Exploring the effects of documentation on socio-economic experiences of Zimbabwean migrant workers in South Africa

by

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DECLARATION

I, **Performance Ndlovu,** hereby declare that this research report is my own original work, that where the work of others has been used or quoted, it has been acknowledged by means of complete references. I also declare that this research report has not been previously in its entirety, or in part, been submitted to any other University in order to obtain any other academic qualification.

Signed:

Performance Ndlovu **15 March 2018**

DEDICATION

A special dedication to my family, the **Ndlovu family**, for their continued support and praises.

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LIST OF ACRONYMS/ABBREVIATIONS

CORMSA	Consortium for Refugees and Migrants in South Africa
CSAWP	Canadian Seasonal Agricultural Workers Programme
DHA	Department of Home Affairs
ESDC	Employment and Social Development Canada
EU	European Union
FIDH	International Federation for Human Rights
HRW	Human Rights Watch
IOM	International Organisation for Migration
LHR	Lawyers for Human Rights
NHS	National Health Service
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
PMG	Parliamentary Monitoring Group
SA	South Africa
SABC	South African Broadcasting Corporation
SADC	Southern African Development Community
SAMP	South African Migration Project
SAWS	Seasonal Agricultural Workers Scheme
TFW	Temporary Farm Workers
TMP	Temporary Migrant Projects
UIF	Unemployment Insurance Fund
UK	United Kingdom
USA	United States of America
VFS	Visa Facilitation Service
WHO	World Health Organisation
ZANU-PF	Zimbabwe African National Union – Patriotic Front
Zim	Zimbabwe
ZDP	Zimbabwe Dispensation Permit
ZEP	Zimbabwe Exemption Permit
ZSP	Zimbabwe Special Permit

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

1.1 BACKGROUND

Since the independence of Zimbabwe in 1980 there have been four major waves of Zimbabwean migration to South Africa (de Jager & Musuva, 2016). The first wave, though insignificant to South Africa, was whites leaving, some for South Africa, when Zimbabwe attained independence from British colonial rule in 1980 (de Jager & Musuva, 2016).

The second consisted of Ndebele refugees who fled ZANU-PF's massacres in Matabeleland and Midlands between 1983 and 1987 referred to as Gukurahundi (Makambe, 1992). Many who fled entered South Africa, but there are few official records of them (de Jager & Musuva, 2016). The third wave of Zimbabweans comprises those who left between 2000 and 2008 due to the economic crisis in the country, a combination of skilled and unskilled workers (Crush, Chikanda & Tawodzera, 2015). Since the late 1990s into the New Millenium (2000), most Zimbabweans have been forced to leave their home country owing to the decline of the country's economy (Tati, 2008: 428). According to Rutherford (2008), Zimbabwean citizens in the agriculture sectors were also made vulnerable as a result of the "Fast-Track Land Reform Programme" between 2000 and 2002 hence affecting their livelihood and influencing migration decisions. "The next wave, arguably continuation of the third wave, occurred in 2008 as citizens fled the brutal crackdown on political opponents of President Robert Mugabe following the March 2008 harmonized elections and June 2008 presidential run-off" (de Jager & Musuva, 2016: 15). These elections will be remembered as the most violent in Zimbabwe's post-independence history (Sachikonye, 2011: 45). The widely discredited presidential elections resulted in a political stalemate which was mediated by the Southern African Development Community (SADC) (de Jager & Musuva, 2016). The fourth wave from reports by Byom suggested that the number of Zimbabweans leaving for neighbouring countries since

the 2013 elections has doubled, compared to what it was before the elections, with an average of 700 undocumented migrants estimated to be entering South Africa daily (Byom, 2013).

The decision for Zimbabweans to migrate since 2000 has therefore largely been due to bleak economic prospects. These were characterized in 2008 by 100,000 per cent hyperinflation (and the country suspended its currency), 80 per cent unemployment and 83 per cent of the population living below the poverty line (Human Rights Watch, 2008). This was coupled with deteriorating health and social services, political oppression and human rights violations. Significant numbers were heading south in response to the crisis with the perception of economic opportunity in Botswana and South Africa prompting the biggest inflow of both unskilled and skilled migrants. South Africa was and remains a destination of choice for most Zimbabwean migrants because of its large economy and geographical proximity as well as investors that create jobs (Lawyers for Human Rights [LHR], 2011; Rutherford, 2008).

This massive entry of Zimbabweans into South Africa over recent years has had huge socio-economic and political implications for both countries. Their inflow (legal and illegal) brought discomfort to the South African government and the society, with this uncontrollable influx. The xenophobic attacks in South Africa in the second half of 2009 were symptomatic of the pressure on poor South Africans as a result of competition for limited opportunities and a competitive labour market (Magam, 2016).

As a way of dealing with this situation, the South African government introduced a number of measures. First, a suspension on deportations and a 90-day free visa for Zimbabweans entering South Africa was implemented from May 2009 (CORMSA, 2009: 2). Second, the government reviewed its policy (Immigration Act 13 of 2002) and the review resulted in an amendment of the Act of April 2009, granting Zimbabweans a special dispensation permit (then ZDP).

After the ZDP (2009-2014), the Department of Home Affairs (DHA) introduced the Zimbabwean Special Dispensation Permit (ZSP) as its successor in 2014. The ZDP and ZSP projects were created in response to the influx of undocumented Zimbabwean immigrants and the increased pressure on the asylum application system which resulted from the influx (Amit, 2011: 4; Parliamentary Monitoring Group [PMG], 2011). There is not much difference between the objectives of the ZDP and ZSP, but the ZDP was open to all those who had been in the country at that time in 2009 without documentation and so it allowed them to legalise their stay while the ZSP was open to those who had been holders of the ZDP granting them the right to legally work, study and operate businesses. ZDP permit holders who wanted to remain in South Africa had to apply for this newly introduced Zimbabwe Special Dispensation Permit (ZSP) in August 2014, replacing the ZDP on basis of the 2002 Immigration Act, Section 31 (2) (b). This Section 31 (2) of the South African Immigration Act 13 of 2002 indicates that:

> *"Upon application, the Minister of Home Affairs may under terms and conditions determined by him: grant a foreigner or a category of foreigners the rights of permanent residence for a specified or unspecified period when* ***special circumstances*** *exist which should justify such a decision. Provided the Minister may (i) exclude one or more identified foreigners from such categories (ii) or with good cause, withdraw such rights from a foreigner or a category of foreigners"* (Immigration Act, No. 13 of 2002, 2002: s31(2); South African Government, 2014a).

The condition was that ZSP would be valid for three years and issued only to those Zimbabweans who had the ZDP permit (Chiumia & Van Wyk, 2014; Pokroy-Rietveld, 2014: 45; DHA, 2015a). Once that time was up, all Zimbabweans with ZDP permits were required to apply for standard study, work, or business visas in order to remain in South Africa and would have to return to Zimbabwe to do so. But that was not the case when that time came,

ZDP holders got a further 3-year permit (VFS Global, 2014; Pokroy-Rietveld, 2014: 44) that was expiring on 31 December 2017.

South Africa received significant international acknowledgement and support for implementing this policy, given widespread interest in supporting regional stability and Zimbabwean reconstruction (Cormsa, 2009). The South African Department of Home Affairs Director-General Mkuseli Apleni (2009) summarised this exceptional administration as permitting Zimbabweans crossing into South Africa the privilege to live, work, access education and fundamental social insurances such as basic healthcare. The Human Rights Watch (2009), believed that it represented a positive move by the government and also that the process would lessen the vulnerability of Zimbabweans to violence and exploitation, back in their homeland as well as in the host country. Supposedly, most of them are of low/unskilled level, a category viciously prone to the ills of vulnerability.

South Africa was trying to achieve limiting the unforeseen growing influx of Zimbabweans eventually said to be the largest number of migrants in South Africa flooding in illegally (Harris 2001; Muzondidya 2008; Polzer 2009). Hence the decision to offer pardon (amnesty) to illegal Zimbabwean migrants was also influenced by the need to recover fraudulent South African documents from these nationals (South African Government, 2014a). Furthermore, deportations and detention efforts seemed to be ineffective methods of deterring illegal migration and illegal settling since many of the undocumented Zimbabweans were fleeing from harsh economic conditions to secure better livelihoods in South Africa. In July 2007, Meldrum (2007) that deporting Zimbabweans had become an ineffective strategy of curbing illegal migration from Zimbabwe since most deportees ended up resurfacing in the country a few days or months after being deported.

1.2 PROBLEM STATEMENT

The point of departure for this study is the conception that documentation of migrant workers in South Africa as a means of legalizing and bettering their socio-economic welfare is largely based on legality status. South Africa limits the number of immigrants each year and this, according to the South African government, is to protect work opportunities for the country's vast and enormous reserve of unskilled and semi-skilled workers (Brands South Africa, 2016). In line with international trends, potential immigrants who fall into the unskilled and semi-skilled categories will normally not be accepted as an immigrant worker in the country though when they are, they supposedly settle for what citizens would otherwise not settle for in terms of both unwanted jobs and low wages, but the ZSP at least resolved this problem for Zimbabweans as it placed them in a better position to negotiate some terms. Also according to Chiuta (2014), the majority of the people on the ZSP possess low academic and professional qualifications and would not qualify for mainstream visas. Immigration South Africa (2014) indicated 70% of the holders of this permit-type are not really well-educated Zimbabweans thus arguing that the low skilled group of migrant workers hold the ZSP.

The ZSP policy seems, therefore, to have been an exception to national and international trends to address specific concerns and achieve specific goals. In terms of management of problems associated with undocumented or illegal migrants, countries globally (Europe, America) occasionally implement amnesty or documentation programs. One researcher (Bimha, 2017: 12) notes that "Spain, Italy, Canada and the United Kingdom, for example, have in the past resorted to granting legal status to illegal migrants as a means of regularising their stay" but not necessarily special permits for one particular group. Regularisation is an alternative to migration management policies such as deportations which unfortunately do not prevent illegal

migration, as in the case of Zimbabwean migrants (Meldrum, 2007), and allows host countries to collect reliable information on foreigners approximately in the country (Polzer, 2009). ZSP was a way of the South African government recognising the plight of Zimbabweans while aiding their own policy planning according to DHA's proposal for granting Zimbabweans the opportunity to apply for the 4-year (2010-2014) ZDP and subsequently the 3-year (2015-2017) ZSP special permits (Pokroy-Rietveld, 2014: 44). The state of affairs of having ZSP holders in limbo was recently resolved with another suggestion of the dispensation of yet another special permit. DHA (2017) announced that for the 31st December 2017 expiry, ZSP holders would have to start the renewal online application process that rany until 30th November 2017 for what was to be termed the Zimbabwe Exemption Permit (ZEP). Again, a continuation of the special permits programme revisions, ZDP to ZSP now ZEP. The ZSP holders started the application process but it had to be extended to January 2018 as deadline was fast approaching with most not yet started with the online process and following the long queues at the Visa Facilitation Centres (IOL News, 2017). The holders were therefore given two more months to make appointment for submitting their documents.

Despite all these efforts, we may pose the question that with this special permit programme is South Africa maybe swapping old experiences faced by these Zimbabwean migrants (pre-documentation) for a different array of experiences (post-documentation) faced by these ZSP holders in the host or experiences have not changed? This thesis aims to probe into these experiences encountered by Zimbabweans under this specific ZSP dispensation and make a comparison that will generally elucidate and answer the questions at hand.

1.3 AIM AND OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

The aim of the study is to investigate the effects of documentation on socio-economic experiences of Zimbabwean migrants, holders of the Zimbabwe Special Permit (ZSP holders) in South Africa.

In line with this aim, the study has the following objectives:

1. To explore the socio-economic experiences of the ZSP holders in South Africa,
2. To explore the effects of documentation by comparing experiences of documented and undocumented Zimbabwean migrants in South Africa,
3. To examine the difference made by the special dispensation of ZDP and ZSP, if any.

1.4 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The main research question that the study seeks to answer is:

What are the effects of documentation on the socio-economic experiences of ZSP holders in South Africa?

A comprehensive answer to the main research question will be obtained through answers to the following subsidiary questions:

1. How are the socio-economic experiences of ZSP low skilled migrant workers compared to undocumented migrant workers?
2. How has ZSP impacted (social and/or economic) the lives of its holders?

1.5 OPERATIONAL DEFINITION OF CONCEPTS/TERMS

Documentation

For the purpose of this study, documentation refers to the Zimbabwean Special Dispensation permit (ZSP). In this context, according to the article by Amit and Kriger (2014) in South Africa, documentation is a management mechanism for managing migration.

Socio-economic experiences

For the purpose of this study, social experiences refer to the nature of social interactions between ZSP holders and both South African and other foreign communities; such as close friendships with neighbors in the location, experiences of inclusion or exclusion; networks, participation in local social activities (e.g. recreation and cultural activities); levels of integration and sense of belonging. Economic experiences refer to livelihood activities such as employment, access to services and opportunities amongst others.

1.6 RATIONALE FOR THE STUDY

The purpose or objective of the ZSP, like the ZDP, was twofold: i) to reduce the pressure on the asylum system and numbers of undocumented migrants in South Africa (DHA, 2010), and ii) improve the socio-economic welfare of the beneficiaries as indicated above. However, there is no clear understanding what impact this has had in the lives of the Zimbabwean beneficiaries and on South Africa as the host country. With yet another extension of this special permit, as well as the intention of the South African government to issue similar permits to immigrants from other countries (Gigaba, 2010, Strategies Migration Legal Services, 2016) i.e. the similar Lesotho Special Permit in 2015 (DHA, 2016a), there is need to understand the real impact of this policy. Although the ZSP was widely praised as a positive move, aimed at protecting

holders from violence and exploitation, as well as bettering their socio-economic experiences by permitting them to legally work and access public services, there has been no assessment to ascertain whether the policy has indeed achieved its intended objectives (for both the host country and permit holders). In the absence of such an assessment, there is no understanding of the impact (positive or negative) the policy (i.e. the documentation in the form of ZSP) has had on security and socio-economic welfare (or experiences) of the beneficiaries. This is the aim of this new research as discussed below.

Global literature on migration and documentation (International Crisis Group, 2016; Pokroy-Rietveld, 2014; Basch et al, 1994; Grant, 2012; Panafiel, 2015) emphasizes the popular assumption and conceptualization of documentation to mean better social experiences and livelihoods for migrants in their host societies. This is despite some evidence that documented migrants have some experiences equalling those of undocumented migrants and in some cases far worse than their counterparts who demonstrate unparalleled skills in navigating and negotiating host societies' challenges (Vearey, 2013).

Ever since the special dispensation was implemented, no assessment has been conducted to understand its impact and implications on ZSP beneficiaries which is the focus of this study. In addition to this local knowledge gap, the study seeks to contribute to ongoing global debates on the effects of documentation of migrants' socio-economic welfare. Indeed, as the literature review (in the following Chapter 2) shows there are still opposing views in this regard. Some scholars and analysts argue that documentation has a positive impact on migrants' welfare in their host communities; while others argue to the contrary and opine that there are more loopholes and challenges associated with documentation.

It is also important to note that DHA issued ZSP to some undocumented Zimbabwean migrants in order to control and cope with migration for Zimbabwean migrants' socio-economic welfare. It is the aim of this study to review how ZSP engaged with migrant experiences; and whether that engagement addresses the experiences faced by this migrant group. Attention will be given to low/unskilled group since they have been proven to be permeated by worse experiences in comparison to the other group of high/semi-skilled migrants.

This study was also inspired by m y personal experiences as a student who temporarily moved to South Africa in search of a better education then as a migrant worker under internship after obtaining an Honours degree. My exposure to this different setting triggered the quest to want to explore the post-migration experiences that other Zimbabweans encounter when settled in a foreign country. There is the general consensus that all migrants have a variety of experiences.

