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Magwaza, Nokubonga

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University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg

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Mapping the socio-economic contribution of Zimbabwean migrants in Diepsloot, City of Johannesburg

Nokubonga Magwaza

Submitted in partial fulfilment to the Master of Management Degree in Public and Development Management

Wits School of Governance

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Supervisor: Dr N Pophiwa

DECLARATION

I, Nokubonga Nontuthuko Magwaza, student number 1968655, declare that this research report is my own work and has not been submitted to any university or institution as a prerequisite for a degree or qualifications. I am submitting this research report to fulfil the requirements of Master of Management Degree in Public and Development Management at the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg.

Signature……..Date……

Nokubonga Magwaza

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

I would like to extend my gratitude to Professor Anthoni Van Nieuwkerk who started with me on this project, took me through and guided me up until he left the institution. I appreciate his patience with me.

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Abstract

This study examines the socio-economic contribution of Zimbabwean migrants in Diepsloot, a suburb in the City of Johannesburg. It examines the lived experiences of both Diepsloot residents and immigrants in the area, focusing on their socio-relations. The study examines the determinants that led Zimbabwean immigrants to settle in Diepsloot, while also observing the characteristics of their living situations after their arrival in the area. The objective is to gain an in-depth understanding of the beneficial contribution that the current Zimbabwean migrants in Diepsloot are making, instead of focusing on the notions that they are competing for access to free government services, job prospects, and contributing to crime in the region.

The study employed a qualitative research methodology. The utilization of qualitative research allows the researcher to get rich information from a small number of individuals in the Diepsloot area, enabling an in-depth understanding of the participants' actual experiences pertaining to the topic under investigation. The selection of qualitative research was based on its emphasis on the quality, nature, and essence of the phenomena under investigation. The sample consisted of South African nationals aged 18 and above, along with Zimbabwean individuals, comprising both documented and undocumented immigrants.

The study's findings indicated that immigrants with social networks could integrate, establish themselves, and secure career opportunities in Diepsloot. Several participants noted that immigrants tend to accept lower wages and mostly engage in domestic jobs within nearby suburbs. It concludes with providing recommendations for local government and national government policymakers on ways to encourage peaceful coexistence among the hosts and immigrants in Diepsloot.

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ACRONYMS

ANC: African National Congress

COB: Community Based Organisation

COPE: Congress Of the People

DA: Democratic Alliance

EFF: Economic Freedom Fighter

GDP: Gross Domestic Product

IFP: Inkatha Freedom Party

ILO: International Labour Organization

NPC: Tswelopele Education Foundation

RDP: Reconstruction and Development Programme

SA: South Africa

SADC: Southern African Development Community

SANCO: South African National Civic Organisation

1 INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background of the study

South Africa is a nation with a rich history of regional labour migration. Historically, migratory movements to South Africa were associated with labour with specific reference to mining and agriculture. Since 1994 South Africa became a popular port of entry for the flow of migrants and refugees from other parts of the continent and east Asia for economic, social, political and security reasons. Whilst low-skilled labour migration had been the lifeblood of the apartheid era labour requirements, the South African government after 1994 crafted immigration policies which targeted skilled migrant labour. Therefore, the study is going to look at how Zimbabwean migrants contribute to the economy of South Africa, using a case study of Diepsloot, in the city of Johannesburg.

The study examines the socio-economic contributions of Zimbabwean migrants in the city of Johannesburg, with a focus on Diepsloot. In the study Migrants are classified as legal and irregular immigrants; this is done so to understand how these types of migrants play a role in the economy of Diepsloot as per their existence in the area. Legal immigrants are classified as persons from a foreign country who goes to live permanently in another country and 'irregular immigrants' are people from other countries who consciously defy domestic laws of the country they have migrated to (Barolsky, 2016). For the purpose of this study, the term 'migrants' refers to Zimbabweans living in Diepsloot. The study explores how -- Zimbabweans migrants contribute to the economy of the city, push factors in Zimbabwe and pull factors in the city of Johannesburg; their living conditions, standards and challenges they come across in the host city. However, it is important that the study be situated in a broader context before it is brought down to the actual area of study. It is of this reason that it is going to look at issues of globalization and migration, migration and development as well as challenges of migration in Africa.

The city of Johannesburg is South Africa's largest city, situated in the country's most populous province, Gauteng. It is regarded as the financial and manufacturing centre of South Africa because of the concentration of wealth and economic production. However, the wealth in it masks inequalities in wealth and access to resources for its residents, and such reflects South Africa's history of racial exclusion and inequality. The Tswelopele Education Foundation NPC (2015) described Diepsloot as a township located in the north of Johannesburg. It is in region A in the city of Johannesburg Metropolitan Municipality with an estimated population of 350 000 people. It is a mixture of both formal and informal settlements and is demarcated into two wards (95 and 113). It is further considered to be a predominantly informal settlement located 40 km from Johannesburg city centre. As a township that emerged in the post-apartheid era, Diepsloot presents the triple threat challenges of poverty, inequality, and unemployment which South Africa is facing. Severe challenges such as unemployment, poor access to health care, lack of service delivery, and housing are the order of the day in such areas.

1.2 Problem Statement

Diepsloot is an area known for frequent violent protests against immigrants. In April 2022, there was public outcry when a Zimbabwean national known as Elvis Nyathi was beaten and burnt to death when a vigilante group called Operation Dudula conducted patrols in the area, demanding residents to prove that they were South Africans. Weeks following that incident, the same group continued with its 'stop and search' activities and held meetings with government officials, expressing anger against the presence of immigrants. It is the pervasiveness, and the growing number of Zimbabwean migrants, in Diepsloot that resulted to local accusations that migrants from Zimbabwe, and other parts of Africa, are using the scarce resources intended for South African citizens. Behind the xenophobic attacks against foreign nationals living in Diepsloot, are discourses that it is due to intense competition for jobs, health care and housing. Generally, pervasiveness of immigrants is to be expected considering their pursuit of economic opportunities. Although the presence of migrants is deemed detrimental to the basic service delivery processes and privileges and available

opportunities etc., they are also tolerated and sometimes deemed essential and desirable for the smooth function of any society (Barolsky, 2016).

Diepsloot is now projected among the most violent neighbourhoods of Johannesburg because of the criminal activities taking place in the area as since the 2008 xenophobia attacks manifested in the area. It is, therefore, important that the study looks at how Zimbabwean migrants contribute to the economy of Diepsloot, so that they are not only seen as 'criminals' and be violently attacked for simply seeking to co-exist with local citizens but as part of local residents who equally contribute to socio-economy within the area. Diepsloot has been identified as the worst when it comes to xenophobia and intolerant behaviour. When people initially moved to Diepsloot in the late 1990s, racial tensions were more visible than the ethnicity tensions (Harber, 2011). Tensions in Diepsloot are witnessed between local citizens and foreign nationals. Local citizens claim that these foreign nationals are taking away their wives, jobs, and houses. However, Nyamnjoh (2006) noted that xenophobia is not only about dislike for what is foreign, but it is also violent in nature. It is further stated that the majority of xenophobia victims are black people who share the same skin colour with instigators of the violence. Research conducted on the 2008 xenophobia attacks shows that cases of violence were directed towards Zimbabwean migrants (Mangava 2008). Reports further indicated that Zimbabweans who were fortunate enough to escape death, lost their properties and some had their shacks burnt down in Diepsloot. Unfortunately, those who were caught in the crossfire were burnt alive during the episodes of violence in the area.

Immigrants in Diepsloot have been portrayed as the victims of exclusion on issues of social solidarity and cohesion within the neighbourhood. This research aims to establish whether - national identity has any impact on the exclusion of Zimbabwean migrants in the area- —as well as, if there are any other factors that contribute to the exclusion, and dislike, of immigrants in Diepsloot. Landau and Haupt (2007) claim that as a way of dealing with exclusions and xenophobic effects, some immigrants have moved out from societies like Diepsloot. It is noted that immigrants have distanced themselves from the present societies. However, some of them maintain relationships with people who remain in such

communities, and outside South Africa, known as transnational networks (Landau & Haupt, 2007). Further, immigrants have self-excluded themselves from the South African group thereby hindering the possibility of their assimilation (Landau & Haupt 2007). However, migrants have claimed their legitimacy in South Africa by using the philosophies of Pan Africanism.

The justification for focusing on this research is that immigrants residing in Diepsloot do not always cause crime but play a positive role in growing the economy and improving not only their lives but also of South Africans through, for instance, rentals houses. The study desires to also establish the impacts of immigrants on the livelihood, health options, education while determining whether Zimbabwean migrants feel at home in the city. There is a need to appreciate the dynamics and complexities that make immigrants find themselves in precarious circumstances in Diepsloot. Since immigrants are viewed as 'strangers' by local people in Diepsloot, it is fascinating to learn how Zimbabwean immigrants negotiate their membership in the area and with what challenges. Moreover, the study explores the role of social networks.

1.3 Research Questions

Emanating from the research purpose, the study sought to answer the following research question:

How do Zimbabwean migrants contribute to the socio-economy of Diepsloot, city of Johannesburg?

To unpack this question, the following research sub-questions guided the study;

i. What factors motivated Zimbabweans to migrate to Diepsloot?
ii. What challenges do Zimbabwean migrants experience in Diepsloot, Johannesburg?
iii. How do Zimbabwean migrants forge peaceful co-existence -with SA citizens and contribute to improving the quality of life in this township?

1.4 Study Purpose

The study aims at exploring the contribution of Zimbabwean migrants to the socio-economy of the city of Johannesburg particularly in Diepsloot area where they reside at, this is so to have a broader understanding of the positive role by the existing Zimbabwean migrants in Diepsloot, rather than the perception that they compete for services, employment opportunities, and that they cause crime in the area.

The study is premised on the argument that immigrants in the city of Johannesburg, particularly in Diepsloot, contribute significantly to the socio-economy of the area. The increasing number of immigrants in Diepsloot has become a concern to the local citizens. South African Local citizens complained about the increasing number of immigrants in the area and indicated that such growing number of immigrants puts pressure on service delivery in the area. This includes health care centres as well as employment opportunities.

There are a number of reported events that took place in Diepsloot that led to the discrimination and exclusion of immigrants. The said events will be explored in the study. This study reflects that immigrants in Diepsloot live in fear for their life, but they have no choice except to remain in Diepsloot for their survival while finding means to support their families back in their home country. Despite all odds, Diepsloot offers them economic opportunities that put bread in their tables.

The study explores the social and economic relations of immigrants in Diepsloot. In doing so, it is sets out to describe factors that contribute to the economy of Diepsloot and social relations immigrants share with local South African citizens. The study examines the patterns utilised by residents of Diepsloot to contribute to the economy of the city of Johannesburg. Further, the chapter explores the living conditions of all residents of Diepsloot and the utilisation of available resources for their survival.

1.5 Definition of terms

The key terms in this study are defined below.

Migration: This is the movement of a person or a group of persons, either across an international boarder, or within a state (Efe, 2021 p. 19).

Immigrant: Refers to a person who moves away from their place of usual residence, whether within a country or across an international border, temporarily or permanently, and for a variety of reasons (The International Organization for Migration (IOM)).

Immigrants are well-integrated into the labour market in terms of employment and unemployment rates, and in general, do not seem to displace native-born workers. Immigrant workers are mere likely to be employed than native-born South Africans which is consistent with the country's very low employment rate (OECD/ILO, 2018 p. 20). However, the labour market's impact analysis demonstrates no significant effects of the presence of immigrant-workers on native-born employment at the national level. At the subnational level, the presence of immigrant-workers has both negative (lower employment rate) and positive effects (higher income) for the native-born population. In addition, the presence of new immigrants who have been in South Africa for less than ten years appears to increase both the employment rate and the income of South African-born workers (OECD/ILO, 2018 p. 20).

1.6 Outline of Chapters

This research report consists of six chapters. Chapter 1 of the report introduces the study. It gives the justification for carrying out the research. The historical background of migration movement and the history of Diepsloot informal settlement and how it came about are discussed. The chapter also gives an account of the patterns used by immigrants to settle in the area.

Chapter 2 reviews literature which focuses on past studies that have been done by different scholars concerning immigrants and challenges that they come across as residents in Johannesburg, Diepsloot as well as in South Arica in general. Chapter 3 explains the theoretical framework of the study. Chapter 4 explains the research methods that have been used in this research, namely, in-depth interview, participant observation and also the

snowball sampling technique. This chapter also covers how the data was analysed of which the thematic analysis was used for this study. Further, the chapter covers the research site and also justifications of why the site was chosen for the purposes of this research.

Chapter 5 presents and discusses the results of the study. It provides the findings of the research drawing from the narratives of the participants concerning national identity and access public services in the area. Further, the chapter provides a discussion of the findings focusing on how the past studies or literature corroborates, extend, contradict, and qualify these findings.

Chapter 6 is the last chapter which summarises, concludes, and provides recommendations of the study.

2 LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

This chapter reviews the literature on the contribution of immigrants to the socio-economy of Diepsloot. It is further analyses issues of migration in it broadest form drawing it in the cases of Africa and narrowing the analysis to the context of South Africa as well as in Diepsloot. The chapter will also explore historical dynamics of globalisation and what constitute it, how it has contributed to migration. It will look at the positive and negative factors that globalization has on migration in Africa at large. It also reviews literature on the challenges experienced by immigrants since they moved to the city of Johannesburg, what attracted them to Diepsloot, living experiences and the relationship between South African citizens and immigrants. Much of the literature has focused on migration movement and the reasons why most people move to South Africa. Some studies focused on the accessibility of housing in Diepsloot.

This literature review places the research within the cognate fields of study. The common assumption is that only undocumented immigrants face challenges when it comes to discrimination and exclusions. However, the research shows that both documented and undocumented immigrants encounter similar challenges because of their nationality. Issues that are derived from the precariousness of migration are experienced by both types of immigrants; these include access to neighbourhood, assimilation, and security.

Past studies indicate that informality goes hand in hand with illegality, however, with some immigrants, the exorbitant rentals caused by the shortage of accommodation has relegated both documented and undocumented immigrants to informality. This chapter, therefore, starts by examining the past and present trends of Zimbabwe to South Africa migration. The contestations over services and employment opportunities are also discussed.

To present a well-rounded picture and understanding of the tittle, the study reviews literature in relation to immigrants and their classifications as well as their living conditions in Diepsloot, and how they contribute to the economy of Diepsloot city of Johannesburg.

2.2 Globalisation and Migration

Globalization is a concept that is widely discussed by many scholars yet hardly defined. Not even a single, concise definition is agreed upon by all scholars. The consensus in it is that the term is rooted in changes in economic policies. However, globalization definition has been increasingly expansive by for example, including people and culture in the list of cross borders exchanges. No discipline owns the term or has a sole jurisdiction over the study of the globe (Koos and Keulman, 2019). For decades the public has been told there is a direct link between globalization and migration. It is of importance that this paper analyses early framings of economic globalization to show how social theorist, politicians link economic liberalization to increase migration, diversity and often open borders. Charles Tilly, The American social theorist describe globalisation as an increase in the proportion and impact of intercontinental over local or regional transactions (Tilly, 1995). While the British sociologist Anthony Giddens define globalisation as the intensification of world-wide social relations which link distant localities in such a way that local occurrences are shaped by events taking miles away and vice versa. He further describes globalization as a dialectical

process because the global impact and the local becomes part of the globe (Giddens 1990). Michael Lang sees globalization as the stretching of social connections between the local and the distant so to create a highly intensified worldwide scale (Lang 2006).

It is important for the context of the study to find a link between globalization and migration. This will assist to analyse how globalization a contributing factor of migration. This will also assist in analysing the impact globalization has on migration in a global context as well as the local context.

Sassan, 2007 explain that globalization is not a leading cause of migration. Overbeek, made a similar argument. He defines globalization as a process of structural transformation of the global political economy. Although, many link immigration and globalization. There is little empirical evidence actually linking these two.

The relative link between globalization and migration is the growing number of people moving within countries and across boarders looking for better employment, investment opportunities as well as better lifestyle. Which are the reasons immigrants migrate from their home country to a foreign country to seek better living conditions that will improve their living standards?

2.3 Migration Development

Migration has become a major force shaping international reality. It is seen to be a powerful force of social change and cultural interaction in implicated countries. It provides migrants with significant opportunities to progress. It is also seen to be the factor that has diverse developmental effects on both the home and host country.

It is suggested that the restrictive tone in which immigration is regulated is contrary to the need for migrant labour in developed countries' stagnant demographics and ageing population. It is stated that some developed countries need immigrants to support growth as well as to sustain public social security scheme. However, the gap between the needs of foreign labour and the norms regulating such a demand has led to a large number of immigrants living irregularly in their host countries. This has cost not only for immigrants but also for the functioning of the society in which they live.

Undocumented migrants are denied protection of the law and are thus prone to abuse, extortion, exploitation and violence. In irregular migrant environments mafias police corruption and crime flourish and immigrants are among the victims. The recent economic crisis has exacerbated the vulnerable situation of immigrants. The effect has been multiple. Firstly, It is indicated in some OECD countries, the crisis has often implied a high unemployment level amongst immigrants than amongst natives, this is not only due to the precariousness of migrant work but because jobs held by immigrants were mostly concentrated in construction and other services which were more severely hit by the crisis then other sectors.

Secondly, due to the nature and duration of their contracts, immigrants tend to have a lower level of social protection when they are unemployed. Thirdly, the strain on labour conditions in host countries have slowed migratory flows and have led many governments to announce significant reduction in their authorised immigration quotas, as a result, it is likely that undocumented migration will increase. Fourthly, the crisis has also affected remittances, which declined in real terms in 2009. Although forecasts point to a rapid recovery of flows in the years to come. Lastly, the crisis led to hostility against migration in certain social and political groups in the host countries. Migrants are seen as rivals to natives in the search for jobs, or as an additional burden to public services.

These perceptions have been translated not only into a more restrictive tone in migration policy, but also into greater discrimination and xenophobic attitudes, even in countries with consolidated democracies. However, it is worth reiterating that migration when suitably regulated can potentially improve the efficiency and well-being of the overall international economic system, as confirmed by both theoretical and empirical studies.

