial networks, church networks, inter and intra ethical networks and transnational networks. Some of these networks have been classified as strong networks especially familial networks which are family based networks. One of the participants had this to say:

> What I can tell you is that people look out for their families than any other person. If there is a house or a job they would rather give it to their family members and not just anyone [Interview, Fortunate (Zimbabwean)].

But some participants have expressed that even the familial networks can be weak as it is not all the time that family members would want to help each other. One of the participants noted that during her difficult moments her family was not there to help her. She expressed that at times she would call them and they would not pick the calls and sometimes their phones would be off. She states that people who are not her family are the ones that have continuously assisted her in times of need.

However, most Zimbabweans in the area admitted that they have maintained their transnational networks. According to Leedy & Kane (2013) transnational networks is the maintenance of relations by the migrants with the people that they left in their country of origin. Some participants stated that they maintained such networks by sending money and groceries back home. The participants stated that it was important for them to keep the connections with people

back home since they will at some point go back home. One of the participants had this to say on the matter:

> …I have managed to maintain my relationship with people back home in Zimbabwe by calling them, sending groceries and also money at times….I am struggling here in Diepsloot but I try by all means to send whatever I have to them. [Interview, Walter (Zimbabwean)]

Zimbabwean migrants have access public spaces such as streets and parks. Some Zimbabwean migrants have actually established their informal businesses on the sides of the streets. They walk around the neighbourhood freely though they have to be watchful of the police and criminals. I managed to visit the Diepsloot Park in extension 4. The park shows some signs of development in Diepsloot. The park has got football court, gym section and also a place for socialisation. One of the Zimbabwean participants I interviewed stated that they have access to the park and they usually hold small events such as picnics and birthday parties there at the park. The park is located close to the N14 freeway. The Zimbabwean participant stated that the fact that the park is located close to N14 where buses go up and down, seeing these buses pass they tend to miss their homes that they left in their country of origin. The participant stated

> When I see buses going up and down, I tend to miss my real home. In this place, I feel trapped. I feel like I am in a huge cage [Interview, Concilia (Zimbabwean)].

Furthermore, Zimbabweans have managed to form churches in Diepsloot, some of my participants indicated that they go to the Methodist church. Apart from Methodist church found in the area there are other churches like The African Apostolic Church which can be found in extension 2, 4 and 5. The church is originally from Zimbabwe and many Zimbabweans alongside some locals and other foreigners attend the church. One of the participants invited me to this church. The services are conducted in English, Zulu, Shona and Tswana. Churches are identified as spaces that are commonly shared by the 'insiders' and the 'outsiders' though chances of building genuine positive relationships are limited (Muzondidya 2008: 2). I observed that the church brings hope to migrants. The pastor prays against arrests done by the police to his church members because of lack of documentation. The pastor declares that even if his church members are illegal in the country they will stay and never be deported. The pastor also prays for opportunities like employment and housing to locate the church members. In the church no one is seen as a stranger, everyone is welcome. In an interview with Leonard, he had this to say:

> The pastor believes that God can rescue anyone from any situation. He prays that when the police are arresting illegal migrants, us his church members we should not be arrested because we are not part of them [Interview, Leonard].

I have never seen a pastor praying for illegal migrants to reside in a country by force. I thought to myself that maybe the members of the church raise such prayer requests. However, I then realised that the pastor himself is a migrant, he might have faced or he might also be facing the same documentation challenges just like his church members. Thus, he addresses the documentation problems in church. I never got the opportunity to speak to the pastor but I managed to speak to one of the elders who pointed out that the church does not discriminate anyone as everyone is welcome

> The church is called African Apostolic church meaning it welcomes each and every person no matter from which country….in this church we all treat each other like brothers and sisters. We are one another's strength [Interview, Melusi].

