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The University of Witwatersrand, Johannesburg.

School of Social Sciences

Wits Centre for Diversity Studies

The role of social networks in alleviating precarity: the case of undocumented Zimbabwean migrants working in the private security industry in Johannesburg, South Africa

A research report submitted to the School of Social Sciences, University of the Witwatersrand, in partial fulfilment of the degree of Master in Critical Diversity Studies

January 2019

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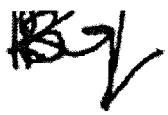
Declaration

I declare that this thesis is my own unaided work. It is submitted in fulfilment of the Masters of Sociology in Critical Diversity Study at the School of Social Sciences at University of Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. It has not been submitted before for any degree or examination to any other University. I would like to acknowledge the support of the DST_NRF South African Chair in Critical Diversity Studies. Any opinion, finding and conclusion or recommendation expressed in this material is that of the author(s) and the NRF does not accept any liability in this regard.



---------- Candidate's signature

Reshmi Singh

--30--day of January--Year --2019--

Abstract

Globalization is a new age phenomenon and nations need to establish new ways of dealing with the mass migration of people in search of livelihoods. This study, conducted in July 2017, aims to highlight the agency involved in the search for jobs in the private security industry (PSI) in Johannesburg, South Africa. It explains why undocumented Zimbabweans are favoured as employees instead of locals. In so doing, this study addresses and exposes the oppression of undocumented Zimbabwean migrants and demonstrates how they in turn reduce the effects of their precarity by exercising agency through utilising social networks to overcome the invisible effects of structure imposed through the economic policy of free markets and free trade.

This study illustrates the modern-day paradigm of the desperation faced in neoliberalism, and how globalisation, a product of neoliberalism, perpetuates precarity, thereby encouraging the mass movement of people in order to seek employment. This simultaneously creates a precarity of location. Oppression results from the displacement and the economic precarity experienced. Owing to the limited alternatives or choices that migrants are faced with, the potential for oppression does not pose a deterrent in the decision to migrate. This study finds that foreigners, especially undocumented foreigners, are otherised. This study reveals the dimension of intersectionality in the lives of these migrants and how their subjectivities are perpetuated. Furthermore, it highlights the reality of the plight of those who risk their lives and wellbeing to protect strangers and how remittances play a key role in the decision to migrate. A central theme deduced from this research exposes how neoliberalism has exacerbated the precarity whilst concurrently tainting the essence of agency.

It is also observes that choices which are made, are inauthentic by even submitting to oppression as a choice; tolerating xenophobia and succumbing to exploitation. In this study, I have highlighted three core themes in the Theoretical Framework, namely precarity, agency and oppression. The latter two juxtaposed concepts carry very different definitions, since the former enables and the latter disables. In this particular study, however, these two concepts explain the "lived realities" of undocumented migrants working in the PSI in Johannesburg. The participants in this study reveal how they are exploited, the manner in which they experience xenophobia and powerlessness, and how social networks are used to overcome some of these forms of oppression but also how it facilitates migration. In addition, precarity

has also created conditions that perpetuate insecurities, hence migrants resort to life-and-death choices in order to remit and provide for their families. I am surprised by the sense of accountability and responsibility that the migrants exercise through the migration process, in spite of all the parameters that constrain their assimilation into their country of destination. This study dwells deep into the migration of these individuals; the difficulty they endure and provides a perspective which detracts from the image that foreigners come to South Africa to "take our jobs and steal".

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

1.1. PRECARIOUS LIVELIHOODS

At a Securexpo Conference held in Midrand on 26 May 2016, Tony Botes (Secretary and Administrator of the Security Association of South Africa (SASA)) exposed that there were many security companies employing undocumented, unregistered workers who do not contribute to the industry's provident fund (Anetos, 2016). This conference exposed the dark side of neoliberalism – the vulnerability of the worker. The above article from *Times Live* reveals the dependence of the private security industry (PSI) in South Africa (SA) on foreign labour, especially undocumented migrants, and the exploitation they experience. It further highlights how neoliberalism creates conditions that normalise such forms of oppression by targeting certain racialised populations (Clarno, 2017, p. 15), who experience heightened forms of oppression due to their exacerbated precarity. This economic policy thrives on the marginalised and oppressed status of certain groups of people who become trapped by their economic precarity and which is further perpetuated by their precarity of place.

Precarious livelihoods is a term used to refer to people who lack forms of security and stability in their lives, usually more from an economic point of view, but also in terms of living in a foreign country. The neologism, precarity, is derived as an abbreviation/merger of the words precariousness and proletariat, hence implying the uncertainty and insecurity of the working class. Traditionally, the working class enjoyed privileges from the welfare state (social benefits); however, for those living under neoliberalism, their lives are epitomised by vulnerabilities. Precarity refers to a condition of existence without predictability or security, affecting material or psychological welfare (Your Dictionary). Essentially, it refers to the uncertainty experienced as a result of temporary jobs or jobs that lack formal contracts and jobs that lack employee benefits. Butler (2008) summarises precarity as a politically induced condition, resulting from social and economic structures that marginalise certain populations by exposing them to abuse, violence and death, and thereby rendering their lives useless and meaningless. It has created conditions under which labour has become insecure and vulnerable by offering little or no protection for the worker in the face the constant threat of dismissal or redundancy (Standing, 2011).

Precarity has been perpetuated by neoliberal practices. During Fordism, most workers secured reasonable salary increases and other social benefits through trade union representation, and this minimised the profits of the capitalists as their operating expenses increased. Neoliberalism is a strategy employed by capitalists and governments to counter the rising costs of wages by reducing the role of trade unions and social protection, thus giving rise to the vulnerability of the worker by deconstructing and then reconstructing the labour force (Candeias, 2004, p. 48).

Neoliberalism is a political and economic theory that is characterised by free trade and free markets. It involves market deregulation, privatisation and reduced state involvement (Walsh, 2016, p. 65). The opening up of borders through outsourcing of production has created new ways of doing work such as divisions of labour, service enterprises, technological mixes and social relations (Walsh, 2016). Neoliberalism is thus a result of the State passing its welfare responsibility for its citizens to capital (Harvey, 2005, p. 3). It becomes the responsibility of capital and the employee to ensure their own pension schemes, medical schemes, etc. Capital has created conditions for employment that are so insecure and unstable that workers are in constant agony over their economic uncertainty.

The ultimate goal in capitalist societies is to minimise labour costs and reduce State involvement, which is achieved by creating conditions that encourage dependency and subjectivity. In Africa, the situation of most people has always been precarious due to the fluctuating economic conditions and unpredictable natural and agricultural phenomena, often leading to people engaging in circular migration (Maharaj, 2004). However, migration has become more prevalent in recent times due to economic and political instability in other African countries, such as Zimbabwe, which forces people to migrate in search of a livelihood. Push and pull conditions foster migration, but most undocumented migrants become susceptible to exploitation in the process. Migrants endure perpetuated vulnerability, as they not only experience economic precarity, but also precarity of place (Banki, 2013). Due to their predicament of vulnerability, they are willing or forced to overlook compromised working conditions in the hope of acquiring and maintaining a job in their country of destination. Understanding the role that social capital plays in the lives of migrants illustrates a form of agency (counter-resistance, as well as a coping strategy), as their obvious oppression becomes a choice. Most migrants (Zimbabweans, Mozambicans and Malawians) in South Africa seek employment opportunities in the PSI as this sector is largely unregulated.

In South Africa in 2007, the PSI contributed R30 billion rand to the economy (Gumedze, 2007, p. 197). A decade later, in 2017, its contribution exceeded R40 billion (Swingler, 2017). It is one of the fastest growing economic sectors in the country. There are presently 490 000 registered active security officers, which is double the number of the South African Police Services (SAPS) and South African National Defence Force (SANDF) combined (Swingler, 2017). However, this figure is vastly inaccurate, as this sector comprises a large number of security guards who are not registered. The industry depends on labour sourced domestically and from foreign countries. Gumedze (2007, p. 197) estimates that there were approximately two to three million Zimbabweans residing within South African borders. According to the Masungulo Project (Solomon, 2000, p. 10), illegal migrants would be competing with low-skilled South Africans for jobs in the service sector, such as in the PSI. South Africans who were surveyed by Solomon (2000) in the Masungulo Project stated that foreigners are

willing to work for a low wage and to endure difficult working conditions. Insecurity, according to Harvey (1999), is attributed to neoliberal practices because of the instability in employment. This instability is a result of new regimes of flexible accumulation and flexible work arrangements, usually practised in the garment and other manufacturing industries, as well as in the service sectors. Post-Fordism has created conditions for worker insecurity, where work now revolves around technology and service. It has reduced the worker security that previous generations were accustomed to, such as welfare and other social benefits and trade union representation. As a result, the lives of workers has become precarious, as they lack the sense of worth and belonging that previously was grounded in a craft (Standing, 2012, cited in Walsh, 2016, p. 59).

Many jobs have become obsolete and workers require re-training in order to adapt to the service sector. This has created a climate in which everything has a price and can be bought and sold. This commodification of labour has led to mass unemployment due to technological dependency and time-space compression, in terms of which many core functions are outsourced to poorer developing countries, which can provide cheap labour and lower production costs. Owing to computerisation, just-in-time production has arisen, in which items are produced as consumed, in comparison to previously, when goods were produced in advance and stockpiled in warehouses in the event of future demand. Thus the demand for labour has reduced because of this new cost-effective strategy, which has created the need for workers to seek new employment options like service sector opportunities; retail, food and private security industries to name a few.

1.2. RATIONALE

There are many migrants, particularly undocumented Zimbabweans, who work as security guards in Johannesburg. In a country with a very high unemployment rate, currently at 27.7% (Stats SA), it is puzzling that undocumented Zimbabweans can obtain employment in the fastest growing industry in the country.

Why are private security companies employing undocumented Zimbabwean migrants in preference to citizens? Perhaps they experience some form of oppression and their lack of working papers make them easier to dismiss as employers do not need to comply with the Labour Relations Act (LRA). It is also possible that they may be more reliable, better trained or perhaps willing to work for a lesser wage as compared to their South African counterparts. The aim of this research is to uncover how social networks play a significant role in the lives of migrants and their integration, so as to negate the effects of precarity by turning the migrants' migration-related social capital into financial capital

(Fussell & Massey, 2004, p. 152). Essentially, this research explores how agency in the form of social networks reduces precarity and oppression, and how agency is also inhibited by oppression and neoliberal structures. This research aims to uncover how migrants navigate spaces and perform their precarity, by firstly seeking migratory advice and, secondly, by examining how this agency is constrained through structures that facilitate hegemonic neoliberal agendas that result in oppression; where oppression becomes an informed choice.

In the following chapters, I outline how these concerns will be addressed. The following chapter will outline the method applied and research ethics considered in order to elicit personal and sensitive information. The theoretical framework explores the discursive nature of oppression in relation to agency and how othering is enhanced particularly in relation to Young's theory of oppression as a result of power and privilege, and how it operates to alienate undocumented migrants. Thereafter, the literature review discusses how neoliberalism exacerbates precarity and how agency, through the form of social networks, is employed to reduce or counter the effects of precarity. Although agency, in essence, is meant to be empowering and liberating, it can be constrained within neoliberalism to achieve particular agendas. Furthermore, the role of social networks will be discussed from a global perspective. Agamben's theory of biopolitics is used to help us understand the role of the State in fostering xenophobia, and how otherising benefits capitalism. Finally, the findings and discussion address the abovementioned, but specifically in relation to the participants in this study. The conclusion considers universal citizenship as an alternative paradigm for addressing issues surrounding othering and oppression, and how recognition can be relevant for facilitating an environment conducive and tolerant to foreigners.

OBJECTIVES

The objectives of this study are:

- To understand how migrants secure employment in the fastest growing industry (PSI) in South Africa through the use of and dependence on social networks that facilitate transnationalism and active backward linkages.
- To understand the oppression endured by the undocumented Zimbabwean migrants.
- To understand how "agency" is exercised to reduce/limit migrant precarity induced through neoliberal structures.

- Finally, to understand the role that remittances play in their decision to seek work in Johannesburg, and the continued flows of remittances despite the forms of continuous violence migrants endure.

1.3. PROLOGUE

During the 2015 xenophobic attacks, a security guard named Lewis who worked in my complex became a victim of xenophobia. He was dismissed without any warning, as the company complained that he was fraudulently using the work permit of a friend. He was bewildered, as the company had initially suggested to him that, in order to be employed, he should use a friend's or relative's work permit. Upon hearing of his dismissal, I questioned him about what had occurred and he explained that this is a common occurrence. He explained that companies often employ foreigners with or without permits and pay them substandard wages and expose them to compromised working conditions and after a few years dismiss them.

I was concerned about Lewis because he displayed a high level of integrity in his job and he would not willingly engage in blatant fraud. He was honest, hardworking and god-fearing. All the effort that he exercised in his job, such as loyalty (working for the company for several years) and diligence suddenly became irrelevant. He was a father and a husband, and his wife was expecting their second child when he was dismissed. He was perplexed but also offended by his misrepresentation. His termination raised questions for me. I wondered whether this is a common experience among undocumented guards and, if it is, then why do migrants subject themselves to compromised employment conditions in this sector? Why are migrant Zimbabweans employed in favour of South Africans by certain companies? At this point, I was intrigued and realised that not enough had been written on the undocumented migrants working in the private security industry (PSI) in South Africa. I consulted a thesis by Sefalafala (2012) who wrote his MA on the precarious lives of security guards. This was an interesting read and provided helpful information to understand the precarity of security guards, but did not apply specifically to the precarity and discrimination that undocumented Zimbabwean migrants endure, as he interviewed security guards across the spectrum. I needed to know more about the people (migrants) who risk their lives to take care of my home, my children and my neighbourhood; who kept me safe whilst earning a pittance.

Soon thereafter I began questioning other security guards within my neighbourhood, whom I would often meet in the afternoons as I walked my dog, about their predicaments. It became clear that many of them experience similar narratives to Lewis. He was no longer the exception, but in fact the norm. Hence, a single incident has precipitated my fascination about the treatment of undocumented

Zimbabwean migrants working in the PSI in Johannesburg. The security industry, although regulated by PSIRA (Private Security Industry Regulatory Authority), seems ineffective in controlling and monitoring this sector in terms of illegal and unscrupulous employment, as indicated in the "Anetos article" and giving rise to the aforementioned issue.

I have always expressed a passion for labour. This passion developed whilst at university, when I worked as a part-time wage clerk for a construction company. I observed varying degrees of exploitation; how people were essentially helpless, accepting abuse in order to survive. Thereafter, I pursued my Honours in Industrial Psychology, which further advanced my curiosity in issues surrounding labour and work. Because of this natural inclination towards labour, I chose to pursue my Master's in Critical Diversity Studies. After various conversations with several security guards in the area, I began to realise that very little has changed in respect to the working conditions of low- and semi-skilled workers (precariats). I was bewildered to discover that the lack of legal status compounds abuse and opens spaces for oppression.

This research focuses on the agency of undocumented migrant Zimbabweans. It also addresses how structures shape their agency without them even being conscious of the invisible power play, and how migrants knowingly succumb to forms of oppression as a choice. The participants spoke of their need to seek and maintain employment and the mechanisms employed to obtain or achieve this. The uncertainty created in neoliberalism has created vulnerable sectors within the workforce who have become trapped by the neoliberal ideology of individual accountability and responsibility.

1.4. NEOLIBERALISM

David Harvey (2005, p. 3) states that neoliberalism may be seen to be an economic and political ideology that liberates individuals to pursue their entrepreneurial ambitions by exercising their human capital within the free market framework. This theory promotes individual liberties by encouraging choices. It is this kind of propaganda that was used to persuade both the US and UK electorates to adopt such austerity measures in the Thatcher (1979) and Reagan (1980) administrations. This new liberal economic policy endorses the free market economy and capitalism, whilst concurrently eroding the role of the once proactive state. Governments were expected to promote such policies to combat or reduce Keynesian welfare models and trade union power by deregulating industry, agriculture and resource extraction (Harvey, 2005, p. 3). State intervention reduced drastically, and trade control was minimised. Although neoliberalism is sold as an ideology that promotes independence and flexible labour regimes, which were absent during Fordism, it is meant to be counter-revolutionary to prevent

socialism, fascism and authoritarianism. Neoliberalism is essentially hegemonic, as workers are made to believe that it offers them a better life through improved working regimes. However, it is meant to disguise the workers' reduced labour protection, as it is just another form of capitalism: disguised, with "freedom of the masses ... restricted in favour of a few" (Harvey, 2005, p. 70). At least citizens enjoy some forms of labour protection exercised by the State through its legal frameworks; illegal immigrants, on the other hand, concurrently become more vulnerable and susceptible to exploitation by capitalists due to their lack of belonging. The aim of free market economies will always be to maximise profit at the expense of workers, especially marginalised workers. From 1994 onwards in South Africa, most marginalised workers were sourced externally from neighbouring countries.

The new political dispensation favoured the opening up of borders, which coincided with the collapse of Apartheid and permitted free trade and free movement, especially within the Southern African Development Community (SADC) countries. All South Africans were now granted equal rights and protection under the law, irrespective of their race, and therefore the opening up of national borders made it possible to source cheap, skilled labour from other countries, which also stimulated illegal immigration. South Africa underestimated their attractiveness to immigrants.

"Illegal migration within Sub-Saharan Africa is extremely variegated and complex. It is often tolerated in periods of good relations and economic prosperity, only to be repressed during economic downturns or periods of international tensions" (Castles & Miller, 1993, p. 143). However, this trend is not only characteristic of South Africa, but also of other countries in the world. For example, Greece, Italy and France all experience issues with illegal migration. Their economic downturns is often attributed to illegal migration from North African and Middle Eastern countries. Kearney (1991, cited in Schiller et al., 1995, p. 50) observes that globalisation has rekindled the politics of differentiation. Governments overlook these illegal infiltrations, as they provide capital with a source of cheap disposable labour, which, according to Standing (2011, p. 91), is common in neoliberalism. Schiller et al. (1995, p. 50) reiterates that capitalism, "from its beginning has been a system of production dependent on global interconnections between people of the world". The commodification of labour is characterised by their "precariat existence or 'temporary status' of some kind without assurance. Countries with weak employment security and a migrant population have proved to be a valuable source of labour" (Standing, 2011, p. 60). For example, Zimbabwe and Mozambique have been beneficial neighbours to South Africa by providing migrant labour. Historically, migratory patterns always existed in Sub-Saharan Africa, but these heightened during the discovery of diamonds and gold in South Africa. Capital in South African mining relied heavily on migrants from the former Bantustans and the country's neighbours. Mining currently does not rely as extensively on foreign labour as it previously did due to labour restrictions. However, this did not reduce the influx of foreign migrants.

Migrants have continued to migrate South in search of jobs in various other sectors, such as domestic, restaurant and security work, to name a few low-skilled occupations. Many of these migrants, as mentioned earlier, come from countries like Lesotho, Mozambique, Malawi and Zimbabwe.

The new wave of undocumented migrants has sought employment in sectors that have grown substantially under the conditions of neoliberal economic practices, such as the service industry – including the security industry – and elsewhere where employees are among the least protected by law and have employment practices that, at face value, are extremely exploitative. Under such conditions, South Africans are less likely to want to be employed in these sectors, thereby producing an employment option for migrants. An effect of this is xenophobia, which has occurred in the country almost every year for the last decade with attacks on foreigners. However, the attacks are not solitary, random occurrences, but are reflective of the underlying discrimination, prejudice and challenges that migrants' face on a daily basis because of the hostility from locals. South Africans feel threatened by the presence of these foreigners and their willingness to work in these precarious sectors. They accuse them of stealing their jobs, in spite of them being unwilling to endure poor and exploitative working conditions. The favoured choice of capital thus becomes the marginalised or othered worker -the vulnerable, exposed worker- such as the undocumented migrant from Zimbabwe, who lacks labour protection and is willing to endure and tolerate compromised conditions in the fastest growing sector in the economy, namely the PSI.

The high crime rate is often attributed to the large number of illegal foreigners residing within its porous borders. South Africans tend to claim that most of their problems are attributed to the presence of illegal foreigners, which has also been noted by Zaheera Jinnah, a researcher and anthropologist attached to the African Centre for Migration and Society (ACMS) at Wits University, who asserts that this claim is unfounded and baseless and needs to be clarified (Wilkinson, 2015). Wilkinson (2015) states that there are approximately 1.2 million foreign internationals residing within South Africa's borders. Many of them subject themselves to precarious employment conditions without benefits and formal contracts. Most of these foreign migrants tend to live and work in Johannesburg. Jinnah (Wilkinson, 2015) also states that there are many misconceptions that precipitate xenophobia and fuel resentment, thereby creating animosity and subsequently encouraging prejudice. She highlights that this issue requires clarification to prevent xenophobia and discrimination in the future, and it is my hope that this study will address this concern. Despite xenophobia and other challenges faced by undocumented Zimbabwean migrants, they still persevere in coming to South Africa in search of an income.

Neoliberalism has intensified precarity to the extent that people become xenophobic and feel threatened by outsiders, especially by those who occupy low-skilled jobs. But what is it that makes Johannesburg a choice destination for migrants? Perhaps it is the vast employment opportunities in the service sector. Johannesburg is the country's largest and most powerful urban centre, and an economic hub, housing one of the world's largest stock exchanges (Hamilton, 2006, p. 3). According to world systems theory a global city or core country has an exploitative relationship with its neighbouring countries on its periphery in terms of labour (Hamilton, 2006, p. 17). Therefore, Johannesburg constitutes a global city due to its relationships with its neighbours.

1.5. GLOBAL CITIES

Neoliberalism has led to the creation of new kinds of cities, global cities that are very different from the prior conception of cities (Sassen, 2005, p. 29). Schiller et al. (1995, p. 49) note that the term "transnational" implies a transformation of global restructuring of capital, where borders have been diminished due to production and the distribution of goods, people and objects. Sassen (2005, p. 31) further observes that this results in the creation of new kinds of service sector jobs, which are outsourced and specialised, resulting in the "mobility of capital". However, she asserts that certain jobs, such as primary or key work processes (infrastructural activities), are hypermobile in that they are so embedded in the location that it encourages "cross-border transactions among immigrant communities and communities of origin and a greater intensity in the use of these networks once they become established including for economic activities" (Sassen, 2005, p. 31). Global cities, as noted by Sassen (1998, cited in Robinson, 2009, p. 6) have been transformed by the dynamics within world capitalism and institutional arrangements, creating a new form of spatial ordering involving "transnational flows of people, power, [and] culture". This essentially means that cities are becoming more diversified in terms of culture and the mix of inhabitants.

Schiller et al. (1995, p. 50) concisely describe the creation of global cities and implies its effect on migration in the following quote:

> Capital is channelled into key sectors and regions while the infrastructure of transportation, education, health services are stripped from countries, and sections of countries and cities, defined as superfluous to newly defined circuits of wealth and power. Attacks on the infrastructure take the form of structural adjustment programs in debtor countries and calls for reduced taxes and capital spending in capital exporting countries such as the US.

Hence these global centres attract employees from the periphery countries, as there are no longer employment opportunities in their cities and countries. Global cities are attracting multinationals, and thus people are relocating from different countries to access these opportunities. Multinationals have created a need for both highly skilled personnel as well as low-skilled labour to service the newly created demand for labour. Hence, these "globalized urban centres ... generate a strong demand for new immigrant labour" (Robinson, 2009, p. 9).

Deregulating and decentralising production through export-processing zones has created a need for cheap labour, which is usually sourced from racialised rural populations and people from third-world economies who work in these producer service economies, where the polarisation is apparent. There is a need for both highly skilled employees and also low-skilled workers to service these global spaces, and these highly skilled personnel also require low-skilled personnel, in the form of childcare, cleaning services, security, janitorial services, etc., who usually perform the menial, blue-collar, dirty work (Robinson, 2009, p. 16). Therefore, migration provides a convenient labour system. However, Sassen (1998 cited in Robinson, 2009) ignores how transnational labour negotiates these global spaces and the agency they (migrants') possess to adapt to their changing circumstances, for example the use of social networks through friends, family, religious groups like churches, mosques and temples, trade unions, etc. She further fails to account for the agency involved in terms of the decision to migrate and the use of social capital. Although she omits the aforementioned, she does acknowledge that the State has played a reduced role in the protection of immigrants, especially undocumented immigrants, and rather tends to offer global firms the rights that citizens enjoy, hence allowing them to become new "economic citizens" (Sassen, 1998, cited in Robinson, 2009, p. 22). "Too often immigration and ethnicity are constituted as otherness", observes Sassen (1998, cited in Robinson, 2009, p. 23), an otherness in which women and people of colour are usually disadvantaged, as their identities are not embedded in the nation, thereby creating "lived experiences" that differ from that of citizens. This quotation by Sassen (1998) draws attention to the experiences of undocumented migrants not only globally but within Johannesburg too.

In global cities, services such as cleaning, private security, etc. are required, thus creating unskilled jobs – a situation that is prevalent in developed and developing countries. In South Africa, however, the PSI consists of both multi-national security firms like G4S, ADT and Securitas, as well as locally owned private security companies, some of which are owned by citizens and others by foreign nationals relying on precarious workers, especially precariat migrants. Clarno (2017, p. 129) notes that

> private security has been the fastest growing industry in the country since the 1980s. The expansion of private security stems from the combination of growing inequality, racialized poverty, and anxiety about crime, distrust in SAPS, and neoliberal faith in the private sector.

This rapidly expanding service sector, legitimate or otherwise, thrives on vulnerable, low-skilled workers to service the industry. "Precarious workers across the globe are expanding rapidly and rather uniformly across the world" (Paret, 2016, p. 174). "The precariat consists of people living through insecure jobs interspersed by periods of unemployment or labour force withdrawal misnamed as 'economic inactivity' and living insecurely with uncertain access to housing and public resources. They experience a constant sense of transiency" (Standing, 2014, cited in Paret, 2016, p. 175). Precarity is further perpetuated by their truncated status or lack of citizenship.