1.7 OVERVIEW OF FINDINGS

As mentioned above, the ZSP was widely praised as a positive move, aimed at protecting the holders from violence and exploitation, as well as bettering their socio-economic experiences by permitting them to legally work and access public services. Although that was the essence of the ZSP, the findings of this study were otherwise in some aspects. It has been ascertained that the effects of the ZSP documentation policy show that it has the possibility of both positive and negative outcomes on the socio-economic experiences of the ZSP holders. The effects of the ZSP documentation can therefore be likened to experiences of other migrant workers with other forms of documentation or without documentation in some ways. As well as disputes some suggested/drawn conclusions by previous scholars that took on either one of the sides of the coin.

1.8. REPORT LAYOUT

The report is divided into five chapters. Chapter 1 is the introductory chapter and provides the background to the focus of the study. The chapter addresses a problem, research aim and objectives as well as the rationale for this study among other substantial issues explained in this chapter. Chapter 2 provides a broad literature review on the impact of documentation on migrants' well-being in both local and global context. As well as a discussion of the theoretical framework of theories that guide and engage the study. This literature review helps situate the study in broader empirical and theoretical discussions and debates on the topic. Chapter 3 describes the research methodology applied in the study. It describes in detail the research methods and design, population and sampling; techniques of data collection and analysis; ethical considerations; challenges and the limitations of the study. Chapter 4 focuses on the empirical presentation and analysis of the research results. With the aid of qualitative analysis, the chapter presents, discusses and analyses and the research findings. Lastly, Chapter 5 is the concluding chapter and provides the summary of the study's key findings and their contribution to existing literature. This chapter also identifies/suggests relevant questions that remain unanswered and may guide future research on the topic.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 INTRODUCTION

This literature review outlines the main empirical and theoretical debates on the effects of documentation on the socio-economic experiences of migrant workers in a global and local context. By highlighting opposing viewpoints and arguments in this regard, this review supports the rationale for this new study that seeks to contribute to ongoing academic and policy debates.

2.2 EFFECTS OF DOCUMENTATION ON MIGRANTS SOCIO-ECONOMIC EXPERIENCES: GLOBAL CONTEXT

According to a number of scholars (see for example Doussard, 2013; Waldinger and Lichter, 2003), it has been noted that socio-economic analyses of informality suggest that less-skilled immigrants, and unauthorized immigrants in particular, frequently depend on work in casualised portions of the economy where work norms/standards are routinely broken on the grounds that roads into the "standard" economy are shut. Unauthorized immigrants are regularly drawn into casual business in light of the fact that the hindrances to enter are low or non-existent, to some extent on the grounds that, in every practical sense, government requirement of work measures does not seriously stretch out into these work game plans (Theodore et al, 2016). In response to limited opportunities in the mainstream economy, many unauthorized immigrants turn to informal employment, despite the hardships they may experience as a result of the low wages and job instability that characterize this segment of the economy. There is ample evidence from Europe and the United States to substantiate such claims (Bernhardt et al., 2013; Doussard, 2013; Harrison & Lloyd, 2012; Theodore et al., 2006; Wills et al., 2010; Woolfson et al., 2014).

Literature from the United States of America (USA) indicates that unauthorized workers do not receive the same market returns on their skills that comparable legal workers receive (Lynch & Oakford, 2013). For example, they note that prior to legalization, a high school diploma for instance does not result in a statistically significant wage premium over those without this education. After legalization, however, "having a high school diploma or beyond enables migrants to operate within their skills set" (Lynch & Oakford, 2013). Legal status and citizenship enable previously undocumented immigrants to produce and earn significantly more than they do when they are on the economic side-lines (2013: 1).

Sigona (2012)'s work in the United Kingdom (UK) on legal status shows how documentation permeates migrants' everyday lives. He cites Guo Ming (30, Chinese male), as having said "For those who have status their friends circle is much bigger". Migrants' social lives somehow directly impact on other aspects of their lives. Also echoing the views on the distance between documented – including both migrants and British citizens – and undocumented people, Sigona further uses the example of two others explaining how much easier it is to be friends with someone who has gone through the experience of migration and documentation than one who hasn't.

McKay et al. (2009)'s research on immigrants' access to the US labour market shows the link between legal status and employment conditions. Similarly, Lynch & Oakford (2013) in their study in the USA on economic effects of granting legal status and citizenship to undocumented immigrants take a precise stance as from the outset emphasizing that the sooner we provide legal status and citizenship the greater the economic benefits for the nation. Their study demonstrates that legal status brings about significant economic gains in terms of growth, earnings, tax revenue, and jobs. Socially, prior to legalization, unauthorized immigrants are

subject to deportation if they are apprehended and, therefore—regardless of their skills—

economically, they tend to pursue employment in low-paying occupations, such as farming, child care, and cleaning services, where their legal status is less likely to be discovered.

Socio-economic experiences of documented migrants are consequentially echoed in lack of understanding of migrants' experiences and livelihoods, obscuring underlying patterns of extensive abuse and exploitation (Blazek, 2014). As presented in the Blazek paper, experiences of documented non-EU migrants in Slovakia intentionally show more subtle forms of violence, abuse and exploitation as a way to shed light on patterns of injustice associated with documented migration, and often overlooked, particularly in this context (Blazek, 2014: 3). By exploring the importance of violence in the experiences of those migrants who are usually deemed to be less prone to violent abuse, the paper identifies, and reports overlooked patterns of vulnerability, marginalisation and social exclusion.

Internationally, Polzer (2009), notes that the introduction of special temporary permits to manage complex mixed migrations is increasingly common. In the UK, in reconfiguring their immigration system based on a work permit basis allocating a set number of visas by sector was a clear implication that unskilled migrant workers would not be welcome on a permanent basis. According to a report in the Financial Times (2016), it was resolved that one way to help sectors which rely on unskilled labour — such as agriculture and construction — would be to implement an impermanent workers scheme which grants EU migrant workers access for a settled period with no added residency rights. The latest point of reference for this is the Seasonal Agricultural Workers Scheme, known as Saws and seemingly common in a global context, which permitted a little more than 20,000 migrants from Bulgaria and Romania to come to Britain for a maximum of six months each year to harvest crops such as soft fruit suggesting effective circular migration. At the time, nationals from these new EU countries were liable to transitional labour controls, and the scheme shut at the end of 2013 when the

labour controls were lifted. With this documentation, migrant workers experienced being tied to employers in rigid ways that lacked integration measures (Hennebry 2012; Wickramasekara 2008), which can violate migrant workers' rights (Basok, 2004; Castles, 2006; Ruhs, 2013; Nakache & Kinoshita, 2010) granting employers almost total control over the workers' lives. Exploitation of temporary migrant workers comes in many forms, but what is perhaps distinct about agricultural TMPs is that the employers usually provide workers' housing. Whilst this can be advantageous for workers, in many cases workers experience poor living conditions, as was the case on some SAWS sites (Spencer et al., 2007: 43-44). Yet the poor living conditions many migrant workers experience are a peripheral issue in contrast to the exploitation that some experience at work (Scott, 2007: 6-7). This view is supported by a growing body of literature from Canada and Singapore in below discussion.

Canada is another country that uses the Seasonal Agricultural Workers Scheme documentation type. Since the 1960s, farmers in Ontario and other different areas have been meeting some of their occasional work needs by procuring temporary workers from Caribbean nations and, since 1974, from Mexico under the Canadian Seasonal Agricultural Workers Program (CSAWP) (UFCW, 2014; Shuker & Stadnyk, 2008; Hennebry & Preibisch, 2010). This government initiative takes into account entry into Canada of low to semi-skilled farm workers for up to eight months a year to fill work deficiencies amid peak seasons (Zachary, 2015). Workers under this documentation scheme have the 'Right to refuse dangerous work' (Canada Labour Code; 2015), and employers are obligated to "notify workers of pesticide and chemical use and provide workers with free protective equipment; appropriate formal and informal training and supervision where required by law" (ESDC, 2015b). Yet, some migrant workers face poor working conditions which workers should not have to face.

The initiative states that "Employers must provide TFWs with free suitable housing either on-farm (e.g. bunkhouse) or off-site (e.g. commercial establishment)" (ESDC, 2015b). Despite the requirement of 'suitable' living conditions, migrant workers often live in small bunk houses with large numbers of workers crowded in to a confined space or live in the house of the employer and this ultimately ends with housing that research identifies as 'substandard' (Basok, 2002). Basok (2002) further indicates that even when workers recognize the subpar conditions that they are living in, it is a risk to report these conditions.

There is a burgeoning body of scholarship concerning the social experiences and in particular social exclusion of migrants in the context of a Canadian immigration programme "low skill". This scholarship looks into migrant workers under the occupational stream of Canada's Temporary Foreign Worker Program (TFWP) with "low skill" documentation type. It is a relatively new, fast-growing, and highly diverse stream that brings migrant workers into industry sectors and social settings where they were never seen before (Ross, 2006). However, though largely under researched (Nakashe & Kinoshita, 2010); Jowett (2014: 5), states that "the legal framework of National Occupation Classification C & D (and other streams of the TFWP related to "low skilled" workers) not only belies a legislative desire to incorporate migrant workers into Canadian production relations. However, this is without permanently incorporating them into Canadian society, but it relies on such legal exclusion in order to control the way in which migrant workers are, temporarily, incorporated into Canadian production relations". According to Ross (2006), migrants have experienced this exclusion though documented. Similarly, Jowett (2014) notes that Canada does not value "low-skill" migrant workers as future members of the national community, it owes them only minimal protection and a limited display of "humanity". It will accept migrants' contribution to the economic sector without encouraging or accepting their contribution to the family and

Canadian society generally.

To further elaborate this notion, research in a study on skilled international migration into the UK reveals that shortages of nurses within the UK National Health Service (NHS) have resulted in the recruitment of increasing numbers of overseas-qualified nurses (Hardill & Macdonald, 2000). The study further showed most nurses migrated as solos, experienced downward occupational mobility, and are used as a temporary stop-gap to fill labour shortages (Hardill & Macdonald, 2000).

Precarity is a way of life for migrant workers as work permit holders in Singapore. Koh (2016) posits that while migrants would have flooded in looking for a better life for their family, they experience inconsistencies and ambiguity on a daily basis, dangerous and derelict working and living conditions. The construction, marine and manufacturing industrial sectors with highest incidences of worker fatalities and work injuries (Ministry of Manpower 2014) in Singapore rely most heavily on low skilled and lowly paid migrant workers. Ling et al (2009) note that workplace fatalities disproportionately involved "unskilled" workers with low education levels between the ages of 24 to 34 and migrant workers therefore experience minimal protection on-the-job as worker practices do not prioritise workers' safety. In addition to being simultaneously vulnerable to hazardous work environments and being blamed for any ensuing injuries that may arise, migrant workers also face alarming living conditions i.e. decrepit living conditions, especially in comparison between the housing conditions of local Singaporeans and those of migrants.

Some workers experience work permit cancellations as a result of on-the-job injuries where the Singapore government is simply not involved in the firing of workers (Koh, 2016). Particularly, unfair termination or dismissal is for the courts where migrants' experiences with

the law are a painfully slow and expensive process (Clark, 2009) with no definite guarantee that justice will prevail. As such, fear of retribution is common with migrant workers whether Chinese or Bangladeshi in Singapore, documentation is just but for the benefit of legalizing one' stay.

Indeed, in some migration settings and some historical moments, lack of legal status may have a relatively small impact on migrants' everyday lives (Coutin, 2003; Delgado, 1993; Zlolniski, 2006). There is a general consensus though that this discussion therefore links to the primary research question as this study intends to investigate whether ZSP improves the welfare of holders and by doing so adds further evidence to this body of literature.

2.3 MIGRANTS DOCUMENTATION AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC EXPERIENCES: THE SOUTH AFRICAN CONTEXT

The South African Bill of Rights pledges ethnic, socio-economic as well as political rights to everyone residing in the country (Crush, 2000). But the status under which one enters or is granted legal status usually determines possible socio-economic conditions and entitlements for migrant workers. According to Derose et al (2007), the socio-economic background of immigrants influences their access to certain services, facilities and resources either directly or indirectly, including those such as educational accomplishments, their profession and income. The following summarises the existing literature on the impact of documentation on migrants' socio-economic experiences in the country.

2.3.1 Economic Aspect

Zimbabwean refugees in South Africa were granted a wider range of socio-economic benefits such as the ability to work and study. As a result, somehow to the advantage of Zimbabwean

migrant workers, employers prefer employing them over citizens (Drever & Hofmeister, 2008). The same goes with temporary legal status such as asylum seeker status employers also prefer migrant workers with these because they are in possession of some form of legal document. This works better for them for instance in minimising cost when they employ foreigners but the latch for these migrant workers is that this comes with no guarantee of job security or further prospects and opportunities for advancement. These experiences prevail as they "get by rather than get ahead" (Thebe, 2017). Growth is stagnant, and some migrant workers then turn to attempt self- employment.

It has also been observed that Zimbabwean migrant workers work under exploitative conditions. According to Paton (2014) increasing the competition for jobs between South African citizens and foreigners hence migrant workers being scapegoated for job snatchings and ills of the economy even when legally documented. Workers can be threatened with permit cancellations should they express a desire to leave for better job prospects or due to dissatisfaction. Also, because some permit-types such as the general work permit are issued for the duration stipulated on the document and with the name of the organisation or employer that chose this foreign migrant worker over a South African citizen, employers therefore feel an entitlement to that sticker even when they offer unattractive salaries and capitalize on such as well as exploit them fully (HRW, 1998; HRW, 2006; Bloch, 2008). Employees end up staying on the job than risk being undocumented and face worse economic turmoil.

Opportunities for documented Zimbabwean migrant workers such as asylum seekers are limited, and they are blocked from livelihood activities such as access to loans from banks, let alone to open bank accounts from any bank of choice (Furlong, 2016). Some banks ask for particularly permanent residence for banking facilities and scholar Atkinson (1998) refers to this as social exclusion faced with limited ability to deal with this economic restraint.

Farm workers as documented migrants are usually placed under corporate visas in South Africa (Rutherford & Addison, 2007). There is a large population of Zimbabweans as farm labourers in the provinces of Limpopo and some Gauteng farms. In his study, Olivier (2011) reveals that this group of farm migrant workers is usually left without any form of income when they retire out of work. Further, they experience this type of socio-economic insecurity mostly due to informal employment as low skilled workers. Documented informal employment is actually not part of any retirement scheme that would cater for their social needs and protection into old age (Olivier, 2011).

According to Harris (2001), farm labour practices systematically exploit migrants along with many South African farm workers i.e. low wage levels and dangerous working conditions. They are exacerbated with the threat of deportation (for the former) that once they are out of a job they will be cancelled off the corporate visa. In some cases, employers (the farmers) hand the 'undocumented workers' over to the police for deportation without paying them (Bloch, 2008; HRW, 2006; Dumba & Chirisa 2010; Rutherford, 2010).

Due to the temporary and permanent residence permits among them the special dispensation, many Zimbabweans have been able to legalise their stay in South Africa and seek employment. This makes their economic lives better and enables them to send money (remittances) to their families back home as well better self-sustenance. The recent study by de Jager & Musuva (2016) highlight that Zimbabwean migrants working in South Africa transfer significant value in remittances.

Literature on other documented Zimbabwean migrant workers evidently starts on the premise that they are prone to experiences of great marginalization in the South African labour market making them vulnerable regardless of documentation (Malcom et al, 2007). In the Southern African Migration Project (SAMP) on the informal sector in Johannesburg and the penetration

of migrants, Perbedy (2016) reports that, 29% of Zimbabweans said they held work permits and according to her, these were probably acquired under this 2010 special permits dispensation for Zimbabwean migrants. This gave migrants a better experience as successful applicants for the dispensation permits are allowed to operate businesses in the informal economy (Fatoki & Patswawairi, 2012), something they could not conduct before. But as previously noted above, this positive progress is outweighed by considerable evidence that suggests far more underlying effects and experiences. From this insight, I have been led to the challenge of seeking to venture into the actual underlying effects in light of ZSP holders socio-economic experiences in South Africa.