Moreover, the church helps financially in cases whereby their member passes away. They give the family money to buy the coffin and also for transporting the body back to Zimbabwe. The church is seen by many as helpful and as a place of comfort. The Zimbabwean migrants have established social networks at the church. They help each other in times of crisis for instance when one does not have a job, a place to stay, food and at times when they do not have money for rent. This finding corroborate with Muzondidya (2008: 12) who state that social networks are useful especially in times of need. The church is not only seen as a place of worship but also as a place for socialisation. In the interview Lenard had this to say

> When I came to the church I managed to meet people from my country…the church has not only been a space of praise and worship but a place where we gather as Zimbabweans to share strategies on how best to survive away from home. We are in a foreign land some of us we have no blood sisters and brothers. We try and assist each other and stick together. No one knows the future, anything can happen and you might need people to help you [Interview, Leonard (Zimbabwe)].

Shebeens and taverns have been seen as weekend socialisation spots by some Zimbabwean migrants. There are many Shebeens and taverns in Diepsloot but I managed to spot one tavern in extension 11 which some of the participants from extension 1 claimed to go to. Some participants claimed that they go to taverns to drink alcohol, socialise and have fun. One of the participants stated:

> Diepsloot can be boring at times especially here in extension 1 where there is no electricity. To escape the boredom I usually go to the taverns just to have one drink and conversations [Interview, Evans (Zimbabwe)].

Unlike the churches were Zimbabwean migrants socialise at peace and unity, at the taverns it's a different story. Taverns which are spaces that are meant for entertainment have turned to be dangerous spots for most migrants. In such spaces petty issues or mere allegations are turned into something big. The mere allegations refer to Zimbabweans being accused of taking jobs and houses from the locals. Basically, in this area issues of nationality, who belongs where are raised and they end on a bad note. One of the participants stated that:

> …xenophobia does not happen all the time. What I can say is xenophobia can start from the bars where people drink and not now and then. Yes, you see those people at the beer hall they drink and they differ from sober people. Someone who is drunk can fight over a small issue. Something small can turn out to be a big issue. Xenophobia is there but not often. [Interview, Gugulethu (South African)].

This means that xenophobia should not only be considered as a big event whereby foreign nationals are attacked based on mere allegations and misguided agendas. Xenophobia should be viewed as an everyday occurrence weather the event is huge or it's just a fight between two individuals who belong to different nationalities.

5.4 Discrimination in the neighbourhood

As alluded above Zimbabwean migrants are prejudiced because of their nationality and other factors. They are accused by the locals of taking away their houses, jobs and their women. It is such sentiments that have contributed to xenophobia[5]. However, scholars such as Abe & Katsaura (2016) argue that the reasons that are given for xenophobia do not explain why xenophobia was prevalent in some places and yet in other places did not occur. Xenophobia was more rampant in places such as Diepsloot. Some of the participants mentioned that some of the Zimbabweans were burnt alive, beaten to death and their properties seized. The stranger concept by Simmel (1903) indicates that the outsider might stay in the same society with the insiders for many years but still remain distant and unappreciated in that society. This is shown by the violent acts by the insiders towards the outsiders that took place in Diepsloot. Thus, Diepsloot has been seen by some participants as a place that lacks social cohesion. Some of the insiders have made it difficult for unity to prevail in Diepsloot. Xenophobia has also affected social cohesion in Diepsloot. It has

[5] The hatred of what is foreign

brought about divisions or groupings based on who comes where. There is no togetherness in the area. One of the participants stated that

> …there is looking down upon each other due to the fact that we come from different countries. There is this division that is there even though it's not all the locals who do it. There is no unity. South Africans look down upon Zimbabweans because they think that Zimbabweans are taking away their jobs [Interview, Walter (Zimbabwean)].

When probed further to understand if Zimbabweans are really taking the jobs of the locals. Walter had this to say:

> There no is solidarity here that's why there is xenophobia. Us Zimbabweans we can work for less pay but South Africans can't. This is why white people hire us. Us we know our problems and where we come from so we work even if the pay is less and at the end of the day the South Africans would complain saying we are stealing their jobs [Interview, Walter (Zimbabwe)].