The PSI has taken advantage of this influx of foreign immigrants and their vulnerable status to provide the industry with an untapped resource. Furthermore, as Gumedze (2007, p. 205) points out, the "illegal immigration into South Africa has also spurred the emergence of the sector". The PSI has realised the potential of this cheap and exploitable labour and, since the positions offered are entry-level positions, foreigners fit into such jobs perfectly. Furthermore, the high crime rates increase people's feelings of anxiety in their homes and workplaces, and they are resorting to the "consumerism and commodification" of such services. "Individuals are able to purchase their own security in light of the state's inability to guarantee their security" (Berg, 2007, p. 4). The PSI is a growing industry in South Africa and is valued at 2% of the country's gross domestic product (GDP) (Abrahamsen & Williams, 2011, cited in Diphoorn, 2015, p. 6). In South Africa, private security guards outnumber police officers by approximately 1:3 (Diphoorn, 2015). It is a common sight when one drives through South African suburbia to see private security vehicles that resemble police vans patrolling the streets, where the privileged refer to the security guards as their "police" (Diphoorn, 2015, p. 1). According to PSIRA (Private Security Industry Regulatory Association), there are approximately 9 320 active security companies registered in South Africa, compared to the 1 127 police stations that currently exist. These statistics also highlight how neoliberalism has impacted on this sector, as policing is supposed to be a state-owned enterprise with a duty to protect its citizens; however, even this sector has been privatised and the duty to protect has been outsourced, conforming to the tenets of neoliberalism. The cost of yet another State duty is passed onto its citizens. Furthermore, Clarno (2017:12) observes that the PSI is in fact a "neoliberal response to a crisis generated by neoliberal restructuring", which Peck (cited in Clarno, 2017: 12) has deduced emerges from the uneven processes of neoliberalisation, where markets need to constantly readapt to maintain order and redefine social relations. Through this process, Clarno (2017) notes that inequality

is exacerbated by the creation of extreme forms of marginalisation. Thus, a regulatory body was proposed to regulate the PSI.

1.6. PSIRA – PRIVATE SECURITY INDUSTRY REGULATORY AUTHORITY

PSIRA is a regulatory authority that was a product of the Private Security Industry Regulations Act 2012, which enacted this body to oversee and regulate the expanding service sector, as well as to foster the legitimacy of these vendors by ensuring that they comply with the standards set by the Act. The body aims to eradicate "fly-by-night" companies by ensuring that all companies register with the association, and also register their personnel. Owners as well as guards need to have police clearance certificates, and valid work permits if they are foreigners. They need to have complied with or acquired the necessary certification from legitimate training schools to be registered as a guard; furthermore, proprietors need to be reputable. By paying a levy, these companies enjoy the benefit and protection of the association. Owing to their high standards of compliance, many unscrupulous companies do not register, as they fall short of the standards and requirements. According to Gumedze (2007, p. 20), "private security guards are frequently ill-trained, unsupervised and many have criminal records", and it is precisely these elements that PSIRA chooses to eliminate. Gumedze (cited in McCullum, 2013, p. 109) claims that the PSI is only concerned with economic gain, and that peace and stability are not on its agenda. "The growth of this industry has been also an avenue of employment for the unemployed. These people become a visible reassurance that spaces and persons are being secured by means of guarding/patrolling duties" (Berg, 2007, p. 4). The PSIRA Act defines the companies that fall within the ambit of the Act and includes services like locksmiths, car guarding, private investigators and security equipment suppliers, alongside the usual guarding and patrolling services (Berg, 2007, p. 3).

According to the Sectoral Determination 6: Private Security Sector (2009), the guarding component involves the guarding of fixed assets and property such as buildings, shopping centres, complexes, schools etc. They are permitted to patrol privately owned spaces. The sector also comprises in-house security that serves to guard and protect goods, persons, etc. SD 6 has highlighted concerns over the high turnover rate of guards in the industry and states that registration with the body ensures a basic minimum wage of R4 500, as well as social benefits such as UIF (unemployment insurance fund) and pension or provident fund, along with workmen's compensation and occupational health and safety. In addition, the guard is entitled to, at no cost to him, two washable uniforms. Theoretically, PSIRA's policies are well intentioned, but as a regulatory body it lacks effectiveness and authority in implementing its policies, thus providing loopholes that are manipulated by unscrupulous employers. The aim of this research is to uncover how Zimbabwean migrants have infiltrated the PSI using agency

in the form of social capital, despite the apparent exploitation and constraints that they face. Exploitation is an obvious reality; but why they are choosing to experience such exploitation remains unanswered. I hope to provide answers to this pertinent question in my research.

1.7. CONCLUSION

In the introduction, I exposed a dark side of the PSI and its dependence on foreign labour highlighting their heightened precarity and resulting oppression. I attributed their precarity and oppression to the economic era of neoliberalism, where everything is viewed as a commodity including people where some people are recipients of privilege and others are excluded. People who are marginalised suffer severe forms of oppression and become susceptible to abuse from employees. These include racialized populations (Clarno, 2017) and those that lack indigeneity (Gordon, 2010). Undocumented migrants are seen as a cheap, disposable labour source due to globalisation and the mass migration to global cities. In this study, I indicated my concerns regarding how undocumented Zimbabwean migrants can source employment in the PSI in South Africa more easily than local citizens, especially when unemployment in the country was at a staggering 27.7% in 2017 (Stats SA, 2017). Neoliberalism clearly has perpetuated the need for increased migration through the expansion of the service sector in most global cities.

Johannesburg, like most global cities, has an ever-expanding service sector and requires low-skilled personnel to maintain this sector. Crime in Johannesburg is very high, and hence many private security companies are sprouting up around the city in order to tap into this need. In 2017, approximately 30 934 crimes were recorded in Hillbrow, Central and Sandton combined (Business Tech, 24 October 2017). Johannesburg is in close proximity to Zimbabwe and thus is a favourable choice for employment, as there is a direct link between the two places via airplanes and automobiles. Most Zimbabweans utilise this opportunity on the basis of information passed through social networks and, once within the country, receive support from earlier migrants. The PSI is regulated, but to a very minimum degree, so that indiscretions and contraventions are often overlooked as not all companies are registered. Therefore, this particular sector becomes a favourable choice for undocumented migrants to enter, since security companies are often not policed by PSIRA and thus do not have to conform to strict compliance criteria. The exploitation of undocumented migrants therefore is a reality. This research study recognises the oppression faced by these undocumented Zimbabwean migrants, but questions how their agency is employed to enter the PSI.

In the following chapters, I will lay the framework for my research commencing with the research and methodology chapter which will also provide the site and sampling details. In Chapter 3, I will introduce the central concepts (agency and oppression) which are critical to understanding the precarity of undocumented migrants in the PSI as well as other concepts which are relevant. In the Literature Review Chapter, I will discuss the various literature consulted, some of which were valid to this study. Although, not much has been written about the PSI in Johannesburg and migrants working in this sector, I adapted literature that also appear relevant to this study. There is a lack of literature pertaining to the triadic relationship between precarity, agency and oppression. In Chapter 5, the narratives of the undocumented guards will illustrate the triadic nature in operation which are categorised under themes discussed in the previous two chapters demonstrating and reiterating their validity to this study. In the final chapter, I will summarize the previous chapters and provide the reader with a compassionate view to dealing with migrant labour.

CHAPTER 2: RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

2.1. INTRODUCTION

In this chapter, I have included a map on page 23 (Figure 2.2.1.) of my study area, which illustrates where Morningside is in relation to the central business hub of Sandton. I will address issues relating to my sample and how participants were approached and the methods used to obtain their narratives. This chapter also outlines my data-processing methods. Furthermore, the chapter includes a discussion of the challenges I experienced and the ethical considerations that I implemented in this particular study due to the sensitivity surrounding the lack of immigration status.

2.2. SITE AND SAMPLING

SAMPLING

In this study, 19 undocumented male Zimbabwean security guards were interviewed. I also managed to interview one of the security bosses whose security guards had been interviewed for this research. I requested a meeting with the another Zimbabwean security boss whose guards I also interviewed, but he declined with an excuse by stating that he could not finding any suitable time to be interviewed. Sadly, there were no female security guards in this specific site. It seems that this particular sector is male dominated, especially in relation to the guarding of private homes. Although there are many female security guards, they are usually employed by the prominent security companies that service corporates and shopping malls, hence are employed by companies which are reputable and registered with PSIRA, and therefore are documented which would not be relevant to this study.

A sample or representative can be described as a group of individuals who possess specific characteristics and from whom information and data are obtained so that one may draw conclusions in relation to the entire population (Walliman, 2011, p. 94). I therefore targeted specific guards who were undocumented Zimbabweans whom I first met by approaching them. I used snowball sampling to gain access to other guards who worked for the same company or in the same neighbourhood. The security guards seemed to possess a solidarity that made it easy to gain access to them through a simple process of referral. Snowball sampling or chain referral is purposive sampling with the intention of using existing participants and their social networks to gain contact with potential participants who might be able to contribute to the study (Mack et al, 5). After developing a degree of trust in me, they asked their friends and family to assist me with my research. The participants were not suspicious of my intentions, as I had been pre-screened by people whom they trusted and on whom they depended.

I assured them of their anonymity and my commitment not to expose the names of their companies in order to protect their identities from being revealed to the community, to government officials and to their employers, thus preventing any possible deportation or dismissals.

SITE

> In post-Apartheid South Africa, pockets of wealth and power exist in close proximity to concentrations of racialized poverty. In northern Johannesburg, the affluent neighbourhoods around Sandton – just across the M1 Highway from Alexandra – have become laboratories for the development of advanced strategies for securing the powerful and policing the poor Black South Africans. (Clarno, 2017, p. 126)

My research site is Morningside in Sandton, Johannesburg (see map in Figure 2.2.1). The Sandton CBD lies 25 km north of the central hub of Johannesburg (see Figure 2.2.3). The name was derived from the combination of the names of two of its suburbs: Sandown and Bryanston (Wikipedia). It is the economic hub of Africa. Many prominent international businesses are based in Sandton. Due to its location, many employees live and work in Sandton. It is an elite suburb, comprising of many residential suburbs and a major commercial district. Some of these residential suburbs are Sandown, Bryanston, Morningside, Rivonia, Woodmead, Paulshof, Sunninghill, Fourways, Lonehill and Witkoppen (see Figure 2.2.1). Sandton has attracted residents not only from South Africa, but also international residents who work for these conglomerates. A large number of the multinationals employ foreigners, therefore it is feasible for them to live close to their area of employment in secure estates, and access-controlled streets and complexes. Morningside is three kilometres from the central hub of Sandton and is attractive to employees of the commercial hub, as the commute to work is short and thus saves them from spending hours in traffic to get in and out of Sandton Central Business District (CBD).

Figure 2.2.1 Map of Sandton and its suburbs

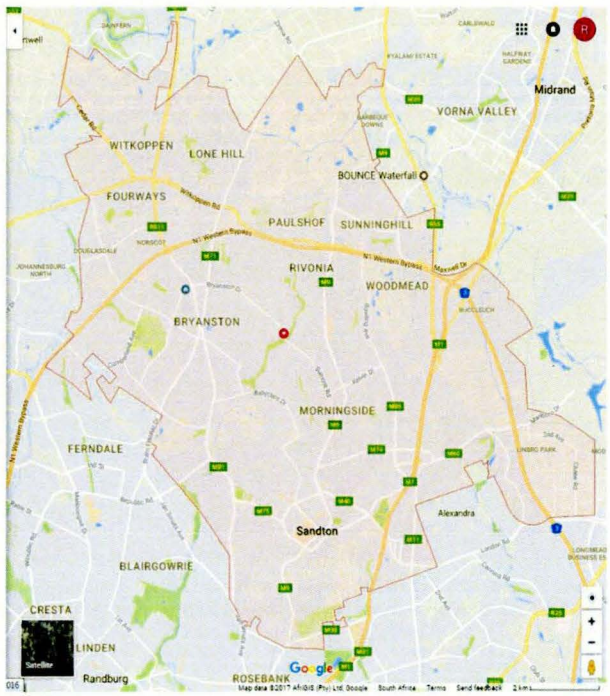

Figure 2.2.1 above indicates the location of Morningside in relation to the CBD of Sandton. Its proximity implies that the cost of property is very high and attracts middle income earners, which makes the area susceptible to home invasions and car hijackings.

Crime in South Africa is a major issue and is one of the key factors for emigration. South Africans, especially those who have been victims of crime, feel unsafe at home and in their cars and public spaces, and opt for countries with lower crime rates. Residents as well as business owners are paranoid about their security and, as a result, have employed the services of private security companies to monitor their complexes, businesses, access-controlled roads, schools, etc. Crime statistics for April 2015 to March 2016 (Sandton Chronicle, 2016) reveals that burglaries at residential properties escalated from 714 to 758, while carjackings increased from 64 to 76. Crime in the Sandton area seems to be on the increase annually, hence the continued demand for private security companies. Many of these private security companies are not registered with PSIRA, or they simply register a few South Africans and other documented foreigners to work whilst the bulk of their workforce is unregistered, and thereby keeping their overheads to a minimum. By underpaying the undocumented guards, they can generate more profit and be a competitive vendor in the sector. The irony of this situation is that residents and small companies are not willing to compromise on their security, but are willing to compromise on the vendor they choose to provide the security by not

verifying if it is registered or not. Residents are indirectly complicit to the exploitation of undocumented security guards by not insisting that companies be regulated and adhere to labour laws. The fees of the legitimate private security companies are usually very high, and therefore residents who require security are willing to contract vendors who are not registered in order to keep their security expenses to a minimum. Security in South Africa is a privilege, as this service is not subsidised by the State. Even poor communities and residents have contracted security companies to protect them. Crime has touched both wealthy and poor communities, and young and old. In Johannesburg, many residents have been victims of crime in one or more forms and on more than one occasion, including myself whilst living in Morningside. A police officer told me when I was a victim of an armed robbery that Sandton is the Hollywood of Africa, as it is very attractive to criminals. (Follow the link https://www.numbeo.com/crime/in/Sandton for a survey conducted amongst Sandton residents in 2017 in which they expressed their anxieties, including that about home invasions, armed robberies and car hijackings, hence justifying their paranoia and reliance on the PSI).

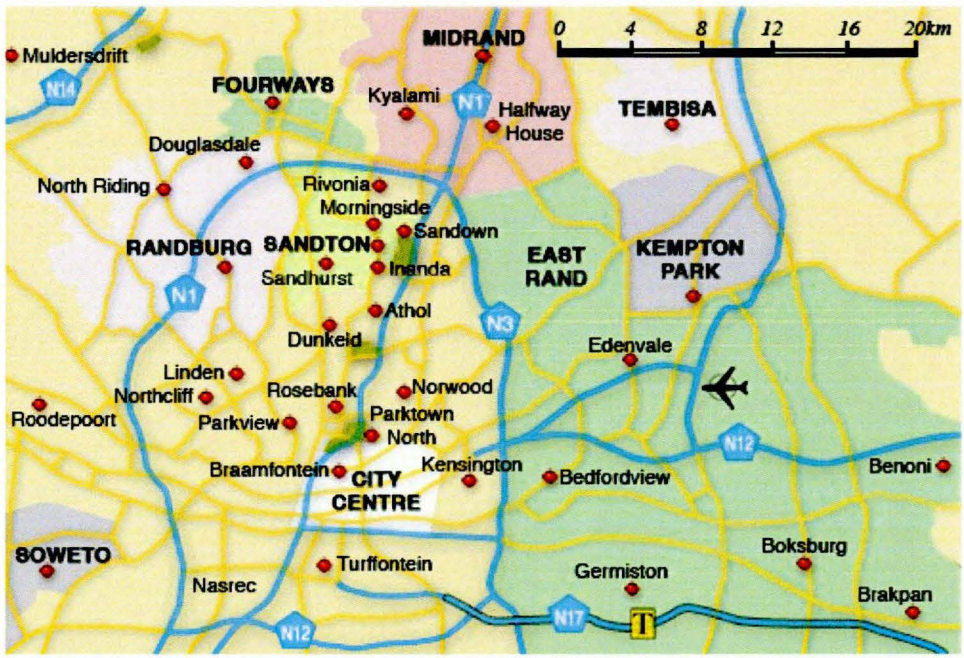

Figure 2.2.2

Figure 2.2.2 shows townships like Alexandra, Diepsloot and Tembisa that lie on the outskirts of Sandton. Some of the participants live in Alexandra, and even though they literally live across the M1 Highway, they have to pay R20 per day for transport. Clarno (2017, p. 17) observes that "neoliberal security regimes often rely on [a] low wage labour force recruited from the same population that they target". Most of the participants in this research live in these areas and commute to and from

Morningside daily. Townships like Alexandra, Tembisa and Diepsloot are strategically located close to Sandton to provide a cheap labour source in close proximity to the hub. This was an Apartheid strategy to ensure the divide between rich and poor and black and white, but at the same time to maintain the needs of capital and its skilled employees. Transportation is costly, and this is discussed further in the findings. The average trip from Tembisa to Morningside costs R25 one way. Crime in South Africa is still very much racialised, and the black person from a low economic class is feared as a perpetrator of crime. The geographical spatial planning addressed the labour source, but also ensured that elite areas were the preserve of the wealthy. The divide also ensured that crime could be controlled; however, more recently, these townships have been shown to be disadvantageous. Although these poorer neighbourhoods are in close proximity to Sandton, criminals also have a close location in which to escape to evade law enforcement when being pursued as even police fear entering these neighbourhoods. Clarno (2017, p. 17) therefore asserts that "through networks of private and state security forces, they attempt to address the anxieties of the powerful by policing the marginalized. The racialized poor become the objects of racialized threat discourses and targets of racialized policing". Thus, neoliberalism intersects with race and class to define social relations, where the other is used for a utilitarian purpose but, at the same time, their community (migrant) is a site of deviance.

The map also shows Soweto in proximity to Morningside, which is relevant in Chapter 5.

2.3. DATA COLLECTION AND PROCESSING

DATA COLLECTION

For this research I have adopted qualitative methods because it has enabled me to develop a connection with the undocumented guards in order to understand their plight through their "lived experiences". I needed to establish their reasons for working in the PSI. Qualitative data, according to Walliman (2011, p. 72) cannot be quantified, as it relates to activities, feelings, beliefs; it is the study of human beings and societies. The qualitative method would permit me to access this information through talking to them and being genuinely interested in their experiences. I met with my participants face to face and asked them questions about their lives; these interviews were semi-structured and contained themes that ensured that we did not divert from the topic, but also made it possible for me to elicit relevant responses from the interviewee. Because the interviews were conducted in the area where I live, I had previously established rapport with some of the security guards, which was built on trust and respect through years of contact with them. Being constantly in

the same vicinity creates familiarity and also breeds a 'friendship', based on casual interaction. The face-to-face interaction ensured that I could build trust in my participants. It also permitted me to ascertain and assess the unspoken inferences that are revealed by facial expressions, for example when someone evades a topic or in their reaction to a specific question. Throughout this process I had to remain objective in order not to influence their positions and had to refrain from redirecting the participants towards my own biases by expressing my pity for their plight.

Qualitative research, according to Mason (2002, p. 6) can be both rewarding and challenging, as it allows one to understand experiences, life, social processes and relationships and how these then generate meanings in the larger social context. However, ethical considerations must be taken into account, as these are real people with real issues. The researcher must be sensitive and respectful to the participants and the information that they reveal. Building a degree of trust facilitates openness and disclosure that may not be revealed with other research models. The security guards' precarity and undocumented status made them extremely vulnerable. Therefore, in order to allay their suspicions and not to expose their vulnerability, I had to build and maintain their trust in order to extract sensitive information and guarantee that their identities would be protected. I also had to find a way in which to extricate such sensitive information without using questionnaires.

I adopted the interpretivist approach. Mason (2002, p. 56) states that this approach allows the researcher to "see people and their interpretations, perceptions, meanings and understandings as the primary data source ... where the aim is to explore individual and collective understandings, reasoning processes, social norms and so on", thus permitting an "insider view" (Blaikie, 2000, p. 115, cited in Mason, 2002, p. 56). From my analysis, I was able to understand which push and pull factors played a role in their migration, as well as the role of social networks in facilitating and promoting migration. Thus, according to De Vos et al. (2005, p. 263), the interpretivist approach allowed me to make generalisations about possible explanations for migration. In this way, we can understand the phenomenon of migration and motivations for it. The use of questionnaires would not have allowed me to obtain sensitive information and feelings, which could only be derived through developing an association with the participants so that they feel comfortable to disclose their life stories. Furthermore, questionnaires are structured and generic (one scenario fits all) and presupposes certain scenarios. For that reason, my interviews were largely unstructured, using only a few focused questions. My interviews were strategic, with the intention of eliciting specific answers and topics; however, they were exploratory and experiential. Exploratory interviews, according to MacDonald and Headlam (1986, p. 41), entail that interviews have a "strategic role to play in the research", involving some prior knowledge about the research subjects and making connections between elements. Experiential interviews draw "out people's feelings, perceptions and experiences over a

specific period of time", providing a wealth of information relating to people from that community (MacDonald & Headlam, 1986, p. 41). The combination of an interpretivist approach with the exploratory and experiential interviews provided me with the mechanisms to delve deeply into the feelings of the security guards whilst simultaneously connecting their feelings to the secondary information that helped me to understand their position and how the various theories were actually applicable or lacked validity.

Questionnaires would have made the undocumented security guards feel vulnerable because they would have documented their views in writing, and they might have felt that the documents could be used against them. Owing to their status, documented information would also create a sense of suspicion with respect to my intentions. Therefore, from my experience with the security guards I realised their reluctance to be recorded and that they preferred face-to-face interviews without any devices (audio or video recorders) in order to protect their identities.

The general interview guide approach permitted me the flexibility and fluidity in conversation to elicit deep thoughts and to be receptive to new details that emerged unexpectedly during the interviews. Therefore the structured interview method would not permit a similar response as the structured interview guide presumes that these security guards have experienced certain scenarios preventing me from understanding them fully and allowing them to express themselves without any preconceptions. Allowing them to speak freely and occasionally redirecting the interview towards the research allowed me to truly understand their positionalities. Furthermore, the medium of conversation is English. The participants are well versed in the English language; however, there may have been instances or moments of questions being lost in translation, meaning that they might not properly have understood my questions or I might not have understood exactly what they were expressing. This approach created or established a sense of trust, as the participants felt in charge or took ownership of the interview rather than me probing into their lives, which they may found intrusive and which could have made them suspicious and withdraw. Mason (2002, p. 63) notes that "qualitative interviewing therefore tends to be seen as involving the construction or reconstruction of knowledge more than the excavation of it".

I intended to use my rapport with the guards whom I already knew to persuade on them to introduce me to other security guards through snowballing sampling. Snowballing, according to Atkinson and Flint (2001), 'consists of identifying respondents who are then used to refer researchers on to other respondents.' It gives researchers access to groups of people who do not always wish to be conspicuous, as in the case of undocumented migrants. Atkinson and Flint (2001) state that there are two main advantages to this method, as "it is an informal method to reach a target population" and

can be an effective method to make "inferences about a population of individuals who have been difficult to enumerate" through surveys. But, the success of snowballing is dependent on the rapport between the researcher and his/her respondents, as well as being able to overcome several other difficulties. According to Atkinson and Flint (2001), snowball samples tend to be biased, as the respondents are not drawn randomly but are included due to their relationships within the social network. The question then arises: how do you randomly draw respondents who wish to be undetected? Snowballing gives one access to those who wish to remain anonymous and hidden from the public domain, and gives one the opportunity to understand their social experiences (Atkinson & Flint, 2001). In this study, even though the security guards wished to remain inconspicuous due to their undocumented status, I was able to access them using this method. Other difficulties that Atkinson and Flint (2001) have highlighted include establishing rapport with the initial respondent, who will then give you access to his or her social network. Therefore, trust is essential to permit access to the initial respondent's social network. These authors also underscore the issue of trust amongst marginalised groups, as respondents must be assured of the protection of their information and confidentiality, something that usually only develops over time. Therefore, such groups initially may be reluctant to converse based on their lack of trust, but once trust is established it becomes easier to integrate within social networks. This too indicates the power of social networks in facilitating access and credibility. The trust that prevails among members of the networks is profound because there is no issue of doubt when a recommendation is made.

DATA PROCESSING

I did not use any computational programmes to analyse my data. I categorised my data manually into themes and sub-themes. This form of coding made the analysis easier to comprehend and assess. Although it is a time-consuming exercise compiling transcripts, I found that working with the data in this way allowed me to recall the interviews and the tone thereof, which was helpful when decoding the information. I used the thematic analysis method, which allowed me not to be overwhelmed by the volume of data arising in the process of identifying contrasts and commonalities. The literature review also provided a useful framework for the coding by providing themes, and greatly assisted me in the interview process, as I could relate to what the security guards were expressing on the basis of this prior knowledge.

2.4. LIMITATIONS AND ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

Prior to engaging in this research study, permission was obtained from the Ethics Committee of the University of the Witwatersrand. The sample that I selected was extremely precarious and vulnerable due to their undocumented status, therefore their life stories were recorded in my journal under pseudonyms to prevent any identification by the public and employers, future employers, as well as immigration officials. As suggested by Walliman (2011, p. 49), information of a sensitive nature must be revealed only in consideration of the participants and should be done in a way that prevents victimisation, unfairness and bullying. The aim of my research is not to cause harm, and therefore the publishing of the data is not intended to be harmful to the reputation, dignity or privacy of the subjects (Walliman, 2011, p. 48). Informed consent is critical in any research (Mack et al), as it ensures that the participants understand their involvement in the research and consciously decide whether or not to participate in the study. I asked the security guards for permission to be interviewed, disclosed the nature of my research and granted them the opportunity to excuse themselves at any stage if they felt uncomfortable or intimidated by me or their employers, or by the residents whom they monitored.

They were willing to be interviewed, however, under conditions of anonymity, and they refused to sign any forms so that there would be no record of our communication except for the notes that I took in my journal. I used their verbal consent or dissent as permission or lack thereof to continue or withdraw. I exercised sensitivity when documenting their stories so that they would not become vulnerable to deportation, particularly because of the sensitive nature of the details that were revealed in the research. I was fortunate that the referrals were from reliable sources, and hence I did not have any security guards reject my attempts to interview them. They actually seemed quite willing to talk. I seemed to pick up a sense of catharsis throughout the interviews. I assumed this to be because of their status, as such information can be a burden and is usually only communicated to close associates and never to an outsider, hence it seemed to be liberating to talk about their plight. In spite of the relationship that I had developed with most of them through our interactions (giving rise to trust and credibility), I do not know their real names and still continue to address them by their pseudonyms, even in post-interviews.