2.3.2 Social Aspect

In terms of social security, literature asserts that before and after documentation Zimbabwean migrant workers among other non-nationals experience police brutality alike (Bloch, 2010; Klareen & Ramji, 2001). The police elicit bribes from apprehended persons (documented and undocumented) in exchange for freedom (Palmary, et al. 2003: 113; Harris, 2001, Pharoah, 2008) or else suffer physical hardships or being arrested by the police. A study by Monson and Misago (2009) also reveals how the police drag their feet in cases concerning the protection of migrants, of migrants who move around only with photocopies of their legal documents because of fear of losing them and the lengthy process of replacement. The police officers' love for bribes is also reflected by Worby (2010) who highlights how Zimbabwean migrants in Johannesburg Central try to restrain movements and their ways of life to maintain a strategic distance from police by constraining their exercises in the downtown area. This is surprisingly common even for documented migrants too. They tend to avoid certain areas if they do not have their documentation at hand for fear of being humiliated by the police demanding their legal documents. Police institutes use their authority to carry out unnecessary

'border performances' at any given public place and time (McDowell & Wonders, 2010). This is evidence that documentation does not always provide equal protection and security, not even from state agents who are supposed to uplift the law. In addition, for legal migrants, not seeking legal protection is not only for fear of exposure but also rather obtaining legal aid is often restricted by their lack of financial resources and time, which is spent working or caring for family members.

As noted in the economic aspect, documented (and undocumented) migrants are also exposed to exploitation at work and this can be further linked to the social aspect. The International Federation for Human Rights report in South Africa (FIDH, 2007) confirmed that many of them are paid below the legal minimum wage, work for longer hours than authorised by law, without obtaining necessary break and leave with no or limited access to compensation for injuries and occupational hazards and diseases. This strengthens migrant workers' vulnerability because of their precarious situation. Employers are able to exploit legal loopholes to their benefit, thus trapping migrant workers in a system of precarity (Koh, 2016) where they are socially unhealthy (not free in mind and body) let alone enjoy the work they do.

The experience of the high levels of xenophobia sentiments and general frustration from most South Africans is cited in most literature (Human Rights Watch, 1998; Mattes et al, 1999; McDonald, Mashike & Golden, 1999; Danso & McDonald, 2000; Harris, 2001; Crush, Williams & Perberdy, 2005; Adepoju, 2006; Crush & Tawodzera, 2011). This xenophobia is expressed to all migrants regardless of whether they are documented/regular/legal or undocumented/irregular/illegal. There is an apparent active participation of certain government departments and local government authorities in deciding who gets excluded from or included into the South African community and in extreme cases support of anti-migrant sentiments i.e. Mangosuthu Buthelezi (First Home Affairs Minister of a democratic South Africa)

(Hammerstad, 2011: 2). This is supported by the reluctance to assist migrants by certain government personnel (Harris, 2001; Palmary, 2002; Solidarity Peace Trust, 2004; Human Rights Watch (HRW), 2006; De Guchteneire, Pecoud & Cholewinski, 2009; Vigneswaran, Araia, Hoag & Tshabalala, 2010) i.e. when documentation is due for renewal. Migrants are exposed to potential human rights violations and generally exist in a 'fragile situation' and migration is associated with the violations of migrants' physical integrity and dignity (HRW, 1998; HRW, 2006; Betts & Kaytaz, 2009; De Guchteneire, Pecoud & Cholewinski, 2009: 3; Vigneswaran et al, 2010), irrespective of documentation in hand.

Again, labelling has been found to be a usual experience and way of referring to migrants. The term "kwerekwere" does not fall away as a result of one being documented. This negative labelling stigmatises and devalues all migrants regardless of whether they are documented or not restricting their opportunity to take part in social exercises as they fear being prominent in any manner. Social exclusion affects their quality of life (Sen, 2000; Cholewinski, 2005; Levitas et al, 2007; Kalitanyi & Visser, 2010). They are downgraded in such ways that appear to identify them as undeserving of compassionate treatment because documentation does not essentially make one South African but simply confers certain rights and privileges. Reidpath et al (2005) agree that negative labelling/name calling prompts discrimination and debasing of people on basis of non-nationality. In general, migrants are negatively evaluated as too competitive in many social public services as well as congesting the health care system (Landau & Wa Kabwe-Segatti, 2009; Neocosmos, 2008; Matshaka, 2010). Crush and Tawodzera (2011) have termed such discernment of migrants as "medical xenophobia". Service providers are not always abiding even where they are required to by law or job description where migrants' rights are concerned. The right to basic health and basic education is sometimes outright denied by turning away patients trying to get medical treatment or

name calling throughout the process of treating migrant patients. It is said to be common for immigrants to engage in cross-border movement to countries that have better facilities to obtain better health care (Crush et al 2005(a):21-22, Kok *et al* 2006:121, McDonald *et al* 2000:822, PHAMSA 2005:31). However, contrary to this, other literature suggests otherwise that reasons for most Zimbabweans migrating to South Africa are not health related but economic and if not then rather sometimes a little political (HRW 2006: 4, FMSP 2007:5, 7-8) than health related.

The barriers that limit or impede status individuals' ability to receive adequate attention are therefore due to a discourse that Grove and Zwi (2006) have referred to as "othering" in migration studies. Willen (2012) argues that this harmful discourse of othering can be a significant obstacle to healthcare access. Migrants have been noted to experience barriers in accessing education due to lack of financial resources and their precarious legal status. The right to basic education is outright denied not only by service providers but also by various barriers that also include the constant need of most migrant workers to remit significantly, as migration contributes to social and economic development at the household level (Vearey, 2011, Landau & Wa Kabwe Segatti 2009).

Similarly, conclusions from a thesis by Hungwe (2013) on a study that incorporated both 'documented' legal Zimbabwean migrants and 'undocumented' or illegal Zimbabwean migrants, analysing how variables such as immigration status affect the extent of inclusion into and exclusion from the South African labour market and society found that the patterns are more or less alike for the documented and undocumented. According to Dumba and Chirisa (2010), Zimbabweans live in shacks or in areas that are characterised by overcrowding, lack of clean water and lack of electricity. Merely having access to higher incomes opened more avenues for freedom in terms of accessing better housing meaning that better off migrants move

from where they have everyday encounters with their landlords and go and stay in flats, where they deal with agents rather than landlords. Also, those that earn more are freer at home than those earning less with no necessity to seek approval from home owners on their every move, can have visitors anytime and better privacy (Hungwe, 2013: 237).

Research has established that with documentation in hand, travel to Europe and elsewhere becomes far easier (Landau, 2015). The economic equality within regions have led to the high increase of migration and South Africa is the destination place and also a transit route (Tsheola, 2008: 45-46) and for many that makes movement possible or easier. As Zimbabwe faced sanctions from the West, some literature has concluded that the general Zimbabwean citizens were facing many rejections on their applications for visa documentations to travel or study abroad as a result i.e. UK and Australia (Caldwell & Hymas-Ssekasi, 2016, Portela, 2007). Again, once in South Africa they could not process any paperwork to continue their passage to transit further to planned destinations considering most entered South Africa illegally. Hence upon documentation and in possession of a permit showing legality in South Africa as well as application within the Republic and not from Zimbabwe probably lessened the chances of being declined or suffering what Stringer (2010) terms "visa diplomacy" defined as the use of visa issuance or denial at an individual, group, and interstate level, to influence another state's policies.

With specific reference to ZSP, in the South African context, Magam (2016) notes that, the 2009 special dispensation permit programme gathered a lot of support from many organisations, as many saw this as a turning point and as a positive move towards dealing with or addressing the problem of Zimbabwean refugees and migrants in South Africa. However, Fashoyin (2007) has argued that although it will resolve the problem of documentation, the major problem faced by immigrants in general in South Africa and Zimbabweans is not

documentation. He argues for example that documentation is crucial but not essential; to finding employment, probably where migrants have so long found ways to manoeuvre the system. The major challenge against the backdrop of the special dispensation permit to Zimbabwean immigrants is the flooding of a very precarious labour market (Magam, 2016).

This study responds to the need to assess how and to what extent ZSP has been "impressive" (Gigaba, 2015)[1]. To analyse the impact of this policy, the study will explore first-hand the experiences of the ZSP holders' category of documented migrant workers against their views from when they were undocumented migrant workers, (before ZSP) to gain a deeper insight. Investigating the impact of ZSP on socio-economic experiences of Zimbabwean migrant workers in South Africa, will submit this assertion to a test and will hopefully provide additional and new insights in this regard.

The theoretical approach on the role of documentation as a tool of the state will shed some light on the South African example. Amit & Kriger (2014) state that South Africa's post-apartheid immigration regime confers a range of legal rights on documented migrants. But until such time that South Africa's response and solutions to the uncontrollable inflow of Zimbabweans turn into tangible improvements, Zimbabweans will continue to endure struggles to survive in the shadows of South Africa.

2.4 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Before exploring the case of ZSP holders in South Africa it is important to first understand reasons for and effects of migration demonstrating how traditional theories are needed to understand how social, economic and political factors are all intertwined for instance in the process of documentation and socio-economic experiences of migrant workers in this study.

[1]Statement by then Home Affairs Minister Gigaba (2015): "We thought we should share where we are with regard to the Zimbabwe Special Permit (ZSP) programme and bring you up to speed on the recently announced Lesotho Special Permit (LSP). The current status of the ZSP is impressive".

This study is guided by, or at least engages with the social inclusion theory regarding factors that contribute to migrants' socio-economic integration in their host societies. The following is a brief overview of the theory and its applicability to the present study.

For the main focus of this study, there are two ways of approaching the concept of low-skilled labour, either based on the requirements for the job, or on the educational level of the person who carries it out. Therefore, low-skilled "can be either a characteristic of the job or a characteristic of the worker" (Chaloff, 2008: 127). While the needs of employers and the prerequisites of recruitment programmes focus on the skill-level required for the job, immigration policies focus on the education level of migrants. The latter is in line with a definition by the OECD, suggesting that "low-skilled are those whose education is less than upper secondary" (OECD, 2011: 56). While there is no universal definition of low-skilled migrant workers, they are generally perceived as having received no or very little training on the unskilled job they are performing in the destination country (IOM, 2008).

2.4.1 The Social Inclusion Theory

The solidity of a social structure is an imperative feature in order to ensure that diverse communities engage effectively. Migrants seeking or trying to settle are probably going to be faced with multiple barriers in the process. In order to address the post-migration policy aspects of this research, the social inclusion theory will be used. According to Gagnon et al (2010), the social inclusion theory talks about how an individual can efficiently and effectively contribute towards both social and economic aspects of a society. It refers to the capacity with which one engages in the production and consumption of goods and services within a particular setting, how people interact socially, as well as their involvement in politics. In an ideal setting therefore, social inclusion would ensure that Zimbabweans have access to opportunities,

different choices as well as the capacity for maximisation upon their arrival in South Africa (Gagnon et al, 2010). Therefore, the extent to which individuals, in this case Zimbabwean migrants, are accepted or alienated in a community contributes immensely towards their welfare. Failure to be recognized or appreciated could result in no exploration of migrants' full potential. The settlement of migrants provides countless benefits, especially to the sectors that are public oriented such as housing, economic contributions. Dumont, Spielvogel & Widmaier (2010) cite that the increasing number of migrants signifies many prospects for the host country but this is usually accompanied by social challenges such as social exclusion, particularly as an experience to the migrants.

The migration and settlement of foreign nationals alone does not pose as a threat to social structures, but discrimination and absence of a logical integration policy result in migration being problematic (Dumont, Spielvogel, & Widmaier, 2010). Literature on documentation found that the chronicles of attacks on non-nationals like Zimbabweans was because they were being blamed for job snatchings and ills on the South African socio-economy. However, the level of social inclusion and exclusion is dependent on several factors such as wealth, level of education, and the mind-set of society with whom the migrants will be residing amongst (Saloojee, 2003) which in turn determines their welfare.

Given the conflicting viewpoints highlighted in the literature review above, this study will engage with this theory by investigating whether documentation plays a significant role in migrants' social inclusion and economic contribution in South Africa.

2.5 CONCLUSION

In sum, this literature review shows that there are still ongoing, unsettled debates on the effects of documentation of migrants' socio-economic welfare in both global and local contexts. By investigating the effect of ZSP on Zimbabweans in South Africa, this study seeks to contribute to this debate. While the South African government has adopted the special permits programme for Zimbabweans it is important to access the degree by which the objectives of this move have been met. This will provide the basis of what works and what doesn't for migrants' welfare within the immigration services system in South Africa. The analogy of the theoretical framework in the foregoing discussion infuses the social inclusion theory in a bid to explicitly unpack the socio-economic experiences of ZSP Zimbabwean migrant workers viz-a-viz documentation.

CHAPTER 3: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 INTRODUCTION

Research for academic purposes is often specific for each discipline and requires a more rigorous methodology depending on the subject matter (Cooper and Schindler, 2003). The selection of research methods thus played a crucial role in the execution of the research. This chapter discusses in depth the nature of the methodology i.e. sampling techniques, the research instrument used, data analysis and lastly ethical issues that governed the research.

3.2 METHOD

The study used the qualitative research method. According to Bless and Higson-Smith (2000), qualitative research is the research instrument in which words and sentences are used to qualify and record information about the world in which we live. The qualitative method is the method of choice because it is best suited for issues that require deep exploration, such as the study at hand collecting information on experiences, feelings/behaviours and impact. The qualitative approach allows the researcher to use words in conducting the study and to improve the validity and reliability of the findings. Therefore, I linked the data collection and analysis processes. This approach was important in gaining insight into reality as understood and experienced by Zimbabwean migrant workers. Sampling and data collection strategies for this study were typically of a qualitative nature and the interviews in English, Ndebele and Shona, the most popular languages in Zimbabwe. Almost all the participants chose the English language as language of use in conducting the interviews. Furthermore, this study was limited to perspectives from ZSP holders only without interviewing government or immigration officials.

3.2.1 RESEARCH DESIGN

This research project is a case study. The case study research strategy was used because case studies are a strategy of inquiry in which the researcher explores a program, event, activity, process or one or relatively few individuals in depth (De Vos et al, 2005: 272). The case study approach was chosen because this strategy suits the current study as only a few subjects will be drawn from a particular chosen area i.e. Hillbrow in South Africa (see discussion below).

3.3 SITE SELECTION

The study was conducted in the inner-city Johannesburg suburb of Hillbrow (Figure 1 below). This study investigated the effects of documentation on socio-economic experiences of Zimbabwean migrant workers in this Hillbrow as a case study, but focus was specifically on the low skilled ZSP population. The rationale for choosing Hillbrow as a study area was that in addition to easy access for the researcher, ZSP Zimbabwean migrants are concentrated in various sections of this part of the location. Cities such as Johannesburg, and certain inner-city suburbs, such as Hillbrow, are home to a higher density of internal migrants and non-nationals than other parts of the country (Oliveria & Vearey, 2015).

Figure 1: Hillbrow location map extracted from Google Map data 2018

3.4 POPULATION AND SAMPLING

The population of the study consisted of the currently documented group of ZSP migrants living in Hillbrow, Johannesburg. Sampling implies carefully selecting a subset of the population. In this study, a small number of Zimbabwean migrant workers living in Hillbrow were sampled to represent the larger ZSP holders' population in South Africa. The study considered views on both being legally documented ZSP holders and undocumented Zimbabwean migrants (pre-documentation and post-documentation phase experiences) for comparative purposes.

3.4.1 Sampling technique/strategy

Respondents were chosen through, what Babbie and Mouton (2001) denote as, purposive sampling. Purposive sampling is a non-probability sampling method described as sampling with a purpose which include people of interest and exclude those who do not suit the purpose (Bryman & Bell, 2003). This sampling technique was applied because if a probability random

sampling method was used, then there would be chances of failing to pick ZSP migrants who are the main research participants of the study hence it was imperative to use this strategy. For the purpose of this study, I knew one or two ZSP holders as well as through the administrator from a ZSP forum that led to other potential participants and I purposely got more participants this way.

3.4.2 Sample size

The sample consisted of 15 ZSP documented respondents. This number was for feasibility reasons because it might not have been feasible to assess a bigger sample due to time constraints. The intention was to establish whether documentation has made a difference to the migrants living in Hillbrow by going through respondents' experiences from then and now (i.e. pre- and post- ZSP). As it has not been that long since the ZSP project was started, results were not affected by potential memory loss. The focus of the study was on adult subjects of 18 years and above, who have been under the special dispensation permit programme.