This finding that the outsiders are taking the jobs of the locals corroborates with Simmel (1903) concept the stranger; Simmel mentions that there are certain tasks that a stranger or outsider would carry out that the insiders are incapable or unwilling to carry out. Further, some participants have labelled the foreigner as criminals who are disturbing the social organisation of South Africa. These participants claim that even if South Africa is a violent country crime levels were not as serious as it is now. They claimed that with the increasing crime rates the police have become more and more useless as they cannot bring to book these criminals. One of the participants named Gugulethu furiously stated that:

> These people they come from where they come from and come here to spill the blood. This is because we are quiet, we do not talk. In the rural areas where we come from there is no one who comes to spill blood but here in the city its happening. As I talk like this you might think I am a clown but I am not. I am telling you reality [Interview, Gugulethu (South African)].

Another participant who shared the same opinion with Gugulethu had this to say concerning foreign nationals and the levels of crime in Diepsloot

> The foreigners are committing serious crimes here…. a South African when they are robbing you they can take what they need and spare your life but the foreigners they take what they need and also your life. That is why there is xenophobia. People question why they need to lose their goods and their lives. They argue that the criminal must take what they want to take but at the same time spare their lives so that they can go back and work and buy what has been taken [Interview, Joe (South African)].

In as much as foreigners are seen as criminals, it is not always the case that these foreigners are the ones that commit such crimes in the South African societies. The locals should also take part of the blame for the escalating crime rates in the country. The foreign nationals are also victims of brutal crimes for instance the 2008 xenophobia attacks against the foreigners. Many foreigners were attacked, their houses burnt down and some unlucky Zimbabwean migrants were burnt on the crime scenes. The finger pointing between the locals and the foreigners accusing each other on different issues has hindered social cohesion. Anderson et al (2012) points out that South Africa faces challenges of social cohesion because of its diversity.

When I asked how people live together in Diepsloot some of the participants had this to say

> What I can say there is no solidarity. People choose who they want to associate with depending on nationality for instance some South Africans choose to associate themselves with other South Africans and not people from other nationalities. If something wrong happens in the community they all point to Zimbabweans as the trouble marker. They judge us. They think we are always wrong [Interview, Evans (Zimbabwe)].

> ..If you are harsh and I will also be harsh to you. If you are ever smiling, I will also be ever smiling. It depends with the character of that person. If you are laughing I will laugh with you. If you are angry all the time, how do you expect me to laugh with you? We have to work together. We must love each other like brothers and sisters. If you are changing like a robot "green, yellow, red" I shall also do the same. I might greet you to day and you keep quiet, tomorrow again you do the same thing, do you think I will greet you again no never [Interview, Gugulethu (South African)].

The narrative by the participants shows that there is a long way to go in bringing about social cohesion in such neighbourhoods. The narratives corroborates with Simmel's (1903) concept of the stranger. The stranger (foreigner) is always seen at fault. The outsider is judged and always accused if anything does not go well in the society.

Togetherness amongst diversity and understanding of each other are elements that are lacking in Diepsloot. Before I could end the interview with one of the participant named Walter there was disruption as one Congo woman and South African guy wanted to fight with the guy I was interviewing. The impetus behind the tension was that since we were doing the interview at Walter's friend's stand where he sells chicken and dishes and other kitchen utensils. The friend left the space for us for the interview and claimed he was coming back. I am sure he expected Walter to sell his stuff for him. Some kids came wanting to buy chicken and we were not aware of them. The Congolese woman and the South African guy who have stands close

by started shouting saying that we were ignoring the kids , thus when they wanted to fight with Walter the owner arrived at the scene to stopped the tension. Walter said that was the way of life in Diepsloot, people fighting one another over small issues. He emphasised that the scene was enough evidence that there is no unity in Diepsloot. People are always at one another throat and that it's a daily practice. This scene came as a shock to me. I wondered why the Congo woman and the South African man were so upset whereas the stand was not theirs. I later concluded that maybe the stand guy was either working for the Congolese woman maybe that is why she was so upset as she thought we had ignored customers. I also thought that she saw us as destruction as we did an interview at their work space.

Diepsloot is known for vigilantism which is whereby the citizens take the law into their hands to discipline a thief in their community. Mpho an ANC educator expressed concerns about the discrimination that is taking place in Diepsloot when it comes to issues of vigilantism. He stated that even the police discriminate against Zimbabweans or any other foreigner. It is asserted that when the police are called to come and stop the thief from being killed by the community, the police ask if the thief is Zimbabwean or South African. If they are told that the thief is a Zimbabwean or any other foreigner they delay to come to the scene. If the police are told that the thief is South African they are quick to get to the scene before the people hit the thief.