LIMITATIONS

Initially, sourcing participants was challenging, but once I had established a relationship with a few of the security guards, this was no longer an issue. In order to establish the relationship, I would walk around the vicinity they monitored and casually engage in small talk and social conversation. Once I felt they were comfortable with me, I would then approach them again after a few days and ask them if they wished to be interviewed. This strategy was time consuming, but it helped me to establish friendship and trust with the participants. Due to the sensitive nature of the research, these factors were essential in order to obtain an accurate narrative of their experience. Interviewing the night guards was a scary experience for me, not because I was female and was interviewing male guards. Perhaps I am naïve, but I trusted the guards. However, I was afraid of being hijacked, as I used my vehicle when I went out at night. Furthermore, I was afraid of being attacked by criminals whilst conducting the interviews. Fortunately, none of these concerns manifested into reality.

I also received stares from the residents whilst interviewing the security guards when they were on duty. I did suggest interviewing them before or after their shifts, but they were not willing to hang around after their shifts, especially as they usually had to rush to take public transport. Here again, fortunately none of the residents objected to me interviewing the guards whilst they were on duty, even though I might have appeared suspicious to them and they could have assumed that I was doing surveillance of the residents to rob them or investigate them.

2.5. CONCLUSION

The site where I conducted the study, is a microcosm of South African suburbs and reflects the reliance of most communities on the PSI. Crime has united both wealthy and poor communities in as it targets people across the proverbial "rainbow nation". Crime is not only prevalent in wealthy suburbs, but equally prevalent in townships such as Tembisa, Alexandra, Diepsloot, Lenasia, Eldorado Park, etc. It is a concern for all residents across Johannesburg, where crime is often racialised in the light of this former Apartheid society. The reliance on the PSI is a national demand, not just a local necessity. As mentioned in the discussion of PSIRA in the introduction, there are more security guards patrolling the country's streets than actual police. This indicates that security guards are an essential part of our daily lives, and understanding their motivations, despite their apparent oppression and the risk they face, is intriguing. In the following chapters, I will discuss the oppressions that undocumented security guards endure and how they reduce their precarity through agency in the form of social networks/social capital.

CHAPTER 3: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

3.1. INTRODUCTION

> The disposable poor remains valuable both materially and symbolically. Competition for jobs ensures availability of a low-wage workforce, informal economic activities involve intense exploitation and the need for food, shelter and other basic necessities ... [which] subjects the poor to predatory practices by merchants and landlords. (Clarno, 2017, p. 15)

This quotation eloquently sums up the power relations between the powerful and the powerless, which will be explained in further detail in the chapter below, relating to how power operates to confer privileges whilst it also has the ability to oppress. Essentially, in this chapter I will expose how power operates in terms of disadvantaging the "other".

The above quotation also addresses the apparent **oppression** endured by the undocumented, poor Zimbabwean migrants working in the PSI (reiterated as per article -Anetos -in the introduction). Sadly, the above quotation and the quotation in the Introduction highlight how the economic system (neoliberalism) benefits from power relations which thrive on the vulnerability (**precarity**) of certain groups of people. Therefore, in this chapter, I would like to also emphasise the concept of **agency** and how it is used to seek employment through the reliance on social networks in this sector. These concepts (oppression and agency) are contradictory, as oppression disables people whilst agency enables people. I will demonstrate how these two contradictory terms operate simultaneously to explain the lived realities of these undocumented security guards. This chapter further outlines how oppression arises through othering and its manifestations and how privilege and power create oppression. It also describes how agency is employed, through social capital, to reduce the impact of such othering that manifests as oppression. This triadic relationship (**precarity, oppression and agency**) that exists in this particular study enhances our understanding and the complexity of the lived realities of the participants, but essentially at the core of this relationship, is subjectivity.

3.2. SUBJECTIVITY

Subjectivity is central to the concept of oppression, agency and precarity, as it highlights how agency emerges and also how oppression results owing to the vulnerability of the worker. This concept (subjectivity) was popularised by Althusser (1971) and later by Foucault (1977), and then was developed further by Butler (1990). Althusser affirms that subjection arises from the modes of production and reproduction, based on Marxism. He proposes that subjectivity arises from the interplay between the material productivity (base) that is a result of the social practices of the

superstructure and vice versa. Hence, his theory simply means that the modes of production can shape the structures of power, and the structures of power can shape the reproduction of labour, which occurs through the ideological State apparatus creating the subject, whereas the repressive State structure, such as the police, government and army, simply impose violence (Suzuki, p. 69). It is through this ideology that the individual becomes conscientised/ interpellated to his/her space in the world by conforming to the ideologies of religion, school and families.

Foucault's theory proposes that subjectivity arises from power, where power not only subjugates people but also is transmitted through them (Suzuki, 2012, p. 70). Foucault and Althusser agree that power not only subjugates individuals but also shapes their identity where they enact the ideologies of power, mostly through the ideological apparatus. Butler's theory proposes that subjectivity arises from the political and cultural ideologies that regulate and control behaviour. Through this process, subjects are created and their identities are shaped, therefore she claims that subjectivity is performative, as behaviour is reflective of expressions of the prevailing discourses; people act out their identities. The three theorists outline the foundations of how subjectivity arises. It must be noted that all three theorist agree that it is through this interpellation that oppression manifests from an ideological State apparatus that imposes standards of behaviour and ensures the conformity of such behaviour to produce a vulnerable working class (precariat) and also in some cases can either inhibit agency or become drivers of agency. However, for those who do not conform to the subjectivity or fall outside the parameters are defined as "others".

3.3. OTHERING

Othering is a concept that emerges from the study of the exercise of power and how power operates to create subjectivities. The concept of othering was popularised by Edward Said (1978/9), in his book *Orientalism*. He uses the concept to describe the "inferior" relationship that existed between the East and the West. Later, Gayatri Spivak also applied this theory to describe the effects of British colonialism in India. Othering, as a result of the power play, determines and shapes identities where subordinate people are relegated to the status of the "other": "the other is always the other as in inferior, not as in fascinating" (Jensen, 2011, p. 65). Schwalbe et al. (2000, cited in Jensen, 2011, p. 65) define othering as a "... process whereby a dominant group defines into existence an inferior group". Jensen (2011, p. 65) provides a more detailed description of othering:

> a discursive process by which powerful groups, who may or may not make up numerical majority, define subordinate groups into existence in a reductionist way which ascribe

> problematic and/or inferior characteristics to these subordinate groups. Such discursive process[es] affirm the legitimacy and superiority of the powerful and condition identity formation among the subordinate.

Simply, "othering ... reduces people: it essentializes them down to race, ethnicity, gender or caste. This, in turn, opens up avenues that lead to ... discrimination, demonization, dehumanization and domination" (Amin, 2015). Amin (2015) therefore sums up that othering is a deliberate exercise of power. Post-structuralist theorists like Foucault explore the concepts of power/knowledge to understand how they shape subjection. His view is that all knowledge is fiction and that realities can be shaped to conform to fiction, hence functioning as the "truth" (Blackman et al., 2008, p. 6). He deduces that subjects are formed as a result of the interplay between power and knowledge. He also maintains that the "subject is discursive in that it is a textual position" (Blackman et al., 2008, p. 7). It is the lived experiences that are important to Foucault, as he believes these shape people, "the by-product that seems wholly determined by just such forces" (Blackman et al., 2008, p. 8); an outcome relative to structure. For Foucault, different levels of power create different subjectivities, creating hierarchies of difference, therefore some groups experience varying degrees of discrimination and oppression, creating intersectionality (discussed in further detail in Literature Review). The manner in which oppression operates is almost invisible and is built into the fabric of society, which becomes the norm. The oppression results from the interplay between power and structure, where a certain privilege is enhanced at the expense of a said group. However, in this study the combination of subjectivities alienates/relegates the said group into category which seems almost impossible to transcend as the oppression that they experience is perpetuated.

3.4. CONCEPT OF OPPRESSION

The processes of power are pervasive and complex and are often disguised. Power confers privileges and concurrently discriminates, creating "unequal power dynamics ... establishing normative orders, creating centres and margins, bringing about systems of privilege and disadvantage" (Steyn, 2015, p. 381). Young (2009, p. 62) sums up the concept of socioeconomic privilege concisely:

> groups which have it behave as though they have the right to speak and be heard, that others treat them as though they have right, and that they have the material, personal, and organizational resources that enable them to speak and be heard in public. The privileged are usually not inclined to protect and further the interests of the oppressed partly because their

social position prevents them from understanding those interests, partly because to some degree their privilege depends on the continued oppression of others.

Hence, power results from hegemonic structures that serve to empower dominant groups at the expense of marginalised groups. Hegemony, according to Boler and Zembylas (2003, p. 111), refers to the "maintenance of domination not by sheer exercise of force but primarily through consensual social practices, social forms and social structures produced in specific sites such as the church, the state, the mass media, the political system, and the family". They further state that the success of hegemony rests on the premise that individuals adopt and assimilate into the propaganda which creates and perpetuates subjectivities. "Difference are [is] socially constructed within unequal power relations. Some differences are constructed as those that make a difference" (Hall, 2007, cited in Steyn, 2015, p. 379). Pastrana (2010, p. 53) also notes that "differences are often identified, experienced, and quantified". Difference become salient and becomes a site of contestation where power is exercised to exclude or locate the difference outside the normative, the status quo. Due to this displacement to the periphery, the "different" becomes othered. The "othered" include various groups of people, for example gays, transgender people, women, disabled people, people of colour, immigrants, refugees, queer people, etc.

Stuart Hall (1987, cited in Boler & Zembylas, 2003, p. 125) states that immigrants experience politics of difference, where the self is in a state of flux due to their dislocation. Their difference highlights their relationship or lack thereof with the State, which tends to disembody them. Agamben (1998) recognises that the bare life that exists outside of the polity will by implication be denied the privileges conferred to the polis. Agamben's (1998) theory identifies perceptions of undocumented foreigners and accounts for their mistreatment. It also helps us to understand why, in this particular study, the undocumented Zimbabwean migrant security guards endure oppression and why the State is complicit in their abuse. The State perceives undocumented migrants as 'persona non grata' and therefore they should be ineligible for any protection that the State has to offer. Thus, undocumented migrants find it difficult to assimilate into and develop feelings of belonging in the host country, as their presence is viewed with abhorrence. The denial of privilege opens up to an arena of violence and non-belonging. Yuval-Davis (2011: 3) favours the work of Bourdieu (1977, 1984, and 1990), whose theory of symbolic power demonstrates how symbolic power embodies and socially constitutes an individual, and this is especially pertinent in issues surrounding notions of belonging. The politics of belonging refers to boundary maintenance and includes those who legitimately fall within said boundaries. The exclusion or marginalisation of certain categories of people who do not belong manifests in their subjectivity, such as those with a contested "citizenship". Migration has become problematic in recent times due to the mass movement of people in search of better livelihoods. Many

nation States justify their abuse of undocumented migrants by citing their deviance through the act of illegal migration, while simultaneously ignoring the desperation and despair that such acts of agency imply. Here, too, the interplay between power and structure creates perceptions that foreign bodies are devalued lives and warrant abuse. The presence of migrants are often not acknowledged in times of violence, therefore exonerating the State's lack of intervention.

To understand the nature of oppression comprehensively, one needs to understand its foundations and how oppression manifests. Oppression is a result of privilege; although this sounds ironic, Johnson (2001 p. 24) clearly illustrates that privilege operates to either establish a disadvantage through "othering" or a privilege through entitlement. For those who enjoy privileges, they are seldom aware of their advantage; 'the ease of not being aware of privilege itself' is termed the "luxury of obliviousness" or epistemic privilege (Johnson, 2001, p. 24). Privilege implies that those around you can recognise the operation of exclusivity; however, it is ingrained into the fabric of the community where it is almost invisible. Peggy McIntosh (cited in Johnson, 2001, p. 23) describes privilege as something of value that one group has been denied over another group, but not for any specific reason. She believes that privilege operates in one of two ways – either through unearned entitlements, where one group enjoys certain benefits as opposed to others, or through conferred dominance, where one group has power over another (Johnson, 2001, p. 26).

Johnson (2001, p. 33) reminds us that privilege allows people to assume a certain level of acceptance, inclusivity and respect, and to operate within a comfort zone. Johnson (2001, p. 33) eloquently sums up the nature of privilege in the following quote:

> privilege means being able to decide who gets taken seriously, who receives attention, who is accountable to whom and for what. And it grants a presumption of superiority and social permission to act on that presumption without having to worry about being challenged.

Therefore, Johnson (2001, p. 40) reiterates that privilege operates in relation to others, "just as privilege tends to open doors of opportunity, oppression tends to slam doors". Simply, oppression determines how we perceive our place in the world and how others perceive our place in the world (Johnson, 2001, p. 40).

"Oppression designates the disadvantage and injustice some people suffer not because a tyrannical power coerces them but because of the everyday practices of well-intentioned liberal society" (Young, 1989 p. 40).

Young (2009, p. 56) is a prolific writer who conceptualised the five states of oppression and how it operates in everyday society without being noticed, with the oppression contributing to maintaining

and reproducing power and where the power affects the way people live and work, without them being aware of the impact of their power. She states that oppression is so deeply embedded and woven into the fabric of society that its practices are just seen "as the ways things are" (Young, 2009, p. 56); often unquestioned. "Oppressions are systematically reproduced in major economic, political and cultural institutions" (Young, 1989, p. 41). She highlights that oppression emerges as a structure or systemic constraint through the exercise of power, which reduces the significance of a said group of persons and results in their oppression. Melissa Steyn (2015, p. 381) reiterates that "oppressive social structures maintain the categories, conferring or withholding rewards such as inclusion, belonging and acceptance, or conversely administering exclusion and censure". Young (2009, p. 56) asserts that the oppression is embedded in the unquestioned norms, habits and symbols underlying the institutional rules creating authenticity. Groups are made up of individuals, with each possessing his/her own identity and personhood. However, when these individuals become associated in a group, their personal identities are ignored and a group identity is imposed on them by way of stereotyping and generalisation as in the case of these research participants. According to Epstein (1987, cited in Young, 1989, p. 45) identity is relational, depending on our involvement and incorporation with others. Heidegger (1962, cited in Young, 1989, p. 46) frames this idea as he notes that our identities are defined in relation to how others define us by our associations. He also notes that we are sometimes oblivious to our oppression singularly; however, our oppression becomes salient once we are part of a group and realise the 'shared oppression'.

Oppression is hegemonic and operates through consensual social practices, social forms and social structures produced in specific sites (ideological state apparatus), such as the media, school, places of worship, political and economic systems and even in the home (McLaren, 1998, cited in Boler & Zembylas, 2003, p. 110). It is so ingrained in society that it often becomes common sense in spite of the contradictions, contestations and ambiguities surrounding it. Oppression is rationalised through the underscoring of difference, where difference becomes political and where status, gender, nationality and sexual orientation become apparent. In neoliberal times, largely due to globalisation, people are 'free' to move and pursue their own agendas; difference becomes salient and a site for contestation. Places are no longer homogenous but comprise of an array of people from different cultures and races. This difference is often viewed with suspicion, fear and superiority, which manifests in forms of abuse. A view maintained by Kearney (1991, cited in Schiller et al., 1995, p. 50) is that "migration is one of the important means through which borders and boundaries are being contested and transgressed ... the growth and intensification of global interconnection of economic processes, people, and ideas is accompanied by a resurgence in the politics of differentiation". Therefore, it is necessary to understand the abuse faced by migrants and the role that structure plays

in creating such conditions for abuse. Oppression comprises of various forms of abuses with adverse effects on the recipient which can be both debilitating psychologically and physically but also impairs on their ability to function (live).

Young (1989, p. 48) conceptualises five important states of oppression that impede people's ability to exercise their free will and agency. Her theory is not solely related to migrants, but is a general guide that applies to the abuse faced by people and groups in general. Societal rules and expectations impose constraints, which immobilise authentic agency, thus preventing people and groups from exercising their choices and goals and life trajectories, as also noted by Wren (2015). The application of this theory is pertinent to this study as it highlights the abuse faced by Zimbabwean migrants and how their othering becomes a site of contestation. Therefore Young (1989, p. 39) suggests that "entering the political discourse in which oppression is a central category involves adapting and evaluating social structures". She further highlights that people who suffer from forms of oppression are inhibited from exercising their authentic agency. Below are Young's five forms of oppressions resulting from subjectivity:

3.4.1. EXPLOITATION

The central concept of exploitation is derived from Karl Marx's concept of capitalism, where capitalism thrives on class divisions, with wealthier classes contracting the labour of lesser classes to generate a profit (surplus value). In neoliberalism, we are said to be autonomous agents, therefore the question arises how people can be exploited. Young (2009, p. 61) addresses this question with the following, thorough explanation:

> labor power is the one commodity which in the process of being consumed produces new value. Profit comes from the difference between the value of the labor performed and the value of the capacity to labor which the capitalist purchases. Profit is possible only because the owner of capital appropriates any realized surplus value.

Workers who acquire skills that translate into human capital are less exploitable, but it is the menial, servile, unskilled or low-skilled workers, who are especially vulnerable to exploitation, and this is perpetuated by their lack of immigration status, which makes them even more vulnerable to exploitation (as in the case of these research participants). Exploitation therefore perpetuates class divisions in society (Young, 1989, p. 53). Since the undocumented Zimbabwean migrants are semi-skilled to low skilled and they lack the necessary work permits, their desperation and vulnerability makes them targets of exploitation and abuse. They lack legal protection from the State because they are deemed 'illegal', thus ensuring that unscrupulous employers can take advantage of their labour

without any accountability. Young (2009, p. 62) reminds us that race is a structure of oppression, and therefore, in the case of Apartheid South Africa, black people were prevented from accessing jobs which were reserved for white people. Hence, being a black foreigner in post-Apartheid South Africa implies oppressive elements, as low-skilled (auxiliary) positions are often offered to undocumented black foreigners. Young (2009, p. 63) states that exploitation is often understood from the redistribution perspective, but this model neglects the fact that exploitation cannot be accounted for materialistically only, as it is institutionalised and therefore redistribution will need to address the psychological repression as well.

3.4.2. MARGINALISATION

Exclusion essentially relates to those who are excluded from participating fully in social life and are relegated to the outer realms of society, where they are viewed as part citizens, as was the case in South Africa during Apartheid, when non-whites were marginalised and disenfranchised. Marginalisation is not just applied racially. It also includes categories of disability, the elderly, homophobia, religion, class, etc., where these categories are used to rationalise segregation. It serves to expel whole categories of people from useful participation in social life, either by material deprivation or even extermination (Young, 1989, p. 53), such as with the Jews during World War Two. This relegation to the periphery results from their positionality within the status quo, and thus indicates and implies a devalued life or existence. Just as privilege confers advantage, those who are marginalised to the periphery are disadvantaged, lacking power, prestige and significance, thus opening them up to experience-heightened forms of discrimination and abuse.

The "othering" implies a devalued existence, not only for the people that label it, but also for the person(s) who experience it, as they endure self-doubt, self-blame, depression, powerlessness, anxiety, etc. These feelings of inadequacy support the status quo, as they become trapped within the category and act out the assumed role. Therefore, marginalised groups lack opportunities to be socially recognised and often seek the support of members from within their own community by way of social networks due to the dependency they experience. Young (2009, p. 63) reminds us again that this form of oppression cannot be viewed from the redistribution model, as although welfare payments are enabling in some cases and address material deprivation, they do not address the trauma associated with othering, such as the lack of respect and feelings of uselessness and boredom. She instead recommends (Young, 2009, p. 64) the restructuring of productive activity to include these constituted "others" where they contribute to production in meaningful ways through public works or self-employment.

3.4.3. POWERLESSNESS

The concept of powerlessness also arises from Marx's theory of class. Marx deduced that society operates through certain classes that dominate society by virtue of their position, which are acquired through wealth and privilege, thus enabling them to dictate the conditions for others, especially of those in classes that depend on them for material sustenance and economic well-being. The powerful take advantage of the powerless and display offensive behaviour thereby perpetuating the inferiority. Society operates on class hierarchies, therefore those who are lower in the hierarchy tend to endure limited participation in society, where the powerful decide on policies and results (Young, 2009, p. 65). This inferiority creates subservience through submission, which becomes a way of life for the powerless. The indoctrination is normalised and goes unquestioned, despite its dehumanisation (Young, 1989, p. 57). In neoliberalism, the lack of opportunities for those who are regarded as inferior to progress prevents advancement, therefore trapping the precariats in a vicious cycle of poverty. Future generations also become confined to this class, thus further perpetuating their powerlessness.

The precariats succumb to their othering, feeling that any efforts to progress would be in vain, as the feeling of inferiority and entrapment into a life of poverty are overwhelming, thus further enhancing their belief in their devalued existence. Hence, they socialise within their own groups as they identify and 'feel safe' in collectives. The research participants' in this study nevertheless feel trapped by this cycle of poverty, although they exercise their agency by relying on the information from social networks. When asked, none of them disclosed any efforts to advance their human capital. Their justification is that their lack of immigration status prevents them from acquiring positions in the formal sector, as they can only seek skills development through private colleges, which are very expensive. In addition, they are paid so poorly that there are no surplus funds to pursue further education. State-owned institutions do not enrol undocumented foreigners. Furthermore, they indicated that their long hours (12-hour shifts) and exhaustion made it impossible for them to further their studies, especially when they work a combination of day and night shifts. It is imperative to note that the participants are all educated and held a minimum of O levels. Most migrants who come from Zimbabwe are not extremely impoverished, but possess a degree of human capital and enough financial stability to afford the trip, either by being sponsored or of their own accord. Thus, the only way they felt that they could progress is through their group associations, which provide support by finding new job opportunities within this sector, as the members can identify with each other's plight. Here again, Young (2009, p. 66) questions whether a distributive remedy might be able to redress this form of oppression, because the core issue surrounding the division of labour and its arrangements is class hierarchies, which are deeply embedded into the fabric of society. Powerlessness operates in degrees of restraints, meaning that the odds are against certain groups, as indicated above. Although

the participants would ideally want to develop their human capital, circumstances prevent this on many levels, and they eventually succumb to their oppression.

3.4.4. CULTURAL IMPERIALISM

Unlike the three forms of oppression discussed above, which are rooted in structural or institutional limitations relating to the division of work, cultural imperialism refers to revering or idolising, or the imposition of, a certain culture as the norm, and cultures that do not conform to that particular culture are deemed unworthy. This form of oppression is unlike the three previously mentioned forms of oppression, as it does not involve the element of material deprivation, but rather attacks the core of a group – their identity. Their identity is attributed to negative stereotypes, which denies them opportunities (Young, 2009, p. 67). The dominant culture's way of life, rules, norms, religion and values, etc. are seen as the normative, and those that do not comply or fall outside of its ambit are usually seen as different. That difference becomes a site of "contestation" through othering and stereotyping (Young, 1989, p. 59). Stereotyping comprises general inferences that are made about a particular group, culture, race, etc., which are based on perception but not necessarily on fact, imposing stigmas in order to marginalise. The stigmas become internalised by the inferior group, forcing them to react and behave according to the stigma attached to them. The term, "double consciousness", was coined by W.E.B. du Bois (1969, cited in Young, 2009, p. 67) to demonstrate that it "occurs because one finds one's being defined by two cultures: a dominant and subordinate culture. Because they can affirm and recognize one another as sharing similar experiences and perspectives on social life", hence they maintain a positive outlook or subjectivity. This process reinforces "othering" by the dominant culture, as they label the inferior group as deviant, thereby isolating the group.

3.4.5. VIOLENCE

Violence is the most obvious form of oppression as it is blatant and visible, unlike other forms that are non-apparent and usually disguised while operating invisibly. Certain groups of people face fear on a daily basis due to unprovoked, random attacks on their person or property by virtue of their associations with a particular group. Therefore, fear is a daily-lived reality. The acts are intended to humiliate, victimise and serve to demonstrate the power of the oppressor. Black foreigners in South Africa are often targets of such xenophobic attacks, which occur more frequently than in the past due to economic pressure and the instability within the country itself. Young (2009, p. 68) questions what makes this form of oppression acceptable. Her (Young, 2009, p. 68) response is that "violence is a social practice. It is a social given that everyone knows happens and will happen again". Its systemic character rationalises its application, which makes this irrationality become acceptable. Violence is

used as a justification to expel foreigners and as a way of rationalising citizens' own insecurities. Countries like South Africa that do not protect foreigners from such reprisals demonstrate their apparent intolerance of foreign bodies when it no longer suits their agenda to have them around.

Agamben's (2005) theory of the 'state of exception' underscores how the foreign body lacks value, despite being the holder of universal human rights. As indicated later in the findings, some of the participants experience heightened forms of xenophobia and feel helpless in overcoming such animosity. Their helplessness emerges from the knowledge that the South African State will not protect them from such attacks and that they may even be deported in the process, as such forms of violence have become acceptable. This form of oppression is difficult to analyse, as it is structural by cutting across race, nationality, sexual orientation, religion, etc. There are many types of violence: xenophobia is one of the most common, and then there is homophobia and violence against religious groupings, for example Islamophobia. Young (2009, p. 69) believes that addressing violence in terms of the distributive model will not address the core issues. Since violence is institutionalised and systemic, it would require the transformation of unjust structures, cultural images and stereotypes, which may not be possible. Violence in the form of xenophobia is prevalent in South Africa in respect of black foreigners, and the participants' feelings will be discussed further on in the findings. It is a lived and self-imposed reality. The security guards indicated that they were informed of this threat by prior migrants, but felt it was the "lesser of the two evils"; fear or feeling useless. Although violence is debilitating, its threat is often overlooked but a combination of this form of abuse coupled with other forms of abuses exacerbates precarity for the migrant making them even more vulnerable and susceptible to abuse.

3.5. INTERSECTIONALITY

Young's theory (1989) demonstrates that oppression is a lived experience for many people globally, and it is a result of social arrangements and structures that create and endorse hegemony. Johnson (2001, p. viii) believes that positionality is a critical aspect of defining oppression, as it determines whether a person is positioned within the dominant social arrangement. If one does not fall within that social arrangement, one would not benefit from the privilege, as indicated in the sub-themes above that highlight the positioning of the undocumented Zimbabwean migrant. Where privilege operates, it affects people, and structures cause suffering to and deprivation of others, for example the impact of 'whiteness' on non-whites (Johnson, 2001, p. 10). Johnson (2001, p. 39) notes that privilege is juxtaposed to oppression, where privilege confers advantage and dominance to the distress of others, where the other experience deprivation. Privilege has its foundations in Marx's

theory of class and domination, where certain classes of people wield a certain degree of authority and power and have the ability to dictate the life trajectories of others. This has become ever more apparent during neoliberalism due to the insecurity and instability in the economy, so that people who lack material security are often subjected to the power of the privileged. Yuval-Davis (2006, p. 204) highlights that the precarity is further exacerbated by a lack of citizenship (zoe), and the "politics of belonging" becomes a site for oppression. Due to neoliberal policies, globalisation has forced people to move from their countries of birth. According to the UN, nearly 3% of the world's population live and work outside their country of birth. This essentially means that many people are displaced and need to acquire and secure employment. The "politics of belonging" refers to citizens who have an obligation to the State, and the State has a reciprocal obligation to its citizens; membership qualification (valid holders of citizenship). The issue arises when those who do not possess membership of a State are subjected to certain disqualifications. According to Young's theory of oppression, an individual or group could fall into one, more or all categories of oppression. Thus, oppression is distorted due to the complexity of the oppression created through social categories, and this creates intersectionality.