According to O'Rourke and Williamson 1999, Hatton and Williamson 2005, suggest that history shows that migration can in certain circumstances be an important force in correcting international inequalities, actually reducing international salary differences between host and home countries. Aside from this global effect, migration is also an effective, although notably selective means of increasing the possibilities of individuals to better themselves, improving individual income, health, education and living conditions.

It is therefore, an important development factor, especially if it is considered that people (not countries) matter (Clement, 2010).If people can choose their places of residence with fewer restrictions, human freedom would be strengthened (Nussbaum, 2000). Recent economic studies suggest that migration and development are closely linked to one another. Development shapes migration and migration in turn influences development (Edward Taylor, 2006).

2.4 Challenges of migration

It is argued that migration negative effect is mostly on the host country, it is however neutralised by the positive contribution it makes to development in the host country. It is however, neutralized by the positive contribution it makes to development in the hot country. Some scholars argue that immigration is an important source of labour that facilitates economic growth and development.

The debate on the impact of migration on development is the most heated among social scientist and labour economists. It is indicated that for the host country, the effects of immigration on development are both preserve and positive. Firstly, it is indicated that immigration changes the demographic complexion of the population of the host country. It is further stated that immigrants may undermine local systems and cultures. Which mostly happens lin a case where the country has to receive large numbers of refugees (Kapur and Mcttale 2003, Kokpari 2002).

Hostilities between host country and immigrant communities often leads to tension, xenophobia and conflict. Host government is mainly required to provide additional resources which could have been used to promote development, expand infrastructure to accommodate new arrivals. Additional, migration brings scarce expertise to host economies and help employers to raise the level of efficiency in industries which is critical requirement for survival in this globalized and competitive world (Papademetrious, 1997).

According to Oucho 2000, Akokpari, 2005, industrialized countries like US, Canada and many more others owe their development to the contribution of immigrants. While countries like Lesotho and Botswana which lack sufficient local human capital rely heavily on foreign skills. Given the Bantu system of education under the apartheid government and consequent inability to produce the required number of trained expertise, as a result, South Africa had to rely on foreign skills in certain areas of the economy. Wocke and Klein (2002) argue that the survival of Suth African mining industry, which is a critical sector for the country's development, is attributable to migrant workers. Studies indicate that remittances have brought some foreign exchange which in the context of poverty and the exacting economic conditions generated by globalization in Africa, have assisted to alleviate, even if temporarily, the plight of governments, communities and families. Examples made from a few sub-Saharan African countries which will suffice to underscore the importance of migrant remittances. This was until the 1990s, when a large pool of its work force was retrenched from the South African mines, migrants' remittances were the second most important source of revenue for the government of Lesotho after their custom duties.

It is noted also that in the years of 1976 about the quarter of Lesotho working population (approximately 100 000) was employed by the South African mining industry. Through a policy compulsory deferred payments (CDP) 60 percent of migrants' wages were paid through the central bank of Lesotho in Maseru. Lesotho migrant workers in South Africa were forced to draw large proportions of their salaries in Maseru. Such contributed a lot to the GDP by 60 percent. Besides serving as a source of revenue for the government remittances also supported families (Patterson 2007).

2.5 Migrating from Zimbabwe to South Africa

The historical trends of migration between Zimbabwe and South Africa indicate that in the region, these two countries were the leading migrant labour receiving countries. According to Crush and Tevera (2010 p. 52) the uneven development of capitalism in Southern Africa with its emerging mining and agricultural economic centres in South Africa in the 19th

century and Zimbabwe in the 20th century led to new forms of migration, as workers from neighbouring countries migrated in search of employment.

In South Africa, there was the development of sugar plantations in Natal (1850), the discovery of diamonds in Kimberly (1870s) and gold found in the Witwatersrand (1886). Zimbabwe was also a supplier of migrant labour to South Africa, but its percentages were very low (Crush & Tevera 2010; Chereni, 2014). The porous borders were one of the many factors that enabled job seekers to travel to the plantations and mining centres in South Africa and Zimbabwe (Crush & Tevera, 2010). Moreover, Van Onselen et al. (1979) note that the mining jobs in South Africa were undertaken by the male migrant labour force that lived without women in two suburbs along the line of Reef- Jeppe in the east and Fordsburg in the west.

These are the areas where capitalism, before apartheid (1880s), settled them close to the mines. Throughout this period, there was an infringement on 'the right to the city' since the opportunity to live in the city was offered to "mostly those who were working for the capitalists" (Chereni, 2014 p. 295). In 1911, South Africa's mining industry and agricultural sector began to grow, and plenty cheap labour was needed, and it was not obtainable locally due to varied reasons (Crush & Tevera 2010; Van Onselen et al., 1979).

The government tried to coerce people to work by introducing taxations. According to Crush and Tevera (2010), Zimbabwean young men became interested in the idea of going to '*kuWenela*' (South Africa) as a way of earning money to pay taxes, and also bridal prices for their women. The '*Wenela*' experience became so significant and famous that immigrant young men did not mind traveling for weeks in the bushes infested with dangerous wild animals such as lions. Travelling to South Africa in search of opportunities became a ritual also to the Ndebele people in the Southwest of Zimbabwe. The Ndebele people referred to Johannesburg as 'Egoli'.

In the 1990s Zimbabwe had changed drastically from being a migrant-receiving country to being a migrant-sending country (Crush & Tevera 2010). The status of Zimbabwe being a migrant sending country intensified around the 2000s when the country was faced with

political unrests and economic crisis. Many Zimbabweans had no choice but to legally and illegally jump the border to South Africa for the economic opportunities that the country was potentially presenting. South Africa has been the most attractive destination for most Zimbabweans (Southall, 2001). De Jager and Musuva (2016) suggest that this might be so because of its proximity to Zimbabwe. It has been also suggested that while crime is high in South Africa, one cannot ignore the country's powerful economy and stable democracy (De Jager & Musuva, 2016). Further, De Jager and Musuva (2016) state that Zimbabwean migrants who came to South Africa usually settled in the Gauteng and Limpopo provinces, but things have changed as these migrants have dispersed to the areas of the country.

The ethnic composition of migration has also changed. In the past, it was the Ndebele and the white settlers who migrated to South Africa but now the Shona-speaking people have increasingly migrated to South Africa because of factors such as job opportunities, business and also for academic reasons. Muzondidya (2008) views the Zimbabwean immigrants as not defenceless victims but as people who are in charge of their destinies and lives. Further, the study shows that because of the political and economic crisis in their home country, these immigrants from Zimbabwe had to find new strategies of surviving. Thus, migration has turned out to be an essential response to the crisis that people in Zimbabwe were facing.

According to Chikanda et al. (2015), Zimbabwean immigrants took South Africa as an alternative place to stay and not a place of temporary economic opportunity for survival. Zimbabwean immigrants have viewed South Africa as a place to start a new life and improve their living standards. The South African statistics of immigration shows that Zimbabwe has the largest population that migrated into the country (Bloch, 2008). It is estimated that approximately 1.5 to 3 million Zimbabweans are living in South Africa (Human Rights, 2008; Polzer, 2009). The influx of immigrants into South Africa has had constraints on the access to public services including housing in the receiving country.

Dovey (cited in Hass & Olsson, 2016) and revealed that the pressure on housing has led to the emergence of informal housing, which is viewed as a reaction by the citizens against the government for its failure to provide adequate housing. Kota (2004) posits that informal housing is a way of reclaiming the 'right to the city' by the dwellers. Unlike in the past

whereby Zimbabweans migrated to South Africa in search of work in the plantations and mines, contemporary Zimbabweans migrate to South Africa fleeing from political, economic, and humanitarian-linked problems as well as in search for better education, and training, opportunities (Musuva, 2016).

Migration was in the past decades dominated by men but of late there is now the feminisation of migration whereby women as they have been migrating as well. In 2010, it was estimated that approximately 44% of migrants were women (Crush et al., 2013). These female immigrants have also played a vital role in supporting the families left in their home countries. Just like their male counterparts, they send remittances back home and also help their family members join them in South Africa. Further, Mawadza (2008) notes that the Zimbabwe to South Africa migration has of late witnessed an increased number of undocumented immigrants.

Mawadza (2008) argues that the porosity of borders and irregular migration was a result of the government of Zimbabwe not issuing affordable passports on time. But one may argue that even if the Government of Zimbabwe has improved on its documentation system of issuing the passports, the trend of undocumented immigrants migrating to South Africa remains high. One might assume that this might have been caused by the fact that the South African Immigration tightened its laws pertaining migration. Most people at the border get the permit to stay in South Africa for just one week of which this becomes a problem as one needs to go back to Zimbabwe when their stay is over and yet at the same time they have to go to work. Thus, most Zimbabwean immigrants have abandoned using their passports since the border limits their stay.

Zimbabwe to South Africa migration has benefited immigrants' families. These immigrants send remittances back home in order to assist with living expenses (Maphosa, 2005). The 2008 Zimbabwe crisis, whereby there was a shortage of commodities saw most of the people in Zimbabwe relaying on their relatives in South Africa to send them food and also money. Trimikliniotis et al (2008: 11) estimates that there are 2 million undocumented Zimbabwean immigrants in South Africa and the numbers of those that are documented are less. Thus, Chereni (2014: 294) contends that most Zimbabwean migrants who lack

documentation and skill are forced to turn to the informal sector for jobs and housing since they do not hold any qualification to participate or compete in the formal sector.

2.6 The politics of belonging

Studies show that belonging seem to be a growing concern in most parts of Africa. As those that believe they are the insiders in an area exclude those that are seen to be outsiders from receiving same and equal services and riches as them. Scholars such as Nyamnjoh (2006) and Geschiere (2009) have pointed out the seriousness of belonging. They have shown how the insiders are constantly in conflict with the outsiders on who belongs where and who has access to what. Rutherford (2011: 1306) points that 'belonging' can be classed, gendered, and raced, for instance, white immigrants settle freely in most African countries because their right to migrate is seen as natural, unlike black people. Thus, mostly white migrants have a sense of belonging in Africa than black migrants who are the native Africans.

Nyamnjoh (2006: 14) states that in countries such as South Africa, the 'insiders' who in this case are South African Citizens and outsiders, notably immigrants from all other African countries, are creating boundaries against immigrants through xenophobia. In support of this, the state has responded by tightening its borders with strict migration laws. Nyamnjoh (2006) notes that the contemporary South African immigration laws have not changed that much from those of Apartheid period. Selective immigration which resulted in the country's history of apartheid has influenced how the black South Africans view migration.

Nyamnjoh (2006) further notes that the black South Africans see white people as having the natural right to migrate, unlike blacks who are supposed to remain in their respective country of origin. Simmel mentions that disassociating factors such as envy, hate, need and desire are the main causes of conflict between two parties (Simmel, 1971). However, conflict is also somehow considered as a method of forging unity between the conflicting parties (Simmel, 1971). Further, Simmel points out that the acceptance of the immigrants or relationships between immigrants and the locals is based on exchange. He elaborates on

exchange ‘as the purest and most concentrated form of all human interactions in which serious interests are at stake’ (Simmel, 1971). One individual provides what another individual is in need of. Thus, a migrant is welcomed into a society based on what they can offer. Barolsky (2008) suggests that there has been growing resentment of immigrants by the local citizens as the insiders accuse the outsiders or ‘strangers’ of stealing their economic opportunities and accommodation. This resentment has sparked tensions between these two groups of people, and such conflicts result in xenophobic attacks towards the immigrants by the locals.

The resentment has resulted in name-calling of immigrants as ‘*makwerekwere*’ to the Shona speaking and other African language speaking group; and ‘*amakhalanga*’ , refering to the Ndebele speaking group. Siziba (2013) argues that the term ‘*makwerekwere*’ refers to lacking enough’, notable in the fact that the pejorative term is itself a pointer of strange languages (Siziba (2013). Nyamnjoh (2006) (cited in Siziba, 2013) claims that name-calling or labelling denies one the voice and a space of belonging. Moreover, Hungwe and Gelderblom (2014) point out that the media worsens the situation as they constantly write stories using terms such as 'floods’ or ‘hoards’ to describe movement of immigrants in South Africa. In addition, Muzondidya (2008) also points out that the media and the public discourse has portrayed immigrants as ‘murderous criminals responsible for all conceivable social ills’; this thereby fans the flames of xenophobia.

The xenophobic attacks against the immigrants have been viewed by Nyamnjoh (2006 p. 15) as the “obsession with belonging” by the locals. However, there are counter arguments against what most scholars such as Nyamnjoh (2006), Siziba (2013) and Muzondidya (2008) claim; these arguments suggest that structural explanations on the causes of xenophobia do not account for why xenophobia happens in selected parts of South Africa while other parts of the country do not experience the same (Abe & Katsaura, 2016). It is further argued that there is more to it than the immigrant’s issue.

Siziba (2013) centres the analysis of identity and the politics of exclusion in South Africa in terms of language. Bourdieu (1991 cited in Siziba, 2013) argues that language gives a

perception or idea about the identity of the speaker. As a way of assimilation, most immigrants tend to construct new identities (Ngwato, 2012). In most countries, the negative attitudes by the local against the immigrants have reinforced immigrants' sense of not belonging and unrecognition (Kane & Leedy, 2013). The recognition theorists claim that recognition can help build one's identity. It is argued that the desire for recognition is usually not met in unequal societies (McNay, 2008). Hungwe and Gelderblom (2014) claim that the severe instances of discrimination which result in exclusions have forced most immigrants to acquire South African citizenship legally and illegally. Furthermore, Kane and Leedy's (2013) notion of 'transnational connection' claims that migrants choose to maintain their relationships with their family members back in their country of origin through sending remittances, and also returning home every now and then. The connections with their families back home provide them with the support systems they desire.

In navigating discrimination, some immigrants have mastered the art of self-exclusion, which is, isolating themselves from cultural assimilation (Landau & Freemantle, 2009; Kane & Leedy, 2013). Moreover, Klotz (2013) and Hungwe & Gelderblom (2014) assert that some of these immigrants have been assimilated into South African society by adopting the language and culture thereby hiding their true national identity. It is claimed that in hiding their identities some of the foreigners have gone as far as legally and illegally acquiring South African identity documents (Benit-Gbaffou, 2013 p. 36). According to Benit-Gbaffou (2013), these foreign nationals should not be judged because they are also trying to secure a livelihood. This is proof that immigrants face exclusions, and in order to navigate them, they go as far as acquiring ID cards in trying to negotiate citizenship and having access to opportunities. A question that comes to one's mind is does hiding of identity offer immigrants any easy access to a shack or resources?

According to Hungwe and Gelderblom (2014), some of these immigrants have applied for asylum status to have access to rights of residence and work. However, the UNHRC'S 2016 report shows that only a handful use asylums to justify their status in South Africa and the

asylum seekers have dropped by approximately 900 000 in one year only (Collins, 2017). Landau and Freemantle's (2009: 376) notion of 'tactical cosmopolitanism,' state that most immigrants claim the "right to the city" centred on what their countries of origin did to help South Africa during its apartheid phase. Oucho and Crush (cited in Nyamnjoh, 2006) contend that South Africa is far from allowing free movement of black Africans even if they are within the SADC region. In this regard, it casts doubt into the former president Nelson Mandela's rhetoric of African cosmopolitanism that South Africa belongs to all who live in it. In addition, Friedmann (2002) suggests that in order to accomplish 'the good city,' all the city dwellers must experience inclusion. Further, he points out that positive inclusion is advantageous in the development of the city (Friedmann, 2002).

2.7 Contestation for services in Diepsloot

It is evident that most people in Diepsloot live in abject poverty as they do not work, and the money they get from their small businesses is directed to their daily consumption. Racial tensions are more visible than ethnicity tension (Harber, 2011). Tensions between local citizens and immigrants are witnessed through xenophobia attacks. Citizens complain that immigrants take away their jobs, houses and wives. It is of many reason that Diepsloot is described as the violent and dangerous township in the city of Johannesburg.

Nyamjoh (2006) notes that the issue of xenophobia is not only about the dislike of immigrants and what is foreign to them, but it is violent in nature. The people that are victims of xenophobia are black Africans who share the same skin colour with instigators of such violence (Nyamjoh, 2006). During the 2008 xenophobia attacks were directed to immigrants from Zimbabwe. People were then forced to escape to save their lives, some lost their properties, and their shacks were burnt down. To date, most people are still fascinated by the area. Diepsloot is viewed as a violent place because of the high crime rate and a home of service delivery protests. Scholars such as Grice (2015), Greenburg and Polzer (2008) have shown that immigrants face challenges in acquiring housing especially the undocumented immigrants.

It is cited by Benit-Gloaffou (2013) that most immigrants are desperate for accommodation to a point that they are willing to pay more for it. Those who are able to acquire housing are those that are considered to be rich, and they are a minority group. Although some are hardworking and are able to pay for basic housing, their precarious legal status often lives them with no option but to opt for inadequate housing such as rental rooms and shacks.

Housing is a matter of concern altogether in South Africa, which has caused South African citizens to reside in shacks and immigrants in even most uncertain and hard situations. It has been observed that the use of social networks by immigrants allows them to accrue a range of benefits such as access to accommodation, employment, security and participation in social activities. Kane and Leedy (2013) state that through these networks immigrants build what Bourdieu (1986) and Portes (1995) refer to a "social capital". Further, Bourdieu (cited in Hungwe, 2015 p. 2) define social capital as the actual or potential resources which are linked to possessions of a durable network of more or less institutionalised relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition.

It was noted that the economy of South Africa is under pressure and the existence as well as growing number of immigrants is adding salt to the wound. Service delivery is very slow, such as access to housing. It is was noted that South Africa is faced with housing shortages which has led to Diepsloot residents being subjected to exorbitant rentals which, ironically, most people cannot afford. As a result, it led to erections of shacks and development of informal settlements.

The growing housing problem in the country has manifested itself through land invasions mostly by the landless black majority. Within these invaded spaces, the locals have managed to establish their self-made houses which scholars such as De Beers (1980) and Turner (1976) refer to as 'self-help housing'. Some migrants have relied on the informal housing because of its affordability. Greenburg & Polzer (2008: 13) state that the housing situation for immigrants is often precarious and insecure. The informal housing market is characterised by poor, overcrowded and substandard conditions. Housing in South Africa has remained a significant area of conflict potential and a persistent cause of poor relations between the foreign nationals and the locals, particularly in informal settlements (Barolsky et al., 2008).