Moreover, SANCO holds different kinds of meetings ranging from executive meetings, alliance meetings and lastly the public meetings. As for the public meetings there is no specific day or date when the meetings are held but occur when there is a problem that needs to be sorted out. The public meetings usually address issues of housing, service delivery and employment. The findings reveal that most of the participants do not attend these meetings and some of them know nothing about the meetings. Some of the participants had this to say

> There are meetings that take place here. The meetings are for South Africans but everyone is welcome. I do not usually go because most of the meetings are directed to South Africans. It is at times announced that there is a meeting on employment and that South Africans must bring Identity cards. [Interview, Walter (Zimbabwean)]

This quote speaks volumes on the exclusions that foreigners face when it comes to access. Walter avoids going to the meetings because he feels the meetings are meant for the citizens and not the foreigners. Access to opportunities is channelled to South Africans only.

When I asked the SANCO chairman Joe if it was possible for Zimbabweans to be part of the SANCO committee, this is what he had to say:

> Zimbabweans cannot be part of the committee. It is only South Africans that can be part of the committee. Even in the political parties they do not take foreigners [Interview, Joe (South African)].

This shows that Zimbabwean migrants have no say in this residential area that they reside in. They are represented by South Africans who have no idea on what it means to be a migrant. It would have been better if there was a representative of the migrants in the committee of SANCO so that when decisions are being made about the well-being of the people of Diepsloot, the migrant representative is there to present the grievances of the migrants. This finding is in agreement with the observations by Simmel (1903) that the stranger opinion doesn't matter as they do not have connection with the society but yet again the opinion of these outsiders is essential as they are not part of the society. Simmel argues that it is crucial to have strangers in the society. He points out at the disadvantages of not having a stranger in the society that who would bring something new to everybody.

Further, within the neighbourhood there is othering by the other (the new locals). It is claimed that the Ndebele people have seen themselves as more deserving to stay in South Africa than the Shona. This comes after the mfecane history that the Ndebele share with South Africa. One of the participants claimed that the Ndebele people are originally from South Africa and that is why they have a right to be in South Africa than any other outsiders. One of the Shona participant claimed that the Shona people face discrimination from the South Africans (natives) and also from the Ndebele. This has forced the Shona people to hide their identities and pretend to be Ndebele. However, the othering does not end with the Shona even people from other countries like Pakistan, Ethiopia and Nigeria are discriminated against by other migrants from Zimbabwe and Botswana. The Zimbabwe and Botswana migrants feel like they are better outsiders because of the proximity of their countries to South Africa. The refusal of migrants themselves to get along has contributed to lack of solidarity within the neighbourhood of Diepsloot.

Some migrants refuse to assimilate into their societies they claim that they still practice their own traditions and cultures even if they are in a foreign land. One of the participant stated that she is proud of being Zimbabwean and that she would not stop being Zimbabwean just because she in South Africa. She claimed that she still speaks her own language which is Ndebele and that she has not made any effort to learn the South African languages. This means the participant is not ready to assimilate into the Diepsloot society which also has an impact on the issues of social solidarity.

Women in Diepsloot also face discrimination because they are women. To start with, SANCO does not approve of them to be 'owners' of shacks. Around the neighbourhood there is certain type of dressing that is not allowed for women. One man expressed that women are not allowed to wear short dresses and skirts as this leads to their sexual victimisation by man. It is still surprising that most people still see rape as in the eyes rather than in the mind. A man rapes a woman because it's a choice that they have made and not because of what a woman is wearing.

Some participants indicated that there is no discrimination in Diepsloot. They claimed that people lived happily together. One of the participants noted that:

> We are united here....there is no discrimination based on someone's nationality. We get along as if we were given birth by one mother [Interview, Concilia (Zimbabwean)].

Additionally, another participant had this to say:

> ……where I stay there are no divisions. We come from different nationalities but we live as one. What I can say is that it depends with an individual if they do not want to mix themselves with others there is nothing that can be done [Interview, Mpumelelo (Zimbabwean)].