"Intersectionality plays an important role in how systems of domination are reproduced" (Steyn, 2015, p. 383). Steyn (2015, p. 384) reiterates that intersectionality creates ambiguities to sustain hierarchies. Thus, intersectionality is used to create social identities, which perpetuate differences and result in inequality and oppression. Because members of a group may share similarities in their identities, they are subject to differences, therefore intersectionality is required due to the crosscutting and fluidity of identities. Hill (1990) and Crenshaw (1989; 1991) coined the term intersectionality to describe how oppression affects the lives of black women in terms of employment opportunities. They realise that the mix of gender, race and class perpetuate black women's oppression. Intersectionality provides a framework to analyse how multiple forms of oppression affect identities and opportunities (Pastrana, 2010, p. 55). Steyn (2015, p. 381) reminds us that maintaining such hierarchical systems of power requires hard work in terms of polarising binaries, thus producing inequalities and producing the "other". Gopaldas (2013: p. 90) refers to intersectionality as the "interactivity of social identity structures such as race, class and gender in fostering life experiences, especially experiences of privilege and oppression". This mix of social structures magnifies the oppression (Pastrana, 2010, p. 53). In this research, the mix of social identity structures does impact adversely on the lives of the undocumented Zimbabwean migrants, who are black, precarious and working-class foreigners. The intersectionality that they would endure as a group or as an individual would subject them to a heightened vulnerability, firstly being "black" in a former racial society, where black was once associated with a devalued life. Secondly, being an undocumented foreigner connotes "alien" – a

threat (Agamben, 2005), and thirdly, his class as a precarious migrant endorses exploitation. The intersectionality of the oppression is so varied that is impossible to overcome. Therefore, their collective experience of oppression is salient and seems impossible to transcend. The oppression is exemplified as a result of the combination of the various identities that they hold. For example, intersectionality would operate differently for a white undocumented Zimbabwean migrant in South Africa. He would not be subject to racial abuse, may be able to obtain a permit easily to validate his status by obtaining a job, which would most likely be in the formal sector, as his presence would not be viewed with suspicion but with pity.

Nancy Fraser (1995) attempts in her theory of "Dual Analysis", to categorise oppression into one of two forms – as either a politics of redistribution or a politics of recognition. She, like Young (1989), recognises that power and structures shape the lives of people; however, Young (2009, p. 57) deduces that the simplification of oppression into these two simplified categories is naive and therefore is not an effective strategy to analyse and remedy oppression. Fraser (1995) asserts that injustices can be a result of either cultural imperialism (politics of recognition), or can be related to political-economical agendas, in which case it is termed politics of redistribution. She believes that, if oppression is viewed within these two specific binaries, it can address the oppression with specifically related remedies. Young (1989) did not endorse the categorisation of oppressions into these two large binaries, as it neglects the impact of intersectionality. Although Fraser (1995) does present the concept of misrecognition, which essentially means the devaluation of individuals through processes of othering as a result of power relations, its categories are too broad to understand the various forms of oppression within just two simple binaries. Therefore Young's (1989) theory illustrates oppression in a more comprehensive schematic, outlining the five different forms of oppression and how they operate and, in this particular study how it impacts on the participants.

Young's (1989) theory provides the framework for the discussion of the themes and how the various forms of oppression have made an impact on the lives of the undocumented Zimbabwean migrants. Young's (1989) earlier literature hints at the concepts of universal citizenship to overcome forms of oppression and othering. She suggests theories of group representation to achieve universal citizenship. She observes that group differences highlight different interests, goals and needs because of different social locations and experiences, from which social policies are to be understood and acknowledged (Young, 1989, p. 264). She (Young, 1989, p. 264) presents the idea of a "rainbow coalition" to express heterogeneity in society. Young suggests that this can be achieved by acknowledging the uniqueness of each group on the basis of its experiences and perspectives on social issues, allowing each group to voice its position and concerns and to own its identity, thus permitting the formation of structures that represent the oppressed groups' interests. Through group

representation, social networks will be more effective, as these mini-groups can collectivise to air their concerns. This will be discussed further in Chapter 6: Conclusion.

In terms of Young's (1989) theory of oppression, the participants have endured not one but three of the five forms of oppression, thus exacerbating their precarity and susceptibility to abuse. They confirm and recognise their exploitation, are victims of abuse and recognise their powerlessness, but feel it is impossible to transcend their situation. The most surprising revelation is the gratitude that they feel towards their employers although helpless in their situation. They seem to express what Freire (1972) terms self-depreciation, where they internalise the opinions of themselves that are harboured by the oppressors. They believe that they are incapable of anything better and become convinced of their devaluation, thus heightening their vulnerability to oppression. The participants of this study also express their commitment to their employers despite recognising their oppression (see Chapter 5: Literature review). This feeling of inadequacy and inferiority is precisely the intention of hegemonic structures, which aim to devalue groups of people in order to create subservience. For these migrants, the feelings of devaluation are further heightened by the inability to make the host country their home, as assimilation into the host country is uncertain and hostile. Mojca Pajnik (2014, p.105) also notes that the feeling of statelessness perpetuates migrants' vulnerability. Essentially, the hostility endured makes it impossible for them to feel appreciated and to assimilate due to the constant threat of deportation. The above theoretical framework lays the foundation to analyse why the participants are willing to endure xenophobia and exploitation, as their precarity is indoctrinated, making them believe that 'this is just the way life is' and feelings of helplessness are therefore normalised. Oppression becomes a choice. Choice is associated with the concept of agency, and the irony is that agency is meant to empower and not debilitate. However, in spite of the oppression they experience, migrants seek the support of social networks not only as a form of agency, but also as a coping strategy. Members of the network identify with each other and provide support and comfort for each other so as to reduce the effects of the oppression, not only by finding employment, but also by providing accommodation, food and physical and emotional assistance. This assurance that social networks provide to 'would be migrants' enables them to engage in migration, thus it facilitates the choice to migrate.

3.6. AGENCY AS SOCIAL CAPITAL

Agency refers to people possessing the capacity to evaluate strategies and control the outcomes, indicating the exercise of their cognition and intention (Bakewell, 2010, p.1695). The terms agency and structure are often used in conjunction to describe the exercise of power either by institutions in

the case of the former and by individuals in reference to the latter. There are various views held by sociologists as to whether agency operates in isolation of structure or structure determines agency. Margaret Archer (2000) seems to provide an insightful understanding of agency and how it operates.

Archer (2000, p. 18) asserts that "humanity has prior, autonomous and effacious powers which it brings to society itself ... and which intertwine with those properties of society which makes us social beings". For Archer (2000), humans have the innate ability to transcend their environment for their own self-development, as in the case of the rational man (*Homo economicus*), or of the community as in the case of society. In both cases, the human engages in an inner dialogue that guides his reality. Archer (2000) treats structure and agency as separate and distinct entities that are irreducible to one another, implying the interplay between agency and structure (analytic dualism). Archer's (2000) theory provides useful conceptions that agency can be derived from structure, but at the same time shape structure, thus indicating that they each possess their own unique properties and power. This therefore highlights the interplay between them that determines choices that are usually motivated by basic needs. The agential decisions/choices thus are reflections of an inner consciousness that wants to produce harmony and resonance within the environment. Archer's theory provides an understanding that agency can determine structures and can be shaped within structures but ultimately choices are determined by basic needs. Other theorists like Giddens provide another perspective of how agency emerges.

Both Archer's analytical dualism (2000) and Gidden's (1976 cited in Bakewell, 2010) structuration theory recognise that agency exists when people choose to either act or embody themselves in the prevailing events of the world. The ability to act confers an element of power through causal ability, and both writers ignore the potential of agency to inflict pain and suffering, for example as in the extreme case of Hitler. Archer (1995, cited in Bakewell, 2010, p. 1696) rejects Gidden's notion that society is shaped by its people ignoring the influence of institutions, whereas she believes that social structure pre-exists the individual. The concept of structuration implies that structure is contingent on the activity of the social actors, whereas Archer believes that structure can exist regardless of the social actor. Giddens Structuration Theory proposes that "structure is always contingent on the activity of social actors" (Bakewell, 2010, p. 1696) therefore "structure not only shapes social practices but in turn reproduce(s) and possibly transform(s) by this practice" (Bakewell, 2010, p. 1695). Thus, Giddens concludes that structures should not be viewed as inhibitors but rather seen as enablers as it spurs people into action through constant appraisal and evaluating of strategies or actions (agency) thus highlighting the duality of structures. As evidenced, Archer rejects Gidden's theory.

However, Archer's (2000) ideology is rooted in Roy Bhaskar's (1993 cited in Archer, 2000) Critical Realism, which emphasises that agency is effective if accompanied by action. Archer (2000) recognises that the ever-changing nature of the structure and culture are a characteristic that requires constant evaluation and re-evaluation. Archer's (cited in Bakewell, 2010, p. 1697) theory of morphogenesis describes the interplay between the structure and agency, and aptly applies to migration, as it understands that "consequences of past actions contribute to structural conditions that have a causal influence over subsequent social interactions", hence implying that structures pre-date the precariat, forcing him to engage and consider migration as a choice. Bandura (2006) develops on this theory to account for the potential of environments.

Bandura's (2006) theory explains why migrants resort to social networks to facilitate the choice to migrate (transnationalism) and is relevant to this study. Bandura (2006, p. 164) observes that the power of environments shapes or determines choices through human engagement of cognitive thought processes; "the human mind is generative, proactive and reflective, not just reactive". It is these cognitive abilities that Bandura (2006, p. 167) believes allow one to purposefully access and process information, constructing, regulating and evaluating a course of action. Therefore, choices are made with forethought, intention, self-reflection and self-reaction. Bandura (2006) essentially believes that choices are not just reactive, but involve processes of cognition that require intense evaluation. His theory proposess that migratory choices require deep introspection and extensive contemplation prior to being taken, highlighting the difficult and challenging self-referential options that migrants are faced with. Both Archer (2000) and Bandura's theories account for the role that structure plays in the lives of people, therefore implying that neoliberalism has created conditions that encourage migrants to engage in introspection and make choices that are not truly authentic in order to survive. "To be an agent is to influence intentionally one's functioning and life circumstances" (Bandura, 2006, p. 164). Therefore, to be an agent

> one cannot simply sit back and wait for the appropriate performances to appear ... agency ... thus involves not only the deliberative ability to make choices and action plans, but also the ability to construct appropriate courses of action and to motivate and regulate their execution. (Bandura, 2006, p. 165)

The push and pull factors as a result of neoliberalism have provided reasons for the decision to migrate and remit. Furthermore, the decision to migrate is further facilitated through the reliance on social capital in the form of networks that provide information (transnationalism) and ease the uncertainty of the choice. Bandura (2006, p. 165) acknowledges that people are not autonomous agents, but that human action is an interplay of intrapersonal, behavioural and environmental determinants. He

summarises that this triadic interaction compromises the utopian notion of the agency of "freewill", thus raising issues of freedom and determinism and the impact of social structures on agency. Bandura (2006, p. 165) therefore suggests that the self-efficacy theory explains social groups, where the "perceived collective efficacy resides in the minds of group members as the belief they have in common regarding their group's capability. In a collectivity, members acting on their common beliefs contribute to the transactional dynamics that promote group attainments".

Social capital is a resource for individual and collective actors created by the configuration and content of the network of their more or less durable social relations (Adler & Kwon, 2009, p. 93). Migration is facilitated by social networks, which assist in the transition from country of origin to the destination country, usually initiated by pioneer migrants. This form of support is a form of social capital, with which the individual utilises existing ties by way of friends, families and other community-of-origin members. Social capital implies the role of networks and civic norms. It tends to rely on connections between members of similar social networks based on nationality, kin or ethnicity, to name a few. Coleman (1988, p. 302) defines social capital as not being a solitary entity, but rather that it comprises various entities that rely on the interconnectedness within the social structure and that impose certain expectations from members within that structure. These structures would implicitly demand from their members shared norms, values and understanding, essentially creating a bond that holds them together in pursuit of a shared wellbeing. Adler and Kwon (2009, p. 97) also support the essential role that shared values, norms and beliefs play in creating and maintaining networks. Lin (2001, p. 3) states such social relations ensure opportunities for their members. Katz et al. (2004, p. 313) recognise that individuals create ties with the intention to invest in social capital.

Social capital, according to Bourdieu and Wacquant (1992, p. 118, cited in Katz et al., 2004, p. 313), "is the sum of resources, actual or virtual that accrue to an individual or group by virtue of possessing a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition". Essentially, implying the age-old cliché: it's not what you know, it's who you know. For Bourdieu, social capital is seen as a privilege for the elite who utilise bourgeois networks for upward mobility. Coleman (1988) disagrees, as he believes that this is not just for the exclusive domain of the rich, but is utilised more by the marginalised and powerless too. For Coleman, social capital is not owned by an individual, but is a valuable resource that is available to people, created from trust, norms and shared values, and that develops from the weaving together of people in communities as noted by Gauntlett (2011, p. 4) through community values and mutual support. This provides the foundation for Putnam's theory that "social capital is a quality that can be a facilitator of interpersonal co-operation" (Putnam, 1993, p. 35, cited in Tzanakis, 2013, p. 2). He states that social capital is achieved

through bonding, bridging, expanding networks and strengthening cohesion premised on the idea of trust and civicness.

Social capital is "an instrumental concept for focusing on the benefits accruing to individuals by virtue of their participation in groups and on the deliberate construction of sociability for the purpose of creating this resource" (Bourdieu, cited in Portes, 1998, p. 3). Using this description, Portes (1998, p. 3) suggests that it can be seen as a "strategic investment with reliable benefits, possessing value", thus implying an economic exchange through reciprocity. Portes's (1998) definition thus highlights the deliberate action by individuals to utilise bonds or ties for a specific action, indicating a form of agency. As suggested by Robinson (2009), agency is a critical aspect of transmigration, where social networks provide opportunities and social and economic support.

3.7. SOCIAL NETWORKS

According to Portes and Boron (1989, p. 607-608, cited in Light et al., 1989), networks form as more and more individuals migrate and assist other individuals, with whom they may have established , in regard to departure, travel and settlement arrangements. Networks play a critical role in the migration process. Poros (2011) underscores that these networks play a critical role in "how millions of people currently work and live away from home". They depend on these links, such as friends, kin and community-of-origin members, in their place of destination. They assist in successfully integrating new members by way of finding employment, housing, etc. This theory is evident in the findings of this study as well. Many of the members of these networks maintain links with people back home, thus facilitating a climate of transnationalism. Transnationalism, according to Ros (cited in Vertovec, 2001, p. 160), entails the regular interconnection between migrants and their country of origin by way of communication and information flows "stimulating and bringing about changes in the trends and meanings of people around the world". In the neoliberal age, with its advances in information technology, communication is instantaneous and the transfer of information is more possible than ever before. Transnationalism creates conditions that permit chain migration. Essentially, networks feed migration; that is migrants depend on the advice and cooperation of pioneer and prior migrants (Massey et al., 1989, cited in Light et al., 1989, p.: 1), through bonds of friendship and kinship providing emotional, economic and social support. Chain migration also allows prior migrants to recommend members from the social network for positions. Migration serves as a risk-diversification strategy (insurance) and networks provide a form of assurance that reduces the element of unpredictability and uncertainty (Massey et al., 1989, cited in Light et al., 1989, p. 2).

Social networks can be understood through a variety of theories, most of which are usually economic theories, which emphasises the economic impact of remittances. However, I chose to discuss these networks from the perspective of social network theory, as well as cumulative causation theory, due to their sociological roots, with the former emphasising the relationships and the latter considering both the relationships and the economic impact.

3.7.1 Social Network Theory

According to social network theory, networks provide emotional, financial and social support for other migrants (Massey et al., 1987-1989, cited in Light et al., 1989). Migrations feed the very migrations that produce them, which are based on norms and values of mutual trust and with the expectation of reciprocity, which adopts Coleman's (1988) version of social capital. The actor actively pursues his aim with the intention of maximising an economic exchange; "it conceptualizes exchange not only in terms of economic interest but also reciprocal role expectations as well value orientations, social norms and obligations" (Lazer, 2008, p. 4).

There are three key features of this theory:

1. Network boundaries influence the formation of social capital. Ethnicity plays an important role in their construction and affiliation, such as the Cubans and Haitians of New York, who have their own distinct networks, which are impenetrable and membership is qualified by ethnicity (Garip & Asad, 2016).
2. Strong networks ties have smaller membership, which usually consists of kin, close friends and fellow community-of-origin members (Massey, 1988, p. 396, cited in Light et al., 1989).
3. The scope of the network affects the decision-making (choice) meaning that the location-specific social capital can either promote or prevent future migration (Garip & Asad, 2016; Kloosterman et al., 1998; Light, 1989)

This theory is not comprehensive, as it fails to address the motivation for the initial decision to migrate and account for the formation of networks and, more importantly, how it emerged, meaning the structure that influenced the decision to migrate. Therefore, it is necessary to consider cumulative causation theory, as it more comprehensive in that it recognises that the economic, social and cultural variables play a significant role in migration, and also explains the "perpetuation of migration".

3.7.2. Cumulative Causation

"Cumulative causation is the accumulation of social capital, by which members of a community gain migration-related knowledge and resources through family members and friends" (Fussell & Massey, 2004, p. 152), referred to as migration-related social capital. Massey's (1987-1989 cited in Fussell and Massey, 2004) theory also proposes that culture is deeply embedded in the decision to migrate.

Causal conditions based on push and pull factors determine the migratory process initially, although transnationalism plays a key role in determining how the destination country is perceived through the communication of information, "the expanding migratory process becomes progressively independent of the original causal conditions" (Massey, 1989, p. 396, cited in Light, 1989, p. 1). Migration influences community values, norms, expectations and obligations. Members from a given community see the success of other migrants by way of their family members enjoying the spoils of remittances and then encourage their own children, siblings and parents to migrate, creating a culture of expectation and obligation, which becomes embedded in a way of life. "[In] the presence of imperfect credit and insurance markets in the home countries, families may decide to send some of their members abroad with the aim of receiving transfers in the event of negative and unexpected income shocks" (Arestoff et al., 2016, p. 4).

Both theories acknowledge that the social environment (structures) plays a critical role in migration. However, cumulative causation also accounts for the decision-making process – the agency to migrate. Despite the control mechanisms (law), the decision to migrate is usually a risk-diversification strategy owing to the unpredictable and unstable economic environment, which serves as a form of insurance (Massey et al., 1989, p. 14-15, cited in Light et al., 1989; Sanders & Nee, 1996). Social networking indicates agency on the part of the precariat migrants, and how they actively seek new avenues to create stability and security, thereby facilitating migration to and integration in their destination countries. This demonstrates the intention of migrants to transform their lived realities by seeking opportunities that facilitate change and, hopefully, transform their lives and that of their families. Both Archer's (2000) and Bandura's (2006) theories provide the foundation for cumulative causation theory, which addresses the impact of structure on the decision to migrate, although Bandura's (2006) theory addresses how migrants engage in self-efficacy by seeking assistance from members of the same community or ethnicity. This theory also utilises Bandura's (2006, p. 166) theory that "the collective performance of a social system involves interactive, coordinative, and synergistic dynamics that create emergent group-level properties not reducible solely to individual attributes". Hence, this theory provides a mechanism of analysis to understand how social networks contribute to agency and

the decision to migrate. In this particular study, cumulative causation theory acknowledges the push and pull factors, which are relevant and account for the initial decision to migrate in this study.

HOW DO THESE THEORIES RELATE TO THIS STUDY?

This chapter exposes how oppression and agency operate concurrently in the lives of migrants, especially for participants of this research study. Although migrants face various forms of oppressions and prior knowledge is conveyed by prior migrants, they choose to exercise agency (by evaluating strategies) that enable their choice to migrate, which supports Archer's and Bandura's assertions that cognition determines choices irrespective of the prevailing structures. This chapter demonstrates that migrants do not perceive themselves to be helpless victims of an unfair economic system (structure) but as active role players instead. In order to understand how agency emerges, understanding the dynamics of how power operates is illustrated through the framework of subjectivity which is created from social, political and economic structures that serve to polarise certain populations in order to provide a submissive and cooperative workforce, and this is achieved through the process of disempowerment. The disempowerment is further exacerbated through the combination of oppressions called intersectionality that creates degrees of disadvantage and heightens othering as explained by Steyn (2015).

Foucault, Althusser and Butler (cited in Suzuki, 2012) also explain how subjectivities result. Essentially, the common denominator is that the interplay of power creates subjectivities, othering and privileges, as observed by Young and Johnson. Therefore, to be a black, migrant African foreigner living in Johannesburg is a complicated mix of intersectionality, which implies certain oppressions, as described previously. In a racial society, being black African connotes inferiority. To be an African migrant foreigner, you are either perceived as a threat or a parasite – either identity implies undesirability. Agamben's State of Exception theory explains how it is currently implemented in South Africa to discriminate and oppress creating a vulnerable and disposable workforce who lack labour and legal security. Despite the various challenges faced by undocumented Zimbabwean migrants, their agency is remarkable demonstrating their tenacity to overlook the potential for abuse.

Agency usually empowers; however, choices made by migrants differ significantly. Firstly, the economic and political climate in Zimbabwe forces mass migration. Secondly, hegemonic structures operate to disempower, such as the laws in South Africa, along with the country's policing mechanisms, which focus on detaining and deporting. Therefore, as explained through Bandura's theory, choices are made in accordance with the prevailing social environment. This thus highlights the validity of cumulative causation theory in this study, how it accounts for the push factors and how social networks are used as a form of agency to facilitate the migration process, as the aim of migration

is to remit – as observed in this study. The role and reliance on transnationalism (especially through feedback from social networks) empowers migrants to seek an 'organised welfare system' that not only empowers but provides a form of physical social security; encourages positive dependency that provides support based on empathy. Social networks as explained by Bandura and Archer accounts for the role that structures play in facilitating the push (socio, political and economic) and pull (jobs and remittances) factors. The Cumulative Causation theory accredits the role of prior migrants and the role of remitting as central to migration. These theories mentioned above will be further evidenced in the following two chapters which will highlight the significant role of social networks as a form of agency in the lives of this research study.

3.8. CONCLUSION

Young's theory of oppression (1989) highlights the impact of neoliberal structures in perpetuating different forms of oppression and how such oppressions manifest in order to implement certain agendas and maintain certain privileges. Despite the various oppressions faced by the undocumented Zimbabwean security guards, they still persist in their quest to seek or maintain employment in this sector and continue to live in this country, despite the abuse that they face in their private lives and collectively. Johnson's (2001) theory of power and privilege provides the background explaining how power and privilege create oppression and how othering manifests. In this study, the oppressions that the participants endure has been strategic in disempowering them. This process of disempowerment creates obedience, dependency, and a cheap and vulnerable workforce that can easily be expelled whenever necessary. This is achieved and endorsed through Agamben's (2005) "state of exception", which explains that foreign bodies lack protection and abuse is warranted and rationalised. The theoretical framework outlines how, despite these constraints faced by the participants, they still persevere, demonstrating their will to survive and how agency evolves. Bandura (2006) accounts for how such agency manifests by acknowledging that push factors play a critical role in the migration process, and how social networks facilitate the process through introspection and evaluation. Most of undocumented Zimbabwean guards in this study express the sentiment that South Africa serves a utilitarian purpose and that they can never call it home, as they are constantly reminded that they do not belong. These types of utterances are projected to the State and its inability to act during xenophobic attacks; the lack of human rights protection by employers, and the hostility from fellow residents, immigration departments and policing structures. Although beneficial to understanding oppression, Fraser's (1995) theory does not account for the mix of oppression (intersectionality) faced

by the participants and how agency is employed to overcome the effects of oppression as a coping strategy as offered by Archer (2000) and Bandura (2006).

The concept of agency is explained effectively from the perspective of Archer (2000) and Bandura (2006), who both address the impact of structure on agency and how it determines agency. Bandura (2006) acknowledges that structure also influences the mechanisms used by the agent when making the decision to migrate. He explains the dependency of group members, who facilitate agency by providing support and advice. These theories hence explain the role that social networks play in the lives of undocumented Zimbabwean migrants in their decision to migrate to Johannesburg to seek employment in the PSI. Cumulative causation theory comprehensively accounts for the Zimbabwean case, which is unique, as Zimbabweans are not just economic migrants, although their sole purpose is remittance. They are unique because the political turmoil in their country has created poor economic conditions, therefore forcing them to migrate. This theory hence acknowledges the push factors, unlike social network theory, which addresses the influence of social networks.

In order to understand migrant plight through the various forms of oppressions that they endure, it has to be viewed under the microscopic lens of their agency. It is necessary to understand that agency does not occur within a vacuum but is subject to structures that heighten their oppression whilst simultaneously constraining their agency, which will be explained further in the following chapter.

CHAPTER 4: LITERATURE REVIEW

4.1. INTRODUCTION

"Facing economic, political, social and physical violence on a daily basis, the lives of the urban poor are defined by multiple intersecting forms of precariousness". (Clarno, 2017, p. 15)

Precariousness and the exercise of agency in the lives of migrants has been the central focus of many studies, some of which are conducted by Banki (2013), Elliot (2013), Neilson and Rossiter (2008) and Paret and Gleeson (2016) who all conclude that social networks; formal or informal collectivisations provide an effective informal welfare system and agree that transnationalism is central to migration. These theorists highlight that social networks can be viewed as a form of agency which are facilitators in the migration process and assist in reducing the migrant precarity.