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

2.8 Reasons for hostility towards Zimbabwean migrants in Diepsloot

Unemployment, lack of service delivery and poverty causes conflict between South African citizens and Zimbabwean immigrants. The accusation that foreign nationals utilise services that are meant for native citizen is the reason why xenophobic violence keeps accruing. As a result, most immigrants in the area engage in entrepreneurship to survive and improve their living conditions and most undertake entrepreneurial activities because they face obstacles that deny them access to the job market.

Jureiden (in Nyamnjoh, 2006) mentions that, in general, when cheap foreign workers are readily available from countries desperate to alleviate unemployment and generate foreign currency, the dirty dangerous and difficult jobs become racialised, these will be associated with foreign workers to such a degree that nationals of host countries may refuse to undertake them despite high levels of poverty and unemployment. It is this view that confirms that this is taking place in South Africa as well, as immigrants are always prepared to take up any job regardless of its standing in society and without considering the financial returns.

The most repeated accusation that causes conflict between South African citizens and immigrants in South Africa in general is the 'stealing' of jobs meant for South Africans. Research suggests that a number of South Africa's African foreigners are educated and

possess good educational qualifications. Foreigners are, therefore, not stealing jobs but providing valuable services by filling in the huge voids in the country (Steinberg, 2010). Most Zimbabwean immigrants in South Africa are extraordinarily well educated (Nkosi, 2010; Steinberg, 2010). A report by Nkosi (2010) confirms that the Limpopo Province alone recruited a massive 600 Mathematics, Science and Technology teachers from Zimbabwe because of the scarcity of such qualified educators in South Africa.

2.9 Contribution of Zimbabwean immigrants to the economy of the city of Johannesburg

Immigrants contribute considerably to the South Africa's economy. In contrast to popular perception, immigration is not associated with reduction of employment rate of the native-born population in South Africa. Some groups of immigrants are likely to increase employment opportunities for the native-born. In part, due to the high employment rate of the immigrant population itself, immigrants also raise the income per capita in South Africa. In addition, immigrants have a positive impact on the government's fiscal balance, mostly because they tend to pay more in taxes.

2.9.1 Economic contribution of Zimbabwean migrants in the city of Johannesburg

It is commonly held that people migrate for economic reasons, for work and to maximise incomes. Census 2001 defines employment as being economically active whether in waged employment or self-employment in the formal or informal sector. Unemployment means that a person is not working and not looking for employment.

Data on the census 2001 suggest that migraants are likely to be employed than native born. It is also suggested that migrants decide to move, often for work and that they may have sorted out jobs to go to before they migrate. SAMP suggest that majority of migrants knew someone in South Africa and had a place to stay prior to them living their homes

According to SAMP research, Zimbabwean respondents said they had jobs in South Africa before they even left home (Ibid). These migrants may have skills that attractive to

employers. It is suggested that the dominant areas of employment in the city of Johannesburg are the service, financial, community service, manufacturing sector and private households. Migrants' employment pattern follows these dominant sectors (Paberdly, Jonathan, Crush and Ntombikayise, 2004).

The high rate of employment in financial sector may reflect high level of education of migrants in the city. Also, the high rate for of employment of migrant in community service sector indicate that migrants make more than an economic contribution to the economy of the city (Paberdly, Jonathan, Crush and Ntombikayise, 2004).

Migrants are predominantly employed in construction, service and financial sectors. They also shows high employment rate in private household. Although studies indicate that the main reason for migration is because of employment opportunities. There are migrants that come to South Africa to shop, trade and for entrepreneurial reasons. These are the type of migrants that contribute to the economy of the city. Traders and shoppers contribute to the wholesale and retail economies. Traders in handicrafts and curios contribute to the tourism industry. Traders and entrepreneurs provide employment opportunities (Peberdy and Rogerson 2000).

The informal retail sector provides income earning opportunities for migrants and refugees who are probably over-presented in this sector. Also, majority of migrants come from countries with strong entrepreneurial economies and with skills that many South African could not develop due to apartheid restrictions. Therefore, migrants also present opportunity for skills transfer (Paberdly, Jonathan, Crush and Ntombikayise, 2004).

The presences of migrants in informal sector, trade and production, SMEs and as shoppers provide the city with an opportunity to become a shopping attraction for region as well as develop accommodation that will encourage small entrepreneurs and visitors from the region as well as the rest of Africa (Paberdly, Jonathan, Crush and Ntombikayise, 2004).

1.5.2 Parameters of socio-economic in the city of Johannesburg

During the 1980s, globalisation, restructuring of labour markets and liberalisation of the economy have led to the rising income and wealth inequality across the globe (Piketty, 2014, Alvaredo et al 2018).

This rising level of inequality has a spatial foot print in the form of socio-economic segregation. Socio-economic in this context refers to an uneven distribution of different occupational or income groups across residential neighbourhoods within the city or in urban regions. This means that people with high and low income are increasingly living in separated neighbourhoods. Segregation by income is largely driven by the residential choice of higher income households as they have financial means (Harvey 1985, Hulchansky 2010, Tammaru et al 2020).

While lower income households are living in neighbourhoods where housing is cheap, often in the least desirable part of the city. Such segregation s causes concern regarding the social sustainability of cities and reduce the status of cities as places of opportunity with equal opportunities for all(Van Ham, Tammaru and Jansson, 2018).

1.5.2.1 Income inequality and socio-economic segregation in the city of Johannesburg

Racial segregation: The city of Johannesburg is a city of extremes with densely populated working-class townships such as Diepsloot, Alexandra, Orange farm, Soweto and etc. against rich suburbs of Sandton, Fourways and Midrand. These are apartheid residential patterns. Although apartheid ended in 1994, white minority rule continues to affect urban patterns.

Apartheid policies of racial segregation resulted in the division of residential areas between blacks, whites, Indians and coloured. As a result this shaped where new migrants could settle in the city.

Such policies also caused the relocation of a large number of established urban residents. In 1950, for example about 72000 black people were moved from established areas in Johannesburg to new settlements in Soweto and Alexandra (Christopher 1994).

According to Seeking and Nastrass 2005, white minority during apartheid era tried to create a strong overlap between race, social-economic status and space. Better paying jobs were

reserved mainly for white people as a result an income ceiling for black employees. Much more was also spent on education of white children than of any other city dwellers.

In 1980s, most black people could not own a property in urban areas, including the homes theiy lived in. These and many other policies ensured that spaces intended for black people were also working-class spaces with their residents having less capacity to each and acquire assets than white residents of white-designated areas. Although, black residents of the city are financially excluded from more expensive areas, even though the law does not prohibit them from living in such areas. It is just regretful that low-income earners are overwhelmingly black.

Income inequality: Seekings and Nastrass (2005:188) suggest that South Africa's Gini co-efficient during apartheid was estimated to have been between 0.58 and 0.68, making it to be the of the most unequal countries in the world. It was further suggested that inequality in South Africa was higher at the end of apartheid period than in, even most other middle-income countries.

Apartheid's racialized income distribution continues to influence mean income. Nationally, the average income of white people household heads was 4.8 times the average for black household heads in 2014-15 (Stats SA 2017). However, the upwards mobility of some black population, particularly since 1980s means that inequality was no longer driven by differences in income between races, but it was increasingly driven by intra-racial income inequality.

Unemployment has increased since mid-1970s and in Gauteng, unemployment rate was 32 percent during 2011 (Stats SA 2011b). This was the result of economic restructuring that has followed the exhaustion of gold mines and the restriction of manufacturing by international competition.

The study therefore agrees with Seekings and Nastrass (2005) that inequality is no longer just the result of differences between the employed and unemployed.

Economic contribution refers to the gross change in a region's existing economy that can be attributed to a given industry, event, or policy (OECD/ILO, 2018 p. 10). Studies on the economic contribution by immigrants in South Africa, indicate that immigration has a positive impact on per capita GDP, and the estimates from an econometric model showed that immigrants' workers could raise per capita income in South Africa by up to 5%. In terms of the impact on the government's fiscal per capita contribution of immigrants, it ranged from 17% under the average cost scenario to 27% under the marginal cost scenario. Native-born workers on the other hand have contributed 8% under both scenarios.

The labour market impact on native-born workers indicates that immigrants are well integrated into the labour market. In terms of employment and unemployment rates generally, do not seem to displace native-born workers. Further, the labour market impact analysis demonstrated no significant effects of the presence of immigrant-workers on native born employment at the national level (International Organization for migration, 2021 p. 45).

2.9.2 Economic contributions

Johannesburg Demographics and Key Socio-Economic Indicators, (2020) indicate that immigrant entrepreneurs in the city are mostly in retail or service rather than in production. According to the 2017/18 Quality of Life (QoL) findings, Johannesburg international immigrants are twice as likely to report owning a business than the born in South Africa citizens. Of the international immigrants, 25% reported owning businesses. Moreover, 34% of international immigrants' businesses are in the formal sector; they are registered and contribute either income tax or VAT. Johannesburg is delivering on economic growth: an increase in per capita GDP together with an improvement in the distribution of income are two necessary conditions for an improvement in the average standard of living.

Since 1996, Johannesburg has shown positive real GDP growth and its GDP growth rate has outpaced the national growth rate. This is largely due to the dominance of the fast-growing financial and business services sector in Johannesburg's economy, which has consistently outperformed average growth rates. Immigrants are well integrated in the labour market

and as workers they are more likely to be employed than native-born population and are frequently found in occupations with high growth rates. They tend to be either lower or higher educated than native-born workers.

There are no significant effects of immigrant workers on native-born employment at the national level. However, immigrant workers can have effects on the native-born population in particular regions. Based on the sectorial distribution and education of workers in 2010, the contribution of immigrants to GDP that year was about 9%, and immigrant workers can bump the South African income per capita up by up to 5%. Immigrants also have a positive net impact on the government's fiscal balance. This is because they tend to pay more taxes. In 2011, the per-capita net fiscal contribution of immigrants ranged between 17% and 27%. Native-born individuals, on the other hand, contributed -8%. The contribution of immigrants to South Africa's economy could be further enhanced by:

i. Adapting migration policies to labour market needs that requires effective information systems, not only by regular data and information on foreign-born and native-born workers but linked to institutional arrangements.
ii. Fighting discrimination. Specific measures to counter discrimination in the labour market and the workplace should be encouraged, with special consideration for the vulnerable position of low-skilled workers. Investing in immigrant integration requires a coherent whole-of-government approach, which addresses all dimensions of immigrants' integration (Rogerson, 1999).

Rogerson (1999) maintains that foreign-owned SMMEs are now a particularly significant element of the changing economy and landscape of inner-city. The following conclusions on foreign migrant involvement in the SMME sector can, therefore, be drawn.

Immigrant entrepreneurs in South Africa are visible in a narrow band of activities of SMMEs, mostly in retail or service rather than in production. Their activities involve selling curios, retailing ethnic clothes and foods, motor-car repairs/panel beating and operating hairdressing salons. Other activities include operation of restaurants, nightclubs, cafes, music shops, several import-export businesses and traditional healing practices. Within the group of production SMMEs, many immigrants are clustered in the clothing sector, where

they are involved in making traditional African clothes, wedding dresses, and carrying out general tailoring activities.

2.9.3 Employment

The City of Johannesburg continues to fight high unemployment, which is one of the major problems facing South Africa as a whole. Overall, the City's unemployment in the third quarter of 2016 was 28.2% based on a narrow definition (Stats SA Quarterly Labour Force Survey May 2016). If the expanded definition is considered, unemployment in the city rises to approximately 40%. Youth unemployment is of particular concern and is estimated to be above 35%. The finance sector is the biggest employer in the region accounting for 26.6% of total employment, followed by the trade sector which employs 21.1% of the formal sector workers. The agricultural sector employs the least share of the formal sector workers with only 0.4% (Global Insight, 2015).

Informal economy employs 12.4% of the total employment in Johannesburg. The biggest number of informal economy jobs is generated in trade. Unemployment, particularly, youth unemployment, will not only be one of the City's most pressing social and economic challenge, but also a major obstacle to transformation, growth, and development. When almost half of the city's youth is unemployed, prospects for the future look grim. Unemployment also affects economic welfare, production, the erosion of human capital, social exclusion, crime, and social instability (Global Insight, 2015)

Unemployment has long been a major preoccupation for the Government of South Africa. Based on a narrow definition of unemployment - people who had not worked for the previous seven days but were actively looking for jobs - South Africa's Unemployment is reflecting the expected slowdown in the economic growth, the overall rate of unemployment is projected to rise from 3.6 percent in the fourth quarter of 2022 to 5.1 percent by the end of 2023, averaging 4.7 percent for 2023 as a whole (World Bank, 2020).

According to the data that is collected by the World Bank 2020 indicates the top ten countries with the Highest Unemployment rate as follows:

1. South Africa - 29.2%

2. Kosovo (partially recognized) - 26.2%
3. Djibouti - 26.1%
4. West Bank& Gaza Strip (occupied Palestine) - 25.9%
5. Equatorial Guinea - 25.0%
6. Botswana - 24.9%
7. Grenada - 22.9%
8. Eswatini - 22.7%
9. Lesotho - 22.4%
10. Gabon - 20.4%

South Africa is sitting at the highest on the list. This results to unemployed people being depressed and suffer from other mental health issues, increased crime rates, overall lower economic productivity and consumption, lower rates of volunteerism, and erosion of skills. This has led to a rising cost of living, which is very hard on citizens of South Africa considering that it is still a developing country (World Bank 2020).

Despite its high unemployment rate, South Africa has the highest number of immigrants in the Southern African Development Community (SADC) region. According to the International Labour Organization (ILO), labour migration in the SADC region dates to the pre-colonization period in Africa. It was motivated by the relatively high quality of life and strong business environment in South Africa.

The current statistics of World Population Prospects (2022 Revision) indicate that the current net migration rate for South Africa in 2023 is 1.840 per 1000 population, indicating a 7.02% decline from 2022. The net migration rate for South Africa in 2022 was 1.979 per 1000 population, indicating a 6.56% decline from 2021 as well. The foreign-born nationals is comprised of legal and illegal immigrants. Undocumented immigrants generally move from neighbouring countries for economic, political, or social reasons. On the other hand, legal migrants, who are allowed to live permanently in South Africa, often move for business and economic purposes. (World Population Prospects, 2022).

To provide efficient tools to South African decision-makers, precise research has been carried out by different institutes, such as the Centre for Economic Policy Research (CEPR), a London-based independent research network, and the Centre for the Study of African Economies, based at the University of Oxford since 1986. Such studies have concluded that immigrants create jobs. Some enter the country as entrepreneurs and business owners. A large number join small medium and micro enterprises (SMME) sector, which includes clothing and retail shops, salons, night clubs, restaurants, and music shops. These immigrants help to create employment, since they employ native South Africans to assist them.

Brain gain is a positive linkage between unemployment and immigration as immigrants with different skills enter the country. The brain gain contributes to a rise in gross domestic product (GDP) since South Africa receives skilled labour that fills gaps in communication, health, and other sectors, thus improving productivity.

Immigrants fill vacancies that would otherwise remain unfilled in needy sectors and counters the effect of the brain drain from emigrants departing South Africa. It creates cost advantages for South Africa by saving on the costs of training, and the time taken to train. It also enables mentoring of South Africans. Immigrants create employment by increasing demand for goods and services and, in turn, demand for labour. Labour immigrants can therefore help to create employment and increase wages for host country natives.

2.4.3 Social Contributions

Compared to their rural counterparts, cities are assumed to be spaces of improved access to livelihood opportunities and basic services such as health care, and extended life expectancies. However, due to various vulnerability indicators and outcomes within cities, it uncovers the hidden intra-urban inequalities that clearly demonstrate that access to the urban benefit is unevenly distributed across city residents - often in unjust, inequitable ways. As urban spaces grow, there is an increasing acknowledgement of the need to better understand the linkages between migration and urban vulnerabilities. Different migrant

groups experience different type of vulnerabilities, socially and economically (Gushulak et al., 2010). Increasing evidence demonstrates that it is the material and social conditions experienced by migrant groups that result in the marginalisation and social exclusion, and lead to disparities in exposure to vulnerabilities and in health outcomes (Lynam & Cowley, 2007).

2.10 Challenges faced by the city of Johannesburg with regards to immigrants' management

The perceptions of local officials during the Centre for Development and Enterprise (CDE),2018 interview, where 32 high-level officials in national and metropolitan police services, planning divisions of local government, welfare administration, and regional immigration offices throughout the Johannesburg region is as follows:

Key points in officials' responses were:

i. In-migration to Johannesburg is seen as out of control. The (over)-estimates of the number of foreigners in the city average out at 2,5 million (in a population officially estimated at 3,9 million in total), of which 86% are believed to be undocumented. This perception produces feelings of helplessness and desperation among officials.
ii. Only 12% of them perceive immigrants in the city as an advantage for the city, while 55 per cent see them as a liability.
iii. Most officials conceded that immigrants make a significant contribution to small business activities, with 71% observing that foreigners mainly do jobs that locals do not. Two-thirds admit that foreigners are hardworking, determined, and productive.
iv. Most officials in the 'frontline' of immigration issues believe that Johannesburg's services and facilities are seriously oversubscribed, and that foreign migration is adding to the stress.
v. 50% of the officials believed that foreigners are more involved in crime than locals; 43% believed them to be equally involved.

Perceptions of business people, senior officials of all 45 significant business organizations operating in Gauteng, including foreign chambers of commerce, were interviewed:

i. 49% saw the large number of undocumented foreigners as a very serious problem, 27% as serious, 16% as both a problem and a benefit, and 9% as a benefit rather than a problem.
ii. On average, they perceived the number of immigrants in Johannesburg to be more than 2,7 million.
iii. 20% felt that the contribution of immigrants to small businesses was considerable, and 44 per cent that it was helpful to some extent. Only 24% felt that foreigners reduce business opportunities for locals, and 76% felt that they add value.
iv. Given skills shortages, 30% of the business organisations observed a great need to recruit foreigners, and 36% a moderate need.
v. Many felt that South African unskilled labour has priced itself out of the market.
vi. High crime levels were mentioned as the factor that most hindered the recruitment of skilled foreigners.