5.5 Creation of new identities and assimilation of the migrants 'The Making of Home Away From Home'

Zimbabwean migrants have come up with numerous strategies in navigating their foreign status and also as a way of assimilating into Diepsloot. According to Dumba and chirisa (cited in Siziba 2013: 175) assimilation refers to 'the adoption of language, culture, values and benefits of the host society by the migrants'. There has been deconstruction and reconstruction of identities. This means that some of the Zimbabwean migrants have abandoned their identities that identify them with their cultures and traditions from their country of origin and they are in a process of building new identities influenced by the new societies that they live in. Identity is liquid and not constant, it is something that can be changed. During the interviews some of the participants were hiding their true identities. They did not want to be recognised as Zimbabweans. As I was using snowball sampling in identifying my participants I would be referred to a Zimbabwean but when I get closer to them to ask if they can be part of my research, they would indicate that they are not from Zimbabwe. Some would claim that they come from Limpopo or Mpumalanga. I later assumed that some people wouldn't want to be reminded of their background because they are in the process of constructing new identities

Some of the participants admitted that they have legally and illegally acquired South African ID as a way of creating a new identity for themselves and also as a way of assimilating into the society

> …I came to South Africa long time ago and I have managed to get a South African ID [Interview, Kenneth (Zimbabwean)]

Some of the participants stated that there is no difference between them and South Africans all they do is to master the languages and thus all. If they master the languages who would say they are not South African without no proof. Siziba (2013: 174) claims that 'Language is a form of capital that migrants use in situating themselves in the different neighbourhood'. One of the participant mentioned that:

> Most people treat me like I am South African. There is no South African language that I have not mastered. [Interview, Kenneth (Zimbabwean)]

Some of the participants stated that they associate mostly with South African people and this has helped them to learn and master the South African languages. It can be argued that association brings assimilation. Most Ndebele people have found little difficulty in assimilating in the South African societies because it is much easier for them to master the South Africa languages like Zulu and Xhosa since they sound like the Ndebele language. Bauman (cited in Marotta 2002: 42) talks about the blur identities that at times it is hard to differentiate identity especially when the outsiders have properly mastered the insiders' languages. We are all black there are no people with purple skins thus it's not easy to differentiate the outsider from the insider. One of the participants indicated that during xenophobia some South Africans became victims of this violence because the perpetrators of the violence thought they were Zimbabweans. The Shona people have found it difficult to easily fit in to the society in Diepsloot because of language. The Shona language is way different from the common Zulu and Xhosa languages. However, most Shona people have hide their identities by acting as if they are Ndebele people. Siziba (2013: 174) notes that some languages become legitimised when others are stigmatised. One of the participant stated that during the meetings in Diepsloot they have not seen the Shona people in the meetings as the Shona people tend to hide their identities. This is what the participant said:

> We cannot get interpreters because the Shona people they tend to hide their identity. Most Shona people claim to be Ndebele and deny their own tribe. [Interview, Joe]

The Shona people have abandoned their identities so that they are not easily identified and deported from the country especially if they are undocumented. Siziba (2013) views language as an entry ticket into a community. However, as I was walking around Diepsloot I could hear some people play Shona music. I was just curious and wanted to know if it was really Shona people playing the music. I went close to the house and there were two men out side. I explained my research to them and asked if they could participate. One of the man stated that he was from Zambia and was not Shona but from his accent I could tell that he was Shona. When I gave him my consent form he saw my Shona surname and pronounced it correctly and he started to speak in Shona whereas the other man continued to speak in English. Suddenly I was asked to leave because they thought I was a spy and also during that time it was when there were upheavals in Zimbabwe. The former president R. G. Mugabe was under house arrest. Even though they were playing Shona music so loud still they were not comfortable in admitting that they were Shona people and that they were from Zimbabwe.