I consulted several publications, but I found that Standing (2011) provides a comprehensive overview of the lives of precariats, outlining the uncertainty and insecurity they face in their everyday lives. However, Standing seems to be of the view that the potential power of precariats to overcome their fate only exists in the form of a unified collective. Paret and Gleeson (2016) maintain the belief that the collectivisation of informal workers can also bring about significant change. In particular, Paret and Gleeson (2016, p. 279) recognise that precarity has been the norm for most people, as labour was always precarious for women, the disabled and people of colour. My view on the issue of precarity is that there are various categories and sub-categories of precariats, and organising a movement which they all identify with and through which they support each other is almost impossible, because some people within this category do not perceive themselves as precariats, since they are skilled and believe that the concept applies only to blue-collar, low-skilled menial labour. I have observed from this study is that small-group collectives are resourceful and resilient. Neilson and Rossiter (2008) support my assertion and expose how different sub-categories of precariats congregate and collectivise based on their ethnicity, and how they provide mutual support and benevolence to each other. Examples are the nannies in Hong Kong meeting on Sundays outside HSBC Bank, or the immigrant South Asian taxi drivers in Australia demonstrating due to the murder of a fellow driver. Paret and Gleeson (2016) also recognise that agency by way of social networks provides the proverbial "safety net" but also provides valuable employment opportunities in order to remit.

Migrants, globally as well as in the study migrate for the sole purpose of remitting to the home countries due to the imperfect welfare systems. But this transition is often viewed with hostility by the host who problematizes their assimilation. Agamben's State of Exception theory explains why migrants face oppression and this is further reiterated by Gordon (2010) and Ellerman (2009) who

explain why the 'zoe' becomes a site of contestation. This is further supported by Neilson and Rossiter (2008) who deduce that neoliberalism creates a new kind of political subject, where his precarity becomes a political concept thus validating Agamben's theory regarding the lack of indigeneity. Banki (2013) and Wren (2015) introduces the concept of inauthentic agency and remind us that although migrants exercise agency and do not wish to be viewed with sympathy, their choices are based on survival, which Elliot (2013) refers to as a 'suffering agency'. The theories mentioned in this chapter contribute to a well-informed framework of the lives of the undocumented Zimbabwean migrants working in the PSI in Johannesburg.

This literature review will discuss various themes with reference to the theorists mentioned above, but essentially the core of this research study exposes the two central themes. Firstly: the impact of neoliberalism in aggravating precarity and its impact on migration and secondly how migration depends on social capital in the form of social networks as a form of agency. I will provide literature to indicate how agency is distorted by oppression but how agency is employed to simultaneously reduce oppression which heightens precarity; a vicious cycle of entrapment.

4.2. NEOLIBERALISM AND MIGRATION

Sassen (2014, cited in Paret & Gleeson, 2016, p. 280) states that "globalization and rising economic inequality have fuelled migration". South Africa has always facilitated migratory flows (Maharaj, 2004, p. 3). "The roots of this recruitment can be traced back to the colonial period" (Castles & Miller, 1993, p. 143). Migratory patterns are usually overlooked to provide cheap, disposable labour for employers in the form of illegal migration (Parnell, 1993, cited in Maharaj, 2004, p. 5). Migrants are willing to take risks to escape poverty and destitution by knowingly subjecting themselves to potential exploitation, persecution and resentment (Sassen, 1996, cited in Maharaj, 2004, p. 6), as evidenced in the previous chapter. Macroeconomic factors (such as political and economic instability in the case of Zimbabwe) that produce poverty are a compulsive push factor in the decision-making process and can be seen from a cumulative causation perspective in terms of diversifying migrants' risk (see cumulative causation) (Massey, 1988 cited in Fussell and Massey, 2004). Other push factors include droughts, crop failures, political turmoil and lack of jobs, to name a few that have forced people to emigrate, not out of choice but rather as a survival strategy. Pull factors, on the other hand, include the potential for employment, the stable political and economic climate and the prospect of financial security in South Africa.

Owing to these push factors, many migrants still maintain links or ties to their country of origin (active backward linkages – Mattes et al., 2002, cited in Maharaj, 2004, p. 7), as they usually leave family members behind and migrate on their own. They engage in temporary or circular migration (Posel, 2003, p. 6), with the majority of the migrants having no or little intention of settling permanently (Mattes et al., 1999, cited in Maharaj, 2004, p. 6). They rotate between their country of origin and the destination country as a form of survival by using networks to secure employment and consequently an income. Active backward linkages comprise the regular transfer of money, food and other necessities on a regular basis to the country of origin (Arestoff et al., 2016; De Hass, 2005; Posel, 2003). Arestoff et al. (2016) note that migrants usually remit to siblings and parents via informal channels (MKURU and Ecocash, as noted in this study) or through family and friends, and seldom through commercial banks due to their lack of status and high transfer costs. According to The World Bank, remittances totalled $529 billion worldwide in 2012 and, of that figure, $401 billion was sent to developing countries (Globalization 101). De Hass (2005, p. 2) warns that statistics are unreliable as it is most likely higher, as most remittances from undocumented migrants are remitted via informal channels. The latest statistics released by the World Bank estimate that $574 billion (USD) was sent by migrants to relatives in their home countries in 2016 (Pew Research Centre, 23 January 2018). "South-South remittances are estimated at between 10-29 per cent of the total remittance flows" (Ratha & Shaw, 2007a, cited in de Hass, 2005, p. 2). In 2016, India received $62.7 billion in remittances, with China receiving $61 billion (Pew Research Centre, 2018). Countries such as Lesotho receive more than 10% of the annual GDP by way of remittances (World Bank, 2006, cited in De Hass, 2005, p. 2), and Nepal received 31.3% of its GDP in 2016 (Pew Research Centre, 2018). In 1993, "79% of all rural African households with migrant workers received remittance income" (Posel, 2003, p. 9), which serves as a form of security or insurance back home owing to the insecurity and instability in their employment. It provides security in the form of childcare and retirement, and provides some assurance and stability from their low-paying, low-stability positions (Massey, 1999, p. 305).

Globalisation has created a demand for this kind of transnational, precarious labour that lacks legal and social protection and is easily disposable. Gordon (2010, p. 3) states that the issue of citizenship is a site of contestation, especially for black African foreigners, who are often accused of stealing jobs and hence face xenophobia, discrimination and exploitation. Crush (2001, cited in Maharaj, 2004, p. 8) deduces from a national survey that South African attitudes towards foreigners are highly xenophobic and that 25% of the participants indicate that they would prefer a total ban on immigration. Capital thrives on illegal migration. Exploitation is common, "in addition to lower wage[s], they are also deprived of benefits like pensions, medical aid ... trade unions ... and were often summarily dismissed" (Maharaj, 2004, p. 9). This is rationalised because illegal migrants are relegated

to the status of undesirable and disposable, as they fall outside the ambit of State protection and nation States create laws that perpetuate anti-immigrant sentiments. This study also found hostility, xenophobia and exploitation to be a reality. Agamben (cited in O'Donoghue, 2015, p. 4) conceptualises the "state of exception" theory (as discussed earlier), which operates on two premises: one called 'zoe' (bare life), which is physiological life itself, and the other is 'bios', which is a qualified life that possesses rights as it belongs to a community. The bare life lacks status and therefore abuse is warranted, as it is deemed unworthy. The idea of unworthiness arises from the lack of citizenship in the destination country, as the migrants' lack State protection. Ellerman (2009, p. 8) elaborates that the Homo sacer's fate is sealed and progression is virtually impossible due to his or her lack of rights and benefits – thus creating a "state of exception" (Gordon, 2010). This legal discrimination creates conditions that perpetuate the migrant's vulnerability and exacerbates violence and exploitation (Gordon, 2010, p. 7).

The current Immigration Act in South Africa symbolically serves as a controlling instrument rationalised by controlling crime, unemployment and social and economic welfare. The Employment Services Bill was to implement strict policies and penalties on the hiring of undocumented foreigners, and this was stated as an adjunct to the Immigration Act in order to protect citizens and permanent residents. Gordon (2010, p. 11) recognises that immigration policies are designed to exclude and restrict, and tend to further marginalise the 'zoe'. Peberby (1999, cited in Gordon, 2010, p. 12) underscores that the State's negative attitudes are evident from claims that foreigners endanger the physical health of people, facilitate crime and impede access to resources and employment opportunities. These rationalisations thus deny and dismiss entry, and force migrants to resort to entry measures that fall outside the legal parameters, such as crossing the crocodile-infested Limpopo River. The lack of status creates conditions for low wages, poor working conditions and a lack of unionisation, thus promoting exploitation (Maharaj, 2004, cited in Gordon, 2010, p. 12). Furthermore, illegal migrants are often subjected to police harassment and corruption from Home Affairs (Gordon, 2010, p. 13; SAMP, 2005, p. 74). They demand bribes to prevent deportation and arrest (Gordon, 2010, p. 13; SAMP, 2005, p. 74). Xenophobia, exploitation and discrimination are reinforced by the lack of bios. Despite this, migrants still cross borders by utilising social networks that assist in migration and transnationalism. Transnationalism entails "migrant networks that determine whether and to what extent immigrants integrate into their host countries while maintaining connections to their home countries" (Poros, 2011).

Kearney (1995, p. 547) has warned that "globalization is deepening" and therefore it is imperative that we draw attention to the impact of neoliberalism on migration, in particular how it impedes the process, and the strategies migrants employ to survive.

Kearney (1995, p. 547) has warned that "globalization is deepening" and therefore it is imperative that we draw attention to the impact of neoliberalism on migration, in particular how it impedes the process, and the strategies migrants employ to survive.

According to Crush et al. (2005), as mentioned at the beginning of this chapter that Southern Africa has a long history of intra-regional migration, dating back to the 19th century and closely connects to the discovery of gold and diamonds. Many authors, like Castles and Miller (1993), have written extensively on South-North migration patterns; however, only a few authors have written on South-South migratory patterns, among them Maharaj (2004), Crush et al. (2005), De Haas (2005) and Posel (2003). These authors underscore the value of such migratory patterns, as in some instances they are similar to South-North migration, but in other instances differ as well. The use of social networks, in particular, is a global application, although it does not provide employment strategies in a similar way as it does in the North. Authors like Garip and Asad (2016), Sanders and Nee (1996), Portes (1998) and Kloosterman et al. (1998), to name a few, have indicated that prior migrants usually support migratory patterns. In South Africa, social networks support new migrants through transnationalism, information sharing and referrals for new jobs, and provide accommodation; however, in the North, where opportunities for migrants are limited, many employ from within their own community and ethnicity. Sanders and Nee (1996) highlight that many Asians, particularly Indians and Koreans, employ fellow immigrants in their businesses. Their presence is usually undetected, as these are informal and unregulated businesses. They facilitate the migrants in their transition and provide employment. They also impose questionable working conditions by providing a substandard wage, long hours, no leave, no social benefits, etc. These readings provides a useful insight into the essential role that social networks play in migration, but migrants also are susceptible to exploitation within this sector owing to their status – or lack thereof. A similar finding is observed in this study too, however there are not too many ethnic employers in the PSI in Johannesburg.

Kloosterman et al. (1998, p. 249) deduces a similar finding in the Netherlands, where they observe that most immigrants are "immigrant entrepreneurs" who also engage in the practice of employing from within their ethnic minorities, as sourcing employment outside of this in the formal economy is very difficult. Many migrants are employed in informal economic sectors like hairdressing, video rental shops, car repairs, cafés, etc. within their own ethnic communities. Light et al. (1989) and Sanders and Nee (1996) also conclude similar findings, namely that immigrant minorities engage in small entrepreneurial activities to support them because of the lack of employment opportunities available to them. Epstein (1994, cited in Kloosterman et al., 1998, p. 254) observes that these informal arrangements are not subject to legally binding contracts, but are based on mutual trust within social networks, thus preventing dissent and retaliation from exploitation. The lack of formal agreements is

also noted in this study. These readings highlight the important role that trust, shared beliefs and values play in the lives of migrants. Coleman (1988) also reiterates that the essential, fundamental characteristic of social networks is precisely the above mentioned, which allow for group cohesiveness even in cases where members of the group transcend their class, as in the case of ethnic employers. The above literature provides the fundamental roots detailing the impact and support that social networks provide through transnationalism, which facilitate the migratory process. Transnational migration, according to Schiller et al. (1995), is a way in which immigrants forge and sustain social relations that link their countries of origin with their host countries. Schiller et al. (1995) also note the significant role of social networks and transmigrants play in the lives of Haitians and Filipinos living in New York, who also employ from within their networks and engage in questionable working arrangements. This practice seems to be universal and will be explained in more detail under the theme of oppression. The point to highlight is, despite the apparent lack of ethics among ethnic employers, they play an essential role in the migratory process by providing opportunities, which are usually filtered through networks.

The literature referenced in this research highlights the role that social networks play in creating and facilitating opportunities for migrants. Universally, this literature indicates that most undocumented migrants, as well as documented migrants, consult with prior migrants when they decide to emigrate. The South African context differs slightly from the general theories in respect of ethnic entrepreneurs, but social networks do facilitate in supporting new migrants and by providing job referrals to local and ethnic entrepreneurs, as noted in this study. Johannesburg is an attractive choice as a destination city due to it being the economic hub of Africa. The service sector is rapidly expanding and so is the demand for low-skilled and highly skilled workers. Zimbabweans choose Johannesburg as there are direct transport routes from the home country to the destination city, and there already are established social networks that facilitate transnationalism. This information and support is a critical aspect in the migration process, as the feedback and support can determine the experience and encourage the decision to migrate.

4.3. AGENCY THROUGH SOCIAL NETWORKS

Agency is traditionally associated with collective action, mainly by trade unions to create platforms for mass action and highlight economic issues. However, neoliberalism creates conditions that have polarised the proletariat and working class to such an extent that they seldom identify with each other; thus creating a need for small collectives to group together based on a common identity, ethnicity, etc. to alleviate their precarity. This self-arranging is a way of finding "different strategies to cope with

increasing security and lack of money" (Candeias, 2004, p. 6) to cushion the consequences of work or the lack thereof and social relations. This observation is also reiterated by Clarno (2017, p. 15), who affirms that "the poor develop innovative and exhausting strategies to survive ... to provide support for one another and push back against the forces of marginalization".

Although migration has been a survival strategy within the Southern Africa region for centuries, neoliberalism has exacerbated migrant precarity. For most undeveloped and developing countries, "precarity was the norm" (Neilson & Rossiter, 2008, p. 57), as well as in some developed countries, where women and people of colour were excluded from the protection of trade unions and not given the same benefits that the "normative man" was privileged to receive. Globalisation has resulted in the outsourcing of many core production sites to periphery counties like those in the East; as a result, many within sub-Saharan Africa have been forced to migrate, leaving their rural/agricultural subsistence life behind in search of new ways to provide economic security for their families. Push factors like droughts, floods, high unemployment, and political and economic instability are among the push factors that Crush et al. (2005) have noted to facilitate migration. Neoliberalism has created a new type of precarious, flexible worker who is a new kind of political subject (Neilson & Rossiter, 2008, p. 52) that exposes his/her "precarity as a political concept". Neilson and Rossiter emphasize that neoliberalism's reduced State protection exposes the vulnerabilities of precariats, thus making them more susceptible to exploitation.

Banki (2013) notes in her paper that neoliberalism has not only affected labour insecurity, but has also created precarity of place, where migrants live with constant xenophobia and a fear of forced deportations. She highlights that both forms of precarity share four similarities, firstly that they have foundations within structures: neoliberalism and colonialism. The second similarity is that they expose the effect of uncertainty – not quite poverty-stricken and yet not quite home. The third similarity is that class and status are disguised, as the migrant precariat is neither working class nor proletariat, thereby highlighting the differences between economically skilled migrants and undocumented migrants. Finally, social networks provide protection and opportunities to reduce the precarity of labour and place. Standing (2011) and Neilson and Rossiter (2008) have spoken of the impact of the Euro May Day. Standing (2011) expresses his disappointment that it did not precipitate further forms of resistance, although Neilson and Rossiter (2008) acknowledge the heterogeneity within the class and assign the lack of a common identity as being responsible for the lack of further resistance initiatives. The contribution of Neilson and Rossiter (2008) provides useful foundations that support Banki's (2013) assertions that small group collectivisation through social networks is a form of agency and provides the proverbial 'safety net', for vulnerable immigrants, especially for those who are undocumented. Hence, social networks are an essential element of the migratory process as they

provide the initial advice and support and then provide follow-up support through funding, accommodation, food and employment opportunities.

Massey's (1999) theory encapsulates the role of social networks in the lives of migrants. He suggests that economic factors account for the initial significant reason to migrate, followed by the role of social networks through transnationalism, which provides the assurances and support that facilitate the adjustment through a network of friends, family, members of the same community and acquaintances who relay vital information, even by way of referrals to prospective employers. This supports cumulative causation theory. Furthermore, these referrals provide a valuable, tangible mechanism from which employers can source potential employees based on the credibility of previous migrant employees. Bourdieu (1985, cited in Portes, 1998, p. 3) believes that social networks were previously the privilege of elites. Elites used their influence and connections to secure their social circles and provide opportunities within their communities. Researchers such as Garip and Asad (2016), Sanders and Nee (1996), Light (1989) and Kloosterman et al. (1998) have proven the invalidity of this assumption by highlighting that networks are not solely used by elites, but their use extends to migrants and marginalised groups as a form of agency to overcome their insecurity. Thus highlighting the problematic nature of Bourdieu's (1985, cited in Portes, 1998, p. 3) claim that it is a strategic investment accruing instrumental benefits to members within a group, which supports neoliberal hyper-individualism.

Hyper-individualism, although a predominantly western concept, refers to individual upliftment which has a tainted agency in developing nations as well. Individual upliftment does not aptly apply in these scenarios, as the primary motivator is group/ family upliftment. In developing nations, hyper-individualism fosters personal accountability, where migrants assume the responsibility of family and friends. In this particular scenario, hyper-individualism does not wholly conform to the essence of the definition as in western countries it is associated with personal accountability and attainments and lends itself towards narcissism. Most migrants migrate for the sole purpose of remitting to their friends and family and for the upliftment of their communities, and by implication for the economic development of their country of birth (Makina, 2010). The desperation creates a bond of solidarity and ensures survival through benevolence, as it is based on altruism. The need to take responsibility is part of the essence of hyper-individualism, but social networks and their members do not see themselves as individuals, but rather as collectives who try to assist each other in overcoming their precarity. Portes (1998, p. 15) acknowledges that there are also negative effects of social networks:

(i) Strong group cohesiveness excludes others from becoming members of the group, creating homogeneity and hence lacking diversity.

(ii) The ethnic employer who owns enterprises may be burdened to employ within the ethnic network.

(iii) Social networks can be very rigid and demand conformity of behaviour from members, and any other behaviour may be deemed deviant.

(iv) Networks are sometimes grounded in experiences and, once certain members transcend these experiences, identifying with such networks may not be possible thereafter.

Although Portes (1998) presents the potential negative effects of social networks, he acknowledges that their benefits outweigh the negative features. Social networks provide a form of coping strategy and furthermore presents a form of resistance to the precarity migrants endure. Social networks are employed as a form of agency against the insecure lives and daily challenges that they face.

For Davis (2003, cited in Wren, 2015, p. 1232), agency involves the ability of an individual to recognise, regardless of its accuracy, the social influences and their power and how to act or react to them. Therefore, social networks are a form of agency as migrants engage in thought that determines their decision to migrate or not. Wren's (2015) contribution presents a side of agency ignored or not perceived by Archer, Bhaskar or Giddens, but acknowledged by Bandura (2006), and which is relevant to the precarious times that the neoliberal agendas have imposed. Self-reference implies the agent's ability to establish a perception of his/her positionality within said structure. Hence, these participants also make choices in accordance with the prevailing structures (law), for example illegally crossing the border or entering on a visitor's visa and not returning. Agency that is exercised under the guise of neoliberalism can be viewed as inauthentic agency. Such agency is an illusion, creating the impression of autonomous decision making, but the power to effect real change is superficial (Wren, 2015, p. 1234). Wren's (2015) article assists and provides the background on how neoliberalism undermines agency in order to foster its own agendas.

Neoliberalism promotes and thrives on hyper-individualism (as noted by Portes, 1998), fostering an image of autonomous decision making by promoting the ideals of neoliberalism, which are personal responsibility, accountability and success. This places the individual at the centre of the neoliberal paradigm, thereby deflecting any malice away from hegemonic structures. Therefore, failure on the part of the individual is attributed to the individual, solely ignoring or de-emphasising the impediments created through structures and culture. Hyper-individualism is also linked to another neoliberal ideology – consumerism and commodification (Wren, 2015, p. 1236). This ideology promotes the notion that everything is subject to being bought and sold and has a value within the free market economy, including labour. This view is also supported by Landers (2007, p. 62), who says that "globalization, the dominant ideological powerhouse of our day and age, shapes human relations by

creating a false reality of autonomy. By (re)producing simulations of individualism". Wren's (2015) work provides a useful understanding of the complexities surrounding decision making and how "material" such decisions can be. She elaborates on how people derive a sense of value and purpose from the ownership of material goods, creating an illusion of power through their acquisition. This illusion creates a false sense of agency, as it promotes the belief that ideals must be replaced by idols that are to be "venerated, coveted and collected" (Wren, 2015, p. 1237). Landers's (2007, p. 64) article, entitled "The Fool", aptly refers to precariats as the fools where they have bought into the false autonomy of self in isolation from other beings; a disconnection from others by promoting consumption and desire where we become interpellated. Essentially, "globalization reinforces [the] autonomous notion of self by taking over external relations between individuals creating a simulation of identification through which the self relates" (Landers, 2007, p. 66). Neoliberalism is sustained by hegemony; "an increasingly hegemonic discourse equate(s) individual expression with material possession" (Migone, 2007, cited in Wren, 2015, p. 1238). The vulnerability experienced by precariats is suppressed by the purchasing power that neoliberalism affords them. It gives them a false sense of agency through their material possessions, and they inadvertently believe that this provides value and meaning to their desperate lives. This "market mentality" fosters a sense of comfort, empowerment and agency in which poverty is devalued and belittled and the inability to sustain a life of material acquisition is deemed useless. Those who are reliant and dependent on social welfare are seen as parasites, further reinforcing hyper-individualism, with neoliberalism endorsing a mentality of "every man for himself" and success is determined by the ability to acquire, provide and transcend their class. Therefore, migrants go to extreme measures to provide for their families, even risking their lives like the security guards in this particular research.

Consumerism in this particular study refers not to the frivolous consumption of luxuries, but to the basic commodities required for survival, such as food, education and paying bills, like rental, medical and transport costs. Standing (2011) says that the life of the precariat is temporal, lacking meaning, uncertain and inconsistent. Ownership and the ability to acquire material possessions provides meaningfulness and value to the precariat, further creating an illusion of upward mobility, fantasy and false success; all in the quest of the "good life" (Berlant, 2007). The ability to provide for the necessities creates the impression that life is good. Berlant's (2007) good life, based on his theory of 'cruel optimism', proposes that entrapment by material idols distracts precariats from the realities of subjectivity that disable rather than enable, creating an impression that life is good if they manage to live from 'hand to mouth'. But Landers (2005) reminds us that our ability to acquire disconnects us from the "other", and that, through this false autonomy, the other become a spectacle by their inability to attain, removing their agency or constraining it. "Disconnection proves to be only means

for globalization to thrive" (Landers, 2007, p. 68). This "divide and rule" strategy prevents dissent achieved through a process of othering. By constraining agency, migrant precarity ensures subservience through entrapment. Wren's (2015) publication is profound in terms of this research, as it clarifies how agency is constrained and manipulated in neoliberalism when precariat migrants are forced to make choices that are equally painful and difficult, for example by providing food for one's family or buying medication for one's sick child (Elliot, 2013).

Elliot (2013) terms this false sense of choice as "suffering agency", where neoliberalism has deteriorated conditions to such an extent that choices are made just to survive and provide. Neilson and Rossiter (2008) state that precarity is an experience rather than an identity, and this might account for the lack of homogeneity amongst precariats and their inability to mobilise. This issue is further complicated for undocumented migrants, as they are perceived as threats to the already unstable citizen workforce, thus exacerbating precariats' anxiety, alienation, anger and anomie. Paret and Gleeson's (2016) research on the issue of migrancy and agency explores the concept of the "double precarity" that is endured by migrants owing to their lack of status, which heightens their vulnerability due to the constant threat of deportation. Their lives are synonymous with uncertainty and unpredictability. Butler (2006, cited in Paret & Gleeson, 2016, p. 280) reemphasizes their vulnerability by noting that "being socially constituted bodies detached to others; at the risk of losing those attachments, exposed to others, at the risk of violence by virtue of exposure" exacerbates their insecurities and heightens their susceptibility to subjectivity.

The term "double precarity", coined by Paret and Gleeson (2016), has also been addressed by other writers, who expressly consider it in relation to Giorgio Agamben's (2005) "state of exception", thereby highlighting the complicated nature of the precarious migrant existence. The primary concept of Agamben's theory is that sovereign powers are exercised in ways that qualify certain people, usually citizens, and disqualify "others" or non-citizens, especially those who lack status. For Agamben (2005), the sovereign power is anchored in the concepts of "Homo sacer" and "State of exception" (Ellerman, 2009, p. 2). Homo sacer (depoliticised life or bare life) subsists in zones of exclusion, lacking all forms of protection (Ellerman, 2009, p. 2). This theory illustrates the importance of citizenship, which qualifies one for protection from the State (bios), with those who lack such citizenship being deemed a "zoe" and viewed as a "state of exception", "simply set outside the law and made indifferent to it" (Agamben, 1998, cited in O'Donoghue, 2015, p. 3). Such a life, Agamben (1998) reminds us, is set outside the polis and therefore stripped of every right and banned from the political community. Biopolitics creates feelings of animosity and fear. The zoe is portrayed as an object of threat. As Humphrey et al. (2005, p. 681) state, "the 'State of Exception' is not a 'state of law' but a space without

law, a zone of anomie", legitimising any abuse and violence inflicted on the zoe, producing a violence that has "shed every relation to law" (Agamben, 1985, cited in Humphrey et al., 2005, p. 681).

> Thus the structure in which the state of exception [...] is realized normally. The sovereign no longer limits himself [...] to deciding on the exception on the basis of recognizing a given factual situation (danger to public safety): laying bare the inner structure of the ban that characterizes his power, he now de facto produces the situation as a consequence of his decision on the exception. (Agamben, 1985, cited in O'Donoghue, 2015, p. 6)

This creates a site of contestation, especially in post-Apartheid South Africa, where "the foreign national particularly the 'black' African foreign national ... ha[s] become the target of violence, exploitation and discrimination" (Gordon, 2010, p. 3).