2.11 Conclusion

Chapter 2 reviewed literature informing the study. Literature reviewed in the chapter addressed issues around migration between Zimbabwe and South Africa dating back to the 1880s. It was shown that at the turn of the 21st century Zimbabwe ceased to receive immigrants, but the opposite became true against the political, social and mainly economic challenges the country faced, and has been experiencing over the decades resulting in South Africa becoming much of a receiving country. Reference was made to xenophobia thought in some sections as having resulted in the non-acceptance of immigrants by locals in Johannesburg due to claims of immigrants benefiting from services deemed meant for South African citizens. It is upon this literature framework that this study will discuss the

findings presented in the study and attempt to answer the research questions that have been mentioned in the introductory chapter. The following chapter discusses the methodology used to conduct the study.

3 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

3.1 Introduction

This chapter assess theories that support migration in Diepsloot, City of Johannesburg. It discusses factors that attract immigrants into the country. To provide an insight of the issues discussed on the study, it is crucial that the study look at theories done by other scholars supporting migration in Diepsloot as the main issue of the study to identify concept that would be best suitable to analyse the issues studied.

The study have looked at the following concept and will further discuss why they suitable for the study. Migration which according Koser, 2016 refers to human beings moving from place to place for social, economic or political reasons from their earliest days. While Kok,1999 defines it as the movement of people that involves change in usual residence across an administrative boundary such as village, town, district or country.

Migrant refers to any person who is moving or has moved across an international boarder or within a state away from his/her habitual place of residence regardless of the person's legal status or whether the movement is voluntary or not (IOM, 2019). According to Shamsuddoha et al. 2012, migrant encompasses displaced people: an individual who are forced to move against their will.

Social-Economic status: the definition of socio-economic status was operationalized as a measure of the economic and social condition of an individual or family in a society determined by their prevailing amount of cultural assets, functional income, political influence, power and social participation in group activities within the community.

The definition of migration by Koser is the most suitable for the study as it refers to people moving from one place to another for socio-economic reasons. Understanding of this concept is going to help with understanding reasons that attracted immigrants to Diepsloot and how they came to settle in the area.

It also reviews migration and development theories. The increase in the number of immigrants in Diepsloot has become a greatest concern and it is assumed that it pressures the distribution of Services. It is therefore, crucial that all factors and theories that support migration be discussed for better understanding and informed conclusions.

3.2 Push and pull factors attracting immigrants to the city of Johannesburg.

Push factors are the reasons people use to want to leave their country and pull factors are reasons attracting people to want to come into a city or country.

People have various reasons for deciding to move from one place to another. These reasons may be social, economic, political or environmental. There are usually push factors and pull factors for migration movement to take place. Push factors are the reasons why people decide to move from one place to another. This is according to their own experiences of life in one place which gives them good reasons to leave it. Often, push factors are negative things such as unemployment, crop failure, droughts, flooding, war, poor education, opportunities or poor services and amenities. Pull factors, on the other hand, are the expectations which attract people to the new place. They are usually positive things such as job opportunities, a better standard of living, better education, or better health care (Ravenstein, 1889 in Journal of the Royal Statistical Society Vol. 52, No. 2 (Jun., 1889), pp. 241-305).

Ernest Ravenstein is widely regarded as the earliest migration theorist. Ravenstein, an English geographer, used census data from England and Wales to develop his 'Laws of Migration' (1889). The 'Laws of Migration' reflect that migration was governed by a 'push-pull' process; where unfavourable conditions in one place (oppressive laws, heavy taxation, etc.) are regarded as the 'push' factors, and favourable conditions in an external location noted as 'pull' factors. Ravenstein laws further state that the primaries cause for migration is better external economic opportunities; and that the magnitude of migration decreases as distance increases. Furthermore, it is claimed that migration occurs in stages instead of one

long move where population movements are bilateral and different, (e.g., gender, social class, age) influence a person's mobility.

Johannesburg as a focus area of the study is a South Africa's largest city, situated in the country's most populous province, Gauteng. It is regarded as the financial and manufacturing centre of South Africa; the city has seen a concentration of wealth and production. However, the wealth of Johannesburg masks inequalities in wealth and access to resources for its residents that are symptomatic of South Africa's history of racial exclusion and inequality (Peberdy, Jonathan, & Msibi, 2004).

Further, Johannesburg is regarded as the economic hub of South Africa and is often the first choice of destination by job seekers across the country. For decades, the city has been growing, and a key contributor to this is that the city continues to attract people from all over the world and other provinces who are looking for better economic opportunities and quality of life (Peberdy, Jonathan, and Msibi, 2004). Migration is a key feature of the city, and it has been since its earliest years. Immigrants, living in Johannesburg and those that are yet to come are part of the city and its developmental future. Immigrants have the potential to add value to the city. People migrate to the city to seek better economic opportunities and better living conditions. Promises of a better life are some of the factors that make Gauteng the most attractive province for immigrants from all over the world. (Peberdy, Jonathan & Msibi, 2004).

3.3 Migration and development theories

Migration is believed to increase inequality amongst residents. This is caused by level of employment. Immigrants tend to be employable as compared to local citizens. It is believed that immigrants accept any payment to sustain them and to be able to send it back to their home country. Lipton, Zachariah, Methew and Rajan (2001) stated that immigrants tend to be more open minded, entrepreneurial and relatively better educated people. Therefore, migration does not alleviate poverty; instead it works to likely better the economy and

possibly increases it. The gradual undermining of traditional economies may result in the increase of deprivation of local residents.

It is further assumed that immigrants and their families do not invest their money productively rather spend it on noticeable consumption. Lipton (1980) concluded that the recipients use remittances to settle off debt incurred when they were financing education for their children and that they used to finance their migration movement.

Within pessimistic frameworks, unproductive expenses are seen to weaken local and regional economies and increase dependency. The increased consumption by immigrants provokes inflationary pressure which affects the poorer leading to more inequalities. Also, the purchase of household appliances and clothing which are not locally produced but imported is assumes to have an effect on local production and strengthen the economies of core areas. This intensifies processes of asymmetric growth and investment by immigrants (De Haas, 2009).

Studies argue that in most cases, socio-cultural effects of migration are presented by the bad press. It is believed that migration movement provoke non-productive, consumerist and remittance-dependent attitudes to the migrant sending communities. The efforts and contribution of immigrants to the economy is blind-sided as well as the crucial talent, skills and ideas that they bring into the host country to improve the country's functionality is ignored (Lipton, 1980). Kind and Vullnetari (2006) states that migration is often held responsible for the disruption of traditional kinship systems and care structures Studies shows that migration has a positive effect on various dimensions of socio-economic development. Though in other cases it seems like it has no effect at all (De Haas, 2009).

3.4 Socio-economic opportunities

It is discussed on this study that people migrated to Diepsloot for different reasons. Amongst other reason it must be noted that a large proportion of current residents were forcefully relocated there by government; some went there as illegal immigrants; and others moved there to be close to their place of work or in search of job opportunities.

Rebecca Himlin, Hermine Engel, and Malachia Mathohov(2020) indicate that Most people are in Diepsloot because economic reasons such as access to job opportunities and business (Formal or informal) opportunities. Residents of Diepsloot easily get temporal employment well known as peace job in and around neighbouring suburbs. Others stay with relatives in the area so they can travel around Johannesburg's northern suburbs such as Fourways, Sandton, Midrand, Randburg and in nearby farms that are in a walking distance or accessible by public transport to look available employment opportunities.

Diepsloot has a large informal settlement which allows residents to stay for free or cheaper rentals. They also not requested to produce any proof of resident, especially immigrants. It is easy to access accommodation unlike any other place where people pay rental. It attracts most immigrants because of it informal business opportunities. It is the area that allows for people easily make a living out of their informal businesses. Residents of Diepsloot are able to use their talents and skills to survive and sustain their living standards.

It is one of the populated townships in Johannesburg. This means that it has diversified people with different choices and needs, which then allows for people to start up business that will accommodate individual needs. Therefore every business has its own target market and is easily support.

Social Capital is also a survival strategy of immigrants in Diepsloot. Social survival strategies are premised on relations anchored around ethnicity, culture, nationality, and language. This strategy allows people to discover opportunities as well as employment based in social relationships they share with others. It is of this reason that immigrants in Diepsloot utilise these social networks to make means of living. The reliance on family and friends at the point of entry to access shelter and employment opportunities as well as access to friendships and networks within the employment circles to access other employment opportunities make the area attractive (Hlatshwayo and Wotela, 2017).

The economy of Diepsloot is a mixture of formal and informal businesses. The formal ones are found in well planned shopping malls while the latter are found almost anywhere and they deal with basic groceries, hair salons, food and beverage and many more. Such

businesses profit margins are insufficient to get people out of the poverty trap. However, it assist them to sustain a living (Hlatshwayo and Wotela, 2017).

Similarly, the inadequate housing in Diepsloot comprises formal and informal structures side by side that is, makeshift houses also known as shacks (*imikhukhu*), state subsidised houses, as well as bank financed houses. South Africans, who own most of the formal houses, have erected backyard dwelling units that they rent out to immigrants and fellow South Africans citizens who have not received state subsidised unit yet or cannot afford to buy financed houses. Diepsloot is in essence comprised of low to lower-middle income groups. It is, therefore, not surprising that their living standard range from low or abject poverty to moderate or hand-to-mouth (Hlatshwayo and Wotela, 2017).

3.5 Framing xenophobia

There are several theories which have been advanced to explain why xenophobia and xenophobic violence occur in most societies. Among these are theories includes, the Wimmer Theory on xenophobia and the Economic Theory used in this study to comprehensively understand the role and impact of the existing Zimbabwean nationals to the economy of the city.

Wimmer (1997), refers to xenophobic attacks as the theory of power, that when people feel insecure, they will portray resentment and hatred. Although hatred does not depend on real competition on the job market, the perceived threat is strong to induce resentment. Soyombo (2008) uses the Economic Theory to explain the causes of conflict that results in xenophobia and conditions under which it is likely to occur. The Economic Theory (like Power Theory) attributes to economic factors like poverty and unemployment where poor and unemployed people are more likely to engage in xenophobic practice compared to rich and employed people (Soyombo, 2008).

The Economic Theory on the other hand, traces xenophobia and foreign accusation that Zimbabweans are criminals, and that they compete for local services meant for local citizens to economic factors like poverty and unemployment (Fungirai, 2015). The essence of this theory is that the poor, unemployed or economically crippled are more likely to be

xenophobic than the employed and the elite and this resonates well with trends of xenophobic attacks in South Africa which has almost always been perpetrated by unemployed youths and the poverty-stricken disgruntled citizenry (Fungirai, 2015). Singh (2013) says criticism of this theory is that rich and employed people are also xenophobic as they may accuse foreign nationals of competing for services and opportunities meant for local citizens. What is crucial to this theory is that it is the poor and unemployed who are more likely to engage in xenophobia which holds water in African countries.

3.6 Immigrants as the 'strangers' and their use of social networks

The concept of social networks is approached from Mitchell's (1969: 8) definition which claims that the concept is a "sets of interpersonal ties that connect migrants, former migrants and non-migrants in origin and destination areas through ties of kinship, friendship, and shared community origin." It was noted that family and ethnic networks play a vital role in acquiring resources in Diepsloot by the majority of immigrants. This validates previous studies on social networks and migrants but now explore it in the case of socio-economic contribution of immigrants in Diepsloot.

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

In South Africa, there has been an evolving collective consciousness or discourse about the 'stranger that rejects and accepts the immigrant. In a study done by Mataure (2013), there is high uniformity 'in negative sentiments about immigrants and what should be done with

them. The ‘stranger’ immigrant navigates these chains of acceptance and unacceptance through varying forms of social networks in order to survive.

Hungwe (2015) further argues that immigrants in South Africa rely on family and church networks in order to cope with the hostility and challenges of nationality. This study contributes knowledge to the literature on how immigrants contribute to the economy in Diepsloot. Most studies by scholars such as Maphosa (2007), Bloch (2008) & Polzer (2008) focus on the reasons for migration to South Africa by Zimbabweans. However, their studies cast a blind eye on immigrants’ contribution to the economy and social relations they form with South African local citizens which creates unity.

All that is wash in the reports and dissertations and assumed towards immigrants is criminal activities. Scholars such as Sibanda (2010) and Hungwe (2013) studied social networks as a mechanism for survival but do not cover how these networks are utilised by Zimbabwean migrants to penetrate and contribute to the development of informal settlements such as Diepsloot.

3.7 Conclusion

This chapter reviewed factors attracting immigrant to Diepsloot. It also discussed factors that pushed immigrants away from their home country. It is discussed that the movement of immigrants does not only affects the economy of the host country in a negative away as it is perceived by many but assist in its development as well as improving the living standard of the native born citizens. It further discussed how immigrants in Diepsloot survive through social capital.

4 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

4.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses the methodology of the study. It begins by addressing the research paradigm goes on to talk about the research approach. The chapter also provides knowledge on the research methods used for the study while also pointing to how data was analysed; validity and reliability, credibility, transferability, and ethical issues are also discussed.

4.2 Research Paradigm

The qualitative nature of this research locates it within the interpretivism paradigm. The philosophy behind the interpretivist paradigm advocates understanding people's experiences as the study takes place in the participants' natural setting and assumes that reality is socially constructed (Baxter & Jack, 2008; Wagner, Kawulich & Garmer, 2012; Neuman, 2013). The researcher depended on the participants' opinions of the phenomenon being studied. Thus there was a continual interaction between the researcher and participants (Creswell & Poth, 2018). Also, interpretivism believes that knowledge is subjective, therefore the researcher could not separate the truth of what the participants were undergoing daily to understand the situation holistically (Punch, 2014; Creswell & Poth, 2018).

The researcher was the main data gathering instrument during the research process; as such the interpretive paradigm was considered appropriate for this study. The researcher interacted with the participants to get their views on how immigrants contribute to the economy of the Diepsloot, city of Johannesburg. Thus, the philosophical perspective of the interpretive paradigm holds for this study as it enabled the researcher to engage with the participants to understand their experiences with the phenomenon. Consequently, the interpretative paradigm was the most appropriate for the study as it demonstrated all the

features associated with qualitative research (Creswell & Poth, 2018) that qualitative research is fundamentally interpretive.

4.3 Research Approach

The study followed a qualitative research approach. Qualitative research was adopted to provide the researcher with an opportunity to collect rich data from a small number of individuals in Diepsloot area to get an in-depth understanding of participants lived experience regarding the topic being studied (Bryman, 2012). Also, qualitative research was chosen as it focuses on the quality, nature and crux of the phenomena being studied. Data was gathered and generated via interactions between the researcher and participants. The researcher engaged participants to reflect on their lived experiences in the Diepsloot, city of Johannesburg (Wagner, Kawulich & Garner, 2012).

A qualitative approach was appropriate because the study was an exploratory case study that sought to get an in-depth understanding of Johannesburg citizens (SA citizens) between the ages of 18 years and older which included Zimbabwean working class, entrepreneurs (both documented and undocumented immigrants); South African citizens as well as community leaders experiences and perceptions about immigrants and their role in the economy of Diepsloot. Combined with the richness and in-depth exploration as well as providing descriptive data, the strength of the qualitative study was the capability "to create a coherent story as seen through the eyes of those that are part of that story" (Wagner et al., 2012, p. 126). Also, a case study was chosen because it allowed the researcher to get a complete understanding of the phenomena under study which explores perceptions of the contribution of immigrants to the economy of Diepsloot and answering the research questions.

Data collection for a case study can be in the form of document analysis, participant observation or interviews (Creswell, 2013; Wagner, Kawulich & Garner, 2012). The researcher used semi-structured interviews to collect data. The advantage of using semi-structured interview was that the researcher was able to get richer information about

participants' experiences on the topic. The researcher also had an opportunity to search for clarity needed where there was a misunderstanding during the interviews.

The exploratory case study assisted the researcher to learn various thoughts and experiences anticipated to gain an understanding of how citizens perceive immigrants and the contribution toward the economy of the Diepsloot. It is for this purpose that the interpretative/constructive paradigm holds that 'truth is context-dependent' in the sense that the phenomenon is influenced by the context in which it takes place (Baxter & Jack, 2008; Wagner et al., 2012).

4.4 Research Methods

4.4.1 Semi-structured interviews.

Interviews were used as the data collection method, also the researcher observed the participants when they were responding and took field notes to triangulate data. Interviews were the primary data collection tool; therefore, data that was collected was conducted face-to-face and one-on-one semi-structured interviews with purposively selected participants. Data was collected by adhering to the university human research ethics (non-medical) procedures. The advantage of the interviews was that they allowed the researcher to probe and get clarity from the participants in case of ambiguity. Participant information sheet, a consent form and a semi-structured interview guide was sent to participants by email before the actual interview took place as a way of familiarising themselves with the documents.

Before the interviews took place, the researcher introduced herself to build a rapport and read out loud the participant information sheet to the participants. A consent form was also be handed over to the participants to give a consensus that they are agreeing to take part in this research project. A semi-structured interview guide was used to conduct interviews with selected 25 participants. Semi-structured interviews were used because they allowed the researcher enough flexibility to approach participants differently but still covered similar areas of data gathering. Interviews were conducted in English and continued for

approximately 45 to 60 minutes. During the interviews, the researcher observed participants non-verbal gestures and took field notes.

A digital recording device was also used during the interview to record pertinent information that might have been omitted during the interview so that both the audio recorder and field notes could be reconciled. Data collected was kept in a very safe place that is only accessible to the researcher. This was not the researcher's residential address. All electronic material was also stored on a password-protected computer whereby the password is only known by the researcher.

4.4.2 Secondary data

Secondary data means data that has already been gathered and analysed. In this study these constituted peer-reviewed journals, books, policies, and demographic survey reports (Kumar, 2014). The researcher engaged secondary data that has been conducted relating to this study and other migration related documents.