I moved around the Diepsloot mall which is located in the Diepsloot Township. The mall has some of the well-known shops such as Jet Mart, Edgars sports, PEP, Ackermans, Shoprite and the KFC restaurant. For the purposes of the research, I volunteered to help one of my participant a vendor from Zimbabwe called Fortunate Ndlovu who sells earrings, bundles, scratches and bags outside the mall. This was done with intentions to observe the interactions at the mall. As I was helping this woman to sell her stuff I noticed that most people who came to buy who are South African, would freely use their languages when asking the prices of the goods. The Zimbabwean people who came to buy would rather use English or try to speak Zulu as a way of communication. One Zimbabwean Shona woman who came to buy from the table would use Shona to communicate with her husband as they were deciding on which earrings to buy but when talking to us she would try and speak Zulu. What I concluded was that Zimbabweans were comfortable in using their language to communicate amongst themselves. Further, most people walking around at the mall were communicating in Zulu though you would hear some speaking in Shona and Ndebele here and there.

As for people like Walter they have not seen the reason why they should hide their identities. They are proud to be Zimbabwean and nothing can change that

> I do not hide where I come from. I can even talk in whatever language I want to…..No one is going to ask me why I speak my language. I do not hide my identity. [Interview, Walter]

But when I asked him about hiding your identity during xenophobia he had this to say

> Yes, in such situations I would so as to be safe from being victimised [Interview, Walter].

However, even if Walter expressed that he has to hide his identity during xenophobia he expressed that he remains true to who he is and where he comes from. He stated that he used Ndebele language to communicate with his neighbours and that he did not feel obliged to speak Zulu or any other South African languages. He stated that most locals do not like people speaking with them using the English language as they treasure their mother tongue.

5.6 Conclusion

To conclude this chapter has shown that Zimbabwean migrants have gained access to the neighbourhood. These migrants have managed to set up their businesses in the area. The Zimbabwean migrants claim that they have faced discrimination from the locals as the locals claim that they are taking away their jobs. These allegations have contributed to xenophobia towards the foreign nationals. However, as a way of navigating this discrimination and other issues associated with strangeness, the Zimbabwean migrants have utilised their social networks. The social networks discussed in the chapter can be classified to familial networks, ethnic networks and church networks. These social networks have helped the Zimbabwean migrants to gain access to resources and also as a way of coping strategies.

CHAPTER SIX
CONCLUSION

6.1 Introduction

This last chapter restates the key argument and the main findings of this research. The argument is assessed against the research question and sub-questions that the report addresses. The purpose of this research was to explore how national identity mediates Zimbabwean migrants' access to housing and to the neighbourhood in Diepsloot informal settlement. In addressing this, the study initially examined how Zimbabwean migrants find a place to stay at an informal settlement which was the first empirical chapter. The second empirical chapter addressed the second sub-question, how Zimbabwean migrants navigate the neighbourhood and with what challenges.

The argument of this research is that precarious housing situations in South Africa is faced by both documented and undocumented migrants and that the informal housing space still presents challenges to Zimbabwean migrants regarding access. Due to the stringent housing policies in South Africa and the poverty experienced by some migrants, access to housing is precarious and its retention is marred by issues of strangeness and alienation and fixity is constantly interrupted. From the interviews that were conducted in Diepsloot among Zimbabwean migrants and South Africans, perceptions of fear, unacceptability and exploitation were expressed. This is related one way or the other to the housing policy or norm. This research argues against fallacies that view migrants as helpless victims, emphasizing that migrants are people that are in charge of their lives and fate. In navigating the challenges of strangeness, the migrants have created varied forms of networks that range from familial to ethnic networks.

6.2 Research Conclusion

The second chapter gave a historical background on the trends of Zimbabwe to South Africa migration. Zimbabwe was once an importer of migrant labour and ended up being one of the greatest exporters of migrants due to the economic meltdown that the country faced and still is trying to rectify. The research also examined the contestations over housing by migrants drawing out that the South African government has not yet had a low-cost housing system that is only focused on the foreigners. The government must have such a policy so as to foster

inclusion of the migrants who not only come to work in South Africa but have built businesses and provide services to the society. Many migrants even those with documentation still face challenges in meeting up with the terms of penetrating the formal housing market. Therefore, the precarious housing situation is not the only precarity that is linked to undocumentation as most literature presents it but precarity that cuts across documentation. Some migrants have been forced to live in unlawful buildings and informal settlements such as Diepsloot. Fostering of inclusion of migrants will promote social cohesion in the South African societies thereby bringing an end to discrimination and lowering the levels of crime. Apart from that, the researcher embraces the notion that "we are the citizens of the world", thus wherever an individual goes they must be in a situation whereby they have easy access to housing. This chapter also focused on the theoretical tools that were used for this study.