BIOGRAPHY INFORMATION

A brief enquiry into participants' demographic profile especially the level of education and occupation was mainly because according to literature the educational level of ZSP migrants who are in the country is very low and apparently, they have no skills to contribute to the economy of South Africa. Occupation was also to probe into the mainstream jobs that ZSP migrants partake in against their level of education. The majority of participants seem to have had some level of decent education and only 1 participant had higher institution level education. However, as part of the study only two participants said they had come to South Africa earlier, in 1996 and 2000 respectively but were not in possession of South African permanent residency or citizenship status. The gender composition of the study participants was 1 female more than

males i.e. 8 females and 7 males. All participants were blacks and both the married and dating were with Zimbabweans partner. Only 2 participants stated that they were single.

Below is Table 2 summarising the participants' profiling.

Table 2: Participants' demographic profile & occupations

Occupation	***Gender***	***Age***	***Education level***	***Code***
Uber driver	Male	33	Certificate/Diploma	P1
Uber driver 2	Male	34	Advanced level	P2
CCTV Controller	Male	36	Ordinary level	P3
Marmalade business lady	Female	31	Advanced level	P4
Domestic worker	Female	36	Ordinary level	P5
Domestic worker	Female	45	Form 3	P6
Domestic worker	Female	34	Ordinary level	P7
Student	Male	Not disclosed	Post-graduate	P8
Waitress	Female	29	Ordinary level	P9
Domestic worker	Female	37	Form 2	P10
Cargo handler	Male	40	Ordinary level	P11
Cargo trucks driver	Male	32	Advanced level	P12
Unemployed	Female	37	Ordinary level	P13
Security guard	Female	35	Ordinary level	P14
Self-employed	Male	45	Ordinary level	P15

The table above depicts 15 participants (men and women), Zimbabwean migrants and holders of the Zimbabwean Special Permit (ZSP) living in Hillbrow, Johannesburg. The study therefore goes through their socio-economic experiences before and after documentation to determine the effects. Participants were between the age range 18 years and older, no minors were included but as shown on Table 1 the participants were from 29 years old to 45 years old though only one participant refused to disclose their age. The participants were of low skilled level and in varied occupations. In line with the documentation status of these participants, the findings reveal that almost all the participants reached Ordinary level, the basic standard of education level for Zimbabweans an equivalent to Grade 10 in South Africa. Only 2 participants were below that level with an educational status of Form 2 and Form 3 respectively (Grade 8/9 in South Africa). 3 of the participants went as far as Advanced Level (Matric equivalent) and only 2 have tertiary level education. However, one alarming fact that disputes findings reported in the literature consulted for the study in Chapter 2 is that low skilled ZSP holders are not as uneducated as literature suggests them to be.

3.5 DATA COLLECTION PROCESS, TECHNIQUE AND INSTRUMENT

The study utilised the following data collection method and instrument:

3.5.1 Gaining entry

I carried out the research by myself and being Zimbabwean, it was easy to start the data collection process when I presented my academic study and kindly asked the ZSP Forum Administrator to add me to their ZSP group for the mere purpose of getting participants for my study. The Administrator granted my request and added me to a social media group of over 200 participants that had ZSP holders from all over South Africa and from there I negotiated my way through getting the low skilled potential participants from Hillbrow.

However, from there the assumption that all my participants would be easy to recruit proved otherwise. Some members of my target population group were reluctant to participate. There was various reason for this, some were asking what my institution would benefit when I report my findings, others were having second thoughts even after having agreed to spare their time and participate in the study or were unavailable at agreed times because Zimbabweans seem to have very tight working schedules that had to be negotiated over and over again. Due to this clandestine nature of migration and documentation, I had to guarantee and convince participants that this study was for an academic purpose only and also produced my credentials as evidence. Once this was negotiated, there were no issues on language barrier or translations because I speak Ndebele and Shona vernacular languages equally well. As such acceptability and trust played well throughout the data collection process.

I had some participants prefer vernacular as language of use during the interview i.e. Ndebele though for some with a mix of English, but all the collected data was transcribed in English. I did not hire the services of anyone for the transcribing process. I had meetings with my research supervisor in between the research process for feedback on work done and to discuss emerging themes in light of the research aim and objectives. Supervisor input and brief discussions on transcribed data were very helpful.

3.5.2 Semi-structured interviews

I carried out data collection through semi-structured face-to-face interviews. Primary data was collected from the participants of the study, i.e. legally documented Zimbabwean migrants, through a semi-structured interview guide using audio tape recording and notes taking during the interview. Each interview lasted no longer than 30 to 45 minutes but only 2 interviews went

overboard to between 50 and 52 minutes respectively. This method of data collection is characterised by a set of pre-determined questions on an interview schedule. Additional questions were added to get more clarity and the nature of questions altered to suit the educational level and background of some respondents (De Vos *et al* 2005: 296). This also confirmed the statement that the quality of the information obtained through interviews depends on the interviewing skills of the researcher who is the main instrument of the research (Patton 1990; Polkinghorne 2005). As indicated above, the qualitative data collection technique was suitable in this study as it allowed deep exploration of respondents' experiences.

I carried out interviews in the language that participants felt most comfortable conversing in. Although some participants could speak English they preferred their native Ndebele language for the purpose of the interview. Qualitative techniques in the form of open-ended questions were used so as to also increase the flexibility and interaction between myself (researcher) and respondents. This also enabled participants to elaborate on certain issues and evoke more meaningful and rich responses. The questions I asked were sometimes determined by the order in which the interviewee was responding. The guide was divided into five sections with the first section a general enquiry into the biography and demographic profile of participants. The audiotape-recorded interviews were later transcribed for easier analysis and results have been presented under themes in Chapter 4. The interview guide is provided in Appendix I.

3.5.3 Field notes

The art of taking notes while in the field complimented audio-tape recording during some of the interviews. I made participants aware of the use of these notes and they seemed not worried about it as much as concerns they had about audio-tape recording when I had to explain it to

them. These notes came mostly from observations made during the interview but all in all the study relied heavily on audio-taping the interviews. The documentation of key notes helped me remember some things that I would have otherwise forgotten in the midst of analysing numerous data. However, I did not want to seem too immersed in notes taking lest the conversation with my participants loses its flow.

3.6 DATA ANALYSIS METHOD

Data was sorted, coded, organised and indexed in a manner that made it easier to interpret, analyse and present. I summarised text by checking key themes, phrases or passages that were used in a more detailed analysis. This process in known as thematic content analysis.

Thematic content analysis is a method of analysis used in qualitative research in which text (notes) are systematically examined by identifying and grouping themes and coding, classifying and developing categories and also includes the interpretation of research findings in light of the research questions and determines if the results are consistent with the research questions, hypotheses and theory (Cooper & Schindler, 2003).

Being qualitative in nature, this study used thematic content analysis to analyse data to draw patterns and themes of the socio-economic experiences of ZSP holders in Hillbrow. I identified these patterns and themes by carefully reading through and transcribing all interview transcripts or notes. Though it consumed a lot of time, content analysis bases its conclusions on factual information. Content analysis also enabled the creation of relations between the effects of documentation and the socio-economic experiences that have risen as a result (the post-migration experiences). This analysis offered an advantage as it produced extensive data as per expectation. Data analysis was done concurrently with data collection to avoid difficulties in analysing raw data. The process was guided by constantly referring to the

primary aim of the study (Payne & Payne 2004: 36 - 40; Mason 1996:106-109). Representative quotations were drawn from the various interviews as evidence that explicitly explained the socio-economic experiences of ZSP holders.

3.7 ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

The research protocol of a study requires the researcher to understand and apply the various research ethics. Barbie and Mouton (2006) state that in common usage, ethics are typically associated with principles as both deal with matters of right and wrong. Ethics clearance application was done concurrently with the research proposal. I designed and submitted information sheet and consent forms for ethics approval from the University of the Witwatersrand Human Research (Non-Medical) Ethics Committee, which issued the ethics clearance certificate (Protocol number: H17/08/24). The ethics clearance certificate is in Appendix II.

3.7.1 Voluntary participation

Before interviews, I presented to participants written and verbal consent forms as well as participant information sheets outlining the objective and process of the study. Consent was sought either in writing or verbally. Also, all my participants were not forced to participate and given ample time to decide on participation. I thoroughly informed them that they have the right to withdraw from the data collection process at any time, without any negative consequences. I observed that verbal consent was mostly preferred as most participants just felt sceptical about having their signatures on any form of paperwork. I clarified that the study would hopefully inform migrants' documentation issues but not that it would instantly benefit them directly.

3.7.2 Anonymity/Confidentiality/Privacy

The rights of participants to anonymity, confidentiality and privacy were respected and guaranteed. The respondents were not required to give their names in the interview, to ensure anonymity during the interviews and in data coding during analysis. I assured them (respondents/participants) that during research time their day to day activities will not be compromised or disturbed in any manner. And so, it was that rescheduling was resorted to in such cases. I explained the use of an audiotape recorder as was outlined in the information sheet as well as produced before the start of the interview and consented to by participants in the form of written or verbal agreement.

3.7.3 Vulnerability

In dealing with migrants and documentation as a sensitive topic, I did not come across issues of vulnerability that could negatively impact on the accuracy of my study, but I kept in mind that some respondents having blended into South African society might not appreciate being identified as foreigners. Thus, place of meeting was where respondents felt comfortable mostly away from their places of residence. I respected and did not put participants at risk by anticipating that there could be a degree of vulnerability, but none was experienced in this study.

3.8 LIMITATIONS & FIELD EXPERIENCE

In this study a few challenges were experienced. Although participants were not difficult to identify, it was however challenging for the actual interviews to be carried out.

Time factor

I initially noted that time factor might also be a concern in trying to match my schedule with that of the participants. So, to begin with, I had to come up with possible time alternatives that could work for conducting the interview. However, although rescheduling of interviews was anticipated in field work, some potential participants were much more pre-occupied with the renewal application process for their Zimbabwe Special Permits (ZSP) documents. They also encountered some unanticipated difficulties in trying to meet deadline all while preparing to travel to Zimbabwe for the festive holiday. Hence, I came to the realisation that I will need more time than I had estimated for my supervisor to thoroughly go through my findings report from the field. As such, I had to request for extension on time for submission of research for examination.

Memory

As the ZSP policy is a relatively new policy, there was no significant memory loss that had already occurred so accounts of participants' pre-post experiences for comparative purposes were not a challenge to capture. This is in light of part of this research project being a retrospective study in nature. Respondents were asked questions in such a way that this was brought to light either way and responses such as "I cannot remember" were not common.

Field experience

However, the fact that the study focused on documentation, some participants felt that this might negatively impact on their documentation status/outcomes in future based on what they would have provided in the interviews. But in the end the fact that I was not just Zimbabwean but a student as well, carrying out research seemed to work in my favour as most participants

eventually understood that the research was in good faith hence felt that their cooperation would indeed help me complete my studies.

3.9 Conclusion

This chapter outlined the qualitative research methodology used in detail. I managed to strive for honesty and kept promises and agreements such as not compromising or disturbing participants as well as acting with sincerity. Again, I met the obligation to emphasize on the confidentiality that was maintained between myself and the participants at all times. Furthermore, I was open to criticism and new ideas to render the best possible results and meaningful contribution from conducting this study, mostly from my immediate supervisor. Research ethics were important and central in the course of the study because they promote the aims of the research. Rich and informative data was obtained from the interviews. Consequently, all reporting was successfully made anonymous to protect participants' identities and I managed to administer interviews facilitated by a well-structured interview guide (Appendix I). The data obtained is presented and analysed in the following Chapter 4.

CHAPTER 4

PRESENTATION OF RESEARCH FINDINGS & ANALYSIS

4.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter presents and analyzes the data collected using the methods described in the preceding chapter above. The theoretical framework and research questions are used to present and discuss the findings. Patterns and themes are drawn and used to illustrate the research results and are further analysed by detailed thematic narration. The aim is to identify and analyze the effects of documentation on socio-economic experiences of Zimbabwean migrant workers in South Africa and provide comprehensive answers to the research questions previously raised. The social inclusion theory was used to illuminate the socio-economic experiences of Zimbabwean migrant workers with the ZSP.

The research findings are presented in 5 broad themes: i) institutional governance and/ control; ii) socio-economic status quo; iii) integration and social interactions; iv) employment and remuneration; and v) prospective plans.

4.2 INSTITUTIONAL GOVERNANCE AND/CONTROL: A GENERAL SUCCESS IN LEGALIZING HOLDERS' STAY

An engagement with the qualitative data obtained from the study indicates that indeed the objective to allow ZSP holders the right to live legally in the Republic was met as evidenced by some participants who applauded the SA Immigration Services when asked about governing regulations of the ZSP for its holders. As well as some of their responses when asked about the general impact. On a social level, the participants admitted to a better stay with ZSP. Though participants seemed to respond based on different viewpoints of ZSP regulations and

probably experiences, they still shed more light on how ZSP has governed/administered its holders or how well they understood it as evidenced by two distinct responses from participants P1 and P2 below:

> *P1: "Uuuhhmm, no I think it's actually a generous thing what they did they legalised our stay which was a good thing and probably the best they could have done at that moment. I don't think there are any concerns in this regard."*[2]
>
> *P2: Uuuhhmm I have never heard of any. What I know is if you do not have the permit when going home you are given days or when coming back into South Africa for a certain length of stay. But for us we are no longer given days, you can come in and out in any way. I can go home today and even tomorrow whereas a person with no permit can be given just 1 week in South Africa and have to go back once that time is up. For us that has changed and that is the advantage of it".*[3]

ZSP also appears to have helped resolve the issue of fake or fraudulent documents some Zimbabweans had acquired before. According to literature, most Zimbabweans who came into South Africa before the ZSP period had already secured permanent residency or citizenship status, some through bogus means (Thebe, 2017) and because it was far much easier at that time. According to data collected from participants, by the time most of them migrated into South Africa because of the economic situation in Zimbabwe, regularizing one' stay with proper documentation in South Africa had become difficult for both males and females. For example, respondent P4 said that:

> *"Other Zimbabwean migrants ignored the call for all undocumented Zimbabweans or documented with back door IDs to start the application process for ZDP at that time because they had already ehhh bought the IDs. We went because it was hard for us to also get those".*

[2] Interview with male participant P1 in Hillbrow on 4th December 2017
[3] Interview with female participant P2 in Hillbrow on 4th December 2017

In the study it was interesting to find that freedom of movement is not about documentation or no documentation but rather what one sometimes comes across in everyday movements. Most participants acknowledged freedom of movement; that they could now go anywhere and anytime without strategizing ways to dodge the police. Police arrests were their way of life during the pre-documentation phase. However, this was resolved post-ZSP but still does not shield them from criminal activities such as shootings, getting robbed or stabbed. This follows the long history of South Africa as a place of crime, violence and highly xenophobic society (Dodson, 2002). Evidently, one participant (P8) bluntly said:

> *"I: Okay but you do have freedom of movement right, like going wherever you want?*
>
> *P8: Yah, but also, it's not ahhh okay sometimes it's not the issue about documentation especially when it comes to the ahhh to the tooo tooo issues to do with freedom of movement. Eehh because usually I don't usually move around with my, with my passport with the permit, right. Once you get mugged and it's stolen you know it's also a very huge disaster for you, you understand? So, the issue about movement then is I mean South Africa just has a history of violence and crime, right so if you are…(hesitates). If they feel like maybe they can bump into you, they can whether you are local South African then I mean these criminals they don't usually target ahh maybe because you, you…of course maybe you are a foreign national because they might have ahhhh more identifiable features and being more exposed to crime and violence but yah these things they just happen to anyone so naturally I think the idea about free movement whether it has to be tied to the issue of documentation precisely because of the history of violence and crime in the city".* [4]

While P2 also said:

[4] Interview with male participant P8 expressing no ties between free movement & documentation

"It's still the same you create freedom for yourself because locals won't know that you have a ZSP or not, they don't. Only Home Affairs and the cops they will ask you for that but ordinary locals they won't even ask you.