4.5 Sampling

4.5.1 Sample population

The study sample includes South African citizens, Zimbabwean immigrants who are entrepreneurs, working class and the unemployed in Diepsloot, city Johannesburg. As well as community leaders that being SANCO leader representing the residents of Diepsloot and presented as gatekeepers of the area.

4.5.2 Sampling technique

This study used purposive sampling technique. Purposeful sampling is a technique widely used in qualitative research for the identification and selection of information-rich cases for the most effective use of limited resources (Patton, 2002). This involves identifying and

selecting individuals or groups of individuals that are especially knowledgeable about or experienced with a phenomenon of interest (Cresswell & Plano Clark, 2011). In addition to knowledge and experience, Bernard (2002) and Spradley (1979) note the importance of availability and willingness to participate, and the ability to communicate experiences and opinions in an articulate, expressive, and reflective manner. In contrast, probabilistic or random sampling was used to ensure the generalisability of findings by minimising the potential for bias in selection and to control for the potential influence of known and unknown confounders.

Participants were selected based on the research objectives. This was based on the participant's knowledge and experiences regarding the research topic. The sample presented all residents of the Diepsloot.

4.5.3 Sample size

A sample of 25 participants was selected and eight semi-structured interviews were conducted with participants. A sample of 25 participants chosen allowed the researcher to get detailed information about the subject being studied and allowed for the emergent of new themes.

4.6 Data Analysis

The researcher was the main instrument in data gathering, and the responsibility to analyse and interpret data also rested solely on her to give meaning to what was discovered during the interviews. The data gathered during interviews was transcribed by listening to the audio recordings, coded and transcribed. Once the data was captured, coding took place according to emerging themes. The researcher used coding by placing labels, names beside parts of data, revising field notes and then separating them by giving them meaning (Punch, 2014).

The researcher applied thematic analysis to analyse data from evolving themes. Themes were distinguished after coding by taking note of resemblances, replications. The researcher

checked recurring words, phrases and various topics discussed by participants during the interview and come up with themes. The advantage of thematic analysis assists in reducing and simplifying data by scrutinizing and categorizing data into themes, patterns, or concepts. The following sections deal with validity and reliability.

4.7 Validity and Reliability

Validity and reliability in qualitative research are focused on trustworthiness (Creswell, 2014; Wagner, Kawulich & Garner, 2012). Trustworthiness explains how rigorous the process was followed by the researcher in conducting the study in terms of the methodology, data collection and analysis (Connelly, 2016). Therefore, the researcher ensured the trustworthiness of the research by adhering to trustworthiness indicators such as credibility, transferability, dependability, and conformability. These features are discussed below.

4.8 Credibility

Credibility in qualitative research includes several strategies such as participant engagement, persistent observation, triangulation, and participants checks (Connelly, 2016). To enrich credibility for this study, the researcher had lengthy engagement with the participants during the interviews to get an in-depth understanding of their perceptions immigrants and their role in the economy of the Diepsloot “as qualitative research explores people’s perceptions, experiences, feelings and beliefs” (Kumar, 2019, p. 277). The researcher probed participants to get more information, observed participants persistently as they responded and took field notes to triangulate data. Kumar (2019) further asserts that credibility includes establishing that the qualitative study outcomes are reliable or acceptable from the viewpoint of the research participants. Therefore, the research credibility was further improved by continuously verifying with the participants on their

views to avoid changing what they have highlighted as participants are at a better position to judge if the research answers reflect their views.

4.9 Transferability

This criterion denotes the extent to which the outcomes of the study might be generalised or transferred to another situation (Trochim & Donnelly, 2007). The researcher had face-to-face interviews with the participants' whereby semi-structured questions were used to get rich data from the participants. Semi-structured interviews allowed for flexible probing and free-flowing conversation that allowed participants to express their views easily. The results that came out of this interview were transferable but cannot be generalised to the rest of the city's population.

4.10 Dependability

In the qualitative study, dependability is achieved by providing an audit trail coupled with triangulation of techniques employed in the study (Wagner, Kawulich & Garner, 2012). In this study, the researcher enhanced dependability by evidently outlining the research methodology, research approach, data collection process and process of data analysis. The assumption was that should the same process be followed; the same results could be obtained. In terms of the audit trail of documentation, the researcher ensured that detailed records of field notes and transcripts were kept safe for the purpose of reapplication should a similar study be undertaken under the same conditions, the same conclusions could be reached. Should other researcher wish to embark on the same study, the whole research process will be available in the archives of Wits School of Governance.

4.11 Conformability

Conformability denotes the level at which the findings of the research could be confirmed by other participants, also that the findings were derived from what happened, and not only

constructed by the researcher (Kumar, 2019). This was to show the truthfulness of the research by indicating that data and the results, i.e., immigrant's experiences in Diepsloot are derived from what happened and not constructed by the researcher alone (Wagner, Kawulich & Garner, 2012). The researcher confirmed the results with participants before the final submission of the report to the school to ensure the credibility of the information. Confirmability is related to reliability in quantitative research.

4.12 Limitations, Feasibility & Positionality

The study only focused on the Zimbabweans immigrants in Diepsloot with a sample size of approximately 25 participants. Furthermore, the study was limited to the working class, entrepreneurs and unemployed, as well as general South African citizens in the area. Basic service delivery departments were excluded as the researcher aims to explore the role of immigrants in the economy of Diepsloot, city of Johannesburg. The sample size was very small and as such, the results cannot be generalised to the entire population of Diepsloot and conclusions based on the data was limited to the participants who were interviewed.

The researcher works for the city of Johannesburg municipality and used to reside in Diepsloot area where the study was conducted, which had an advantage of accessing participants in the selected area and data was collected in the afternoons where participants were back from work, some back from the businesses etc., each participant was asked to indicate the time that was to them.

4.13 Ethical Considerations

Ethics in research relates to doing what is moral and evading harm which can be achieved by applying proper ethical values (Neuman, 2013; Punch, 2014). It was, therefore, the responsibility of the researcher to adhere to appropriate ethical behaviour when conducting social science research to ensure that human subjects are protected (Neuman, 2013). The researcher adhered to the requirement by following proper ethical requirements by ensuring that participants for this study were not harmed during the process.

The researcher applied for an ethical clearance certificate from the Wits School of Governance Human Research Ethics Committee (WSG HREC) before continuing with the study. This was to guarantee that participants are protected and not exposed to any harm. The ethical clearance certificate was issued which meant that the researcher can then proceed with data collection.

After the researcher received the go ahead from the ethics committee, she then contacted potential participants telephonically and via email to request them to take part in the study. After participants agreed to take part on the study, the researcher sent participants consent form as well as participant's information sheet. The interview guide was shared to ensure transparency of the process on what kind of questions will be asked during the interview.

The participant information sheet introduced the researcher and clearly outlined the purpose of the research, the procedure to be followed for the interviews. The information also included time allocated for the interviews and it indicated that participation is voluntary, and should they wish to withdraw or feel uncomfortable to continue, they are free to do so at any time and the researcher would organize a substitute if necessary.

The researcher gave participants a relevant counselling facility in the consent form to contact in case they felt distressed during the interview so that they can get proper treatment. Participants were requested to sign the consent form as a way of agreeing to take part in the research project. The researcher requested consent from participants to record the proceedings during the interview; this was done by using an audio/voice recording device. In a case where the participant does not agree to be recorded, the researcher was to take field notes which did not happen.

To ensure privacy and confidentiality during data collection, pseudonyms or fictitious names were used to protect participants' identity. The researcher ensured that data collected remain confidential, and coding was used to ensure that individuality remain unidentified. The data gathered was saved in a protected place and on electronic savers protected by a password. The recorded information was then coded and de-identified. The coded data was de-identified for the confidentiality of participants and pseudonyms were used during data analysis. Confidentiality was emphasised to make sure that participants' identity was

protected. The actual names of participants were not used in this research, but pseudonyms were used.

5 FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

5.1 Introduction

This chapter presents findings on the overall socio-economic contribution Zimbabwean migrants living in Diepsloot. It presents sentiments that participants have about social and economic life in Diepsloot. More importantly it addresses the research questions stated in the introductory chapter. Before presenting findings and its discussion subsection 5.2 will present the historical background of Diepsloot this so to understand the formation of the area and how people got located to the area. Then 5.3 will present characteristics of Diepsloot, this will give an understand of the type of settlement people live in and how they find life and social relations there.

5.2 Historical background of Diepsloot

Prior to the end of the apartheid era, the rise of informal settlements presented black South African people with a chance to fight for their right to the city. Diepsloot was one amongst other informal settlements that came to existence at the dawn of freedom in South Africa in the 1990s (Engel et al., and.; Harber, 2011). Harber (2011 p. 9) notes that Diepsloot was a "phenomenon of the new era, conceived in the old era", meaning that the informal settlement was an idea before the end of apartheid that materialised when South Africa had acquired its democracy.

During the 1990s, a lot of people were relocating from the rural areas into township in search of employment opportunities (Harber, 2011 p. 10). This movement created a lot of pressure on the available space that the apartheid government had set aside for black people to settle, leading to the proliferation of informal settlements (Bosworth, 2016). Prior to the 1990s, Diepsloot used to be farms owned by white South Africans. During the 1990s it was then developed into a human settlement after the squatter camp of Zevenfontein

informal settlement became overpopulated. The Rand Provincial Administration then took half of the population to this newly developed human settlement of Diepsloot (Harber, 2011). The Zevenfontein informal settlement emerged in the mid-1980s by a group of people who came to build their shelters close to the Juksei River. At the time, occupants were expected to pay R30 per month as rental to the farm owners. However, farm owners then forcibly evicted squatters out of their shelters. Upon failing to evict occupants they then decided to yield the farm to the Transvaal Provincial Administration.

Zevenfontein settlement was then recognised as a human settlement in 1991. Later, during 1994, some people were moved to the new developed human settlement of Diepsloot. The then administration wanted managed to only move 200 people from Zevenfontein to Diepsloot to start occupying the settlement. Immediately after people were moved to Diepsloot, which was also a white farm, farm owners were furious and there were clashes between the newly occupants and farmers. According to Harber (2011) two white men, including the Chairperson of Chartwell Residents' Association, took the law into their own hands and shot two squatters. This was after farmers claimed that the new occupants were stealing from them. Du Toit observed that residents of Diepsloot were culturally and socially incompatible with the Zevenfontein squatters, and to place them next to each other would create a potential conflict situation (Harber, 2011 p. 13).

These observations made by du Toit were quite reasonable. However, Harber (2011) points out that the observation by du Toit had racial connotations as the Zevenfontein people were viewed as insensitive to social norms. It can be argued that du Toit shared the same sentiments as the other racist organisation that saw the Zevenfontein people as a threat to the surburban peace. It was then proposed by the Chartwell Local Area Committee that the Zevenfontein squatters be moved to existing communities such as Tembisa, Alexandra and Ivory Park where their assimilation would not be problematic rather than Diepsloot.

It was considered that the assimilation of the Zevenfontein occupants to the existing communities such as Alexandra, Tembisa and Ivory Park would not be problematic as the squatters were culturally and socially compatible with the people in these areas. However, the Glen Austin Residents' Association, situated in Ivory Park, declared the proposal null and void (Harber 2011). They claimed that their area was fully occupied and that they were not

in a position to accommodate any more people. Stuart Aitcheson, a landowner, reviewed the Administrator of Transvaal's verdict of settling the Zevenfontein people in the area.

The landowners claimed that an establishment of such a settlement in the area would be devastating as the burning of coal and firewood would cause air pollution, crime rates would escalate and that they would not be able to use the land to fruition as the value of the land would diminish (Harber 2011). According, to Harber (2011) the white landowners took the provincial administration to court hoping that the court would be on their side. Unfortunately, the white landowners did not take into consideration that the times had changed, and by extension laws of the country. However, J de Villiers, a judge, ordered the settlement to be stopped (Harber, 2011). Nevertheless, the complainants took the case to the highest court of the land, the Supreme Court, that took into consideration that the laws had changed in favour of squatters and that the Administrator had followed all the correct channels to establish the settlement.

The court then approved the decision by the Administrator to establish a settlement in Diepsloot (Harber 2011). The Zevenfontein people settled in Diepsloot and with time, the numbers of people in the area started to increase as people moved from the rural areas in search of the promises by the ANC on provision of jobs, housing, and security (Harber, 2011). In 1992 the people of Alexandra were moved into Diepsloot and also some people from Honey Dew. Diepsloot was to serve as a temporary place for people waiting to be issued the RDP housing. As mentioned above, 200 families from Zevenfontein were the first to settle in Diepsloot. These families settled in the extension 1.

In 1996, Diepsloot continued to become a reception area with temporary settlements in Diepsloot west built in a privately owned farm. From 1996 to date Diepsloot has expanded to approximately 13 extensions. This settlement was never intended for the foreigners, it was meant for the black South Africans. However, Harber (2011) points out that Diepsloot became an oasis of the influx refugees claiming their right to the city

5.3 Characteristics of Diepsloot

5.3.1 Informal and formal settlement

Contemporary Diepsloot is characterised by both formal and informal settlements. It has houses that are made up of corrugated iron located in Extensions 1, 12 and 13 (Mahajan, 2014). Secondly, there are residential residences that are made of tiled roofing and bricks located in Extension 3 known as Tanganani which is characterised of tarred roads and bonded houses (Mahajan, 2014). Lastly, there are RDP Houses which can be found in Extensions 2, 4, 5, 6, 7, 9, 10, 11 (Mahajan, 2014). However, in all these Extensions, including Tanganani with bonded houses with set-up shacks and outside rooms which are now used to generate extra income. These rooms are rented out mostly to immigrants as they are considered to be the ones in need of accommodation and have do not have access to housing subsidy nor can they afford to buy bonded homes in the neighbouring suburbs.

It was observed that most people still choose to stay in informal settlements where they do not pay rent each month. According to Mahajan (2014) approximately 30% of people in Diepsloot reside in formal structures whereas the rest of the larger population relies on the informal settlement. Diepsloot, like any other informal settlement, is characterised by burst sewages, unpleasant sewage and rubbish smells and litter; dusty and unpaved roads Most Extensions have tarred road excepted for Extension 1; parts of Extensions 6,11, 12 and 13. However, those with tarred road are now damaged and require intensive maintenance (Mahajan, 2014; Harber, 2011).

Diepsloot is divided nicely in extensions with street names, but most residents are more familiar with Extensions as compare to street names, unlike the Johannesburg CBD areas such as Hillbrow, Yeoville and Berea alongside and many others where the use of street names is crucial and most people are aware of them (Mahajan, 2014).

Diepsloot is largely a black people-dominated area. It is characterised by various ethnicities residing in the area. There are people who speak Zulu, Pedi, Tsonga, Shangani and Xhosa (Harber, 2011 p. 15). There are also people from various countries residing in the area namely Zimbabwe, Mozambique, Nigeria, Malawi, Ethiopia, Somalia, Lesotho and

Bangladesh (Harber, 2011.p. 22 The people from Pakistan, Ethiopia and Bangladesh are mainly in the area for business purposes and they are not accused of any criminal activities and does very well in business affairs.

There is a team that runs from extension two squatter camp to the southwest of extent ion thirteen. It was noted that this affects parts of the extension one during rainy seasons as it flashes away the informal settlement especially shelters that are built at the banks of the stream. Nonetheless, there has been a lot of development that has been done in Diepsloot since its formation to date.

5.3.2 *Population*

Harber (2011) indicates that there is no community that has experienced development like Diepsloot. The area has a lot of street vendors selling second hand clothes, vegetables, live chicken, kitchen utensils and some selling facial products. Diesploot is a spot for informal businesses for a larger population with Pakistan shops in every exist or entrance corner of each street as well as Spaza shops owned by both immigrants and local residents. Most immigrants are street vendors and they make it look effective and it generates them enough income to survive and support their families.

Diepsloot has three shopping malls namely Diepsloot, mall and Bambanani mall. This indicates the growing population, and these malls were built so ease the burden that was carried by the Diepsloot mall. To cut long queues and ensure that everyone has access to a bigger shops and that it does not become a struggle to access their shopping needs. During month end, lines in grocery shops and Banks were unbearable. The existence of these other two malls has relieved pressure on Diepsloot mall. Although all these malls still get packed it can never be the same as when all residents were only using Diepsloot mall.

According to the site developed by Adrian Frith. Which is the site that is not affiliated with Statistics South Africa. However, Statistics South Africa is the source of the basic data, while the information displayed resulted from his own processing of the census data.

Population statistics were obtained from the Census 2011 Community Profile Databases, and geographical areas were calculated from the Census 2011 GIS DVD.

5.3.3 *Population group*

Table 1: Population groups

Population group	Population	Percentage %
Black African	135,629	98.05%
Other	2,083	1.51%
Coloured	248	0.18%
White	215	0.16%
Indian or Asian	155	0.11%

Table 2: Gender

	People	Percentage
Male	**75,382**	**54.49%**
Female	**62,947**	**45.51%**

Table3: Age group

Age	People	Percentage %
0–4	16,144	11.67%
5–9	8,207	5.93%
10–14	6,019	4.35%
15–19	7,357	5.32%
20–24	20,085	14.52%
25–29	26,025	18.81%
30–34	19,438	14.05%
35–39	13,682	9.89%
40–44	8,305	6.00%

45–49	5,408	3.91%
50–54	3,305	2.39%
55–59	2,268	1.64%
60–64	1,147	0.83%
65–69	452	0.33%
70–74	237	0.17%
75–79	107	0.08%
80–84	63	0.05%
85+	74	0.05%

Table 4: Most dominating languages

Languages	**People**	**Percentage %**
Sepedi	31,541	22.83%
isiZulu	27,445	19.87%
Xitsonga	14,565	10.54%
isiNdebele	14,469	10.47%
Tshivenda	12,955	9.38%
Setswana	10,754	7.79%
isiXhosa	7,892	5.71%
Other	6,705	4.85%
Sesotho	5,866	4.25%
English	3,542	2.56%
SiSwati	1,375	1.00%
Afrikaans	686	0.50%
Sign language	341	0.25%
Not applicable	193	

Source: Data from Landau *et al* (2021)

5.3.4 Informal businesses

There are different kinds of businesses that are being operated in the area assisting owners to make a living as well as for residents to socialise. These include, but not limited to salons, grocery tuck shops and supermarket; Fast Food shops, and Chicken dust. Car wash, electronics repairs, taverns and pubs where people go and relax, drink alcohol whilst listening to music and many more. Diepsloot is considered to be the spot for informal business operated by both immigrants and South African citizens. It is said that any type of business can run successfully and business owners are able to make a good living out of their businesses.