Gordon (2010, p. 3) says that migrants are treated as the exception, relegated outside of the law; this isolation and persecution are endorsed by the law, by its lack of protection, fuelling xenophobia among the public. Schiller et al. (1995) note that, due to the permeability of borders, nation States are finding it incredibly difficult to maintain control, but capital concurrently thrives on the capitalist subjects that accept the inequality. Gordon's (2010) article conceptualises the lived experiences of double precarity perpetuated by the State. Ellerman (2009) alerts us to the fact that the "state of exception" should only be implemented if the State perceives itself under threat. She questions how can migrants be viewed as a threat to the State? These kinds of accusations create fear and anxiety among the bios, but simultaneously also fuel fear and uncertainty amongst the zoe.

As in the case of South Africa, migrants are often accused of constraining the limited resources and giving rise to high unemployment. The high crime rate, poor economy and poor service delivery are attributed to the presence of migrants. Ellerman's (2009) paper proposes a framework where migrants are perceived as threats, but also exposes an important dimension which she perceives as a form of agency; tactics that they employ to evade State deportation. The agency exercised by these migrants is a counter measure to the State's intolerance of migrants. In her research, Ellerman (2009, p. 1) finds that migrants destroyed their passports so that their lack of nationality made it impossible to deport them, making them unclassifiable. Although Ellerman (2009) also discusses other issues relating to Agamben's theory on concentration camps in comparison to Guantanamo Bay, her significant contribution highlights acts of agency "through everyday forms of resistance". These include acts of passive noncompliance, sabotage, subtle evasion and deception (Scott, 1985, cited in Ellerman, 2009, p. 4) that demonstrate the forms of resistance and countermeasures that undocumented migrants exercise in order to avoid deportation and to survive. Although my research participants did not mention such acts of agency, all worked without work permits and one participant even declared that

he had used the work permit of a friend for eight years, indicating a form of countermeasure to the government's strict policy on issuing work permits. This form of noncompliance outweighs any benefit that they may receive from complying, as the only option in compliance is deportation (Ellerman, 2009, p. 8). The exercise of agency illustrates the tenacity of migrants to overcome State-imposed persecution.

The publications that I have referenced are strategic in that they provide me with valuable insights to establishing a framework to present my research. However, I did recognise that some lacked relevance in certain aspects, for example where I criticise Paret (2016) and Standing (2011) on their romanticised view of unified precariat collectivism. I also criticise Bourdieu (1985, cited in Portes, 1998) for his limited view on the recipients of social networks, but also note that more literature is required that is relevant to the South African context or South-South migration in terms of the impact of social networks in the lives of migrants. Neilson and Rossiter's (2011) research is a starting point, as it provides me with a foundation on which to base my idea that migrants employ agency by way of social capital in order to reduce the effects of their precarity, and how the use of social capital assists them to navigate spaces of precarity knowingly and assured of assistance. Bandura's (2006) theory of agency provides the foundation for Wren's inauthentic agency, where she, like Bandura, recognises the impact of structures on shaping agency and how such structures affect survival strategies, such as the ability to remit. Furthermore, Elliot (2009) accounts for the painful choices that migrants make, as also pointed out in this study, out of necessity and desperation. Banki (2013) also explains that migrants cannot make South Africa home – as in the case of this study – because of the government's intolerance towards them, as reiterated by Gordon (2010) and Ellerman (2009). Inspite of these challenges that impair migrant agency, the desire to remit supersedes their constrained agency.

4.4. REMITTANCES

As mentioned previously, 3% of the world's population live and works outside the country of their birth (UN, 2002, cited in Richard et al., 2005, p. 1645). Work is an essential part of human survival. Through free market economies, globalisation has created conditions that permit migration. Carling (2008, p. 581) concludes that migrant remittances are an essential element of labour migration: "not only does migration fuel remittance flows once it occurs, but the prospect of remitting is often a key element in the motivation in the first place". The World Bank estimated that in 2013 that "remittances to developing countries reached $414 billion" (Bouoiyour & Miftah, 2015, p. 1). Remittances provide a stable source of foreign currency to countries with fluctuating economies, as they are resilient to downturns in the economy (Bouoiyour & Miftah, 2015, p. 1).

Migrant remittances have a direct positive impact on the sending country, as noted by Taylor (1999, p. 63), who found that, if labour is to be considered as an export, then remittances are the price received by the sending country for that labour. This view is a very pragmatic approach to economics, but has its roots in a concept coined by Reichert, called the "Dutch disease" Taylor, 1999). Reichert maintains the view that migration leads to the loss or draining of labour for the sending country; however, remittances compensate for such loss by generating an indirect revenue for the sending country (Massey, 1998, cited in Taylor, 1999, p. 65). Remittances thus compensate for the loss in human capital (OECD, 2006, p. 140). The sending country's sacrifice is alleviated by remittances, and migration is encouraged, especially in counties where there is high unemployment or is populous. Therefore, India and China receive the highest remittances (OECD, 2006; Pew Research Centre, 2018). Remittance flows from developing countries to other developing countries has also increased exponentially, indicating that migration is not confined only to developed countries. South Africa has become a choice destination for many Zimbabweans.

"There has been a marked increase in irregular migration largely emanating from internal strife in neighbouring Zimbabwe. The political and economic crisis that has gripped Zimbabwe since 2000 resulted in unprecedented migration to South Africa" (Makina, 2010, p. 35). According to the PASSOP Report (Von Burgsdorff, 2012), close to three million Zimbabweans emigrated over the past decade, mostly to South Africa. This report also states that Zimbabwe received an estimated R5.1 billion rand from South Africa in the form of remittances in 2010. However, remittances are also made up of goods (in-kind transfers) as well as money. The above figure made up 40% of in-kind transfers. This figure, however, does not include money and goods that are sent across the border via informal channels, as undocumented Zimbabweans experience difficulties and exorbitant costs utilising and accessing formal channels. In Zimbabwe, remittances are not recorded and go through informal channels (Makina, 2010, p. 40). Informal channels, according to Makina (2010, p. 42), include sending in-kind transfers and money with trusted friends and family, especially when sending to rural areas due to the lack of banking systems.

At the micro-level, remittances can be used to develop micro-enterprises in the sending country, which indirectly increase spending due to an increase in employment and consumer spending, making the country credit worthy on a macro-level, but since remittances are not subject to market fluctuations, they also provide the sending country with a form of stable revenue. Makina (2010, p. 40) notes that Zimbabweans remit with the hope of developing the country. According to a survey conducted by the Public Opinion Institute of Harare (MPOI) in 2007 (cited in Makina, 2010, p. 41), remittances play a vital role in supporting livelihoods in Zimbabwe and are placed as the fourth most

important source of livelihood after salaries, farming, off-farm and extra job activities, indicating the reliance on this form of income. Migration is therefore encouraged in order to receive remittances.

Remittances protect families from exogenous shocks and serve as a risk-diversification strategy (Bouoiyour & Miftah, 2015, p. 3). They are a form of insurance not only for the sender, but for the entire family who benefit from the proceeds. What motivates people to remit? According to Lucas and Stark (1985, cited in Taylor, 1999; see also Bouoiyour & Miftah, 2015; OECD, 2006), people remit out of either pure altruism or self-interest. Pure altruism or a welfare strategy is based on the need to assist family, friends and the community left behind and the need to sustain their survival; it is generally premised on doing 'good'. However, self-interest comprises three motivations that are directed at future gain. According to Bouoiyour and Miftah (2015, p. 3), these are, firstly, intention to return to the home country; secondly to invest in the community of origin; and finally the desire to inherit the assets of the family. For Lucas and Stark (1985, cited in Taylor, 1999), determinants are an oversimplification, as they fail to acknowledge the impact that remittances play as a risk-diversification strategy by spreading risk and investment in the education of young family members (OECD, 2006, p. 146). Agarwal and Horowitz (2002, cited in OECD, 2006, p. 146) highlight that, in terms of the family, remittances could be seen as an "implicit co-insurance agreement", in terms of which the family is safeguarded from being breached as the migrant provides for the upkeep and maintenance of assets and family with the intention to be welcomed back home with dignity. The family funds the initial migration and set-up costs (insurer). The family then utilises the remittances to improve consumption, but also to invest in future income-deriving strategies. The other strategy is the loan agreement model, where remittances firstly serve as repayments of loans made by migrants to their families. Secondly, they are expected to finance the education of younger family members who will have better career opportunities and, thirdly, remittances are meant to be invested in the home country so that, upon the migrant's return, they would form a source of retirement income, especially in the absence of pensions and welfare programmes. Migrants replace missing or imperfect markets (credit, insurance, employment) in the country of origin (Bouoiyour & Miftah, 2015, p. 4). Such arrangements reduce the risk that the family may face, but also provide 'insurance' once the migrant is back in the home country. Participants of this study seem to express education and welfare as their motivations to remit.

Remittances are based on whether the migrant has dependants in his/her country of birth, and the frequency of remitting is dependent on the relationship of such dependants and the income derived by the migrants in the host country. Carling (2008, p. 584) observes that those who have spouses, children and elderly parents remit more frequently, but once the dependants die, remittances usually cease as there is no one to receive the remittances. Carling (2008, p. 585) also notes that those with

an intention to return to the home country are more likely to remit and to remit larger amounts than those who choose to settle permanently in the host country. In the case of undocumented migrants, because of their precarious lives, remitting provides a form of 'insurance', as observed in this study and theorised by Agarwal and Horowitz (2002). Although remittances are usually a product of and core reason for migration, the migrant is perceived as a threat in the host country, as locals believe that their presence is parasitic.

4.5. RECOGNITION AND OPPRESSION

As mentioned in the theoretical framework chapter, Young (2000) outlines five forms of oppression that result from othering manifested from privilege and power. As mentioned earlier in Chapter 3, Fraser (1995) outlines that oppression results from misrecognition. Both writers admit that oppression is a result of power and structure and serves to otherise or alienate in order to achieve an agenda. They acknowledge the debilitating effects of oppression such as psychological and material impairment. However, Fraser (1995) recommends that the problematic nature of globalisation be addressed through the theory of recognition. Therefore, the theory of recognition will be discussed first to outline the foundation of oppression.

4.5.1. RECOGNITION

Globalisation has created conditions for the displacement of people and communities, but along with this displacement comes an irrational fear of foreigners, where their othering becomes salient and they are often misrecognised by virtue of their gender, race, religion, sexual orientation, etc. According to this view,

> those who fail to experience adequate recognition, i.e., those who are depicted by the surrounding others or the societal norms and values in a one-sided or negative way, will find it much harder to embrace themselves and their projects as valuable. Misrecognition thereby hinders or destroys persons' successful relationship to their selves. It has been poignantly described how the victims' of racism and colonialism have suffered severe psychological harm by being demeaned as inferior humans. (Fanon, 1952, cited in Stanford Encyclopaedia of Recognition)

Thus, recognition constitutes a "vital human need" (Taylor, 1992, p. 26, cited in Stanford Encyclopaedia of Recognition). Othering is produced through misrecognition, where power is used to

define the existence of certain groups of people (Jensen, 2010). It is a discursive process meant to legitimate their own superiority and power by producing psychological binaries of "us" and "them" by way of identities, which are meant to interpellate subjects to be dehumanised, discriminated against and demonised (Amin, 2015). This devaluation is an exercise of political power that accounts for "the State's machinery in creating requisite environments and fomenting xenophobia" (Amin, 2015). This political project is achieved through laws, myths, policing, stereotyping, etc. This is clearly evident in the Landau et al. (2005) report, in which the various mechanisms employed by the State to endorse xenophobia are clearly outlined. In this report, Landau et al. (2005, p. 35) reiterate that South Africa requires a "'conscious shift' in order to break away from the past government's logics of control and regulation intended to assume that South Africa will, indeed belong to all who live in it". Landers (2007) reminds us that globalisation has created a disconnection between people, which has produced the "other", where the "other" becomes an object of fear, and xenophobia is precisely an irrational fear of foreigners. Agamben's theory of biopolitics accounts for the perpetuated irrationality that exists in most countries around the world.

Taylor asserts that our identities are partly shaped by the way people identify us (cited in Wang, 2003, p. 6). Honneth believes that people's perceptions of us determine our integrity, especially in terms of misrecognition: "such behaviour is injurious because it impairs these persons in their positive understanding of self an understanding acquired by intersubjective means" (Fraser, 1995, p. 72). Nancy Fraser presents her theory of recognition, which is an adaptation of Taylor and Honneth's theories, but provides a more comprehensive overview of how power and structures shape the lives of people, in particular concerning creating subordination. Her Dual Analysis theory comprises two streams regarding injustice: the politics of recognition and the politics of redistribution. The former refers to exploitation rooted in the political-economic structure of society, whereas the latter refers to cultural or symbolic domination associated with disrespect towards another's culture, race, etc. Essentially, Taylor, Honneth and Fraser address the concept of misrecognition, and Fraser points out that misrecognition exists in both of her theories of injustice, where it is meant to cause harm and disrespect.

> Cultural norms that are unfairly biased against some are institutionalized in the state and the economy, economic disadvantage impedes equal participation in the making of culture, in public spaces and in everyday life. The result is a vicious circle of cultural and economic subordination. (Fraser, 1995, p. 73)

Misrecognition can be used to explain discrimination and oppression. It is also important to understand that this theory permits us to find possible solutions to addressing some forms of

oppression through the two binaries. Young (cited in Fraser, 1995, p. 147) deduces that this theory is not comprehensive and therefore cannot be applied to all forms of oppression. Fraser (1995), however, in my opinion does present a framework for how to address and understand certain forms of oppression through her dualistic binary, for example redistribution remedies. Fraser (1995, p. 73) also presents ways to achieve egalitarian socio-economic redistribution by recognising the moral worth of people when redistributing income, reorganising the division of labour and transforming basic income structures.

Recognition remedies require a shift in cultural and social norms that recognise and promote diversity, thus promoting group differentiation (Fraser, 1995, p. 74), which Young (1989) partly endorses. Although not comprehensive, Fraser's theory provides a helpful background to understanding misrecognition and its impact on forms of oppression, but in terms of people and groups that experience more than one form of oppression (intersectionality), her theory lacks the depth to explaining the complicated mix of injustices and finding remedies based on this framework, which then becomes problematic. The application of recognition will be discussed further in Chapter 6. Although intersectionality complicates remedies, it seems to be an accurate starting point to begin to address issues of oppression. But Fraser's theory does provide the foundation for understanding the powerlessness experienced by migrants, including those in this study, who state that they feel "helpless" and accept their oppressions as "just the way life is". Essentially, misrecognition discriminates and destroys the human essence.

4.5.2. VIOLENCE/XENOPHOBIA

As discussed under the theoretical framework, violence in the form of xenophobia is viewed as an oppression. It is the blatant taunts towards others by people from the host country. Such attitudes highlight the issues of "politics of belonging" and Agamben's (1998) concept of Homo sacer. Solomon (2000) notes in his working paper for the Centre for International Political Studies at the University of Pretoria that there are large numbers of illegal "aliens" flocking to South Africa's relatively tranquil shores from the Southern African region usually fleeing from environmental catastrophe, economic decline and political instability. Solomon's (2000) conclusion may be the reality; due to the current immigration system in South Africa, his use of the word "aliens" indicates and connotes the resentment and animosity that prevail in South Africa towards foreigners, especially "undocumented Black foreigners". In South Africa, black foreigners are blamed for the rise in crime, the spread of diseases, the high unemployment and even corrupt officials (Valji, 2003, p. 1), drugs and human trafficking (ILO et al, 2001, p. 11). According to Valji (2003), every social ill that confronts the new

South Africa has been attributed to the presence of foreigners. Such attitudes of intolerance have manifested in the form of violent attacks on black foreigners. However, intolerance is not only confined to South African borders, but is a global problem prevalent in USA and Europe too.

According to the ILO et al (2001), "one in every 50 human beings is a migrant worker, a refugee or asylum seeker or an immigrant living in a foreign country", which translates into 80 to 97 million migrant workers and members of their families. Essentially, States have become melting pots of cultures, and such multiculturalism and diversity have become sites of contestation, where migrants have become targets of discrimination based on their lack of national identity. Globally, discrimination against migrants is a reality, especially in Europe with the influx of refugees from Syria and Northern Africa. "Xenophobia describes attitudes, prejudices and behaviour that reject and exclude and often vilify persons based on the perception that they are outsiders or foreigners to the community, society or nationality" (ILO et al, 2001, p. 2). Xenophobia operates on the 'othering' of persons who do not share a common identity. Globalisation has created the free movement of persons, resulting in the dislocation of many livelihoods to new working environments. Resentment, animosity and fear result from the influx of foreigners, especially undocumented migrants who occupy jobs – usually menial positions that citizens ordinarily do not wish to undertake, and endure working conditions that are below the minimum standards and abuse from employers (ILO et al, 2001, p. 5). Manifestations of such hostility are global and include discrimination against foreigners through institutional structures, and by exclusion and violence (ILO et al, 2001, p. 9). Tension emanates from unstable and severe economic inequalities and limited resources, making outsiders targets of xenophobia. Sixty-five percent of South Africans surveyed in Solomon's (2000) report were of the view that undocumented migrants should be deported and repatriated. McDonald (2000, cited in Gordon, 2010, p. 4) supports this finding from his research, which also reveal that 48% of participants feel threatened by foreigners, believing they are a "criminal threat". Because migrants lack citizenship they become targets of oppression, as they lack the rights and protection that nationals have. The lack of rights creates an exception or an exemption from the workings of the law (Gordon, 2010, p. 3).

According to Gordon (2010), the South African immigration policies and actors, including the media, have created conditions that "perpetuate xenophobia". The Department of Home Affairs (DHA), the SAPS and other institutions, employers and even neighbours collude in the hostility, exploitation and abuse of foreigners (Crush, 2008. cited in Gordon, 2010, p. 5). Due to poor service delivery, poor economic growth and high unemployment, citizens view the presence of foreigners as a threat to the already overloaded and constrained economy and view them as competitors. Eliminating the threat seems like the only option and would reduce the stress placed on government to deliver on its promises in a post-apartheid South Africa. Ironically, the new South Africa is built on the discourse of

development, unity, reconstruction and upliftment (Gordon, 2010, p. 18), where the colour of one's skin no longer matters. However, the rhetoric of the criteria used to identify foreigners by immigration enforcers is the colour of their skin. It has become a marker that one is most likely a foreigner if one has darker skin (Njamoh, 2006, cited in Gordon, 2010, p. 6). Gordon (2010, p. 7) reiterates that "the division between citizen and foreigner is reinforced and constructed through more than mere biocultural factors" and highlights that legal discrimination juxtaposes them, creating feelings of vulnerability and correspondingly xenophobia.

When the South African government undertook its neoliberal agenda, it did not anticipate its attractiveness in the global market for immigration. The Immigration Act was promulgated in 2005, but many remnants from its Apartheid past remained and continued into the new Act. During Apartheid, migration was permitted, especially for mining and agriculture; however, these were contract workers without any citizenship rights (Maharaj, 2004). The new Act also bases itself on the fundamentals of the previous legislation, which were meant to exclude, control and repatriate. The Act endorses arrest, detention and removals (DHA, 1997, cited in Gordon, 2010, p. 9). The draft papers highlight the threat of immigrants and even refer to them as "parasites" feeding off and contributing little towards the country's revenue (Maharaj, 2004, cited in Gordon, 2010, p. 10). The enforcement of this legislation legitimises the violent treatment and abuse of foreigners. The Act propagates that foreigners are a "threat" and creates the impression that the country needs to protect itself against these adversaries. It endorses the legitimacy of "the state of exception".

Agamben (1998, cited in Gordon, 2010, p. 15) advises that the state of exception is usually utilised as a defence during a state of emergency. This attitude on the part of the State endorses the idea that foreigners are unwelcome. "States of exception in their extreme are created by state actions that strip individuals of their legal identity" (Ellermann, 2009, p. 1). They are perceived to be "illegal" or depoliticized (Ellermann, 2009, p. 2), which denotes their lack of protection and allows them to be susceptible to exploitation and violence (Gordon, 2010, p. 15), and are politically insignificant (Ellermann, 2009, p. 2). Thus, the migrants in this study are unable to make South Africa home. According to Ellermann (2009, p. 3), the "state of exception is the ultimate expression of state sovereignty due to the power to proclaim the emergency and suspend the operation of law". Therefore, under these circumstances, Agamben (1998, cited in Ellermann, 2009, p 3) asserts that "the so-called sacred and inalienable human rights are revealed to be without protection precisely when it is no longer possible to conceive of them as rights of the citizens of a state", thus excluding them. The idea behind the state of exception arises from the notion that, once a foreigner leaves his country of birth he forfeits his rights and, once in a new country, he does not possess any rights (lacks citizenship), which makes him a Homo sacer (naked life) and invariably devaluates his existence (Agamben, 1998,

cited in Gordon, 2010). Even his basic human rights are ignored, and abuse is rationalised as he is assumed to be a "threat" to national security. Citizens are even encouraged to seed out potential "threats" or "undocumented migrants", further perpetuating the stigma of an "alien invasion" and directly endorsing xenophobic attacks. The 'state of exception' is therefore condoned and bodies that monitor and implement immigration policies also see it as a means to enrich themselves on the vulnerability of the undocumented migrants, for example in the form of bribes, extortion and corruption (Gordon, 2010, p. 18). The narratives are detailed in the following chapter, which supports assertions by Gordon (2010) and Ellerman (2009).

4.5.3. EXPLOITATION

According to the ILO et al Report (Aug. 2001: 12), many migrant workers are relegated to marginal, low status, inadequately regulated or informal sectors of economic activity. As mentioned earlier, global cities as well as other cities in developing countries utilise migrant labour as a source of cheap labour without the burdens of compliance and contracts. Migrant workers do not usually receive benefits such as pensions, healthcare etc. reducing costs on the employer. They also lack training opportunities towards skills upliftment. Simultaneously, they are usually paid comparatively less than citizens and are subjected to exploitation more frequently due to their lack of immigration status and absence of formal arrangements. They are usually undeclared thus preventing any recourse in the event of unfair dismissals. 'Those without proper authorization to work are easily intimidated against joining or organizing unions, by threat or actual practice of deportation' (ILO et al, Aug. 2001: 12). Exploitation is heightened for migrant precariats as they lives' lack stability in place and in labour (Banki, 2013). Agamben's (1998) State of Exception highlights the rationalization and abuse of foreign bodies normalising exploitation. Therefore, the lack of status plays a critical role in how migrants' are tolerated and treated.

4.5.4. POWERLESSNESS

A feeling of powerlessness is a result of heightened insecurity in relation to place and labour. For the undocumented migrant, the prospect of a better future seems impossible and opportunities are limited, therefore they unquestionably accept and endure "what fate throws at them". Precarity exacerbates insecurities, as there is always the potential to lose a job or to be deported. Establishing comfort and belonging is therefore impossible. Precariat migrants face a form of double powerlessness, a heightened subjectivity, in terms of which they are under the power of their

employers as well as that of the State. This condition opens them to further abuse and exploitation (Banki, 2013, p. 2). Branch and Hanley (2011, cited in Banki, 2013, p. 2) describe precarity as "employment that is uncertain, unpredictable and risky", but this description fails to account for the feeling of homeliness that the noncitizens experience. It further highlights Agamben's (1998) theory that the zoe is made to feel unwelcome and furthermore is perceived as a threat or an object to be feared. Under these circumstances, the migrant precariats are further isolated and vulnerable and experience heightened anxiety and helplessness. Buroway (1976, p. 1061) deduces that the powerlessness of migrant labour emerges through domination applied in three arenas:

- The **State** treats migrants as aliens, void of rights. Capitalism tends to conceal the underlying class structure, which is embedded in race, thus legitimising oppression.
- At the **Industrial level**, strikes and other forms of dissent are not tolerated.
- **Labour** is fuelled by the large reserve of foreign labour.

Buroway (1976, p. 1068) asserts that the labour market exists only because of the uneven development of capitalism. This inconsistency thus addresses capitalism's need for a cheap and disposable labour source. Fraser's misrecognition theory also addresses the feelings of inadequacy as a result of being unwanted, as well as the inability to find respectable employment.

HOW DO THESE THEORIES RELATE TO THE STUDY?

This chapter focuses on the impact of neoliberalism on the lives of migrants and how it perpetuates migrant precarity, as they not only endure economic precarity but also precarity of place (Banki, 2013). As mentioned by Maharaj (2004), the people of Southern Africa have largely been precarious, but due to the recent shifts in the economy of periphery countries, many people are forced to leave their home countries in search of employment, as in the case of Zimbabweans. The political climate in Zimbabwe, which has directly impacted on its economy, has forced people to migrate South to Johannesburg. With its extensive service sector, Johannesburg has become a site for the congregation of foreign, cheap, disposable labour. These migrants depend on fellow migrants to assist with their transition. The literature referenced by the Global North migration researchers supports assumptions that social networks play a critical role in the migration process via transnationalism and provide a 'safety net'. It further highlights that, in developed countries, ethnic employers employ mostly from within their own social networks, especially in informal businesses, where exploitation is prevalent. In this study, this observation is partly valid, as there are not many Zimbabwean entrepreneurs in the country. Those who are here, certainly indicate a preference to employ from within their own ethnicity, like the two

security company owners as mentioned in this study. Social networks locally and globally provide support and facilitate the migration process thus aiding in the agency to migrate. However, agency is tainted by powers imposed by neoliberal structures that otherise and perpetuate vulnerability.

In order to overcome or reduce their precarity, migrants resort to assistance and support from social networks, which is a form of agency that enables them to cope with the different forms of oppression they endure, as mentioned by Young (2000). Fraser presents her theory of misrecognition and addresses the debilitating consequences of mistreatment. She further provides a model to address oppression within two specific and rather constrained binaries, as noted by Young. In spite of the oppression that these Zimbabwean migrants endure, they still persist in migrating to Johannesburg in order to remit. Bouoiyour and Miftah (2015) explain the motivations behind remitting and, in this study, are valid, as they serve as a form of insurance and indirectly support the struggling Zimbabwean economy. Despite the desperation to remit, it must be noted that undocumented Zimbabwean migrants endure several forms of adverse oppressions which has been explained through Agamben's State of Exception theory and further reiterated by Gordon (2010) and Ellerman (2013). Their lack of status exacerbates their existing precarity by exposing them to various forms of abuse such as exploitation. They are also perceived as a threat to citizens by being willing to work under intolerable conditions and for poor wages. Wren (2015) and Elliot (2013) also reminds us that migrants engage in compromised agency such as these Zimbabwean undocumented migrants. Although they exercise agency by turning their social capital into financial capital, their agency is tainted or inauthentic; based on pragmatism rather than on narcissistic hyper-individualism. Although, there is not much research done on undocumented Zimbabwean migrants living in Johannesburg, the push factors mentioned earlier in this thesis indicate that most migrants migrate solely for remitting as per Makina's (2010) research.