I: Uuuhhmm so you can be worried about freedom of movement if you come across the police or someone from Home Affairs?

P2: Yah that is if you don't have a ZSP. But for someone with a ZSP it's flowing. Yah you can go anywhere, anytime yah."

In sum, the discussion above shows that ZSP has a very positive impact with regards to re-legalizing the stay of beneficiaries. Most participants shared this positive impact which seems to basically sum up the ZSP as having ushered in general change in terms of stay. This discussion also established that no relationship actually exists between freedom of movement and documentation. Factors such as the nature of the area, activities and social acceptance (following discussion) are some of the influences on freedom of movement.

4.3 INTEGRATION AND SOCIAL INTERACTIONS

4.3.1 Social indifference

This research finds that social integration/cultural assimilation viz-a-viz post-documentation experiences still presented some levels of difficulty. In support of the conclusion from literature in Chapter two that different migrants often encounter varying challenges with varying forms of documentation the research finds that pre and post documentation phases social experiences are indifferent but vary. It appears one of the major problems that migrants encounter is not being able to be assimilated into South African societies and this was mostly prevalent in both cases of pre and post documentation.

"The fact that we are talking about special, Zimbabwean special permits it means in one way or the other there is an element of prioritisation. Ah say this is a special group that deserves to

be documented right so that alone it really puts us in a very precarious situation with the locals who feel like no no no you don't have anything, there is nothing really special about you but the government is actually considering you to be a special group that needs special attention. But I understand the reason why the government has to rely to introduce the ZSP thing I mean there is a history of Zimbabweans migration to South Africa it dates back to the longest time and we are also we are actually really coming in our numbers. On a daily basis I don't know how many people cross the borders either legally or illegally and the majority of them are coming from Zim. So, I think it was also sort of like a move by the government in trying to document people so that at least I mean it's much more easier to control crime in circumstances where people are documented. So, by virtue of us being in large numbers here then maybe it's reason why we had to be considered a very special group but like I said it's not it doesn't go well with some of the locals to be precise. Other migrants again it also doesn't ah I mean the idea of special permits it "others" other migrants, do you understand? It considers them like they don't have sort of like a right to the city, they don't have a right to belong, right. So, the fact that you are prioritising a particular group again it also means there is a bit of segregation when it comes to other migrants what about them, but they are also in need of documentation. Why this particular group again? But then again with some other people they don't really care whether we are documented or not as long as you are a migrant you are a migrant, documented or undocumented, with special permit or no special permit. I mean the fact that you were not born here it sums up your experiences and everything."

In support of the social inclusion and exclusion theory by Gagnon et al (2010)[5], failure to be assimilated into a society is one of the problems that migrants can encounter, clearly with or without documentation as this study confirms. But, it is interesting that though most participants felt indifferent, another finding showed blame being placed on the migrant community for the local community not accepting them. This is evident from a participant (P11)'s following remarks: *"Well they try to include us, but the problem is criminals. They say a person is a person, but the problem is when criminals are caught you can find that most of them are*

[5] Refer to Chapter 2 page 30

foreigners. That is what then bothers them otherwise the local community does not have much of a problem".

A further analysis on social indifference around issues of inclusion and exclusion can basically be explained by the fact that all participants in the study narrated low levels of social interactions with the local community. They mostly stated and acknowledged that the proportion of the Hillbrow neighbourhood inhabited by Zimbabweans and other non-nationals is over half. Further responses from most participants showed figures rising to as much as 90% foreigners against 10% locals and with one saying 98% Zimbabweans and other foreign communities. In such cases then the chances of building proper relationships are slim considering that low skilled ZSP holders still find themselves in the same kind of jobs as well as because they are living among each other thus low chances to forge relations with locals. However, where participants noted some level of attempts at inclusion by the local community they said it still came with some forms of abuse but some emphasised that sometimes it depends on individuals. One male respondent (P2) noted that he had experienced exclusion when he worked with some South African people with "such dirty minds". Then the following exchange between P8 and the researcher (I) illustrates this point:

> *"P8. Ahhh trying to fit in is not something that I always try to do.*
>
> *I: Why?*
>
> *P8: It doesn't change okay the fact that you are trying to fit in apparently it means you don't belong to that group, to that space. So why do I have to try and be a part in a project that I am not a party to me it doesn't really make sense trying to be a part of a group that I am not a part of.*

[6] Interview with participant P11 at her place of residence in Hillbrow on 23rd January 2018

I: So, are you saying it's because you feel excluded already so there is no use trying or yes you do feel included but then that's just how it is there is no need for you to be, inclusion/exclusion?

P8: You know when you are included then you also have to, you also have to be valued, right? So!

I: And you feel you are not valued?

P8: What's the use of attending ahhh sessions where you don't, you don't participate because sometimes somehow you are not given a chance to. Or maybe even the decisions thaa, that you make they are also tied to your identity as a foreign national that okay oh maybe this person is saying or is making this contribution because is a foreign national I mean what's the use of this idea then. We really don't subscribe to these kinds of views... So, I don't really usually make any efforts to try to fit into their community but then the community can try fit into me, its fine I don't mind. [7]

However, not to excuse the behaviour of local communities but to explain it, Malcolm et al (2007) state that the stigma of migrant populations is often intensified by public/local community reservations about the consequences migration might bring on public resources such as lack of jobs and competition for business opportunities.

Almost all participants in the study confirmed association by cultural ties with other fellow Zimbabwean migrants and if not then a little with Malawians or Ghanaians. Only one participant acknowledged that he has a close South African friend who is a policeman. Findings also indicated no social ties between ZSP holders and the local community through associations such as marriage. An enquiry into marital status and nationality of partner, if any, one married participant (P4) went as far as saying of marrying locals: *''Married, Zimbabwean partner. Haaah*

[7] Interview with student ZSP holder at University of the Witwatersrand on 17th December 2017

you can't marry a local yoooh that will be a disaster (laughs)." Of the participants who said they were married, all of them were with Zimbabwean partners and another who said she was trying for a relationship it was still with a Zimbabwean partner. On that same note, the same participant (P13) made reference to name calling/labelling of foreigners as "kwerekwere" by the local community, probable reason why she maybe prefers fellow Zimbabweans for a partner. She made the following statement while narrating her experiences:

> *"Well the thing is I never liked associating with South Africans mostly I saw that ahh ah I don't benefit anything. That's why I'm usually with others from back home because the South Africans say we are kwerekwere, so I hate that word. I'm not a kwerekwere I'm a Zimbabwean so I hate that word, you see? Other foreigners they are good because eish (pauses) they recognise a person and even though other South Africans they do recognise other people but not all of them, not all of them.*[8]

Another male participant (P8) referred to labelling of migrants in a different context but in the end addressed the same concerns. This stemmed from enquiry into the general impact that ZSP has had on the lives of its holders and he felt the right to stay was not a problem. However, on a social level, security concerns continue to loom. He stated that:

> *"You know that your security in terms of staying here is guaranteed but your security in terms of being labelled a "kwerekwere" doesn't change, you understand? So, in one way or the other it's a bit tricky, there are those benefits but there are also those they are varied because I mean people's perceptions, people always have perceptions about foreigners documented or undocumented"*[9].

[8] Interview with female participant (P13) in Hillbrow on 23rd January 2018
[9] Participant (P8) interviewed in Braamfontein on 17th December 2017

However, further findings indicate that ZSP pre and post experiences of most participants did not involve random violent behaviour, stigmatic labelling or affected by xenophobic events. Only one or two respondents noted having dealt with some form of the aforementioned behaviours and both were male, undocumented at that time. These two confirmed the phase where foreigners such as Zimbabweans and Mozambicans were attacked and, in some instances, had their homes and informal shops looted (Mail & Guardian, 2008). One of them (P1) said:

> *"Xenophobia happened in 2010. No, actually 2008. Yes, the first one and it affected me personally because it was actually in Hillbrow the centre of it all. Because I remember it was on a Saturday a bit late around 2pm to 3pm when they blocked streets and closed the roads and the police started shooting rubber bullets and people were in the flats. The police were trying to quell the situation because there were criminal elements in the midst of it. People taking chances, yeah. And yeah, when I got off the taxi at Noord I was almost caught but was saved by this other Zulu old man who said the boys should leave me alone because they wanted to take my phone. Actually, they had taken my phone and wanted to beat me as I got off the taxi. I think I have forgotten where I was coming from. This 2008 xenophobia was the worst but the one that followed in 2015 did not affect me personally".*[10]

4.3.2 Poor social interactions

Prejudice has been portrayed by mainstream media representations of foreigners, and public actions and statements against them showing the level of dislike that is vented particularly by South African citizens. This attitude is passed on and accepted as fact, sometimes without proof and as such can be empirically unfounded assertions. Even though it appears as

[10] Interview on 4th December 2017; with male participant (P1) once victim of xenophobic attacks

though migrants encounter similar migration and post-migration experiences, a close examination of the data from one participant who has had the experiences of being undocumented working migrant and then documented student is contrary to this. It shows that students and non-students have different perceptions regarding the friendliness of South African citizens as well as the different settling challenges they can encounter in different spaces. It would appear that students are integrated more easily into their space. It has been argued that the environment to which they are exposed is safeguarded by several forces such as the institution itself while non-students find it more difficult. The student participant in the study (P8) described at length that:

> *"Okay to be more honest with you in the academic space I think ahhhhh it's a fairly less discriminatory space to be in. I mean people mind their especially in institutions of higher learning people really mind their own business. Courses they are always challenging so instead of you thinking about whether the next person is Zimbabwean or not you are still going to have to write the exam so people who spend a lot of time trying to focus on other people's lives yah I mean they don't really pay attention trying to focus on people's lives coz they also have a life to live. And interestingly within the academic space then again, they have this misconception about Zimbabwean students within institutions of higher learning thinking that we are the epitome of knowledge, we are the fountain of knowledge, you understand? So, I think it's actually because of the history of the Zimbabwean education system, you understand so because of that history it's also trying to repeat itself. People think whenever they see you in class you are Zimbabwean then okay these are the guys who are distinctive so some South Africans they also want to associate with you because they feel that they also have to gain much from that is within the academic space. But then again, it's not like you spend a lot of your time within this academic space you are also exposed to some other stuff, some other groups in the communities especially like Hillbrow where I stay. You meet some other people then whom you cannot even want to reveal your identity as a student because the more you do it seems like you are trying*

to show off that sort of like the "us and them", the "me and you" kind of debates you understand? I mean I am a student and you belong to that other far end because you are a Hillbrower you stay here in Hillbrow, so you know nothing we are. So, there are people who tolerate you and accept you as a student but then it's not something that I usually reveal to people when I am in Hillbrow I also appear to be just an ordinary person like everyone else after all there is no way that you have to to walk around ah eh with a Wits tag yah yah. So no one will actually really know that you are a student I mean minding your own business talk to others unless someone is so much interested in knowing more about you that's when you can but it also depends with the nature of the relationship that you are at and the spaces that you are at say maybe at church. It doesn't really matter ahh if someone were to ask you so what are you doing for a living because a lot of these questions they are actually asked like in churches so what are you doing for a living ahh yaah you tell them that you are a student and yah someone people will also want to associate with you".[11]

Migrants have been associated with demeaning stereotypes which are very often reproduced by the media and some political commentators such as Mayor Hermanus Mashaba, Fikile Mbalula among others (McDonald et al 2000: 813). Below are some responses from participants that are a clear indication of stereotypes and resultant poor interactions between ZSP migrants and the host communities. They were asked about the reaction of South African locals and if they try to fit in anyway or anywhere.

P8: "Like for instance you know how locals sometimes they, they, they ah look down upon ahhh foreign nationals. I mean if you want to understand what I'm saying ahhh you have to board ahhh in taxis for instance, right? They ex, they expect you to know their languages right ahhh and (laughs slyly) there is this growing concern that maybe foreign nationals like they don't,

[11]Interview with student participant detailing student experiences at Wits on 17th December 2017

they don't bath, you understand, bath properly. You understand? So sometimes you are there in a taxi it's not even a bad smell within that taxi but then some people just say haahh no, no you know.

I: It's because there is a foreigner in the taxi?

P8: Exactly, they just frown for the sake of frowning. Yah so the hatred is still there but there are also people who are still very, very nice people out there and not all of them ahhhh have a negative perception of foreign nationals" […] "Ahhh trying to fit in is not something that I always try to do".[12]

P2: No, stay away you don't know what people are capable of if you force yourself in there, yah."[13]

In terms of integration, the above findings expound that associations between the study participants and the local community are relatively low. But the ZSP brought together many Zimbabweans because of the one common cause - their special permits. Most participants expressed feelings of exclusion and where they also do not try to fit in with the local community, each group is suspicious of the other.

4.3.3 SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS QUO

➢ **Better access to living/dwelling spaces**

The socio-economic status quo theme is central to this study in exploring the experiences of ZSP holders. It was that migrants choose to stay in a new residential area or a traditional residential which already hosts other migrants. This is indeed the case with most participants who confirmed this when asked reasons why they reside in Hillbrow. In the host country, many new migrants usually opt to share lodging with friends or colleagues upon their arrival and this

[12] Interview with male ZSP holder at Wits university on 17th December 2017
[13] Interview with male participant P2 on 17th January 2018 in Braamfontein

can continue for some time until they are stable. The study assessed participants' experiences in this regard and findings indicate that on the one hand, living/dwelling spaces are not necessarily dependent on documentation status but rather on stability and initially, during pre-documentation, on who one was going to stay with the first time arriving in South Africa. In support of this, participants like P15, P5 gave responses respectively such as*: "I didn't choose this area for specific reasons but just that when I arrived most people that I knew were around this area"; the fact that the person who called me to come to South Africa stayed here. I then got used to it."*

Participant P4 was the only one who stated that he chose to stay in Hillbrow for the sole purpose of safety and security from xenophobia and any forms of intimidation by locals. He further identified the area as the major hub for foreigners and not easily penetrated by anti-migrant locals by saying:

> *P4: "Because this place is very safe and sound when it comes to the local South Africans they hardly invade this place when it comes to these issues of Xenophobia and everything. Not better it's very secure, they never come to this place. They end in town from Hillbrow, Berea, Yeoville they hardly come to these places because it's a foreign infested place. It's our place no one can intimidate any of us."*

However, on the other hand, better access to living/dwelling spaces does not also necessarily mean living under decent conditions. This was particularly noted through my observation of some of the places of residence of participants who preferred interviews at home. Better access that ZSP holders now have is in cases of one's own space not essentially sharing as before documentation and at times having the capacity to rent a flat under one's personal name and details. This was expressed by P6 as she narrated her experiences in this regard saying: *"Yes. Before it was hard because when I got a place to stay I got it through using my sister's papers. That's how I got it. It's now easier with documentation, yah I got my own place with ZSP".*

4.4.2 Better access to education opportunities

Participants elucidated that the special permits programme has exposed them to the possibility of a better lifestyle than before as there are more opportunities for further education for those with interest to do so. Some simply confirmed not having encountered problems in sending their children to school but for some there was still no guarantee of that access for their children. In responding to the question as to the nature of schools that actually accept foreign children and on what conditions one participant (P2) claimed that private schools did so for the money when asked if he has any children that go to school and if it was easy to access education. The conversation was as follows:

> *P2: No, it's not. Not at all coz when I am applying there they said there is thing of applying online. I apply online then you find the mother is undocumented and I the father I'm documented so now they will say the child belongs to the mother, so I don't have access they don't approve my child over online when I'm applying.*
> *I: Because of the mother's legality status?*
> *P2: Yah, yah you see but me as the father, the letter, the birth certificate for the child is in my surname. Yes, but still it's not recognised when I was applying online so my daughter couldn't get a place at school like yah, so I had to send her to a private school.*
> *I: Okay and private schools accept because they don't mind?*
> *P2: Private schools accept as long you are paying.*
> *I: It's about the money?*
> *P2: It's about the money exactly yah.*

In her words:

> *P13: Uhhmm it wasn't. You see the older one he had to drop out of school and he didn't write Grade ehh 12. He didn't write Grade 12, but he has a passport I think they said this year he is turning 19 so it wasn't easy for me to get him a place because he doesn't have what, he doesn't have a permit.*
>
> *I: It did not count that you as his mother is documented?*

P13: Well it seemed that way and they said he is now over age too. So, the one I got sorted was this one in Grade 2. Yah this one I got her into school and at her school next year she is Grade 3 so on this one I saw that it was better but ahhh ah not on the older one it wasn't easy. Even now he wants to go back to school but because of documentation papers he can't.[14]

Also, one or two participants expressed their desire to take up opportunities for further training using the ZSP considering they could not do such when they were undocumented. However, financial restraints were blocking them from such opportunities. Women appeared to be in more casual part-time jobs than their male counterparts and for some still with the same employers from the time they were undocumented and getting same earnings. One of the women participants (P13) states that: *"Yah there are opportunities available that you could not do without a ZSP because right now if I wanted to do a course I can go register but when you don't have it how will you register".*[15]

This same participant had earlier on mentioned a desire to pursue training for caring for the old-aged. However, though this is further training, it is interesting that this can still be considered a low-skill job, and this supports the common notion that low skilled migrant workers are stuck in a cycle of moving from one low-skill job to another. Women are usually found in these kinds of jobs as caregivers or taking care of their family as was the case with participant P13. She was currently unemployed because her employer had gone to jail and as such she was caring for her family and more attention on her new born (almost 3 months old).