An immigrant participant running a salon business in Diepsloot indicated that*:*

I came to Johannesburg in 2001. I left home after I completed Form Two to seek employment. My parents could not afford to pay for my school fees, and life had a lot of pressure for me. Especial from my peers, when they were able to further their studies also their parents could not afford to buy us nice clothes, and I did not have any decent clothes and it was very hurtful experience. You then decided to come to Johannesburg with my uncle who used to stay in Orange Farm (Dannis, Business entrepreneur 1).

Another participant also provided the following explanation;

I looked for employment and got employed by a construction company. It was not a permanent post but a contract so it ended then after, I did peace jobs (land-scaping and painting as well as any job that was made available to me so I could have money) (Hove [pseudonym] Diepsloot Extension 13 resident immigrant).

A second participant also conformed how they ended up owning a business after moving to the area;

In the year 2016, I then moved to Diepsloot to come and stay with my friends and one of them owned a salon. I then worked at his salon, then life started opening up for me. All was going well I later opened my own salon in 2008. This was during the very hectic moment of xenophobia attack in Diepsloot (John [pseudonym] Diepsloot Extension 13 resident immigrant).

From the excerpts above, the recurring theme is that the immigrants were attracted to Johannesburg because immigrants were in search of jobs and other economic opportunities.

Immigrants confirmed having successfully got the economic opportunities most of whom were interviewed indicated that they were running their businesses. It also came out that from the income generated; they were able to survive in South Africa as well as sending some to their relatives back in Zimbabwe. The following excepts provide some information:

At that time the business was going really well, I was able to send money home and maintained myself this side as well. Running a business during protest xenophobia was not an easy one. It was like playing hide and seeks with the native South Africans, but we survived. Living the country was not an option because all was going well with business and going back to a failing economy in Zimbabwe was out of the picture (Moses [pseudonym] Immigrant Business Entrepreneur 2).

Till to this day, I have been running my business. I had hopes of expanding to other places but that dream has just vanished. The business has not been going well since the country experienced Covid-19. The support has dropped and the business is not making as much as it used to. It is really difficult now as sometime I struggle to raise money for rent and I need to do a serious budget so I don't overspend on restocking products (Samuel, Immigrant Business Entrepreneur 3).

From the profit I need to calculate rent, stock and remittances and maintain myself. It is luck that will live in a very low-cost area. I don't pay rent where I am residing, and when I have maize meal and cooking oil, I can survive on the day-to-day meat that is sold on the streets then the day passes and all is history (Zebra, Immigrant resident 4).

People of South Africa wish to see us gone but the truth is they are unable to run informal businesses as we do. They don't give support to such business as we do; also we are able to offer cheap labour that most are not evening willing to do. My business gets support from all the people of Diepsloot. But Diepsloot seem to have a dominating number of foreign nationals and because of their living conditions they are bound to support or they rely on this small business for their daily survival (Tinah, Immigrant resident 5).

From the above, it is noted that apart from running businesses for their up keep and their families, Immigrants provided information as to the state of their businesses with xenophobia and Covid-19 pandemic being cited as developments that negatively impacted businesses. Further, it was reflected that despite such challenges such as the xenophobia attacks, immigrants soldiered on and never entertained the idea of returning to Zimbabwe which was characterised as nursing a very poor economy. Native South Africans are also portrayed as wishing to see immigrants returning to their home country.

Immigrant residents also expressed the nature of their relationships with landlords for instance. The following excerpts detail some of the experiences:

The relationship that I have with my landlord is a good one. I rented this space since 2008 when I started running my business. We are in good terms because even when the business did not do well, I am able to speak to her and we come to an understanding and make arrangements. So, we built these relations and we share loyalty, I can trust them to look out for me as much as they trust me to look out for them. We are a family now (Nkosi, Immigrant resident 6).

The explanation reveals that South Africans benefit from immigrants in a variety of ways. Regarding the above, the South African landlord is noted as benefiting financially as Tortoise (pseudonym) works and pays rentals. A symbiotic relationship is observed as Tortoise emphasises that they take care of each other (landlord and tenant) as the two needs each other to survive in this case.

Asked how often does Immigrants return for a visit to their relatives in their home country? It was indicated that:

Well, it depends. I can go home as many times as I want to, but money controls my movements. If the business did well, I go home. The last time I went home was last year November (2021) because I saved enough during the year, then it was easy for me to go home with some money for my family. Otherwise, I just work and send them food and money. All in all, Diepsloot is home and I am used to its dynamics that one just learns to live and manoeuvre around. (Linda [pseudonym] Business Entrepreneur 4).

It follows that Diepsloot has become second home to immigrants who either run their small businesses for survival in South Africa and sending money and other goods to their relatives in Zimbabwe, or work an save monies to send home. Once I a while from their savings, they return To Zimbabwe to visit their families.

South African participants also responded in the interviews of their relations with Zimbabwean immigrants. For instance, a native South African running a fruit and vegetable business had this to say regarding his stay and how he is running his business in the area:

I originally come from Toyando, Limpopo. I first came to Diepsloot to stay with my mother in 2016. I studies in Limpopo till I finished my high school then came this side. I came to Diepsloot because my business at home was no longer doing well since the arrival of Somalian's. These people have their shops all the place putting mine on a strain and not having a concentrated support as it uses to before. I started selling since I was at school, I have never worked and understanding the struggle of finding employment I never bothered myself looking for a job. Selling things has always been my source of income. After matric I then open my fruit and vegetable shop which was supported by many in our village, and it was growing well (Ndebogo, South African entrepreneur7)

After Somalian's open their grocery store the support was now divided then I decided to come to a bigger city with a bigger market. Since I started selling in Diepsloot business was going very well and because the area has high population rate the support is very high as well. The problem started after Covid-19. The business started to move very slow with many unemployed people posed a challenge to the business as well. You will notice that I have moved from a space I was operating in before. It is because some months I struggle to pay rent that's why I decided to just come position my table in this space, at least rent money is not part of the budget now (Ndebogo [pseudonym] Native-South African Entrepreneur 8).

It was also emphasised that there are several areas from which goods are purchased for resale. Asked where they buy their stock and if it was cheaper, it was noted that:

I used to stock in Pretoria which was cheaper than especial because I was buying in bulk. Lately, I stock from local supermarkets in the area because paying for transport ends up

being equivalent to buying locally (Tsepo [pseudonym] Native-South African Entrepreneur 16).

Asked how the Dudula movements affected businesses and individuals it was indicated that:

Well, every time they come, they request for ID document, then I present it then they let me continue selling. They stop many from selling and if they find them selling, they take their stock away. It is a sad thing as most of the people we are with here are also trying to feed their families. Most of our customers are immigrants (Thembi, [pseudonym] Native-South African Entrepreneur 9).

The above submission is evidence that not all native South Africans subscribe to the notion that immigrants are responsible for the economic woes being experienced in the country. In other words, very ordinary individuals attest to the Positive contribution immigrants make even to business as they are considered customers. Dudula in this instance, can be assumed to be a political move by the few to portray a picture that immigrants, especially those from Zimbabwe, that they are responsible for the deterioration and the reason for South Africa's challenges. It was added that:

South African citizens are registered to receive vegetable hampers, this happened since Covid 19. Given that immigrants are not registered to receive such vegetables, they buy from us and our business goes because of them. It is for this reason that I do not support the notion of foreign nationals leaving the country. They are our biggest Est supporters in the business and without them the business will be very slow or not going at all. They play a very important role in our lives (Susan [pseudonym] Immigrant resident, 10).

An immigrant participant making *izimbadada* (Zulu traditional shoes) had this to say about his experience in Diepsloot:

I lived in Diepsloot during it toughest times, but when you have lived in it for so much time, it feels normal, and it has become my home. I came to Diepsloot when we were moved from Alexandra in 2001 but came to Johannesburg in 1991. I have been living in Diepsloot ever since. We experienced all forms of abuse from citizens forcing us out of the area, but we had no other place to go. We had to hide and come back to make a living. I am a plumber and I have people that work with me under my supervision. Finding a job was never a struggle and

business was really going well regardless of all the protest that took place against foreigners in the area. We have always provided for our services. We did provide our plumbing services even in the neighbouring suburbs (Forgive [pseudonym] Immigrant resident, 11).

Asked about the level of criminal activities taking place in the area including robbery, the immigrant participant responded by saying:

South African citizens blame foreigners for all criminal activities, yet they are also involved; the hide behind the existence of foreigners. Any protest done by residents be contesting poor service delivery or fight against high rates of foreigners in the area, it all ends up in looting in grocery shops. This may just suggest that South African wants to hide behind something for their criminal acts. Why would you loot a grocery store if all you wanted in the first place was to get rid of foreign nationals (Forgive [pseudonym] Immigrant resident, 12).

I cannot say foreigners do not commit crime; they obviously do but not all of us are criminals. Some of us make an honest living out of decent activities and our hard work. It is tough for all of us but playing a blame game is not assisting anyone. Maybe until we understand that finding a common ground that we can all live and share skills and talents the better for the area as whole (Antelope, [pseudonym] Immigrant resident, 13).

This is because; personally I believe that we contribute to a certain extent to the livelihood of South Africa citizens. For example, I have two South African guys I work with on my plumbing jobs. They did not know the job, I trained them, and they worked under my supervision. This simple shows that if we can work together and hate on each other we can do a lot better (Illona, [pseudonym] Immigrant resident, 14).

I currently, sell Izimbadada as you can see. This is because business has not been doing well and it is becoming tougher and tougher each day. So instead of me just sitting and doing nothing. I saw a chance that I make and sell these types of shoes so at lease I can get a bread. Covid-19 really affected us in terms getting jobs. Most people cannot afford to employ us as they grab not employed themselves. Of late, it is really hard for everyone (Faith [pseudonym] Immigrant resident, 15).

Asked why they chose to stay in Diepsloot regardless of heartless events that occur and witnessed during the xenophobia attacks and the killings that take place in the area; the immigrants responded and said:

I am used to all the events that take place in this area. Also, we have built relations with people in the area, you see. I am comfortable to be here, and I do not think I will be able to live freely somewhere else. I have learnt to make life work for me and the people around me regardless of any criminal events taking place. Tell me an area where there is no crime? In any case it is cheaper for me to live in this area (Asante [pseudonym] Immigrant resident, 16).

From the aforementioned, most immigrants reflected that they have assimilated into the Diepsloot area and have established relations with most native-South Africans either as customers or entrepreneurs or service providers themselves. They found economic challenges as universal to all who are in South Africa, but not comparable to the economic deterioration witnessed in the 2000s. in other words, they find Diepsloot as having its own unique problems, like any other area that has its own challenges, and they are ready to work with what is there.

5.3.5 Political party representation

Since the establishment of the Diepsloot informal settlement in 1990s, the most dominating political party has been the African National Congress (ANC). The Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF) is currently visible and an official opposition party in Diepsloot. Minority parties such as Democratic Alliance (DA), Congress of the people (COPE) and Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) are less present in Diepsloot. There are also other alliances such SANCO which is an ANC alliance. SANCO represents all residents of Diepsloot regardless of political affiliation, however it is seen to be an ANC spies when attending meetings coordinated by other political parties. People in Diepsloot view politics as the driver of development despite viewing their ward councillors as doggy, corrupt, and biased.

5.4 Findings on the Reasons for migrating to Diepsloot

5.4.1 *Economic decline in Zimbabwe*

The narratives of the participants indicated that the challenging economic situation experienced by Zimbabwe acted as a catalyst to most Zimbabweans migrating to South Africa seeking better opportunities and better living standards. It was expressed that the situation is very tough back in Zimbabwe as most Zimbabwean immigrants described it. It was also indicated that Zimbabwe is experiencing food shortages causing most people to sleep on empty stomachs, as a result hunger has become an everyday phenomenon. Take for instance, one participant said:

The economy back home has shown a decline to a point that the poor have become poorer as the minority rich people are benefiting from the whole situation. The service delivery also has become poor as some places in the country go for months and months without water and electricity. The unemployment rate is skyrocketing and there is no hope that things are ever going to go back to normal or better conditions anytime soon. Thus, migration to South Africa for most Zimbabweans is inevitable (Lucky, Immigrant resident, 19).

These findings corroborate with the study conducted by Hungwe's (2013) which points out the Zimbabwe economic crisis and it being a contributing push factor to most Zimbabwean immigrants to Diepsloot, South Africa. However, there is the 'middle class' amongst the Zimbabwean immigrants, who also find themselves residing in Diepsloot because of their social networks. Due to the decline in the economy in Zimbabwe and the level of poverty, most people are migrating, regardless of class to places that they hope to make a living and support family members who remained back in their home country. Most such immigrants reside in the Johannesburg CBD and other informal settlements of Johannesburg including Diepsloot.

It is said that immigrants are unable to afford formal hosing as such chose to be in areas where it is cheaper and where they can afford rentals. For those that can afford formal housing structures to rent or buy, are however, hindered by the fact that they lack legal

documentations, as a result, they rent out in cheaper places or informal dwellings of Diepsloot where they would not have to produce proof of their legal status. An Immigrant participant explained challenges faced an 'illegal' immigrant in Diepsloot:

I have faced a lot of challenges due to lack of documentations. We stand a high chance of not finding a job when you do not have legal documents in South Africa. We are subjected to a low paying job, some of us hold qualifications but still work as domestic workers (Susan, [pseudonym] Immigrant resident, 20).

Domestic work seems to be the only available employment opportunity for us and I have never stayed unemployment because I move from house to the next to do cleaning and ironing, and I have been surviving through domestic jobs ever since coming to South Africa. The people we work for, be it in the neighbouring suburbs or around Diepsloot never ask us to produce legal documents, they just want us to do the job and pay us then that is just that. (Memory, [pseudonym] Immigrant resident, 21).

Immigrant participants further highlighted that Diepsloot is a preferred place of residence because it is cheaper to rent and to find a place to stay. This might be due to high level of employment and high population rate, and the fact that rental rooms are available in every extension which does not make renting out as a demand, but accommodation is. Most South Africa citizens that own RDP houses have built rental rooms to make extra income out of it and these rooms are a demand to all residents especially immigrants.

Immigrant participants working as domestic workers commented on their living conditions in Diepsloot:

I came from Zimbabwe to South Africa to work as a house helper and I stayed where I was working (In house helper) until my employers told me that they were leaving South Africa, going back to Germany, at that point my job ended. I had no other place to go but to come to Diepsloot. That is how I came to live here in extension 1. The nice part about this area is that rentals are very cheap they range from R150 to R300, and this is reasonable especially for some of us who are unemployed. However, some were very lucky when they came to Diepsloot and found a space then they built shacks for themselves, they do not have to pay

rent. They just live here for free all that they have to worry about is how they are surviving afterwards just not rental (Patricia, [pseudonym] Immigrant resident, 22).

Additionally, Promise, a vendor at the Diepsloot Extension 6 shared the same sentiments with other immigrants who had issues with paying high rent for accommodation. She expressed difficulties of paying expensive rents when one is surviving on selling on the streets alone and does not have a proper job. She then explained:

The most challenging factor here is that, when you do not have a good job, (as you can see that I am a vendor) you struggle to pay expensive rental. Therefore, I rely on informal housing as I cannot afford to pay for the formal housing (Promise, [pseudonym] Immigrant resident, 15).

Mahajan (2014) states that the streets of Diepsloot are characterised by groups of unemployed and idling people. Finding employment remains a difficult task for most people in Diepsloot (Mahajan 2014). In the interviews that I conducted in this area most of the participants are unemployed. For their daily survival they rely on selling on the streets and some on piece jobs and others are landlords renting out rooms in their yards.

One may argue that the high levels of unemployment in Diepsloot might be contributing to the high crime rates in the area as Diepsloot is well known for the high crime rates which have ruined its reputation. A native South African participant who is currently unemployed added and said:

It is easy for those that own a shack or an RDP house, they do not have to pay rent because the place belongs to them unlike if one is renting, then they are forced to pay rent. I am not paying rent because I own the shack all that I must worry about is how I survive in my shack that's all (Nkunzi [pseudonym] Immigrant resident, 21).

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

5.4.2 *Poverty*

Findings indicate that majority of Zimbabweans migrated to South Africa as a way of escaping poverty that they were facing back home. Although, South Africa like any other African country, has its own challenges regardless of its attractive economy and democracy, immigrants expressed that being in South Africa has not been easy as they thought it would be. They came with high hopes of finding employment upon arrival into the country.

I came to South Africa from Zimbabwe escaping poverty in the 2006 but when I came here, I still found myself living in poverty and it does not look like my situation will change for better any time soon. It is only hope of survival that keeps me standing and striving each day (Tracy, Immigrant resident, 23).

Although Tracy did not state how she arrived in Diepsloot and did not want to talk about her background back at home, it was, however, observed through her emotional facial expression that she experiences serious poverty-linked hardships back in her country of origin.

Linda, an accounting graduate from Zimbabwe who now works as a domestic worker had this to say:

I came straight from Zimbabwe to come and live here in Diepsloot as my husband was already living here and started working for some construction company in Sten City but not making enough money to support us back at home and also him this side. We then decided that I also come this side to find work and assist raise some money, so we are able to raised our three kids who are still attending school. We are now able to live comfortably with my family. Well, situations are not as bad this side as compared to where I come from. The frustrating part is for me not working on the field I have always dreamt of while growing up but unfortunately, we deal with it as part of life (Lindokuhle, Immigrant resident, 24).

It was further expressed that there are qualified individuals who came to South Africa to seek better opportunities but only to find themselves working as waiters/waitresses in restaurants and domestic workers in surrounding suburbs such as Midrand, Randburg, Sandton and Fourways. These qualified professionals find themselves taking up jobs that do

not match their educational attainment but because they need to survive and support their families, they take any job opportunity that will afford them the chance of survival.