4.6. CONCLUSION

This literature review presents the complicated nature of migration and the hidden forces that prevent the assimilation of migrants. At the crux of this dilemma is the issue of immigration status, as noted by the 'State of Exception'. There are many factors, through the interplay of structure and power, which affect the agency of migrants. Particularly, just like those in Europe, migrants within South Africa's borders have been subjected to extreme forms of xenophobia. Thus migrants adopt mechanisms to cope, which constitute a form of agency.

Bandura (2006) suggests that migration decisions are made consciously and with intention. Therefore, social networks assist in overcoming their othering and provide opportunities for employment and integration, thus reducing migrant precarity. Although there is a slight variance in its application in the PSI in Johannesburg, the literature utilised provides a framework to understand the supportive role that social networks play as a form of agency employed by migrants. However, their agency is constrained through structures, and this chapter acknowledges how migrants, in spite of the various forms of oppression they may experience, still try to adapt to the neoliberal ideologies in order to validate their lives. Hence, migrants risk their lives to seek employment in order to feel worthy and conform to the ideologies of personal accountability and benevolent hyper-individualism – all in the quest for the "good life" (Berlant, 2007). The research participants' realise their oppression, but feel powerless as the need to remit supersedes any fear, hostility and inferiority they may experience. It therefore seems to be a form of self-imposed oppression, which ties in with the concept of "suffering agency", in terms of which choices are determined by the prevailing structures and which are always painful. This chapter addresses the concept of misrecognition, based on Fraser (1995) and Young (1989). Both theorists provide remedies; however, Young's (1989) theory encapsulates the idea of a rainbow coalition, where groups must be recognised and acknowledged and thus redress must be made accordingly to the group's specific issues, such as those views also expressed by Banki (2013) and which endorses diversity.

Essentially, this chapter has highlights that agency, oppression and precarity operate simultaneously to illustrate the complicated reality faced by precariat migrants, like those of this study. Transcending the social positions are inhibited by structures that aim to intensify their subjectivity.

In the following chapter, the aforementioned themes will be elaborated upon and narratives will be provided to support the applicability or lack thereof justifying their relevance to this study. By framing the literature review underscores the universal phenomenon of migrant precarity which will be evidenced in the following chapter.

CHAPTER 5: FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

5.1. INTRODUCTION

I will discuss my findings under the various themes that were mentioned in the literature review and their sub-categories. In this chapter, the concepts of precarity, agency and oppression among other previously relevant themes reappear and it is evidenced through the participants' narratives. Furthermore this chapter will illustrate how these three key concepts operate simultaneously in the lives of the undocumented Zimbabwean migrant security guards.

The theme of agency is central to the idea of migration. Migration is usually a product of transnational communication, and its application is facilitated through the reliance on social networks that promote and support the migration process. Remittances are the by-products of, or sometimes the sole reason for, migration. The experience of xenophobia, powerlessness and exploitation are lived realities in the lives of migrants, as indicated by the participants in this study.

I will discuss agency last, however, in spite of it being the first and most critical aspect in the decision to migrate in order to change one's life circumstances. The reason for choosing to discuss agency last is purely a strategic one in order to tie the emotion or affect of gratitude to inauthentic agency, in particular suffering agency (Elliot, 2013) and cruel optimism (Berlant, 2007). The decision to migrate is usually based on desperation, and inauthentic agency speaks of how the choices made are totally oblivious to the invisible powers, but in accordance with the neoliberal agenda. Precarity of place (Banki, 2013) will also be evidenced through their desire to return home and from the feelings of hostility they experience. Despite the hardships and challenges precariat migrants endure, their gratitude and pragmatism is encouraging and overwhelming. This chapter will essentially support the themes discussed in both the theoretical framework and literature review chapters.

5.2. COMPOSITION OF GUARDS

I interviewed a total of 19 security guards between the ages of 23 and 40 years and one security boss. All were Zimbabweans who had either migrated after completing their O levels or had held previous positions in Zimbabwe; in one isolated case the guard had previously worked in Botswana, but either because of losing his job or poor wages decided to migrate to Johannesburg. The sample comprises men; most were married, although there were a few single men.

It is important to note that the participants in this study were not the desperately impoverished, but possessed a degree of human capital and funds to ensure that they could migrate. They all were

educated and had completed their O levels, with two of them even having completed their A Levels. These security guards had an extremely good grasp of the English language and did not require a translator.

All 19 security guards possessed no formal skills, in spite of some of them having worked as plumbers, painters, etc. The lack of formal skills made it difficult for them to apply for a skills visa, and thus they entered South Africa on a visitor's permit or no permit at all. Most of them express that they never intended to live here illegally, but experienced many failed attempts to apply for work permits, mainly based on the fact that they had never signed any formal agreement of contract with their employers.

The majority of the guards support their families back in Zimbabwe whilst living alone in South Africa. Few have their immediate families living with them, mostly spouses, and they support their extended families in their country of origin. The initial purpose expressed by most of the guards is to provide financially for their families in Zimbabwe. Table 5.2.1 presents the findings in the form of a table in respect of the participants. The table reflects the various themes discussed, such as reliance on social networks, the desire to return to Zimbabwe, the oppression endured and the need to remit.

Table 5.2.1: Data derived from interviews

NAMES	*FAMILY IN ZIM*	*FAMILY IN SA*	*SOCIAL NETWORKS*	*REMIT*	*OPPRESSION*	*RETURN TO ZIM*
THEMBISO	✓			✓	✓	✓
TERENCE	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓
LEWIS	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
ERIC	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓
DONALD	✓			✓	✓	✓
JACK	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓
TEMBA	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓
EMMANUEL	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓
JOHN	✓	✓			✓	
JOE	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓
ERNEST	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
HENRY	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓
THABO	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓
ABBOTT	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
SIMBA	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
GEE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
JOAN	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
WALTER	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓
DUMISANI	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓

5.3. SOCIAL NETWORKS

Transnationalism is critical in that it provides the agency to migrate. According to Poros (2011), migrants in the host country provide feedback to friends and family in the home country on their experiences and opportunities, thus providing knowledge about whether or not to migrate. This information supports the push factors. In the current sample, 12 of the 19 guards migrated to South Africa based on such information relayed from either friends or family, who provided assistance to them either in their transition or in the form of money, accommodation and/or food. This aligns with Coleman's (1988) observation, who says that social capital is derived from social relationships developed from mutual trust, norms, values and beliefs, mostly from within members of a community.

Joan, a security guard, has found jobs for five other Zimbabweans in the company that he works for, including for his cousin **Walter**, whom I also interviewed. Four of the 19 guards did not have such support and assistance and came to Johannesburg upon hearing success stories of prior migrants and of the employment opportunities in Johannesburg. **Dumisani** is one such example; he came to South Africa in the hope of securing employment as a security guard. Whilst in the country he undertook security training so that he could achieve this goal. He had heard of success stories and aspired for a better life in order to remit to his family back home. **Dumisani** claims that if he continued to stay in Zimbabwe, "my family would starve, then how can I live with myself".

Lewis came to Johannesburg through the encouragement and support of his brother and progressed into the PSI with the help of the networks he developed. In 2015, when he lost his job, he survived for nine months with the help of members of his church, who are fellow Zimbabweans. "They through the Church gave me money to feed my family and find small jobs for me." This demonstrates the support of networks not only in the search for employment, but during the most dire of circumstances.

Emmanuel worked in the Zimbabwean army prior to arriving in Johannesburg. He had lost his job and had decided to enter the security industry as it was the only job that he knew: to serve and protect. When he arrived he had no assistance from fellow Zimbabweans and secured a job by approaching security companies. However, the reputable companies like ADT, CHUBB and Fidelity rejected him as he did not possess a valid permit, nor did he have any formal security qualifications. He eventually resorted to doing other menial jobs in order to survive and to remit to his wife and two sons back in Zimbabwe. After a year, he saw a billboard advertising for security personnel; he applied and was given a job. He has since changed jobs with the help of fellow Zimbabweans a few times, and each time the motivation is a better salary. He said, "I live for my family but I am sad that I cannot be with them, but a man has to do what he needs to in order to take care of his home." **Emmanuel** is a quiet man who keeps to himself and is very reserved, probably a personality trait developed during his years

in the military, where he gained the view that it is his job to take care of everyone but also assume a solitary existence.

Abbott came to South Africa without the assistance of anyone, also on the basis of success stories. Once in the country, he says he quickly learnt how difficult life was here. "Without any support, I stayed the first few weeks in Joubert Park on the streets until I found a job in a Chinese shop. Then I stayed in an undercover parking garage for several months until I was later forced to vacate." Whilst living and working in Johannesburg, he met a fellow Zimbabwean who worked as a supervisor for a security company. He suggested to Abbott to join his company. They provided two weeks' training and he earned R1 500 per month. It was from here that he kept moving to other security companies, each time for better wages. He said that he understands the importance of networks after enduring hardship, and now has found many jobs for other Zimbabweans in the security industry. He stated that, although he initially did not rely on social networks, it had become a survival strategy to advance himself in the industry. He says "my brothers (referring to fellow Zimbabweans) have taken care of me many times".

Thabo arrived in Johannesburg four years ago after working as a game ranger. His motivation was to remit as he earned too little in Zimbabwe to provide for his family. He heard from visitors to the game park of opportunities in South Africa. He came with the deliberate intention to secure employment in the security industry. Whilst undertaking a three-month training programme, **Thabo** worked menial jobs to survive, including in construction. After completing the course, he was given a job in Vereeniging. Thereafter he moved to another company and has since continued to change jobs. He had been in the current company for five months. **Thabo** has managed to get by without the assistance of social networks, but does admit that he will seek assistance from Zimbabwean friends that he recently made when he wishes to advance himself, as he has witnessed how they have found jobs for other fellow Zimbabweans. Admitting that he will in future ask friends for assistance demonstrates the power of social networks.

5.4. REMITTANCES

This research uncovers that, in the sample of 19 guards, only one does not remit regularly. Remittances are usually meant to substitute for the lack of breadwinner at home. According to Bouoiyour and Miftah (2015), remittances provide for the welfare of the family left behind for their continued survival. Most guards remit frequently, usually once in two months, with remittances ranging from R500 to R1 500. Although remittances by definition include cash and in-kind transfers,

for my purposes only one guard in this sample did not send money home and his in-kind transfers were periodic.

John came to Johannesburg partly as a survival strategy, but more to reconnect with his deceased father's family. John arrived in 2006. He migrated with his daughter and wife and they currently reside in Diepsloot. His mother is his only kin in Zimbabwe, and he wishes that he could send money to her, but she is old and lives in a deeply rural village and thus cannot collect the money from a bank or any of the new transfer mechanisms. He does, however, on rare occasions, send in-kind transfers to his mother with fellow Zimbabweans. He said that he wishes he could do more, but with the costs to educate a 10-year old and another child on the way, and with a stay-at-home wife, he barely makes ends meet: "I can't afford to take care of my own home and church. I feel bad for my Mum but I earn so little." However, his mother was planning to come in August when the new baby arrived, so he said that he would send groceries back with her. His feeling of guilt was obvious when he declared that he feels duty bound, but accepted that his obligation is to his immediate family. He did say that he did not intend to resettle in his home country, and perhaps this is be reason why he does not remit, knowing that there is no reason to invest in Zimbabwe and that he does not require insurance in Zimbabwe (Carling, 2008).

The other case study, which is truly exceptional, is juxtaposed with John's case study. **Joan's** case is remarkable and demonstrates the impact of remittances. He arrived in Johannesburg in 2009 straight after completing his O levels in Zimbabwe. He did not even attempt to look for a job in his home country because of the high unemployment. His friend advised and assisted him to come to South Africa by providing him with money, food and accommodation for three months. During this time he worked as a gardener. After a year, another friend who is also from Zimbabwe organised a job for him in a security company. He was not given training, but his training was on the job. He continues to work for the same company and, despite the poor wages, has managed to remit to his elderly parents in Zimbabwe. With his remittances, his parents have built a three-bedroomed house. He exemplifies pure altruism because he told me that he feels an obligation to his family and that he wishes to provide for them. He said that he would rather starve that impose on his parents: "I sometimes go hungry, just so that my parents don't have be hungry." He remits R1 000 per month from his salary of R4 000 per month. He lives in Thembisa with his wife and two children. He said that his wife makes it possible to remit this much every month because she is a hairdresser, and she remits an equal amount to her parents in Zimbabwe. He said that, in order to save, he goes without food whilst on shift or may sometimes indulge in bread and cooldrink for the entire shift. He says life is tough but that it is a sacrifice he needs to make for his family in Zimbabwe. He does plan on returning to settle permanently

in Zimbabwe one day, and that may explain why he remits frequently and such a large amount (Carling, 2008).

5.5. XENOPHOBIA

All 19 security guards said that they had experienced some form of xenophobia in Johannesburg, but the degrees of experience varied between the guards. Xenophobic hostility is a reality in South Africa due to the high unemployment, poor service delivery and constrained resources. All the guards spoke of their failed attempts to pay Home Affairs officials bribes to secure work permits. They had also paid police bribes to prevent their deportation during random frisks and searches. All the security guards express that their physical appearance makes them visible as foreigners. They said that they paid large sums of money, usually around R3 000, for the "so-called visas", which never materialise. Furthermore, the security guards express their concern that they are often asked to pronounce certain Zulu words during the random frisks and searches. It is the mispronunciation by foreigners that isolates them and reveals their identity. Their lack of recourse against unscrupulous officials is frustrating and makes them susceptible targets for abuse. I will discuss the following victim narratives in particular of those who experienced heightened forms of xenophobia.

Lewis is the extreme case of being on the receiving end of such hostility. In fact, **Lewis** is the primary motivation for this research project. Lewis came to Johannesburg in 2005, after being persuaded by his stepbrother who worked for Makro (Walmart equivalent). Lewis was a painter and his brother suggested that he find a job in construction. Lewis did find a job in construction, but found construction work to be extremely precarious, as there were intervals when there were "no jobs and no jobs mean no pay". Lewis was then introduced to the security sector by a fellow Zimbabwean who introduced him to a security company boss. The friend worked in another sector but allowed Lewis, with permission from the security boss, to use his (the friend's) work permit. Lewis worked for this company for eight years. During this time he contributed towards pension and UIF. In January 2015, Lewis was dismissed. The reason for his dismissal was fraud (using a friend's work permit). It was seemingly coincidental that his dismissal coincided with the January 2015 xenophobic attacks in Johannesburg. When he threatened to dispute his dismissal based on the fact that the employer agreed that he should use someone else's work permit, the company threatened to deport him and he did not receive any of the benefits that he contributed to under his friend's working permit. Lewis said in the eight years that he was employed by the company, he tried to obtain a work visa and even paid bribes to DHA officials (on three separate occasions). The officials assured him that they would furnish him with a visa, but this never transpired. Fortunately, after nine months of searching for

another job, Lewis secured a better-paying job in the security industry and his new boss has provided him with a contract that he will take to the DHA to apply for a work permit.

Joan and Thembiso live in Thembisa, while **Walter** lives in Hillbrow. Joan and Walter are cousins and work for the same company. All three participants spoke of xenophobia from neighbours. It is possible that in areas like Thembisa and Hillbrow, where there is a large population of foreigners, nationals tend to feel hostility to their presence. They said that their neighbours often ask them, especially at the end of the month, to buy certain items for them and subtly imply that, if they do not receive these favours, something bad might happen. Out of fear, the three guards consent. Their neighbours often accuse them of stealing their jobs, but when they offer to find employment for them in the companies they work for, the neighbours make excuses that it is too risky or the pay is too little or "it's too much work for so little moola" (Walter). They state that they felt especially threatened during the recent xenophobic attacks and feared for their lives. They constantly endure taunts, but do not engage in reprisals for fear of being deported if arrested. **Thembiso** declared: "if I do not give in to their demands, and something happens I will regret it." This statement demonstrates the lived experience of the guards and how they succumb to the taunts for fear that they may be attacked. Walter was in a similar position and stated that, in Hillbrow, "I see this all the time, foreigners being attacked. I am scared and I don't want problems". This statement highlights the fear endured by migrants (Gordon, 2010). Other participants state that they also experience xenophobia, which usually comprises taunts that they try to overlook and ignore.

5.6. EXPLOITATION

Exploitation, according to Young (1989), is the act of using other people's labour in order to make a profit and not compensating them sufficiently for their labour. Capitalism has objectified labour as a commodity. Neoliberalism has made the lives of workers extremely precarious and fostered capitalism's ideology that labour can be sold at the cheapest price. This is clearly the situation in the security sector in Johannesburg. Because of their lack of immigration status, Zimbabwean guards are paid less than the standard regulated amount in the sector for Grade B guards, which is between R4 000 and R6 000 per month. The current wages for the 19 guards interviewed ranged from R2 000 to R4 000 per month, which indicates that their bosses are indeed underpaying. All 19 guards state that they did not contribute to any benefits like pension and UIF, nor did they receive any benefits, including sick and holiday pay; only one had recently been given a contract. Most guards did not receive training from the companies and did not receive medical care in the event of injury on the job.

The guards had to assume all medical costs. Precarity is determined by the lack of one, some or all of the seven forms of economic or labour-related security (Standing, 2011, p. 10).

Undocumented guards are more exposed and vulnerable than guards who are documented or South African, as South African and documented guards have access to legal remedies, especially if registered with the PSIRA. According to the International Labour Organization (ILO), work must be dignified and this can be achieved by fostering economic security, which is similar to Standing's (2011, p. 10) labour-related securities, which I will explore from the perspective of the PSI:

- *Job market security* arises when there are many opportunities to obtain jobs through macro-economic policies. Clearly, with the staggeringly high rate of unemployment in SA, guards do not have job market security and most migrants choose this occupation as it is the easiest to infiltrate.
- *Employment security* refers to the protection against loss of income from unfair dismissals and recourse to be reinstated, e.g. through the Commission for Conciliation, Mediation and Arbitration (CCMA) and arbitration. Guards who belong to unions will have access to such forms of redress; however, although undocumented workers do possess civil rights, they fear reporting employers for fear of deportation and, because they have knowingly been engaged in illegal labour, that the arbitration may be biased against them.
- *Job security* pertains to workers having opportunities to advance their careers through skills development programmes, such as a security guard might graduate to becoming a private bodyguard within the same company or a security patrol officer, etc.
- *Work security* denotes the fostering of safe and healthy working conditions, also mentioned in Sectoral Determination 6. In the case of security guards, although their job is based on risk, reducing the potential thereof is critical. Furthermore, stressful and unhygienic working conditions are a contravention of providing a healthy work environment. Most guards state that the chemical toilets in their guardhouses are cleaned once in two weeks only, which means that they get very smelly, not to mention the risk of bacteria resulting from such conditions.
- *Skill reproduction security* refers to basic education and skills training that may enhance the performance of the job and promote effective and efficient service. Most of the guards said that their training extended to on-the- job training and that they had not received further skills development.
- *Income security* refers to the actual wage expected and social benefits such as UIF, medical aid and pension. Undocumented guards usually do not receive such benefits. They are often given a standard wage and are underpaid.

- *Representation security* relates to the worker having a forum in which to address his grievances individually or through a collective organisation. This unfortunately, is not always possible for many guards, especially those who do not engage in collectives. Most guards in the study claim that they did not have opportunities as a collective to address the employer and, if they had a grievance, they would approach him and he often state that he would look into the matter, but seldom return with a favourable solution.

From the above it is clear that the security guards in this research study are extremely precarious and their lack of economic security, infers their exploitation. Apart from the precariat lacking all or some of these economic instabilities in particular, undocumented migrants are more vulnerable as they fall outside the protection of the State due to their lack of indigeneity. Although they possess civil rights, they lack political and economic rights (Standing, 2011, p. 94). "Business wants them for cheap labour" (Standing, 2011, p. 103). Millions cross the borders illegally; governments are aware of their influx but do not prevent this. Their precarious status makes them highly exploitable, thus advancing capital accumulation. The State is complicit with capitalists in permitting their exploitation, firstly by not preventing illegal infiltrations and secondly by not protecting illegals from unscrupulous employers once in the country. Through its various laws, the State imposes a form of structural discrimination on migrants by not safeguarding them, thus they become susceptible to abuse. When I questioned the 19 guards on their exploitation, they said that they recognise their exploitation but were at the mercy of the employers for a job, and any condemnation on their part might lead to deportation or dismissal. They seem to succumb to the abuse as a form of oppression by choice.

Donald recognised his exploitation but felt extremely aggrieved by his employer's lack of compassion. **Donald** said: "I hate my boss, he has no feelings." When I asked him why this was the case, he related his plight to me. He said that his boss lacked compassion and empathy by not helping him with transport, as he resides in Soweto and works in Sandton. These places are geographically distant from each other, with one being in the south of the city and the other in the north. They are approximately 70 kilometres apart (see map in Figure 2.2.2). Donald spends much of his wages on transport.

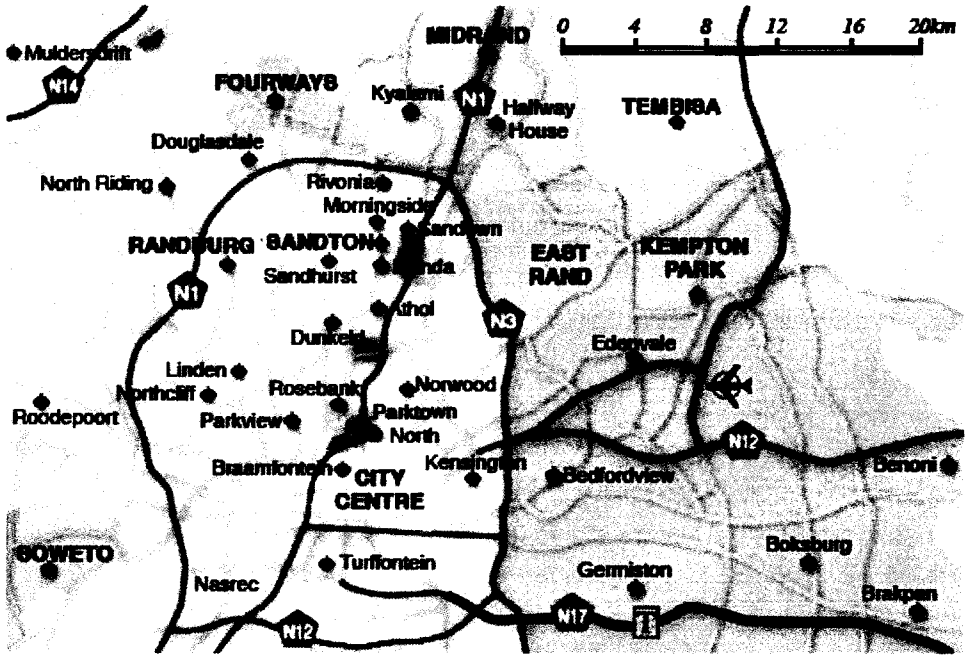

Figure 2.2.2: Map of Johannesburg

"When I started working for the company, I was posted to Florida which is close to Soweto, but then I was transferred to a site in Sandton. I earn R3 800 a month and I spend R1 200 on travelling to and from work." He says that this amount for transport could be significantly more, but he has managed to minimise costs by sleeping in a park between shifts in summer and staying in the 'Wendy house' or guardhouse between night and day shifts in the winter, as his boss does not condone double shifts. His family life suffers, as his wife resides with him in Soweto and, due to him staying away from home it creates suspicion in their marriage. To add to his burdens, his wife is sickly and he cannot go home on a daily basis to attend to her. He says that his children often accuse him of being a bad provider and "I feel like a failure". He has two children in Zimbabwe who live with his mother-in-law, and he needs to remit every two months; however, he sometimes fails in his duty due to his travelling expenses and his wife's medical costs. His rent is R750 per month and, in order to meet his commitments, he often goes without food for days. On good days he receives food from the residents in the area that he monitors. He said that he has explained his situation to his employer, but his pleas to move to a site closer to Soweto are ignored. At the time of the interview, Donald was extremely despondent and said that he swam across the Limpopo River to come to South Africa in the hope of living a better life, but that he feels his attempt was in vain, as he "barely makes ends meet". He said that his boss is "heartless", because when his father passed away a few years earlier, he informed him that he needed to take leave. His boss reminded him that he would not be paid for his leave, nor did he offer him an advance on his salary for the funeral expenses and to travel; he also warned him that there was no guarantee he would have a job upon his return. Donald attended the funeral and

fortunately came back to his job. He was dismayed by the lack of consideration, as he has been working for his current employer since 2014. Like the other guards, Donald stated that he is grateful for the job, but wished for compassion and empathy from the employer. He found it ironic that his employer had started his career as a guard in South Africa and, being a former Zimbabwean, should realise the difficulty faced by migrant guards. Gratitude is one of the surprising elements revealed in the study, discussed further under agency and inauthentic agency.

I approached Donald's employer to be interviewed, but he stated that he had no time. I did not mention that his guard had complained about him but, in my conversation and sms communication with him, I mentioned that I would like to understand why he employs Zimbabwean guards and how their remittances assist their families. His lack of interest demonstrates his lack of concern for his employees. His lack of compassion, as expressed by Donald, is evident through his reluctance to be interviewed. It is ironic that he would not allow the guards to work double shifts for ethical reasons, but exploits and underpays them, ignoring the ethics under these conditions.