[14] Interview with ZSP holder participant P13, a mother in Hillbrow on 23rd January 2018
[15] Interview with unemployed female participant in Hillbrow on 23rd January 2018

The two participants that had taken up studies at higher tertiary institutions with the ZSP were P1 and P8. P1 holds a Certificate/Diploma from University of South Africa (Unisa) and P8 said that he is still doing his Post-graduate studies with University of the Witwatersrand (Wits). P1 describes his education experience as follows:

> *" That way because that is where I also did something for myself, I know a lot of people who have gone to school through ZSP. I also went to school through ZSP with Unisa you see. Yah, back then I couldn't because I wasn't using my own documents. I could not use my passport because it was an illegal document here in Mzansi (South Africa)."*[16]

Another respondent (P7) supported how post-ZSP allows for further training or studying compared to pre-ZSP:

P7: "Yes, for me my child minding certificates I got them when I became documented.

I: And before, when undocumented?

A. No, nothing".[17]

4.4.3 Health care constraints

The economic positioning of migrant workers in the informal sector places them in the lowest class strata. Findings from the semi-structured interviews show that even with the ZSP, migrants have access to but experience restricted health seeking behaviours though documented. Most participants admitted not frequenting health care service providers from the time they were undocumented and with the ZSP, and when they did undocumented, they did not have the best experiences. Participant P10 narrated this: *"The way we are treated at hospitals*

[16] Interview with P1 male Certificate/Diploma holder on 4th December 2017

[17] Interview with P7 female domestic worker in Hillbrow on 15th November 2017, as supporting quotation

is usually depending on the fact that we are foreign. Yes, it might help that you have documents but you can still see that they don't like us"

Consequently, participants seemed not to feel much entitlement to the right to basic health care contrary to the assumption that with ZSP access to health care services/facilities should be easier. Participants who had actually had experience in the health sector as undocumented migrants and as ZSP documented migrants criticized the public health sector in its entirety. On paper the South African constitution is inclusive in terms of accessing social services but Mupedziswa (2009) supports claims of migrants having difficulties in accessing public healthcare with or without proper documentation. In support of this from an exchange between the interviewer and participant (P2) stated that:

> *"P2: The clinic will help you but once you are transferred to the hospital if you are not a ZSP holder they won't help you…. Public. Johannesburg Hospital they call it Charlotte Maxeke. Yah I experienced that I'm talking from experience yah, my daughter she was very sick, but they couldn't help her. I had to pay. I didn't have money then, but you must run around to come up with money at night*
> *I: So, after you paid that's when they helped your*
> *daughter? P2: Yah, yes."*[18]

Crush and Tawodzera (2011:4) point out that South Africa's most common discriminatory stereotypes occur in the government public services sector such as hospitals, where some nationals believe foreigners contribute to over-crowding and placing burdens on the public health care system (Vearey, 2011). Another finding from the above participant was the insinuation that unlike in public health care, private healthcare would gladly provide health care services for the money one pays. The participant said:

[18] Interview with participant P2, a father in Braamfontein on 17th January 2018

I: But would it be the same in maybe let's say private hospitals?

P2: Private, there no it won't be the same. Private what they want is money. If you have got money they help you.

I: They are expensive?

P2: Yes, they are expensive. They are very expensive.

This also indicates that access to health care services and facilities with documentation is not always a bonus in public healthcare but plays out well in the private healthcare sector.

4.4.4. Improved travel experiences

Findings from participants on pre-ZSP travel experiences show that the lack of proper documentation hinders and causes some migrants to diverge from any wishes to visit home as much as they would love to. But with the ZSP, all 15 participants confirmed the smooth transition from having to find dubious means to travel to and from home when they were undocumented. ZSP allows all holders to travel as much as they please as well as spending less on travel fares and no bribes for safe passage on their way back home or on entry into South Africa. Respondent P1 for example said "*Ah, stress free travel experiences. No more stories about sending passport back for stamping out or getting days at the border. We used to send passports back when given days were up".*

P4 similarly said: "*Now it's very easy. Yes I think for these countries that are near unless if going overseas where you will then need more visas and all that stuff. But these other surrounding countries it's easy you can go wherever you want to".*

Yet another participant detailed the travel experiences as follows:

"Eish it's very different because if you are undocumented and you are going home there is no problem but when coming back they will want 1, 5 in hand for you to come in. But now because I have papers I go out with 400 and come back with that same 400 because I'm documented. When I get to the border there is no negotiations with the police ah, ah. I go straight to Immigration and they stamp my passport showing that I have entered South Africa and when I go out it also shows departure. They give me days at the Zimbabwean side, they give me 30 days depending on the Immigration officer you come across. If you get some mean officer there at the Zimbabwean side they can give you 3 days when you are going on leave, yah. Yah coz when we are going out of South Africa going home they give us days at the Zimbabwean side. Yeah than Zimbabwean side, it's the same as someone who has a passport without a permit when coming into South Africa isn't they give those days. It is the same with us when going in at the Zimbabwean side then when we are coming back into South Africa they just stamp in they don't give us days".

The discussion above credits ZSP on paper in the health and education sector as well as decent accommodation facilities. In principle documented ZSP holders still face constraints with full access to these public services. In this case, aspects such as service provider relationship can be factored in which then does not depend on documentation. However on a more positive note, in terms of travel experiences, the ZSP documentation fosters easier movement, a social experience that positively impacts on economic well-being of its holders. This is because they are pleased that it is now cheaper for them to travel back and forth and has also opened avenues for travel further other than home, Zimbabwe.

4.5. EMPLOYMENT & REMUNERATION

4.5.1 Lack of penetration into some sectors

The nature of employment of the study participants reveals that most ZSP holders are still found in the not so formal category of the job sector, if not just informal and perilous. This is

contrary to what some locals make of ZSP holders as documented migrant workers taking their jobs. As literature cited that low skilled documented workers are employed in labour intensive sectors, participants maintained that indeed they were still working within the same sectors they have been employed in before documentation. Access to other public services is also quite clogged. Participant (P4) narrated the above with the following detailed statement:

> *"These people most of them they hardly know or understand about these permits or whatever. That's why they always come saying these people they are taking our jobs whatever. Few people understand what is a ZSP holder or what it does and whatsoever, whatsoever. But for us as foreigners to have a permit doesn't guarantee you to have a formal job some they are permit holders but they are working like those recycling stuff on the streets. Some they are even doing their own manual hand work, selling in the streets but they are permit holders so it doesn't grant you or automatic that you are gonna get the best job like how the locals think. They have advantage because just a Green card even without qualification automatically you get a job for locals. It's us and Lesotho have the special permits and the other foreigners they still got opportunity for the asylums. I always see them there the asylums in Pretoria the Somalis they still have that greater opportunity. Then some Zimbabweans who failed to get they are trying by all means to attain those permits but already it has been closed. They just say oh u guys are lucky because us during those times because you know when this thing was introduced some they thought it was not gonna work or whatever. Some had another attitude when it started 2009/2010 they told these people not to go home during December times because whoever wants to attain a permit to be there to go to Home Affairs do the interviews whatever First those days it was for free you didn't even pay anything those days. But some they ignored such things then they just went home and they said they will live just like we used to do ever since. So now they can feel that eish that was an opportunity we missed coz since they now say we only help those who have the permits."*

Participation in self-employment is evidence of having made it for the skilled and documented migrants who use bridging capital to solicit ideas and start-up capital. However, for the low skilled and undocumented migrants, participation in self-employment is actually a result of blocked opportunities. This subsequent business tends to be small and at most only employs the owner. The barrier of inclusion is evidently felt by ZSP holders among other African

migrants as they are seen as economic and physical threats (Landau, 2005). Deregulation in the labour market does not exist even in self-employment and the only self-employed participant (P15), in the following exchange indicated that:

> *"P15: Yah in fact if you go to the banks and you want to borrow money or take a loan if you are using a ZSP you can have all the services at the bank but you can't have a loan at the bank. You can use all the services, bank account but you can't get a loan in the bank because you are using ZSP and don't have a proper South African ID and this thing of these people that they carry on giving us a space of 3 years, 4 years ahh 4 years, 2 years permits it doesn't give us proper direction.*
>
> *I: Okay so that's a concern you can't plan ahead?*
>
> *P15: Yes because you have invested a lot of things here others have got houses, cars, businesses but do you know where it is going to last".*

Sharing the same experience and sentiments with P15, participant P11 further explained how uninformed people are when they think the ZSP grants its holders the right to legally live, work and study (i.e. all in one) because a ZSP work permit for instance like his has its own specific conditions (see insert Figure 2). Apparently, you get one of the three and cannot change to the other hence ZSP holders experience a lack of penetration into some other sectors such as the business and education sector for instance if employed under the ZSP work permit category as well as in failed attempts to cross-over from working in the informal to the formal sector. P11 explained that:

> *P11: "Alright on that point I will stick on the, the, the ahh like the restrictions that they put on the permit. Like the, the mainly they say this permit only allows you to work if it's a work permit. These permits are different if it's a work permit it will specifically put it clear that you are only allowed to work that means you cannot do education you cannot learn or do any other thing. You cannot do business but if it's a business permit you only do business.*

I: So both are ZSP but with different conditions?

P11: Yah, ah, they are only that I've not, I, I don't have access to some people who have got this ah the one the business one but with us it's it states that you are not, you, you will only do, you will only work. Yah, yah".

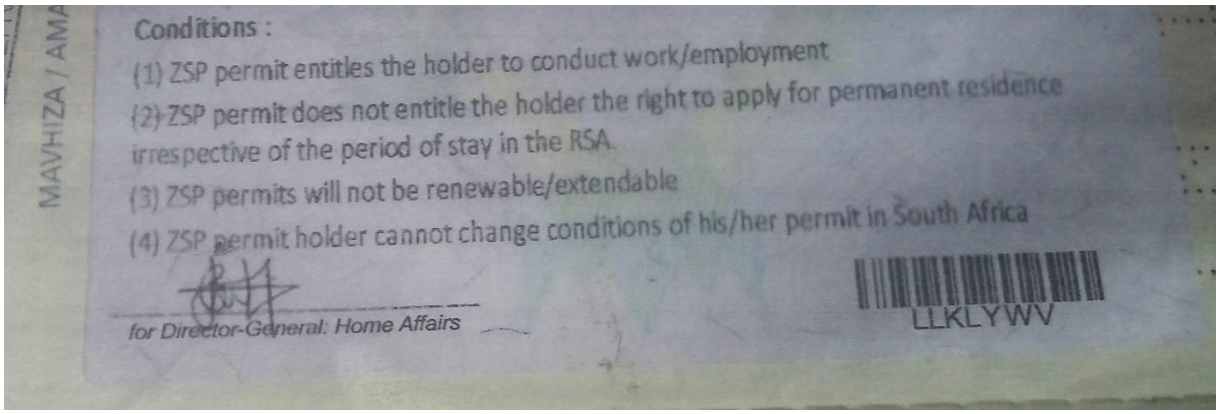

Figure 2: ZSP conditions on a work permit

In the South African labour market, findings from this research show that where ZSP holders are not entirely barred from entry, that entry is easy and guaranteed only in low paying sectors identified as "Zimbabwean dominated sectors". There is no job security and this is where most employer preference of Zimbabwean migrant workers also comes into play. The host somehow appears to have issued the special permits for proper governance or mere control of migrants residing within the host because easily getting a job does not necessarily guarantee better socio- economic welfare. Indeed, documentation offers easy legal stay and access to the labour market but returns are less. This is analysed from P6's response that *"It's different because now you see that when you have these papers that allow you to stay in this country you easily get a job than someone undocumented".*

Both the male and female participants shared the same views of the strong work ethic that they possess. They distinguished themselves as outstanding individuals compared to the South Africans even when they were undocumented, forced by circumstances and because they are

cheap labour compared to the locals. P6 notes that: "*They say South Africans are choosy because they don't want to earn less. As for us even if they say 2000 we take it because we are hungry and poor in need. That's what makes employers like us".*

Most participants further explained how South Africans choose not to show up for work as participant P4, exchange with P10 and P11's response indicates the following of Zimbabwean migrant workers compared to South African locals:

> *P4: "That's what they normal do because these local workers whenever they get money they hardly want to come to work. They prefer to squander their cash until its finished then they come back to work. Then its December time they always want to run to their home places there leave us at work. So our boss they always rely on us they say hey please guys please work for us because you see these people they are going and everything. So that is our advantage that these people they know that when it comes to working these people they are hard workers. They don't complain like these people that I have worked a lot hah I'm tired I can't come to work or whatsoever. December time a lot will be there will be shortfall. They will always call us to say guys please come cover up. Yah wherever, area they are working they prefer foreigners than these locals.*

> *"P10: Especially in domestic work. In fact in many sectors they like Zimbabweans because Zimbabweans do not have that thing that it's start or end of month they simply go to work. South Africans, when it's month end they first go to spend their money then come to work after that having spent their money.*
> *I: Even the undocumented are preferred by employers?*
> *P10: They still like them because they try by all means, I remember one of my employers with a certain man from home as well who was also undocumented and she liked him still because she even came to me to ask what she can do she could also get him documented like me. She said she liked him and did not want to lose him.*

> "*Yah they are hard working. The other thing is we are poverty-stricken, so we know how to hold on and we are used to poverty that's why we ran away from it coming here but that's why no*

matter how hard the job is we can hold on. We can just work and South Africans would never ah never. Yes we just do our job".[19]

According to P8, preference of Zimbabwean migrant workers is mostly in sectors that most ZSP holders are receptive to and where employers can also choose not to provide the benefits that a South African local would otherwise be expecting. In line with findings from consulted literature, most employers therefore tap into the vulnerability of ZSP migrant workers as explained by P8 below:

"Like I said in the primary security industry. In the hospitality again because of hard work, because of the perceptions about foreign nationals being hard workers and maybe ahh not only because of hard workers again but these employers again they also pounce on people's vulnerabilities, you understand. So they prefer them because at least they are cheap ahhh you know you don't usually take them to courts and if they hire and fire you at will ahh you always go back to them making them to give you jobs ahh they don't give you these kind of benefits I mean benefits ahh you are always available, you understand? Because you came here to work that's what they think, yah.

4.5.2 Livelihoods indifferences (jobs, income)

All participants expressed a concern that the jobs for low skilled migrants help them to 'get by' rather than 'get ahead' or entirely improve their livelihoods. Livelihood activities revealed the unchanging nature of socio-economic experiences of participants in terms of on the job income and employment sectors. Participant P6 for example stated that:

P6: Uuuhhmm it's still the same and it still pays the same. Actually, at times those without papers are paid a bit more than us who have papers.
I: Why?