Immigrants indicated that they feel trapped in poverty, and the hopes they had of better life did not materialise. They felt like poverty they were trying to escape back in Zimbabwe is with them even in South Africa. Due to poverty that they are facing, they are unable to afford or reside in flats or houses like other Zimbabweans immigrants residing in Hillbrow, Berea and Yeoville. They are then forced to live in Diepsloot informal settlement.

5.4.3 *Employment opportunities in Zimbabwe*

Employment opportunities were also cited as part of the reasons why immigrants came to South Africa. An immigrant participant had this to say:

Well, finding employment back in Zimbabwe depends on the level of your education and qualification do be able to do certain jobs as well as your luck, then you are able to find work in Zimbabwe. However, with the struggling economy that the country is confronted with, it is not easy to find employment. (Tracy, Immigrant resident, 23).

I use to work at iron and steel company back in the years and when it closed down, I had to move to South Africa to search for employment. I came and I worked as a gardener in the surrounding suburbs of Fourways and Midrand that is just how I am surviving and supporting my family (Trevor,Immigrant resident, 25).

Asked if they found it easy to support their families back home or rather, they preferred to have them with them in Diepsloot, the following was said:

I would rather have them this side but sometimes it feels like it is best when they are away, so they don't have to see how you are struggling to bring bread on the table but also when they are away, they feel like everything is as easy, therefore, demand a lot. So, I prefer to be

with them here so they can witness what I have and what I don't have (Tracy, [pseudonym] Immigrant resident, 26).

Another participant added and said*:*

If employment opportunities were available back home, I would not be here. A great number of us are here which simple indicate that there are better chances in South Africa than back in Zimbabwe (Melusi, Immigrant resident, 27).

I came to Diepsloot because I had started working as umalayisha *as they call us. Those that are living in Diepsloot send things like groceries, clothes and furniture back home. It is people like myself that do that job of moving goods from Diepsloot to Zimbabwe. We go home twice a month hence you see us with really big full trailers going home. I have been making my living as* uMalayisha *since 2005. I also offer my* malayisha *services to those that are moving from one extension to the other, and that one is easy cash. That allows me to always have some money and not always wait for month end before I can have money.*

Diepsloot can be a lot of things but it has made us and I am happy to be in the area. Some view it as dangerous but when you are used to the area, life style becomes a normal one. To me outside citizens fighting for us to live the place I have accepted things the way they are and live each day as it comes. I have no issues with the area (Moris, Immigrant resident, 27).

5.5 Reasons for choosing Diepsloot

5.5.1 Social Capital

Participants highlighted how their family members who travelled before them had a role to play in their choice of residence. While others indicated that their family member resided in Diepsloot before and later left the place for them after finding another place to stay. An immigrant participant explained how he found a place in Diepsloot through a relative. It was explained:

My brother is the one who was staying here so he left the place for me when he found another bigger place for himself (Moses, Immigrant resident, 19).

Participants stated that they came to settle in Diepsloot because they had no any other alternatives since getting a house in a formal housing market comes with myriad demands which range from documentations to finance. One of the immigrants' participants had this to say with his experience by being an immigrant in a foreign country:

Being an immigrant generally in South Africa is tough especially when it comes to issues of accommodation. When I first came to South Africa, I did not know anyone I had no place stay or go to the only option I had was Diepsloot. I came to South Africa to seek for employment opportunity and so I decided to live here. We live a nomadic life in this place as we are forever moving from one shack to another. At least the rental is affordable.

In this area people look out for their families than any other people, said the participant. They refer family members to employment or available accommodation space to utilise.

It was noted that this network is sustain by constantly communicating with relatives back home and sending money and groceries. Walter indicated:

I managed to maintain my relationship with people back home in Zimbabwe by calling them, sending groceries and also money at times. I am struggling here in Diepsloot but I try by all means to send whatever I have to them.

Social networks are increasingly observed as crucial sources of 'social capital' for immigrants. This increases their chances of access to services, resources, and social support (Kane & Leedy, 2013; Ryan et al., 2008). Putnam (cited in Ryan et al. 2008) suggests that 'social capital,' a notion derived from the work of Bourdieu (1986) which can help alleviate the insidious effects of socio-economic disadvantage.

The empirical evidence shows that family members who travelled before and are now familiar with locations are at a better position to offer information to their family members on which location to choose and at times they accommodate their family members. Participants revealed that it is not easy to get a place to stay in Diepsloot if one is not connected. Social networks have been pointed out as the most reliable mechanism utilised

when securing a place to stay in Diepsloot. One needs to have people or relations that they know in the area so that they can have easy access to housing. People that are hardly known in the area are hardly accepted.

It is suggested that social networks among immigrant are mainly based on kinship and extend families. These networks are maintained through social visits during weekends and public holidays. Such networks are further activated in times of need, such as during a period of unemployment and in need of accommodation. Immigrants in Diepsloot have managed to create social networks amongst themselves, with South Africans and other foreigners. These manifested networks include familial networks, church networks, inter and intra ethical networks and transnational networks. Some of these networks have been classified as strong networks especially familial networks which are family-based networks.

It is such networks that keep immigrants together even during the times of dispute between them and South African citizens. It also assists immigrants navigate their way to basic service accessibility and establish relationships with SA citizens. These networks are essential, especially for those coming to Diepsloot for the first time. During the study it was expressed that, it is dangerous and challenging to be an immigrant that does not know anyone in the area. It becomes difficult to find descent accommodation with the exclusion that already exist leaves immigrants with no alternative but to make a living in an informal settlement like Diepsloot.

Diepsloot allow those that are without money to also be able to get descent accommodation with access to electricity and water to also survive in the area at a cheaper rate. It was further expressed that for one to gain access to housing such as shacks, RDP and rental rooms, is through social networks. It helps speculate information that can be useful to others and avoid legal status conflicts, as immigrants are at times requested to produce identification, failure to do so may result in them being beaten up by the mob from the community.

This finding corroborates with the findings of Amado et a-l. (2006) and Mulder (2007) who notes that kinship relationships are influential and helpful for immigrants coming into South

Africa for the first time. These kinship relationships are important as they are sources of referral and information (Amado et al., 2006; Mulder, 2007). Further Leedy and Kane (2013) point out that family ties are advantageous to first time immigrants as they face minor challenges when it comes to accessing accommodation and job opportunities.

The narratives of the participants indicated that immigrants often found themselves in precarious situations when it comes to accommodation. This explains why most immigrants prefer to stay at the informal settlements which are usually situated at the fringes of the city, and they are affordable to live in.

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

Zimbabwean immigrants have managed to create social network with other residents, and they are able to hang out together and share resources and employment opportunities as family. It is important to break these down to manifested networks that include family networks, church networks, inter and intra ethical networks and transnational networks. These networks have been classified as strong networks especially family networks which are family-based networks.

She was observed that immigrants and local residents have found family members in one another, especially those that share rental room space. According to Leedy and Kane (2013) transnational networks is the maintenance of relations by the immigrants with the people that they left in their country of origin.

Walter Immigrants continue to express this:

There is no difference between them and South Africans all they do is to master the languages and thus all. If they master the languages who would say they are not South African without proof.

Siziba (2013 p. 174) claims that 'Language is a form of capital that migrants use in situating themselves in the different neighbourhood.' One of the participants mentioned that most people treat them like they are South African. There is no South African language that they have not mastered.

Participant was asked how people live together in Diepsloot; this is what participants had to say:

I can say there is no solidarity. People choose who they want to associate with depending on nationality for instance some South Africans choose to associate themselves with other South Africans and not people from other nationalities. If something wrong happens in the community, they all point to Zimbabweans as the trouble market and they judge us. They think we are always wrong. If you are harsh, I will also be harsh to you. If you are ever smiling, I will also be ever smiling. It depends on the character of that person. If you are laughing, I will laugh with you. If you are angry all the time, how do you expect me to laugh with you? We have to work together. We must love each other like brothers and sisters. If you are changing like a robot 'green, yellow, red' I shall also do the same.

It was observed that both immigrants and local citizens are able to co-exist regardless of the existing challenges which they have learnt to live with. They have built a relationship that makes them share space as family member. They are even able to look out for one another.

5.5.2 Informal Business opportunities

Diepsloot is home informal businesses that allow the residents to run and make a living out of them. Residents run various business including taverns, salons, fast-food outlets, car wash and many more and these types of businesses are operated by both immigrants and local citizens. A car wash owner had this to say:

Well, I started my car wash five years ago. It started as a small thing to keep me busy and have a little income coming in as finding a job is a job on its own. It responded very well, and my focus was taxis. Taxi driver are the most supportive individuals and getting such support pushes you to do well and make sure you make them happy. If one driver is happy, he keeps coming, and also refer their colleagues. They get their cars washed every day during the day and after peak hours. I am very busy during the day while they still binding till late around six.

It has been going well ever since and I then decided I am going to make it my focus. So, I can agree that Diepsloot allows everyone to run their informal business and make a living out of it, and even hire more people to assist. Diepsloot has every type of business that you can think of, and some are doing really well. I think the high population of people is an advantage for business. We are all in our unique way meeting the needs of the individuals in the area. You cannot run a business and not make some money that can sustain you; if you are lucky and able to manage your craft well, make a living out of it.

As seen above, there are several reasons that motivate immigrants to venture into business instead of just looking for work in Diepsloot. The township is regarded as viable for business owing to the population density which means many consumers are spread in a small space and can easily become customers to local businesses.

5.5.3 Aspirations of better life

Immigrant participants revealed that they aspire for a better life than the one they left behind in their home country. This was explained as indicated in the next except.

It is obvious that everyone has a dream of becoming better in life. Although life turns out to be life. Well, I would love to expand my business but that will mean getting more hands. I currently work with two extra guys. If I were to take this business to another extension and operate a best car wash, I will need to get more guys. If I have not trained or worked with them, I cannot trust them to be the best team. There is no guaranteed that it will succeed if I expand.

It is fear of the unknown. I just decided if it gets bigger it shall get bigger here, anyway the car wash does not require a lot of space; I wash a car and when it is done I park it on the side and get onto the next. What I have done for now is to also laundry on the side. Most of my clients are always on the road and do not have time to do their laundry so I used that as well to my advantage. They also were Brent wood trousers which its wash requires a dry-cleaning service which I offer. So that is how I have expanded my business and that should be my focus area. All in all, Diepsloot is the best place for business.

Other participants expressed that; they wish for better life, but life has its challenges that forces them to settle where they are because that is the best they could have asked for at that moment. It was also indicated that is even worse because Covid-19 and the issue of load shedding affected a lot of businesses and resulted in most people losing their jobs and finding one now is the most difficult thing to do. By all means, they want to be better and live in better spaces around the neighbouring suburbs. Diepsloot is the affordable space for many as expressed by participants.

5.6 Challenges faced by Zimbabwean immigrants in Diepsloot

Immigrants are more vulnerable to discrimination and exploitation as many of them are poor, illiterate, and live-in slums and hazardous locations prone to disasters and natural calamities. There are no urban policies and programs catering for the needs and settlements of immigrants. The most challenges experienced by immigrants in South Africa, and Diepsloot in particular, is the exclusion because of their legal status. Immigrants are unable to find formal housing and decent employment because of their legal status and lack of documentation. Resultantly, they decide to stay in informal settlements such as those in Diepsloot where they need no proof to stay.

5.6.1 Education exclusions

Immigrants, and particularly children and those that migrated to Diepsloot to further their studies may find it difficult to access schools and tertiary education. Immigrant participants explained their experiences as learners in Diepsloot combined school.

I came to Johannesburg in 2009 to start with my high school grade. I am not sure how my parents got me admitted. All the required documents were submitted, and they were still up to date then. I did my high school up to grade 11 and when I was supposed to do my final grade it then became an issue, because I did not have a permit to study in South Africa and there was no arrangement made for me to get a permit to allow me to write my final exams (Glorius, immigrant resident 28)

My parents tried to do applications just so I could be able to write my matric but it did not work out. As a result, I dropped out. It was really hurtful because I was doing very well at school and had plans to also further my studies at tertiary level just like my peers, but that did not happen.

I was so sad, I still am. But I have accepted that without proper documents I can never be what I wish to be in this life. It is unfortunate for me, and my parents, that we did not know any other route that could have afforded me to finish my high school. Unlike those that could pay for their way to obtaining documents.

I say this because I know a few people who completed their matric with the same legal status as me and did not hold the permit or maybe they did, I just did not know, and I never asked. Haaaaaaaa! Yeah, but it is what it is. I went on then look for employment and lucky I found my job in a retail industry and I am still working there (Glorius, immigrant resident 28)

The participant was asked if she wish to look for another job in a different industry and she had this to say:

I want to, but I am afraid in this economy that has such a high rate of unemployment and that I may struggle to find a job. And that would be a death of me. So Nooo! I am keeping on this one but if I were offered a better option, I will take it, but it does not seem possible

because of my legal status and getting papers is an issue on its own (Zipho, immigrant resident 29)

Discussion:

5.6.2 Employment exclusion

Internal and cross border immigrants are more likely to be employed than the Gauteng-born. However, those who are unemployed may find it harder to survive as they may lack social and economic support networks. Employment sector-immigrants are more likely to be employed in low paid and vulnerable sectors of employment with little job security. Undocumented immigrants may be vulnerable to over exploitation by employers and lack recourse to labour laws. Below are some of their sentiments: *The most available job for most of us that only needs matric is domestic work in the neighbouring suburbs. I personally studied Accounting, but I have not been employed in that field because I lack correct documents also employment in South Africa is very scarce, so maybe it is not fair for me to say I am excluded because of my legal status here. It is important to look into situations on all angels available.*

Yes, not having documents to apply to big companies excludes us from getting employed and yes, it is seen to be exclusion because of our legal status. So, I choose to just forget about my certificate and work as a domestic worker so I can survive. Earning some income and being able to support my family is enough for me (Lulama immigrant resident 30).

Although there are not great differences, overall, in the incomes earned by immigrants as compared to the Gauteng-born, those with low incomes and no income are likely to find it harder to survive as they lack social networks. Furthermore, they are more likely to be maintaining two households on their low income. They may also lack the economic and material capital that long-term Johannesburg residents may have accumulated to see them through difficult times. One immigrant participant had this to say:

5.6.3 Access to Housing

Cross border immigrants from the SADC region and the rest of Africa appear to experience exclusion when it comes to accessing formal housing in a host country. This comes as a result of lack of documentation and their legal status. This does not only affect immigrants but also local citizens get affected as they still have no access to housing yet opt to reside in informal settlement and pay no rent and maintenance of any property.

Diepsloot is made up of both formal and informal settlement which all residents reside regardless of their legal status. There are South Africans who still rent out accommodation from other South Africans. This is because everyone who comes to Johannesburg is a stranger and comes from somewhere. Harber (2011 p. 16) notes that "everyone residing in Diepsloot comes from somewhere." Most people in Diepsloot live in abject poverty as they do not work and the money that they get from their small businesses is directed to their everyday consumption. Diepsloot also has middle class people who prefer to stay in Diepsloot because they consider it to be their home and they feel as outsiders when going to other neighbouring areas, although some leave Diepsloot for better exposure to life.

When people come to Diepsloot, racial tensions were more visible than the ethnicity tensions (Harber 2011: 17). Tensions that are currently being witnessed are between locals and foreign nationals which in this study are referred to as immigrants. Local citizens claim that immigrants steal from them, it is claimed that they take away their wives, employment, and houses.

Diepsloot, as compared to other city of Johannesburg townships has been classified as the worst when it comes to issues of xenophobia. Nyamnjoh (2006) noted that xenophobia is not only about the dislike of what is foreign, but it is also violent in nature. The majority of the xenophobia victims are black African people who share the same skin colour with instigators of the violence (Nyamnjoh, 2006).

Reports revealed that during the 2008 xenophobia attacks, most cases of violence were towards the people from Zimbabwe. Immigrants from Zimbabwe who were fortunate enough were able to escape death. However, some lost their properties, and some their shacks were burnt down. Additionally, those unlucky enough were burnt alive during the episodes of violence in the area. Mahajan (2014: p. 144) argues that these cases of xenophobia have made most immigrants to be reluctant to own properties in the area.

It was noted also that Diepsloot have access to water and sanitation facilities: Overall, residents have relatively good access to water and sanitation facilities except for Diepsloot Extension 1 which they still use 'backet toilet' as toilets are allocated far from some parts of the informal settlement. So, it can be said that access to such services is largely defined by housing type, so, those living in informal settlements and backyard shacks are likely to have problems with access to water and sanitation.

Immigrants from the SADC are disproportionately likely to live in informal dwellings and backyard shacks. Even though some cross border immigrants from the rest of Africa outside the SADC are likely to live in brick structures with electricity and water, overcrowding may cause problems with plumbing infrastructure.

This finding is in agreement with literature that points out that in European countries immigrants without documentation are excluded from accessing a house at a formal housing market (Geddie 2014). Further, literature reveals that in the European countries, there are strict laws in place regarding renting or leasing of a house to immigrants without documentation (Geddie, 2014). Therefore, the undocumented migrants are marginalised from accessing housing from the formal market. However, these exclusions are not only faced by the undocumented immigrants, documented immigrants also face rejection when accessing low-cost housing thus they have to rely on the private house market which is costly. Matthew Wilhelm-Solomon points out that.

The findings revealed that accommodation in South Africa is expensive especially in the formal house market. Participants had the following to say, when he was asked if immigrants should also be granted access to formal housing:

I don't think foreign nationals should get most of the housing but I do think that there should be mechanism in low-cost housing development schemes for some level of inclusion (Ofentse, South African native born 31)

Dlamini (2017) revealed that accommodation in South Africa is expensive especially in the formal house market. The participants highlighted that Diepsloot is a preferred place of residence because of its cheap rentals as most people residing there are either self-employed or unemployed.

5.6.4 Access to health care services.

The research suggests that cross border immigrants are particularly vulnerable to exclusion in Diepsloot? Exclusion from these services can compromise the health of both South Africans citizens and immigrants. In Diepsloot health care services are not an issue the biggest issue is they cannot take the pressure of servicing all residents.