The concept of "the stranger" and "social networks" are the theoretical tools used in the research. The social network concept which has been widely used in migration research helped the researcher in analysing the data presented by the participants. It was essential for the researcher to use and understand the social network concept otherwise the data presented by most participants relating to social networks would have not been utilised the way it has been utilised in the research. The concept of the stranger was also useful in analysing data and also understanding the root causes of exclusion, discrimination and violence against foreign nationals in Diepsloot informal settlement. However, these two concepts do not focus on gender issues. It was difficult to analyse issues of gender as these concepts do not address these issues.

Further, a qualitative approach was utilised for the purposes of the study as this is shown in the third chapter which is the methodological chapter. In this study, the snowball sampling was employed in selecting the participants of the research. Further, in-depth interviews were used and the participants were able to share their narratives. The participants were all interviewed in Diepsloot. In addressing the research question, the chapter illustrated how data was gathered, coded, transcribed and later analysed.

The first empirical chapter, which is chapter four focuses on the processes the Zimbabwean migrants underwent in order to acquire or access a shack dwelling in the Diepsloot informal settlement. The findings revealed that the Zimbabwean migrants do not have ownership of the shacks in Diepsloot, but they have gained purchased access to the shack. The locals are pointed out by most participants as the landlords or the owners of houses in Diepsloot. The most

common housing options for Zimbabwean migrants in Diepsloot is the ‘backroom’ or the shacks. The minority of Zimbabweans who actually call themselves the ‘owners’ of the shacks might have gained ownership via their kinship networks or through dubious means. The findings revealed that even though the foreigners are the ones that are usually labelled as strangers by society. The society of Diepsloot is characterised by various strangers who cannot claim the place. In this chapter social networks have been identified as crucial for access to housing in Diepsloot. Most Zimbabwean migrants have relied on these social networks to navigate the structures that exclude them from accessing housing.

The second empirical chapter, which is chapter five focused on how Zimbabwean migrants navigate the neighbourhood and with what challenges. The findings revealed that the Zimbabwean migrants have managed to access the neighbourhood as they have set up their informal businesses e.g. vending, saloons and spaza shops. These Zimbabwean migrants claim to be living separately with the locals due to a variety of reasons. To start with, the Zimbabweans are viewed as criminals who not only steal money but also jobs and women (through marriage). The finger pointing that is happening in Diepsloot has caused most people to assimilate superficially. People would tend to hide their identities by imitating a South African identity. These migrants have managed to master South African languages and some have even legally or illegally attained South African identity cards. Diepsloot as it is stands as a consciousness of African unity. There is no problem with Africans being united in Diepsloot.

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Appendix A:

Interview schedule

1. Tell me about yourself?

a)Gender, b) Age c) Home language d) main source of income/ how do you support yourself e) Education level

2. Can you tell me on how you came to live here?

Probe: What steps did you follow in acquiring a shack in this area?

3. What challenges did you face during acquiring a shack?

4. Do you think that these challenges were caused by your status of being a foreigner or outsider? ---if so, why?

5. How did you overcome the challenges that you faced during acquiring a shack?

6. Do the locals follow the same procedure in acquiring a shack?---If not, why?

7. Do you know other Zimbabwean migrants in this neighbourhood? If so, what kind of relations have you established with these people?

8. Have these relations helped you in gaining access to a shack and to neighbourhood?

9. Is the access to a shack always via networks or connection?

10. What kind of relationships do Zimbabweans have with the locals?

11. Are locals happy to accommodate Zimbabwean tenants as they profit from them?

12. Can you tell me what is it like to live in this place?

13. What groups live in this area?

14. Is there social solidarity in this neighbourhood?

15. When residents talk about the community do you think they're talking about everybody living here, or do only some groups qualify as community members?

Probe: Do some groups have a better position in the area than others?