[19] Interview with participant (P13) in Hillbrow on 23rd January 2018

P6: Ah employers' hearts are not the same. Others can just feel sorry for you that you don't have much and how you survive then see it fit to pay you a bit more."[20]

These low skilled ZSP holders who participated in the study cited that they still get the same low status jobs in security, domestic service, construction and the hospitality industry just like when they were undocumented. Actually, in some instances it can be hard altogether to get a job in the first place. Participant P2 revealed that: *"ZSP holders most of them they are in restaurants. That's the only job they can get"…It's hard but for especially undocumented. Yah but even though you are documented it's also hard to get a job. You leave this job then the other job says South African citizens".*

Again, in support of the above, another participant P10 further mentioned other factors that attribute to this common scenario that ZSP holders are found in particular sectors. The narration also disputes findings from the literature review that low skilled ZSP holders are not well educated hence they take up jobs such as domestic work, gardening, in restaurants and driving.

"You know when you are not from here it's hard for you to get jobs in the offices because for you to get into offices they will want a South African ID. They want only South African papers. It is not the same with going to Zimbabwe if you go to Zimbabwe just that Zimbabwe is not the same with other countries. Zimbabwe is not so corrupt and if you get to Zimbabwe and you are South African you can work in the office but in South Africa you cannot just work in the office being Zimbabwean. If that happens, it all depends on connections. Yes because it does not happen just like that that you get into offices being Zimbabwean. There is many decently educated Zimbabweans but it's hard for them too, some we work with emakhishini (domestic work). You see, others are in security and they are educated and others are in restaurants of which with their certificates and level of education they are not supposed to be in these jobs."[21]

[20] Interview with participant P6 in Hillbrow, on 30th November 2017
[21] Interview with participant P10 in Hillbrow on 30th November 2017

On a lighter note, some participants cited a change in their earnings while some argued that the difference was insignificant. Apparently, it is a way of employers trying to seem like they abide by labour laws when all they are doing is trying to keep them (Zimbabwean migrant workers) for themselves because they do prefer Zimbabwean workers. In an exchange with participant P10, she continued to say the former while P4 said the latter, producing two different experiences but where both participants used to work before documentation with the ZSP:

> *"P10: Well I can say documentation almost changed this but like I'm saying that since I got these employers I did not have a permit and they helped do it for me from the start when the first ones were introduced, ehe. But even now I'm still working for them so I can say it is still the same for me. Yah it's almost the same.*
> *I: Difference is you are legally documented?*
> *P10: Yah that I have papers, I'm happy for my legal stay."*

> *P4: There is a great difference. It has improved very well. But like we are saying whenever you are on ongoing contract each and every year we share the same rights with these locals, whenever there is an increment we also get the same increment with them. So if you are like I was saying that when I was still selling you know the money that I was getting as compared to when I started working those days even that salary was ranging around 3 something, 3 000 and something. But the more we waited you see now."*[22]

Another observation is that those who cited insignificant changes in income are mostly the women who are employed as domestic workers, a sector cited as one that most Zimbabwean women are receptive to. These women mentioned that they usually depend on how nice an employer is, otherwise the only tangible benefit that they got after ZSP compared to pre-documentation was registration for Unemployment Insurance Fund (UIF). Of course, and the constant second-hand household stuff handed over to them by employers as they got when

[22] Interview with male participant P4 employed in a formalised job in Parktown on 20th December 2017

undocumented. Participant P6, a domestic worker detailed how she realised that at times the part time jobs she does with some undocumented people actually give her just about the same earnings as what she earns in some full time jobs. She is also registered for UIF and sees no other difference. In the following short exchange with the interviewer, participant P6 said:

> *"P6: Uuuhhmm it's still the same and it still pays the same. Actually, at times those without papers are paid a bit more than us who have papers.*
> *I: Why?*
> *P6: Ah employers' hearts are not the same. Others can just feel sorry for you that you don't have much and how you survive then sees it fit to pay you a bit more.*

The search for better livelihoods was the driving force for most participants having come to South Africa in the first place. However, WHO (2007) posits that all societies have social and economic hierarchies in which economic and social resources are not distributed equally. In this case, migrants being at the bottom of the hierarchy, low skilled ZSP holders further find themselves continuously in informal jobs, where the potentially devastating effect of exploitation of migrant workers is common. Exploitation of migrant workers comes in many forms but what is perhaps distinct about findings from this research is that of these low skilled ZSP holders participants none mentioned experiences of things such as miscommunication as a result of language barrier in communicating with employers and they had decent levels of English for communication skills. However, they shared sentiments on low income despite having cited some levels of employment rights. One participant (P14) lamented that:

> *"Like I said on the job market ah it's a plus and a minus because you know capitalism thrives on exploitation, you know that? So the fact that you are ah, coz I work as a security guard right, I have worked as a security guard but for these fly by night companies these undocumented unregistered companies, you understand? So they also because capitalism thrives on exploiting labour then you are more exploitable when you don't have documents but you are also more*

employable in those companies when you don't have documents. You are less again more employable in those illegal and unregistered companies when you have documents because they are afraid that you might claim your rights, whatever is due to you, you can take them to the Labour Court whatever, right? I mean those are some of the things but then again even documents are sometimes also reduces your chances of being exploited again. If you join ah if you legally join an organisation then apparently it means you can also have access to some of these benefits thing. So it's sort of like a double edged sword, in one way you may not be employable coz you have legal documents right this idea that maybe you are less exploitable when you have documents. But also on the other hand again it places you into a context ah in a very tight situation whereby accessing labour again becomes also a challenge right because the country again is also trying to through its labour and immigration policies trying to prioritise a lot of South Africans right".[23]

Geddes and Scott (2009) argue that such reliance on migrant workers in the low-skilled sectors (example of agriculture) is not inevitable but is sometimes rather 'constructed'. This 'temporary workforce constitutes the secondary labour market and it is here where the least desirable and most insecure forms of employment are concentrated' (Geddes & Scott, 2010: 198). A highlight of income based on how much time one puts into their work as the only way they can significantly earn more was evidenced by participants working in sectors like hospitality and driving service sectors i.e. one participant working at a restaurant and another 2 employed as drivers under Uber. These participants noted that the longer hours you are out there working or online receiving transport requests for the Uber drivers, the more you are guaranteed of higher earnings. The Uber driver (P2) said: "*Uhhmm yah no work, no pay and we work long hours with Uber in order for you to make a better living."*[24]

[23] Interview with male security guard P14, in Hillbrow on 25th November 2017
[24] Interview with one service sector driver P2 in Braamfontein on 17th January 2018

However, most of these kinds of jobs lack any formal relationship channels between employer and employee i.e. contracts or some form of arrangement on paper. So, in the absence of such things as contracts, employees are denied the right to pensions or any form of package or compensation when they are out of work. From my observation, one of the Uber drivers seemed content that because they did not sign any agreement or arrangement with his employer it's good that he can walk away at any time. This is evident from the exchange with P2:

> *P2:"Ahhhh Uber. Even if I feel like I don't want to work for this guy like I just leave, go. There is no contract we don't have anything. Yah I don't have to say like I must put a 2 months' notice or 1 month no notice I just tell you now I'm done. Even him also he if he doesn't want me he tell me I'm done. There is no contract. We don't have a contract.*
> *I: And you are okay with that?*
> *P2: Yah I'm okay with it. I think because sometimes having a contract it abides you in something that will keep you like where someone whereby you don't have good relationship. Seeing that person everyday but for something like this where there is no contract like okay we done, we done, move on, move on. So yeah."*

Then the waitress participant (P9) summarised her experiences as: "*No, I'm not contract it's just working".*[25]

4.5.3 Lack of financial support

A careful analysis of the findings reveals that although most ZSP migrant workers can independently open bank accounts with a bank of their choice that does not apply to financial support in the form of loans. Most participants expressed the issue of not having bothered to acquire financial support or bank assistance in the form of loans because of the many requirements for one to be granted a loan. According to the participants a ZSP is not enough to qualify and for some the problem is not with ZSP but with getting supporting documents. The

[25] Interview with female participant P9 in Hillbrow on 15th November 2017, employed in the hospitality sector

study evaluated that ZSP holders have limited access to financial services at banks. Most participants acknowledged that unlike when they were undocumented they now have bank accounts in their names. This is except for one participant (P13) who apparently decided to close it because she felt worn out by the process of accounts being frozen the last time when the other ZDP special permits lapsed. She said: "*Ah I closed that a long time ago because of this after 4 years the permits expire. What's the use of opening an account then? When my monies will freeze they should just give us 10 years and stop playing with our minds."*

However, access to financial support from banks is generally lacking. When asked if they can get a bank loan with the ZSP and also compared to the time they were undocumented, participants gave the same responses. It was either some banks decline their applications or they themselves simply chose not to make use of that bank service. The study found no participant experiences having sought a loan from a bank pre-ZSP which indeed they said they had no chance of succeeding. Participants P6 and P15 described their experiences in the following exchanges with the interviewer:

"P6: No it is a few banks that would allow you to get a loan. Most do not they refuse especially for us that do domestic work. They want the name of the company. So when you work under domestic work without the name of the company it's not easy to get it.

I: And when you are undocumented you can never get it?

P6: Never, you will not get it."[26]

"P15: Yah. No, no, no I what I have done personally I didn't go to the bank but I used ehh internet application and it would say put your ID number and then when you put your passport number it will say no put your ID number (emphasising & laughs).

I: Oh so it's more like you are not eligible, you don't qualify just like when you were undocumented?

[26] Interview with female domestic worker P6 at her home in Hillbrow on 30th November 2017

P15: Yah (laughs some more)".[27]

However, only one participant seems to have tried and at least succeeded with getting a bank loan but even he said to have tried more than one bank to eventually get one that gives to ZSP holders as well. Although, some participants said they think or have heard that it is possible to get a loan as a ZSP holder, further observation reveals that it depends on categories i.e. whether one is ZSP low/unskilled or ZSP semi/high skilled with the latter in more formal, respectable and better-paying jobs. This increases their chances of qualifying for a bank loan with the trust that they are in a better position to pay it back. The successful participant (P2) said:

> *"P2: Yes I have tried and I got a loan from African Bank. I tried ABSA they don't give them.*
>
> *I: So it's more like there is some banks that give and some that don't?*
>
> *P2: Yah it was African Bank, you can hear the name also. African Bank (laughs) it doesn't discriminate it's an African bank. Some here hey they consider a lot of things. Yah it's a lot of processes to get there".*[28]

4.5.4 Employment Rights

The findings in the study indicate that all ZSP holders actually do have some level of employee rights that they enjoy in their respective sectors as compared to when they were undocumented. They stated that they can sit down and talk with their employers to address some issues. They work in close proximity with their employers were communication is direct and no different lines or chain of command that an employee has to first report to exist. This is illustrated in one participant (P13)' statement below:

[27] Interview with self-employed male P15 in Hillbrow on 23rd January 2018
[28] Interview on with male ZSP holder P2 in Braamfontein, successful in getting bank loan

"Uuhhmm ahhh (hesitates) uuhhmm. Let's say if we are not in good books with my employer I had the powers to say please can we sit down and talk. You see, that I had the guts to say because I was documented and this my thing I had faith in it. It's like someone with their charm and is confident that charm will work, you see so I had my rights even when I asked my employer that can we sit down and talk and maybe raise my salary a bit. I will be knowing that would happen because we both know I am documented and even she can see that I know my rights I'm not so stupid anymore unlike when you don't have anything you just hold on for just 1 rand my child until the year ends. However, when I have my proper stuff, that doesn't work.[29]

Another participant (P7) supported this by saying that "*It's that if I don't like something I can talk to my employer. They said it from the start that if there is something I do not like I should speak up".*[30]

On a different note a closer interpretation of participant experiences indicates the survival attitude that foreigners possess no matter the circumstances, undocumented or documented. It also shows what employers perceive it means to be Zimbabwean even when they are documented they are cheap labour. Rights are sometimes infringed upon as evidenced by the following participant (P5)'s experiences:

"We might have rights but our employers do not necessarily feel obligated to follow them even if we have permits. Because I know that even if you are a domestic worker you are allowed your sick days off. If you are on maternity leave you should be getting paid and you have to get leave every year but then you might find that even when you have a permit some employers choose not to follow that. When you are sick they deduct a certain amount of money so sometimes it's the same there is a disadvantage as our rights are not being exercised or followed the way they should be. So enjoying these rights now depends on your employer, the type of person (s) they are but I also think at the end of the day if you know what rights you have then you can tell your

[29] Interview in Hillbrow with now unemployed female P13, used to be domestic worker, on 23rd January 2018
[30] Interview with female domestic worker P7 in Hillbrow at place of residence on 15th November 2017

employer that you know what I know my rights and because I have a permit you have to follow them and failure to that you can report them that you could not reach an agreement. As for me, my employer is not paying me right now on my maternity leave but there is nothing I can really do because we are in good books and it would be a bit far-fetched to report the issue. So rights are there but not followed accordingly".[31]

In contrast to consulted literature that suggested that migrant workers in a global and local context are sometimes rigidly tied or bound to employers as a result of documentation, this was not the case with ZSP low skilled migrant workers in the study. Most participants were certain that they can move from their current job to another without fear of work permit cancellations or employers running after them for retribution. Evidently, for instance one participant (P11) produced his ZSP work permit and indeed it does not stipulate a particular organisation or company name that one is tied to like some other forms of documentation in South Africa as conditions on the work permit.[32]

This discussion clearly reveals that though participants are still found in the same employment sectors as when they were undocumented, ZSP has rendered a positive change in negotiating terms on the job. They now possess a certain level of rights, ZSP offers no rigid ties to their employers, and others are in a better position to secure financial support from some banks as well as a little positive change in earnings/income. However, there is no impact on low/unskilled penetrating other sectors unless we factor in that penetration could be guaranteed if one furthers their education considering ZSP offers better access to education opportunities.

[31] Interview with participant P5, pregnant domestic worker in Hillbrow on 4th December 2017
[32] See Figure 2: ZSP conditions on page 71 above

4.6 PROSPECTIVE PLANS

4.6.1 Going back home

In support of the literature that states that Zimbabwe was well off before its economic meltdown and possessed a massive ability to fend for its citizens and at some point as the bread basket of Africa (Maphosa, 1994; Nyikadzino, 2011), participants who showed no interest or wish to be granted citizenship showed a high degree of patriotism. They claimed to be proud citizens of Zimbabwe and ready to face the reality that one day they will have to go back home. Though South Africa has a fair degree of opportunities on offer however during Zimbabwe's good old days the same could be provided at home and the decision to migrate was optional. The participants gave responses showing that they preferred this form of temporary residence status as participant P1 and P5 state:

> *"P1: No if this system changes, I would not agree to it. Home is best. I wouldn't want to be a permanent citizen because one day I will go home. It's not like I'm planning to always be in South Africa. Home is best I'm quite fine with these many renewals. Well they can offer us permanent residence but it's not something I'm looking forward to so long as I'm legal at that moment in time with this special permit its fine.*
>
> *P5: Personally, I can say special permit is okay because it can be terminated and I can leave it if it's said go back home because when given citizenship it will mean I have to stay in South Africa and be given conditions when I want to go home. My wish is to go back home so I am okay with using permit. I don't want to end up staying in South Africa forever. I wish to take home whatever I would have gained from my stay in South Africa".*

A further analysis is that the new hope that most Zimbabweans have now is due to the November 2017 events when the now Former Zimbabwean President Robert Mugabe was

toppled by a military intervention that was dubbed a somewhat peaceful "coup". The military embarked on "Operation Restore Legacy" and catapulted a new president into power ending Mugabe's rule – a 37-year grip on power (Suzuki, 2018). In the hope for a new Zimbabwe, ZSP holders are also part of these hopeful Zimbabweans hence expressing their non-wishes for the replacement of the special permit programme with citizenship status.