I did, however, manage to interview another security company employer who operates in Morningside. He is also formerly from Zimbabwe and has his employment roots as a security guard. Several security guards in the study are employed by **Vuyo. Vuyo** is 40 years old and arrived in Johannesburg in 1991. He mainly operates at sites in Morningside, Illovo and Bryanston. He monitors a few complexes, but mostly construction sites. He admitted that, in spite of his company being PSIRA registered, he employs mostly Zimbabweans and Malawians, with only a few South Africans to conform to PSIRA regulations. He said that his reasoning behind employing foreigners as opposed to citizens is twofold: firstly, most South African guards do not come to work once they are paid, staying away until their salary runs out. Secondly, if threatened with dismissal for poor attendance and/or involvement in theft at the sites, they take him to the CCMA, which is time-consuming and a financial burden on him. Furthermore, he had to comply with PSIRA requirements for the South African guards, such as a minimum regulated salary, pension, UIF and tax, thereby increasing his overheads. He says that foreigners have commitments like remittances and rent and therefore are committed and grateful for their employment. Owing to their lack of contracts, they did not have legal recourse and were "reliable". Although foreigners also have been implicated in criminal activities on his sites, dismissal is less complicated. Due to theft and illegal activities on the part of the foreign security guards, and perhaps because of their poor wages, he experiences a high turnover of employees. He also addressed a pertinent point in that his use of migrants depends on his client's means. Certain clients want security but are not prepared to pay the specified rates for such services, therefore employing migrants and paying them less allows him to still make a profit on the deal and retain the client. Clearly, the security employer benefits from the lack of status of the security guards and, since

his ultimate aim is profit generation, it is evident that exploitation is prevalent in this sector. I cannot generalise that all security employers express similar sentiments, but I can safely assume that other employers may share his views.

5.7. AGENCY AND INAUTHENTIC AGENCY

Agency, according to Heron (2009, p. 9), "is the capacity of individuals to shape their own lives". All 20 participants (including the security employer) state that coming to Johannesburg in particular is a strategic decision and choice to engage in the opportunities that they heard were available in this global city and to get away from the poor economic conditions in Zimbabwe. Transnationalism provides opportunities for most migrants, and this precipitates and facilitates the migration process. All but one of the guards' primary reason for migration is to remit, and this could only be achieved by migrating in order to improve their lives and income and that of their families, thereby indicating agency. They all express their desire and obligation to provide for their families. Nevertheless, as I mentioned earlier, one can ask how authentic this agency is when one experiences difficulties that impose on your choice and make your decision almost impossible to achieve. The hegemony of neoliberalism operates in a manner that it marginalises in order to provide a cheap, available workforce. The structures in place, for example the immigration policies and the capitalist agendas, create climates that thrives on the 'othering'. But when those who are marginalised exercise their agency, their choices appear to be authentic, although they are in accordance with the forces at play, for instance immigration policies. **Donald** knew the only way he could cross the South African border was to swim across the Limpopo River. If he had chosen any other option, he may not have been granted entry. These choices indicate that decisions are shaped by the structures prevailing in society and are not made in isolation, therefore agency is determined by structures. **Lewis** wished to pursue his career in painting, but this was constrained due the infrequent painting contracts. **Emmanuel** would ideally have liked to work for a security company like Fidelity, where he could exercise more of his military prowess, he was denied a position due to his lack of legal status.

All the guards express their sincere gratitude to their employers for hiring them. They are extremely grateful, despite the poor working conditions and inferior wages, and claim this is better than not having a job. Some even used the expression, "half a loaf is better than nothing", to indicate their powerlessness. They all mention that the economic conditions in Zimbabwe are every bad and that the high unemployment, coupled with poor wages, means that coming to Johannesburg is the only available opportunity for a better life. They are also grateful to their employers for employing them, because there are only a few jobs that migrants can obtain without a work visa. Many employers are

reluctant to hire them as they can be severely fined for doing so. This largely unregulated sector, in spite of PSIRA, which does not effectively monitor the recruitment and compliance of security guards, makes it possible to obtain jobs in this domain. Gratitude, according, to the Merriam-Webster Dictionary, is "the state of being grateful". In times that are so uncertain and precarious, these migrant guards realise their powerlessness and inability to control their destiny. Once they realise that they are susceptible to the structures at play, they did not take the acts of kindness and goodness for granted (Emmons, 2013). Robert Emmons (2013) has extensively researched gratitude theory and notes that it is during crisis that people are more grateful, as the gratitude helps to cushion them during the difficult times. Being grateful is a survival strategy that prevents total despair. By appreciating the good occurrences in their life, people become resilient to stress, whether it is every-day, minor hassles or major upheavals (Emmons, 2013.) Migrants endure Elliot's (2013) suffering agency, in terms of which choices are constrained by structures so that, even though the options are equally horrendous, choices need to be made. They therefore are grateful for opportunities to provide for their families. In neoliberal times, most precariats experience suffering agency, but for those who are in an extremely precarious situation, such as migrants, the suffering agency is amplified.

Precariats are unaware of the invisible forces that operate to make their choices difficult, but have to select from options that are equally painful. For instance, migrants choose to come to South Africa, knowing that they will sometimes only see their family again after a year or two, if they are lucky, and do all of this to provide for their family. The sacrifices that one has to make in order to survive and sustain oneself and one's family are painful. For example, **Donald** had to stay at work to save on transport costs, but at the same neglected his wife, which has jeopardised their relationship. Butler (2008) reminds us that such choices lack purity, as our self-referential and self-reinforcing logic is obscured by reality in order to promote self-preservation. From the above findings it is evident that decisions to migrate are made out of pure necessity. These migrants undertake the decision to migrate to Johannesburg in search of jobs to obtain a better income in order to remit to their families at home; however, the decision to leave is not because it is desirable, but because it is necessitated out of desperation and obligation. The choice to leave one's family must be painful and scary for both the migrant and his family. Thus, such choices demonstrate the suffering choice or agency. Berlant (2007) reminds us that, in neoliberal times, precariats exercise agency in the hope of improving their lives and creating a "good life" amongst the ongoing crisis of insecurity and instability, using consumerism not in the lavish sense, but in a pragmatic manner; the ability to provide the necessities. Acknowledging the impact of structures, Berlant (2007) reminds us that, in order to survive, human nature needs to appreciate the little accomplishments and gestures so as not to be overwhelmed by the despair that actually surrounds us. Hence, making the decision to migrate and remit gives the

security guards a feeling of empowerment, despite their oppression. It invokes a feeling of "control", however obscured that "control" actually is, conforming to the ideals of hyper-individualism (personal accountability) and altruism (group collectivity and benevolence).

5.8. OTHER FINDINGS

This study also reveals other intriguing findings. I was surprised that there are a large number of security guards who chose to migrate with their wives, for fidelity reasons, but without their children. When I asked why this is the case, they said that the education system in South Africa is inferior to the education in Zimbabwe and extremely expensive. Furthermore, their children would not be able to attend government schools due to the lack of visas.

I also asked them how they manage to purchase groceries on such a meagre salary. All 19 security guards state that their staple diet consisted of "pap" (mealie meal) and cabbage. Meat is a luxury and seldom eaten. They state that mealie meal is relatively inexpensive compared to bread and rice, and provides the necessary sustenance.

I am bewildered by the fact that, if they are injured on the job – and the likelihood is very high, their employers would not be liable for the medical costs. When I addressed this concern, they responded by turning to religion and expressing the hope that they never become victims and that a higher power protects them. These responses further reiterated their powerlessness.

I am also surprised by the generosity of the residents, as many guards express their gratitude to them for providing them with ablution facilities where these were not provided by the employers, and also with food, although not daily but often enough.

All 19 guards complain about boredom on the job, but also mention that their bosses did not like them listening to the radio on their cell phones or reading newspapers. They said that the work, ironically, is mentally exhausting due to the lack of stimulation.

5.9. CONCLUSION

These findings highlight the desperation experienced by migrants due to their enhanced precarity. Although they may exercise agency by making the decision to migrate to Johannesburg in search of employment and seeking the assistance from prior migrants, once here they realise that their opportunities are further constrained by legal parameters and unscrupulous employers. As mentioned earlier, there are two central themes that emerge through this study, namely oppression and agency

which results from their precarity. Both concepts are juxtaposed in their definition but operate simultaneously in this scenario. Agency, according to Archer (2000), is our ability to assess our position and create changes and make decisions that allows us to transcend the environment, whereas oppression, according to Johnson (2001), implies a crippling and dehumanising treatment that is almost impossible to transcend due to the power play involved. This research demonstrates the anomalies that exist in neoliberal societies.

Despite the oppression endured, the migrants in this particular study manage to transcend their environment, although not to an exceptional degree, as their agency is confined to agendas imposed by the State and capital. Although their lives possess agency, they are confined in the extent to which their agency can be exercised. Life in neoliberal times can be very depressing, as precariat migrants are caught in a web of consumerism and the desire to transcend. Although the prospects for the migrants in this study are daunting, they nevertheless persevere in the hope of a "good life" (Berlant, 2007). They seem to endorse Berlant's (2007) cruel optimism and Freire's self-depreciation, which is even expressed in the gratitude that they feel towards their unscrupulous employers. They seem to accept their devalued status as a way of life and subtly succumb to oppression by adapting and adjusting to it, and by accepting oppression as a choice. Sadly, neoliberalism has created insecurities for precariat migrants, which manifests into an ideology where people are willing to risk their lives for their jobs in order to earn a pittance in the hope of being a good provider (altruism) like the participants of this study. In the following chapter, I will briefly discuss the various themes which were discussed in detail in the two previous chapters and offer possible remedies for the acceptance and tolerance of undocumented Zimbabwean migrants working in the PSI in Johannesburg.

CHAPTER 6: CONCLUSION

When I first arrived in Johannesburg, I was amazed to discover that the PSI is dominated by Zimbabwean migrants. This research study has not only uncovered what I assumed may exist in the PSI: exploitation of the foreigner, but also there are other forms of oppression that they endure too, such as powerlessness and xenophobia. Neoliberalism has created precarious livelihoods, where migrants endure oppression as a choice. The alternatives (unemployment) appear bleaker than the actual forms of oppression they experience and thus accept oppression as a choice (suffering agency).The decision to migrate is agency, and the use of social capital in the form of networks is a strategic choice to initiate and facilitate the process. However, I never anticipated uncovering is how constrained precariat migrant agency is, and how migrants manoeuvre around these constraints through their reliance on social networks in order to survive. The surprising element revealed from this study is the gratitude expressed by the participants towards their abusive employers, indicating their helplessness (self depreciation). The case of Lewis is clarified by Clarno (2017, p. 152), who notes that companies deliberately dismiss guards if they work for a long time so that they do not have to pay them their contributions, and may conjure reasons for dismissal. The case of Lewis is not unique and seems to be prevalent in the PSI sector and validates the subjectivity imposed on marginalised groups especially for undocumented foreigners. It is obvious from the findings observed in this study that migrant precarity is exacerbated by oppression hence undocumented Zimbabwean migrants rely on social networks to alleviate their precarity by seeking the support of other Zimbabwean friends and family as they understand their plight.

In the introduction, I declared certain objectives that I hope to achieve in this research:

- Understand how migrants secure employment in the fastest growing industry in South Africa through the use of and dependence on social networks that facilitate transnationalism and active backward linkages. Cumulative causation theory provides an understanding of how push and pull factors encourage migration, and how social networks play an important role in providing migratory information, along with financial, physical and emotional support.
- To understand the oppression endured by undocumented Zimbabwean migrants. Young's (1989) theory categorises the various forms of oppression, and how it manifests through power and privilege endorsed through structures. The theory of intersectionality demonstrates how oppressions are heightened for undocumented black Zimbabwean migrants, which is further affirmed by Gordon (2010) in relation to Agamben's State of Exception Theory (1998).

- To understand how migrants use their "agency" to reduce/limit their precarity imposed by neoliberal structures. Archer's (2000) concept of agency explains how agency is shaped by structure but does not impair it, although constrained but rather promotes it. However, more relevant is Bandura's (2006) work on agency which adopts Archer's fundamentals to understand migration, thus providing the framework for understanding how agency can be constrained in neoliberalism, which is further supported by Wren's (2015) inauthentic agency. Berlant's (2007) cruel optimism and Elliot's (2013) suffering agency illustrate the entrapment of precariats to the neoliberal agenda.
- Finally, to understand the role and impact of remittances in the lives of undocumented Zimbabwean migrants. Makina (2010) highlights the role of remittances in the lives of Zimbabwean migrants and its impact on the country at a micro- and macro-level. Carling (2008) provides a framework for understanding the motivations behind remitting.

From the findings, it is evident that social networks can be viewed as a form of agency as it is a conscious choice used by migrants to utilise existing networks within the community of origin to firstly facilitate the process and then once in the host country to provide support both financially, physically and emotionally. Therefore social networks are critical to the migration of undocumented Zimbabweans as it provides a form of assurance to the migrant that despite the challenges they may endure, they will be able to utilise information and rely other Zimbabweans.

How can this research provide a framework for understanding agency, precarity and addressing oppression globally?

The aim of this research is essentially to highlight the struggle of undocumented Zimbabwean migrants working in the PSI in Johannesburg. However, the literature review exposes the universality of migrant struggles and their reliance on social networks to reduce the precarity endured by migrants. Neoliberalism has created precarious livelihoods for people globally, where people are forced to dislocate themselves for employment or for political reasons. Kearney (1995) mentions that globalisation is a phenomenon of this era, that societies need to deal effectively with the mass movement of people globally, without animosity, as current trends are intolerant (explained by Agamben's (1998) State of Exception theory). But neoliberalism with its creation of global cities thrives on foreign labour: vulnerable, cheap and disposable.

Harvey's (1989) theory of neoliberalism provides the foundation to understand the motivations behind the neoliberal agenda and how it influences society. Standing (2011) also outlines the impact of the agenda on people, whom he calls precariats. Sassen's (2011) global cities explain the demand for cheap labour. Although these theorists among others mentioned in the Literature Review, explain

the role of social networks in the lives of migrants more from a global North perspective, it has part validity in this particular context and does provide the framework for understanding the universality of migrant experiences. Sadly, there is a lack of literature from a global South perspective. Young's (1989) theory although not specific to migrants but certainly applicable, outlines oppression and how it manifests not only in physical harm, but also its psychological impact on the core of people to create subservience and dependency. Subjectivity as explained through the theories of Althusser, Foucault and Butler form the basis of Johnson's (2001) power and privilege theory and how othering is impaired through the exercise of power.

The core assertion of this research study is to demonstrate that neoliberalism creates conditions that exacerbate insecurities for precariats especially migrants, who lack indigeneity. This research study further demonstrates how the human spirit adjusts and adapts to adversity, especially in the case of the undocumented Zimbabwean migrants in the PSI, whose agency is enhanced through the use of social networks, but concurrently minimised by the neoliberal structures that promote othering and minimise agency.

Agency is a key element in migration. It is a conscious decision that is made in cognisance of the reality through introspection and the support of social networks. Archer (2000) accounts for the impact of structure on agency, and how structure affects agency but does not determine it. Bandura (2006) supports Archer's (2000) theory that choices are made in consideration of the prevailing and dominant circumstances, and that at times structures operate invisibly. Therefore, the agency involved in migration is usually a constrained agency or rather, as Wren (2015) asserts, an inauthentic agency in terms of which choices are made while oblivious to the complex structures at play. These choices are limited and constrained in terms of options, therefore accounting for the participants accepting oppression, where oppression becomes a choice. Furthermore, people become trapped in the web of consumerism and hyper-individualism but from position of being a good provider (dutiful). Elliot's (2013) work on suffering agency also highlights how migrants exercise agency based on survival decisions where certain choices however bleak are better than starvation and to feel inadequate. Migrants are constantly searching for some meaning to add to their uncertain and precarious lives, and becoming a "slave to consumerism" which provides these lives with a semblance of meaning and value. Migrants are trapped in a material existence, where the need to provide supersedes all other forms of abuse. Apart from life-and-death choices, migrants are faced with the ever-looming presence of xenophobia and exploitation in their host countries. These forms of oppression are heightened for migrants who lack status.

Agamben's (1998) theory of biopolitics provides insights into how xenophobia, exploitation and powerlessness operate and how they are rationalised. This theory highlights the devaluation of the foreign body, thus warranting abuse. Gordon (2010) concludes that the State plays a key role in fostering xenophobic attitudes, which are usually perpetuated by the media by inflating incidents and promoting the state agenda of intolerance. The State, according to Gordon (2010), employs tactics to distract citizens from their inability to sufficiently meet their service delivery expectations and pass blame for their ineffectiveness to foreigners. The "divide-and-rule" strategy absolves the State. This research illustrates, as documented in the Landau et al. (2005) report, that migrants experience heightened forms of oppression. This is also noted by Young (1989), who identified that oppression manifests in one of five forms. Young observes that everyday practices that perpetuate oppression are engrained in society that they are hardly visible and appear normative. Johnson (2001) aptly illustrates the concept of oppression by juxtaposing it with the concepts of power and privilege, where the latter are empowering and the former is destructive. Oppression occurs not just within a specific form, but an individual or group can experience more than one form of oppression. Subjectivity is a result of structural power which serves to marginalise certain groups. Intersectionality refers to the mix of hierarchies at play that create binaries that rationalise heightened forms of oppression. The combination of immigration status, race and class in this study is delineated from privilege and opportunity to the detriment of those bodies that fall within these excluded binaries. Being black in a former Apartheid country implies racist implications. Being an undocumented foreigner from Africa is viewed as threatening. Their lower or semi-skilled class makes them more vulnerable to exploitation, and thus further compounds their lack of immigration status. In spite of the debilitating effects of the various forms of oppression faced by Zimbabwean undocumented migrants, they continue to migrate to South Africa in search of employment. It is puzzling why any human would choose to endure oppression unless it involves survival.

This research provides the reasons for migration. It reveals that the primary motivation for migrating is simply to remit to family and kin back home – in Zimbabwe. These remittances have been shown to be mostly altruistic in nature, but also offer a form of insurance, as most developing nations in Africa do not offer welfare in old age. Remittances also provide revenue for the country of origin and increase the buying power of those left behind. Remittances are used to uplift the home community through the funding of education of younger siblings and dependants (Makina, 2010). Although individuals in most western countries tend to exhibit traits of intense hyper-individualism, migrants are trapped in a web to provide and become imprisoned by consumerism, even though their objective is family support (benevolence), which is altruistic and compassionate. Hence, this also explains the migrants' reliance on social networks that provide support in the migration and relocation process. There is a

strong sense of community amongst migrants, who become conduits for the passing of vital employment information and even working permits, as in the case of Lewis, as well as for transferring money and in-kind goods. There is no doubt that social networks are a key element in the migration process; as it encourages the choice to migrate and provides support during the transition. However, more research is required that is relevant to Southern Africa migration. Although Zimbabweans come to South Africa to remit, their migration is a result of the political turmoil in that country, which affects the economic climate of the country by way of imposed sanctions and subsequent unemployment and insufficient food and utilities. Hence, the participants desire to return one day and are therefore engaging in activities that develop their country on both a micro and macro level through remittances. They are unique economic migrants and thus their plight needs to be viewed in consideration of these factors as supported by Anne Hammerstad (2012) who thus suggests that the Department of Home Affairs consider the following in respect of such migrants:

- Authorities must transform their approach from policing migrants to planning for their successful integration into society through schooling, health care, foreign policy, etc.
- Rather than criminalising immigration, they should accept that migration is a global phenomenon.
- Rather than treating Zimbabweans as economic migrants, they should recognise their political circumstances that has perpetuated such mass migration.
- Draft policies that address the concerns of the various groups within the Zimbabwean diaspora.

Migration, as mentioned in this thesis, has always been a part of the history of the Southern African region, and oppression would have always been a by-product. However, 24 years after Apartheid was abolished, South Africans need to transform their mindsets by affording recognition to foreigners, treating them as equals and respecting their worth and dignity. The Freedom Charter expressly states that the country belongs to all who live and work in it. However, the application of this ideal is questionable as South Africa clearly doesn't promote this right. Ideally, the State plays a pivotal role through endorsing protection for foreigners, irrespective of their status and enforcing basic human rights to all who live within the borders of South Africa. Since misrecognition violates the identity of subjects, strategies need to be employed that counteract disrespect of these migrants. Misrecognition is a result of the politics of difference, where difference becomes salient and offers the rationalisation of abuse and mistreatment. Nancy Fraser's (1996) theory of recognition and redistribution, although deemed flawed by Young (cited in Fraser, 1996), in certain respects provides a foundation for addressing issues of how oppression occurs and how it can be overcome. It analyses oppression from within the two axes and the interplay between culture and structure to produce forms of oppression.

Theories of recognition relate to unjustly devalued identities (Fraser, 1996, p. 6). Fraser notes that such forms of oppression target culturally – for example foreigners, black people, etc. She suggests that these culturally accepted misinterpretations foster misrecognition, therefore a climate that valorises diversity should be encouraged to counter the culturally accepted norms that discriminate. This theory endorses that difference should be acknowledged and celebrated, rather than eliminated. Fraser's (1996, p. 6) theory of redistribution addresses the concerns of discrimination, which is rooted in forms of identity politics in which socio-economic structures create forms of economic marginalisation. The remedy Fraser (1996, p. 9) suggests in such a context is not one of recognition and acknowledgement, but one that abolishes difference, where difference should not be the reason for mistreatment, thereby favouring a climate that promotes fairness and equality. Fraser's (1996) two praxes for addressing issues of oppression may not be encompassing, but do provide insights into how to address oppression. Essentially, the recognition theory would propose that all people within South Africa be treated as equals and protected equally by the State, therefore endorsing affirmative action programmes, land redistribution and welfare. This currently exists in South Africa, but excludes undocumented migrants. The redistribution theory would suggest that class and hierarchical paradigms be dissolved in order to overcome the exploitation and economic marginalisation of not just citizens, but should include all within its borders. Analysing the research through such a lens provides an avenue for overcoming xenophobia and exploitation through material redress. But this theory does not account for the racial redress or the bare life (zoe) (Agamben, 1998). Nor does compensation remedy redress the engrained devaluation of life. Although neoliberalism perpetuates the interplay between culture, economy, society and politics to produces subjects, one should not be mistaken that the undocumented migrant is not totally helpless, as human nature and the instinct to survive produce a form of agency that, although constrained and manipulated, prevails to negate the effects of their uncertainty and precariousness to some degree. But agency for the migrant will always be constrained or impaired therefore a comprehensive solution is required.

Young's (1989) theory of universal citizenship is a comprehensive remedy, as Fraser's theory (1996) addresses oppression from material redress. Young's position recognises the need to address the psychological impact of othering by promoting the ideals of an equal society, thereby transcending differences. But she reminds us that equality rationalises everyone on the same plane, and individuality and identity are lost in the process. Equality creates homogeneity and group specificity is challenged, therefore group representation facilitates equality where heterogeneity is retained, respected and revered. This can be achieved through participatory politics or common politics, as noted by Young (1989, p. 256), where groups of people work together to forge a common good.

Acknowledging the differences amongst groups is critical for an effective assimilation of all people. Hence, Young (1989, p. 257) asserts that to ignore differences would be counterproductive:

> in a society where some groups are privileged while others are oppressed, insisting that as citizens persons should leave behind their particular affiliations and experiences to adopt a general point of view only serves to reinforce that privilege; for the perspectives and interests of the privileged will tend to dominate this unified public, marginalizing or silencing those other groups.

Group differences are usually sites for oppression and privilege to breed, but acknowledging the harm that this causes creates an accountable society of responsible citizens (Young, 1989, p. 262). Therefore, universal citizenship from a general application obscures the veneration of identity, but as a group representation it provides a platform to be acknowledged and heard, permitting heterogeneity to flourish. Then universal human rights can be applicable to all who live within its borders. Young (1989) endorses a rainbow coalition in her theory of group representation, as this theory ensures that groups' concerns and issues can be expressed on a platform that is tolerant and can lead to the reform of such structures.

As previously mentioned, migration is a global phenomenon and is a by-product of neoliberalism. There are many other countries, such as those in the European Union and the United States of America, that are objecting to migration, especially of undocumented persons such as Africans and Middle Easterns in the former and Mexicans in the latter. The reality is that globalisation has created conditions for precariousness, and countries like South Africa need to recognise migrants and the push factors that drive their agency. Their desperation is not of their own making, but rather the invisible structural forces at play that determine which lives matter. Through recognition and acknowledgement, the plight of undocumented migrants will prevent their oppression and injustice and will create a climate of tolerance which understands that we are all puppets in the game of neoliberalism. To reiterate oppression is debilitating, because some groups are privileged and others are disadvantaged based on differences which results in othering. Fostering a climate that recognises differences and tolerates groups expressing their uniqueness will create a society that acknowledges that certain structures need to be reformed, transformed or simply eradicated in order to establish a society inclusive of all. In relation to this study, in South Africa and possibly in other xenophobic countries, we need to adopt a culture of tolerance by acknowledging differences and the social identity and experiences of other groups. Establishing universal citizenship, where social policies are amended to incorporate inclusivity, will certainly eradicate the potential for abuse and subsequent oppression such as xenophobia. This was also recently endorsed by our current President Cyril

Ramaphosa who seems to have changed his perception to migrants by stating at the African Union Summit in Kigali in March 2018, that South Africans should be more accepting of foreigners from within the African continent as their presence in South Africa increases business opportunities and opens spaces for learning. Indian President, Narendra Modi also acknowledged the mass movement of migrants and advised that countries within BRICS (Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa) need to manage the labour relations of migrants better as there is an increasing South-South migratory influx. However, closer to home, South Africans need to change their perceptions towards our neighbours.

This research project is relevant and contemporary due to the current climate in Zimbabwe. Since Robert Mugabe succumbed to societal pressure to resign, it is critical we as South Africans acknowledge the views that these precariat migrants hold. One of the questions I presented to the participants was, "would you go back if Bob died and the government improved?" Zimbabweans, owing to their predicament, have learnt the essence of universal citizenship, which is expressed in the following statement. Most responded "in a heartbeat" that they would certainly go back if the economic climate improved in Zimbabwe, as they longed for their home and family, but they also mentioned that if South Africans were forced to leave South Africa, "we would welcome South Africans with open arms, as we once did during Apartheid". South Africans seem to have forgotten that Zimbabwe once provided a home for many who were exiled. Zimbabweans are resourceful and resilient people who should be admired and respected, possibly venerated, but not dismissed. They have shown us what it takes to struggle and to hope when hope barely exists.

This thesis will hopefully help to open our minds to the plight of the Zimbabwean migrant working in Johannesburg, South Africa in the PSI, and to realise that these migrants are not here to steal jobs, engage in crime or settle here permanently, but purely for a pragmatic, utilitarian purpose: to remit. Maybe I am naïve in thinking that this thesis might create dramatic social change and acceptance, but I hope that it will at least provide a helpful insight into understanding the lives of these migrants through the lens of what it means to be undocumented, which could also be globally applicable to other migrants as well. I hope that the reader realises that we are all at the mercy of invisible powers that create our subjectivities. Therefore, the next time you see your Zimbabwean security guard, take a moment to acknowledge him, as he is fighting a daily battle just to survive whilst risking life and limb to protect us and our precious belongings.

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