16. Do people divide themselves into groups?

17. Are you seen as a stranger?

18. Do you think there is a need to hide your identity?

Probe: Are there people who hide their identity?-if so, are they treated differently from you?

19. Do you feel recognised?

20. What are the main tensions in the area?

21. Who are the community leaders and how and where do they operate?

22. Do you feel safe and comfortable in the neighbourhood?

23. Are you part of any meeting forums or activities that take place in this area----Elaborate?

UNIVERSITY OF THE WITWATERSRAND JOHANNESBURG

Appendix B:

Participant information sheet

2017/07/19

Dear Mr/Mrs/Ms.

Ref: request your participation in a research project

I, Trace Mangava kindly request your participation in a research project on how national identity mediates Zimbabwean migrants' access to housing and to neighbourhood at an informal settlement. I am a Master's student in the Department of Development studies at the University of the Witwatersrand.

I would appreciate an opportunity to interview you regarding my study. Your participation will be of grave and great importance as it will further the knowledge and understanding with regards to my study. Please note that participation in this study is not by force but by your own will or consent and there is no payment or reward that will be given for participating. Interviews shall be conducted where the participant feels comfortable. Participants are not forced to answer any questions that may make them to be uncomfortable. If you are not willing to continue with the interview you are allowed to end your participation.

It is essential for you to note that all the data that will be collected will only be used for the purposes of my master's research. No one will be given this information as it is only for the purposes of my research. In protecting you as a participant of this study, pseudo names will be used in place of your actual names.

However, if you feel that you have concerns regarding the study or if you require any additional information, please contact us or our supervisor to discuss these further.

Contact details:
Trace Mangava 0810056517 tracemangava@yahoo.com

Supervisor Contact Details:
Email: Obvious.katsaura@wits.ac.za
Kind regards,

Trace Mangava _____

Participant consent form:

I hereby confirm that:

I have been briefed on the research that Trace Mangava is conducting on how do national identity mediates Zimbabwean migrants' access to housing and to neighbourhood at an informal settlement

- ✓ I understand what participation in this research project means,
- ✓ I understand that my participation is voluntary,
- ✓ I understand that I have the right not to answer any questions that I do not feel comfortable with,
- ✓ I understand that I have the right to withdraw my participation in the research, at any time, I so choose, and
- ✓ I understand that any information I share will be held in the strictest confidence by the researchers.

Optional clauses:

□ I hereby request that I be guaranteed anonymity

□ I hereby request a copy of the research report

Signed by (Name): …….on (Date): …….at (Place): ……..

Signature: …….

Appendix C

Figure 5: Showing the participants' profile

Pseudonym of participants	**Age/ Sex**	**Occupation**	**Nationality**	**Marital status**	**Number of years lived in Diepsloot**
Joe	65 Male	Chairperson of SANCO in Diepsloot	S.A	Married	12 years
Gugulethu	44 Female	Vendor	S.A	Single	9 years
Cyril	18 Male	Student	S.A	Single	5 years
Mpumelelo	39 Female	Piece jobs	ZIM	Married	3 years
Evans	34 Male	Unemployed	ZIM	Divorced	7 years
Concilia	26 Female	Unemployed	ZIM	Married	1 year
Kenneth	54 Male	Unemployed	ZIM	Married	9 years
Leonard	39 Male	Self-employed	ZIM	Single	2 years
Walter	29 Male	Piece jobs	ZIM	Single	4 years
Fortunate	26 Female	Vendor	ZIM	Married	8months
Mpho	31 Male	Political educator ANC Youth league in Diepsloot.	S.A	Single	6 years
Sakhile	28 Female	Vendor	ZIM	Single	3 years
Nontobeko	54 years	Unemployed	S.A	Married	11 years
Melusi	57years	Church elder	ZIM	Married	4 years

The table below shows the profile of the participants with pseudonyms. Five of the participants are South African and the other nine participants are Zimbabwean migrants. The ages of the participants ranges from 18 to 65 years. The table shows that most of the participants were not employed at the time of the interviews and some relied on piece jobs and street vending. The table shows that there are Zimbabweans who have been in Diepsloot for a long time just like

Kenneth and Evans this shows that their level of strangeness cannot be the same as Zimbabweans who just recently came to the area