Notably, unlike any other form of documentation, participants in this study ZSP holders confirmed having been in an indeterminate state from the onset, clouded by fears and uncertainty of what happens next whenever approaching expiry of the conditions stipulated on their legal documents. Participant (P15) in the following exchange with the interviewer narrated that:

> *"P15: ….and this thing of these people that they carry on giving us a space of 3 years, 4 years ahh 4 years, 2 years permits it doesn't give us proper direction.*
> *I: Okay so that's a concern you can't plan ahead?*
> *P15: Yes because you have invested a lot of things here others have got houses, cars, businesses but do you know where it is going to last."*[33]

In addition, reports by the media have shown that with the subject of the ZSP came claims from holders that they had not been informed that being placed on this type of document they will not be eligible for application for permanent residency ever (SABC News, 2017). This is indeed one of the visible conditions of the ZSP stipulated on the printed sticker of every ZSP holder. So, as it stands no ZSP holder will ever be eligible for permanent residency no matter the length of stay in South Africa. Some participants were vying for yet another special documentation status like how they were once exempted from some requirements. This would be much similar to when the dispensation of special permits programme started with the ZDP hence exemptions for citizenship status probably due to the blocked opportunity.

[33] Interview with business man P15 in Hillbrow on 23rd January 2018

Other respondents that fully embraced the idea of taking up citizenship status felt they now have a right to such claims considering they have been well documented under the special permits programme and length of stay as a bonus. They seem to disregard the fact that citizenship considers not just length of stay but one's socio-economic positioning as well for which most of them would not qualify with their low skill livelihood activities. There was one participant who raised an issue that digs deeper into documentation. She expressed the wish to rather be granted a certain type of ID that she referred to as the Zimbabwe-South Africa ID. Ideally, this form of documentation grants holders benefits and better experiences in comparison to experiences when undocumented and way better than their experiences with the ZSP. The participant (P10) said in the following exchange:

> *P10: "Yah. Yes, I would like it if it got to where they would eventually give us Zimbabwe-South Africa IDs, I would prefer that one because they would know that I'm from Zimbabwe, but I stay in South Africa.*
>
> *I: Are the Zimbabwe-South Africa ID benefits the same as South African citizenship?*
>
> *P10: Yah because a person with a Zimbabwe-South Africa ID can vote too. Yah they can vote but I with a ZSP cannot vote. That one can vote because now they have those smart cards they have those IDs. You see, so there is a difference there so if it happens that they also give us those Zimbabwe-South Africa IDs that would be alright. That would be better, and we would be thankful for that".* [34]

[34] Interview with participant P10 in Hillbrow on 30th November 2017

The participants said they see better prospects with citizenship because though legal, getting ahead with a ZSP has been hard for most of its low skilled holders. This was also even harder when they were undocumented migrant workers, so they base this wish on the fact that with citizenship more opportunities are likely to arise and better their livelihoods. One response that supports this notion is from one self-employed business man (P15) who stated that: *"Yah for me I think it's going to ehhh give me more opportunities to run my business because I will be having a more courage and more power. I will be knowing that if I have got a citizenship I can do anything, anywhere".*

A summation of the participants' responses above confirms the social inclusion theory as cited by Dumont, Spielvogel & Widmaier (2010) that the increasing number of migrants signifies many prospects for the host country, but this is usually accompanied by social challenges such as social exclusion on the part of migrant workers. Evidently, this is through the ZSP itself as a document that disqualifies holders for documentation status such as permanent residency. Most participants therefore expressed that they will go back home at some point.

4.7 CONCLUSION

The purpose of this chapter was to analyse and provide detailed findings on the patterns/themes that emerged from exploring the socio-economic experiences of ZSP holders living in Hillbrow in comparison to pre-ZSP documentation phase. The chapter shows that ZSP has multifaceted impact or effects on the socio-economic experiences of the holders. These effects range from positive impact, to indifference (or no significant impact), to negative impact depending on the aspects of the lives and profiles of holders. The impact of documentation is therefore far more complex than is actually perceived. The following Chapter 5 provide concluding remarks on the key findings against the literature covered and suggests ideas for possible future research studies.

CHAPTER 5: CONCLUSION

5.1 INTRODUCTION

This final and concluding section of the research report draws the conclusion and suggestions that could possibly guide future researchers in this regard. The key findings are based on the need to answer the research question "What are the effects of documentation on socio-economic experiences of Zimbabwean migrant workers in South Africa". The chapter also refers to the objectives of the study by showing a broad understanding of and combining the experiences of 15 ZSP documented migrant workers looking at their pre-documentation and post-documentation phase experiences. The chapter will also raise remaining unanswered questions for future research.

5.2 KEY FINDINGS

The study finds that the challenges faced by low skilled ZSP migrant workers can be likened to those of other migrant workers with other forms of documentation. Most migrant ZSP holders conveyed that in terms of their socio-economic experiences with the ZSP, this form of documentation has not entirely been successful or unable to bring any positive effect from their pre-documentation phase and in comparison, with post-documentation. The pre-post experiences showed some level of variation because the ZSP holders have faced challenges in some areas but adjusted well in some and did not change in others. This finding is in line with Landau (2007: 15)'s argument that identity documents does not necessarily prevent discrimination or ensure social inclusion.

In sum, the discussion shows that ZSP had a very positive impact with regards to relegalizing the stay of beneficiaries. Most participants shared sentiments of this positive impact which seems to basically sum up the ZSP as having ushered in change on terms of stay. This

discussion also established that no relationship actually exists between freedom of movement and documentation. Factors such as the nature of the area, activities and social acceptance are some of the influences to account for on freedom of movement.

In terms of integration, findings expounded that associations between the study participants and the local community are relatively low. But the ZSP brought together many Zimbabweans because of one common cause - the special permits. Most participants expressed feelings of exclusion and where they also do not necessarily try to fit in with the local community, each group is suspicious of the other.

The socio-economic experiences of the ZSP holders in South Africa revealed that sometimes experiences are not entirely dependent on documentation status but there are other influencing factors. The shared essence of the findings is the holders' recognition that documentation has a role to play in their lives as migrants particularly with regard to a shift towards a more positive legality orientation on migrants already in the country. The discussion from the findings credits ZSP on paper in the health and education sector as well as decent accommodation facilities as in principle documented ZSP holders still face constraints with full access to these public services. In this case, aspects such as service provider relationship can be factored in, not dependent on documentation. However, on a more positive note, in terms of travel experiences, the ZSP documentation fostered easier movement, a social experience that positively impacts on economic well-being of its holders. ZSP holders were pleased that it was cheaper for them to travel back and forth and also opened avenues for travel further other than to Zimbabwe.

As mentioned earlier that it is possible for outcomes to be divided into both positive and negative or display no significant impact. Generally, participants applauded the ZSP for the positive impact it has had on their general stay in the Republic but the positive impact it had

on other aspects was rather shallow or merely on the surface. However, a deep exploration of the study findings shows that there were other problems associated with the ZSP itself as part of improving the welfare of holders. These include ignoring dependents of holders especially minors or those considered as over age but were also undocumented. As such ZSP holders who are parents struggled in such scenarios.

This study also produced some interesting yet confounding findings. Evidently, the negative orientations of being undocumented are sometimes also familiar to the documented. The socio- economic experiences of low skilled ZSP holders shows that the welfare of migrant workers is best understood through access to the most basic of public services. However, of interest from the findings is the fact that the sentiments echoed by participants on the gains or advantages of documentation in relation to public services seem too shallow. There are stronger counter-arguments that could altogether dismiss effects of documentation such as in the examination of the difference made by the ZDP and ZSP. There was constant referral, from participants, to how they as low skilled migrants have been able to open store accounts since getting the ZSP, need I say a vicious cycle of being trapped in debt and bad credit records. This in-turn affects other aspects like acquiring bank loans (from those that provide or eventually will) as a result of unpaid credit accounts. How is it then that this will positively contribute to one' socio-economic welfare?

The key findings also clearly reveal that though the low skilled ZSP holders are still found in the same employment sectors as when they were undocumented, ZSP has rendered a positive change in negotiating some terms on the job. They now possess a certain level of rights; ZSP offers no rigid ties to their employers. And others are in better positions to secure financial support from some banks as well as positive change in earnings/income for some. However, there is no impact on the low skilled penetrating other sectors unless we factor in that penetration

could be guaranteed if one furthers their education considering ZSP offers better access to education opportunities than was seen before documentation. From this, research has helped deduce that foreign migrant workers in general and Zimbabwean migrant workers in particular low skilled ZSP holders have inequitable access to the most basic of public services provided in the host country.

Furthermore, this study contributes to the ongoing debates on effects of documentation on migrant workers and adds to the literature as a result of its sole findings. Some findings at hand dispute the literature conclusions of the linear scholarly suggestions that socio-economic experiences of migrant workers pre and post documentation is either positive or negative. But this study revealed that this is due to the precarious nature of being foreign among other factors not necessarily whether undocumented or documented legality status.

5.3 CONCLUDING REMARKS

This study concurs with some assertions made by most literature on experiences of other migrant workers with other forms of documentations. The complexities and varied experiences found in the study are more reason for further research to be conducted on socio-economic experiences of migrant workers and in relation to the host after post-documentation phase. The notion of "othering" best explains findings that emerged from the study as the ZSP is rather silent on the socio-economic component of migrant workers experiences which is vital in the overall stay of migrants in any host society. It is not clear or specific whether this government initiative of special permits was intentionally careful not to engage Zimbabwean migrants in an attempt to jealously safeguard its other forms of documentation or otherwise. However, it is important to note that migrants will always be anti-authority and sometimes anti-local.

The study's key finding is that documentation (in this case ZSP) has a multifaceted impact on socio-economic experiences of its holders. Multifaceted in the sense that in some aspects, the impact is positive, in others there is no significant impact and yet in others it may have a negative impact. The outcome of the effect depends on a multiplicity of factors including the host state's capacity to implement policies/laws, the profile of the holder, host communities' acceptance of migrants as legitimate members, among others.

This heterogeneity of outcomes challenges the linear (positive or negative) scholarly conclusions and public assumptions found in some literature and policy debates. Indeed, much of the scholarship is divided in this regard. One school of thought emphasises, the positive impact of documentation on the wellbeing of migrants, while the other argues to the contrary that documentation has either no impact or negative impact. By showing that both outcomes are actually possible, this study contributes to this ongoing debate.

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Appendix I
University of the Witwatersrand
School of Social Sciences

To be read before beginning of interview
My name is …… I am a Masters student from the School of Social Sciences at the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. I would like to thank you for participating in my research project by interview to explore the effects of documentation on socio-economic experiences of Zimbabwean migrant workers in South Africa. I do not work for the government or any aid organization; this study is mainly for academic purposes.

Research Aims
I am interested in exploring the experiences of documented migrant workers i.e. being 'legal' in South Africa, does being 'legal' make one better off or are there still precarious conditions socially and economically as well as the working and living conditions as documented migrants. I am also interested in establishing the ways in which documented migrants respond to all of the above.

What If You Have Further Questions about the Project?
You are free to contact me by e-mail at 1660220@students.wits.ac.za, contact number 078 878 6559 or you can contact my supervisor Jean- Pierre Misago at the University of the Witwatersrand by email at: Jean.Misago@wits.ac.za or contact number 011 717 4093.

Interview transcript for ZSP documented migrant workers in South Africa

General information (To be filled by interviewer)

Name of interviewer:	
Date of interview	
Place of interview	
Location	
Type of settlement	
Time interview began	
Time interview ended	
Total time spent on interview	
Other (specify)	

SECTION I: Participant Demographic Profile

100. Participant code name

101. Age of Participant

102. Gender

Male	
Female	

103. Race of participant

Black	
White	
Coloured	
Asian	

Other (specify).....

104. Educational status of participant

Uneducated	
Grade 1-4	
Grade 5-7	
Grade 8-10/Ordinary level	
Grade 11-12/Advanced level	
Certificate/Diploma	
Undergraduate	
Post-graduate	

105. Please specify your occupation

SECTION II: Migration into South Africa

200. When you left Zimbabwe did you want to leave?

201. When did you come to South Africa?

202. Who did you come with?

203. From your experience, what were the main causes of migration?

204. Before migrating, what was your situation like as an individual that made you join the influx of migrants into South Africa?

205. What influenced your choice of migration destination?

206. What was it like when you first arrived in South Africa?

207. For how long have you been staying in Hillbrow town area?

208. Why did you choose this area?

209. Who do you stay with?

210. What is your current marital status? A Zimbabwean or local partner?

Section III: Effects of documentation

301. What are the predominant/main perceptions (views) about ZSP holders by other migrants and by locals?

302. How accepting are people of you as a migrant worker based on your legality status?

303. Do you as a documented migrant face same experiences now as much as when you were undocumented?

304. Are there any governing immigration regulations that South African immigration services put into place specifically for ZSP migrants? In this regard are there any great concerns?

305. What general impact (social and/or economic) has ZSP had on the lives of its holders? Please explain your response.

Section IV: Pre-post socio-economic experiences of migrants

Social aspect

401. Do you have family here in South Africa?

402. Do you have children? If yes, how many?

403. Do they go to school? If no, why not?

404. If yes to 403, now with easy access to education than before?

405. Are there any other family members back home?

Do you support them in any way, explain?

406. Where do you spend most of your time and who are the people you usually associate with?

407. What is the reaction of SA locals towards you? Other Zimbabwean migrants & foreign communities?

408. Are your neighbours also from Zimbabwe or mostly locals?

What proportion of the neighbourhood would you say is approximately inhabited by Zimbabweans/other non-nationals?

409. Do you have access to accommodation facilities now and then? What experiences do you have in this regard?

410. Can you get access to legal aid/representation, if ever need be before and after ZSP?

411. How reliable is your access to health care services/facilities before ZSP & now? Please explain your experiences.

412. How are your travel experiences back and forth between Zimbabwe and South Africa as well as elsewhere beyond South Africa since getting the ZSP compared to before?

413. Do you know if it would it be easier to conduct or register a business before & now using the ZSP?

414. Do you feel safe in South Africa before and after ZSP?

Have you ever had any experience with common intimidation?

415. Do you have freedom of movement?

You feel included or excluded particularly by the local community before and after ZSP? And do you try to fit in?

416. Have you joined any local organisations, such as cultural, sporting associations or trade unions/ workers' association etc.?

Economic aspect

417. Are your livelihood activities (means of support) any different from other migrants and from locals'? Please explain.

418. How has documentation affected your livelihoods?

419. What do most ZSP holders do for a living?

What would you attribute this to?

420. Has it been easier for you to seek employment since getting the ZSP?

421. Are you permanent or on contract?

422. Since not self-employed, how is your relationship with your employer?

423. Would you say that some South African employers prefer Zimbabwean workers?

Why and in which sectors particularly?

424. What rights do you enjoy as a worker in your respective sector, please explain?

425. How much do you earn, in range?

426. Is there a difference in your income before and after getting the ZSP? Why do you think is the case to your answer?

427. Do you have a bank account in your name?

Is it possible to get a bank loan and have you ever been in need of or tried to get one?

428. What do you think of the climate for doing business in South Africa? Is it something one can consider to be fully self-employed?

429. What opportunities exist for further training in South Africa in comparison to then and now with ZSP?

430. From your experiences, would you like to otherwise become a South African citizen?

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Research Office

HUMAN RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE (NON-MEDICAL)
R14/49 N d l o v u

CLEARANCE CERTIFICATE — PROTOCOL NUMBER: H17/08/24

PROJECT TITLE	Exploring the effects of documentation on socio-economic experiences of Zimbabwean migrant workers in South Africa
INVESTIGATOR(S)	Miss P Ndlovu
SCHOOUDEPARTMENT	Social Sciences/
DATE CONSIDERED	18 August 2017
DECISION OF THE COMMITTEE	Approved
EXPIRY DATE	18 October 2020

19 October 2017 — CHAIRPERSON J-Knight
(Professor J Knight)

cc: Supervisor :Dr J Misago

DECLARATION OF INVESTIGATOR(S)

To be completed in duplicate and ONE COPY returned to the Secretary at Room 10004, 10th Floor, Senate House, University. Unreported changes to the application may invalidate the clearance given by the HREC (Non-Medical)

I/We fully understand the conditions under which I am/we are authorized to carry out the abovementioned research and I/we guarantee to ensure compliance with these conditions. Should any departure to be contemplated from the research procedure as approved I/we undertake to resubmit the protocol to the Committee. I agree to completion of a yearly progress report.

Signature _____ Date _____

PLEASE QUOTE THE PROTOCOL NUMBER ON ALL ENQUIRIES