Diepsloot has two public clinics, the one at Extension 2 and the other at Extensions 7. These two clinics are meant to services the entire population in Diepsloot. These two clinics are, therefore overburdened because of the high population rate and most participants expressed that the number of immigrants in Diepsloot increase queens at these clinics. The growth in the number of immigrants poses a great challenge on the already strained health care service, high level of crime as well as employment opportunities. The participant had this to say:

Immigrants must not be prioritised over legal residents as it currently seem. Although others pay bribes for their needs to be met, they think immigrants should be deported back to their home country as they now think that they are entitled to our services more than we are. The fact that local citizens have to wake up early hours of the morning so they can access, health care service frustrate them as they feel if health care service was managed effectively and immigrants' issues addressed according, by government officials they would not be having such an issue.

It was further said that: *This is so frustrating to us local residents. We all know if it was not for them being everywhere seeking the same services as us we would be effectively attended and we would not have to wake up in the early hours of the morning, to risk our lives to them as well*. *These people are the same people who wait for us during those early hours to rob us of our belongings even worse our lives and we must also share our already overloaded system and services* (Zibusiso South African native born resident)

Mbulelo, South African resident expressed that immigrants put so much strain on the distribution of basic social services. This includes schools, health care, and other community services, and so much pressure on services that are meant for local residents. Local residents have requested that clinics must request identification documents to all residents prior receiving the service. It is said that this is for now implemented at the extensions 7 clinics and it has been effective at least for now.

It was further stated that during the school registrations in early January 2023, people were told there were no more spaces for the 2023 intake yet immigrants have their kids admitted. It is for this reason residents choose violence when demonstrating their dissatisfaction. It was then suggested that services should be distributed and managed by authorities, although it will be a fruitless exercise because of the level of corruption that exist currently amongst learners and those that have management authority of the movement and administration immigrants into the country.

Immigrants are now required to present identification documents for them to access health care service in one of the clinics in the area. It was not indicated when and how did this requirement come into effect, but it is something that has been found to be unconstitutional to deny people the right to expression. The rights set out in the constitution of South Africa provide for all people in the country regardless of their nationality or legal status. The constitution states that everyone has the right to have access to health care services and no one may be refused to emergency medical treatment. It was thus indicated that South African citizens in general dislike immigrants in the area and it becomes visibly uncontrollable when immigrants have access to some public services, especially with one of the citizens being delayed in the process.

The right of immigrants and refugees to access South African health care system is a very complex issue. This is due to the fact that the laws and policies concerning the provision of health care services to the people is contradictory. In other words, it makes it hard for health care staff members to provide services to these different groups of people as implementation is not consistent and it differs depending with the clinic or the staff one comes into contact with. Furthermore, health care centres are struggling to provide sufficient medical care to people regardless of their nationality status.

The National Health Act confirms that all persons in South Africa can access primary health care at clinics and community health care centres. The refugees Act of South Africa state that refuges in South have the same right to health care as South African citizens, this is widely interpreted to include asylum seekers as well. However, immigration Act states that staff at clinics and hospitals needs to find out the legal status of patients before proving care except on the issues of emergency.

It goes further to say clinics and hospitals should report to the Director-General any illegal foreigner or anyone whose status is not clear, although this can only be acted out if it does not go against the patient's rights as set out in the constitution (National Health Act; Refugees Act). The frustrations that participants when it comes to access to health care services, schools and other local services must be offered at a price for immigrants. This means all immigrants in Diepsloot need to pay to access services. As it is believed that their existence puts so much strain to the provisions of such a service.

5.7 Living experiences in Diepsloot

5.7.1 Socio-Economy and issues

Participants had this to say when asked if they thought whether or not immigrants contribute to the economy of Diepsloot:

I don't think immigrants contribute to anything as they don't have formal business in the area and most of them do not contribute towards tax and conditions

Zinhle, a South African participant who indicated immigrants are found everywhere, she then explains that she was referring to schools, clinics and malls. She then said:

We are unable to register our kids in schools, as we are told there are not spaces available and our kids are then registered on the waiting list. Which are find so unfair because I know for the fact that immigrants' kids are already registered and some of these parents paid officials bribes. I said this because I witnessed such misconduct in one of the schools I use to work at as an Assistant teacher. There were similar cases reported.

The researcher observed that when the participants who were expressing these views, seemed very furious and frustrated.

5.7.2 Co-existing with immigrants

South African citizens who owns RDP houses and have built rental rooms (abomastandi) had a different view regarding the existence of immigrants in Diepsloot. It was indicated that they have a good relationship and immigrants assist them to provide for their families and make a living for themselves as well, especially in this era of unemployment. Landlords indicated that most people renting out their spaces were immigrants and in that they able to survive. It was also noted that immigrants pay well as far as the rental is concerned as compare to local citizens. A landlord had this to say:

I do not have any issues with my tenants; in fact we live together as a family. We have lived to entrust each other with our own kids, as sometimes I ask them to look after my children if I will be away from home and vice and vase. They are good people, although we can never shy away from the fact that most of their group is involved in criminal activities but it is not all of them. I have lived with my tenant for over five years after the passing of my mother and we have lived peacefully since. I have never had any issues with my tenants and I appreciate them so much.

Diepsloot is generally perceived to be a business spot for all that wants to survive and making a living in the area. It is one township that one can run any kind of business ranging from selling facial products to owning grocery super market. The high number of

populations' present people with a whole lot of different needs that every business minded individual can figure out and try to meet. Therefore, Diepsloot allows for informal businesses and anyone is at liberty to start and operate their business of choice.

It was indicated that business owners, especially immigrants, are confronted by fear for their lives and losing their businesses that they use to survive. Immigrants who are street vendor and those that owns supermarket in the area, expressed that they live in fear as the community movements or political alliances such as Dudula always attack them and take away or destroy their selling stock as a result they make a loss on profit, stock and they fear that it will escalate to their lives should they not corporate during such protest against them.

They indicated that such protection towards them make their living conditions uneasy and they always looking over their shoulders and trying to protect themselves and their loved ones. One made a reference to the protest match that took the life of Elvis Nyathi in April 2022 after he failed to produce his legal documents.

The mob can be dangerous as in most time they are furious and flaming in anger towards immigrants, especially those from Zimbabweans the participants alluded.

Immigrant-participants do not feel safe to be in Diepsloot and yes, they blame their fellow immigrants of criminal activities that provoke South African Citizens but they do not have anywhere to go and be able to make a living but to survive in Diepsloot.

When I asked the participant if she thinks immigrates play a role in the economy of Diepsloot, she responded and said:

These people do not contribute to anything but crime, unless paying VAT counts as the contribution to the economy of the area.

She further alluded that according to her observation, local residents are mostly furious by those that are without legal documentation yet share with them services. It will be better if they are forced to pay for services rendered to them or be imported back to their country of origin she concluded.

Diepsloot is seen as the most dangerous and violent place because of violence and criminal activities that are taking place and the unfortunate event of 2008 xenophobia attack that manifested in the area made it to be worse. Till to this date people from neighbouring suburbs are still fascinated by the area (Harber 2011; Mahajan 2014). Furthermore, Diepsloot has been viewed as a home to service delivery protests by the angry citizens questioning the oases of service delivery and the government unfulfilled promises (Harber 2011; Mahajan 2014). Diepsloot has one of the biggest police stations located in Extension 2 and yet it has the alarming crime rate. And immigrants are blamed for participating in most criminal activities including, house break in and armed robbery.

Immigrant participant had this to say:

I have faced a lot of challenges due to lack of documentations without correct/legal documentation you cannot get a good job or open an account. It is very challenging to even access formal housing market, hence, renting out a shark or a room is an option in this area.

Lack of documentation or the legal status of most immigrants has been an obstacle when it comes to finding a home in the formal house market. These findings are in agreement with the literature that points out that in European countries, immigrants without documentation are excluded from accessing housing at a formal housing market which as a result hinders them to access any other public services (Geddie, 2014). Therefore, the undocumented immigrants are marginalised from accessing housing from the formal market. Immigrants in Diepsloot rely on rental room which are at least affordable and some reside in Extensions 12, 13, and 14 which are the extensions with no access to electricity and formal structure of a house. Therefore, rentals in these extensions are cheaper.

5.8 Socio-economic contribution of immigrants in Diepsloot

Immigrants in Diepsloot have become businesses owners rendering services to all residents of Diepsloot. They provide handwork activities to the people at the cheaper price and still allows for negotiations. They are constructors who assistant citizens build rooms that they use to generate extra income and building relations with them for more recommendations and referrals.

Street Vendor selling vegetables and sweets had this to say about the contribution of immigrants toward the economy of Diepsloot*:*

Most of us here we are supported by immigrants as they do not get food parcel in the area. People of South Africa register to receive vegetables every Monday in Extensions 6 which poses a challenge to us as that means we would not have customers buying from us that day except for immigrants because they lack document that make them qualify to also receive that vegetable hamper. Then they have to buy from us, at least we know that we have a business that comes from them.

Native born South Africans were asked what they think of the relationship between foreign immigrants and South African residents in the area. She had this to say:

Well, with the circle I live with no issues and we live and cooperate with each other. However, people are not happy with the existence of immigrants in the area. This is because they are everywhere and they cause inconvenience to us legal residents.

A tavern owner, who also took over the businesses after her parents retired, had this to say about Diepsloot and its living conditions:

He explains that he was born and raised in Escort- KZN only came to Johannesburg after matric to look for employment just like everyone else in Diepsloot. He did not further his studies because as a boy child at home he is expected to head the family, so he is force to make means that will generate income and support his sisters back at home.

It was explained:

When I first came to Johannesburg, I lived in Alexandra with relatives then later moved to Diepsloot in 2009 to my parents' house. He then compared his experience in Alexandra and that of Diepsloot now.

He had this to say:

I find Diepsloot to be a very dangerous township because of it high crime as well as its high population rate. Diepsloot is not a safe place to reside in, he said. Immigrants in the area are taking over, and causing disorder all together.

According to the site developed by Adrian Frith indicates that the dominating language in the area is Sepedi siting Sepedi at 23%, IsiZulu at 20% and, Xitsonga at 11%, IsiNdebele at 10%, Tshivenda at 9%, Sestwana 8%, Isixhosa at 6%, Sesotho at 4% and other at 5%. The population is made up of 98% block Africans. (Statistics SA Census, 2011) yet immigrants are dominating and have adjusted to these languages used in the area.

It is believed that immigrants are a source of crime and drug dealing resulting to the area being uncontrollable. He had to say this about the relationship between local residents and immigrants: the relationship is crusty, but immigrants contribute to the economy of the of the area, as they buy more groceries to send home and pay rent to SA home owner allowing them to earn a living and support their families as well.

The presence of immigrants is appreciated to a certain extent. Immigrants renting rooms from local residents enable landlords to support their families. The issue is criminal activities that immigrants play part in resulting to them being disliked by local residents. *He then said that having more immigrants in the area may help to a certain extent but there is so much conflicts when having public services shared with them.*

Another participant explained that:

She originally come from Pongola in KZN, she came to complete her high school studies and stayed with her mother and elder siblings and now has become a landlord after her mother retained and went back to KZN. Diepsloot has been a home to her ever since.

She had this to say during her interview:

Diepsloot is high crime zone area and the most dominating group committing criminal activities are immigrants. The existence of immigrants in the area causes so much instability and disputes amongst residents. The disputes are mainly for basic services that resident must share. This includes clinics that are overcrowded, and we have to queen as early as 04:00 am for the clinic staff to only start working at 8:00am.

However, Immigrants support small businesses in the area and they are the most population that is renting out backroom. Even here all my tenants are Zimbabwean immigrants and their rental money really goes a long way supporting my family. So, I would like to believe

they play a very important role in our local economy. Also, they sent food back to their home every month and they buy in bulk contributing not only to the local community but also that of the country.

5.8.1 Unemployment

The majority of immigrants in Diepsloot are selling on the street. They sell items like used-clothes, fast food, fruit and vegetables and many more. During the interview most disclosed that they had lived in the area for over 5-10 years and they have relatives that stayed in Diepsloot before them, which they share information with till they are able to make a living in and around the area. This is by making means to find employment or sell something on the street. Becoming a street vendor for immigrant seem to be a common thing now and they do so unapologetically. It has become their source of income and a means of survival.

Better living conditions is one of the reasons they migrated to South Africa, and DiepIsoot affords them a chance to live and survive with what is available to their disposal. There are macro-economic reasons for immigration into South Africa, one being a GDP per capita, which ranks high as compare to other African countries.

South Africa's history and position as a regional economic power house has made it a major destination for immigrants from other Africa countries. Many of these South Africa's expatriate Africa workers struggled to find work in their home countries due to economic instability. But they find employment in South Africa as low-skilled labour e.g., gardens and domestic worker. However, many natives born South African citizen have complained about immigrants stealing their jobs. However, in order to respond to the greater competition for employment, research has shown that this situation has caused both native-born and immigrant workers to become more diligent employees, a result similar to the catfish effect.

Employment being the reason for migration. It was also indicated that marriage is amongst the reasons. Some immigrants are not willing to go back to their home countries, especially after having lived in SA for many years. Many married native-born SA for citizenship and are inviting more of their relatives to come and enjoy better life in SA. This simply indicate that

immigration trends for immigrants is to achieve long-term stability through securing employment or marriage to a native-born SA citizen.

South Africa is rated the most immigrant's receiver as compared to other neighbouring countries such as Botswana and Namibia. Muzondidya (2008) states South Africa is seen as a favourable destination by Zimbabweans immigrants due to its attractive economy. Challenges experienced by immigrants in the host country because of their nationality are highlighted by scholars such as Muzondidya (2008), Hungwe & Gelderblom (2014). As a result immigrants fall victims of social exclusions and lack a sense of belonging.

Immigrant participant was asked if he feels at home in Diepsloot, Mixed feelings were observed by the researcher. It was then expressed that due to challenges that immigrants come across; they do not feel at home in this area but sometime they appreciate the area when comparing the living conditions they left in their country of Origin.

Immigrant participant had this to say when he expressed how he felt about being in Diesploot:

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

Another immigrant participant shared the same sentiment with others. Their concern was merely crime in the area. He indicated that it is not possible to walk to the neighbours late at night or around the neighbourhood because of crime. It is stated that Diepsloot continue to become an oasis of criminals and the crime rate continue to escalate (Harber, 2011 p. >).

He further made an example that:

If a friend of mine calls me around 8 p.m. and tells me her child is sick. I cannot leave my house to go to her house because already I know that it's not safe here. This indicates the high criminal rate in Diepsloot. Additionally, Nqubeko had this to say about crime in

Diepsloot: *what I can say is that Diepsloot is not a safe place no one can ever guarantee their safety and sleep on the side because streets belong to criminals after sunset, they would kill you regardless, and they don't care. Sometimes people in this area behave like wild animals.*

Some participants argued that Diepsloot can never be viewed as their home because they are constantly reminded that they are outsiders and does not belong to the area. They are intimidated also by the police; they cannot walk freely without police searching them.

Petunia had this to say regarding matters of Diepsloot:

Diepsloot does not feel like home, I walk around with my identification for in case when I am asked to produce it by the police officers. Because failure to produce it I am threatened to be deported back to Zimbabwe and that I am a foreigner in South Africa. Being a resident of Diepsloot feels like an adopted child or an orphan who is reminded at all times that he doesn't belong here.

Some immigrants had a positive thing to say about the area. They expressed that Diepsloot is becoming better and better compare to the year 2008 where violence was their daily bread. The narrative by the participants indicated they have settled and Diepsloot is now their home away from home.

The researcher observed that those that are servings by selling in the area, are happy with the area. Their business is supported by many including taxi drivers as they serve their lunch time in these local businesses.

5.9 Community Based Organisation

The South African National Civic Organisation (SANCO) also known as 'amacomrades' by most of the Diepsloot residents plays a pivotal role in the community of Diepsloot. The organisation is an alliance of ANC though it claims not to look down upon other parties.

SANCO is point out to be a body that is found in most informal settlement and townships. In Diepsloot, it is the role of SANCO's solve disputes in the community, issue out space for

shack setup with the assistance of housing department, organise meetings whenever there is an issue to be solved in the community and also to present the grievances of the people of Diepsloot to higher authorities.

SANCO claims to have a good relationship with the immigrants in the area. In an interview with the SANCO representative leader, He stated that as SANCO they try and protect immigrants from being victimised by the locals. It was mentioned that SANCO usually calls for community meetings when they know that there is going to be a demonstration commonly called “toyi toyi” in South African townships, so community members are aware and prepared to take safety precaution measures or make arrangement to get to work and more.

SANCO leader stated that in most cases in Diepsloot immigrants fall victims to violence from such demonstrations. Though solidarity is encouraged at all times, immigrants in the area are always targets. All this results from the narrative that immigrants are criminals and the issue of basic services contribute to the dislike of immigrants in the Diepsloot. Local people feel immigrants should be imported back to their countries of origin and go fight life from there than to share their limited resources in South Africa.

SANCO, discourage violence in the neighbourhood. When there is going to be any demonstration be it of service delivery, criminal activity and more all those that own businesses are warned in advance so to avoid their shops being looted and destroyed. People are encouraging to protest peacefully and also to allow leadership of Diepsloot to address them so their matter can be resolved. Vendors are advanced not to sell during the protest and until it safe to do so, because such demonstration can escalate to violence in a blink of an eye.

It was further stated that SANCO does not come in to resolve issues when it affect the entire community but they also come in when there is dispute between landlords and tenants and usually tenants are immigrants. Most times landlords and tenants fights because of rent that is not paid on time or at all. It is the responsibility of the organisation is to gate keep the area and ensures all residents are safe and guided.

6 CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The study examines the socio-economic contributions of Zimbabwean immigrants in the city of Johannesburg, with a specific focus on Diepsloot. It explores the contribution of Zimbabweans immigrants to the economy of the city, bit also sought to understand push factors in Zimbabwe and pull factors into the city of Johannesburg, their living conditions, and standards, challenges they come across in the host city. The research also examined the contestations over public services, unemployment and how social network works for immigrants in Diepsloot to find the way in the area. It is indicated on the study that the government does not have any policy in place to assist immigrants in Diepsloot to access formal housing and to equally share services with local residents.

The literature review of the study discussed the historical background of migratory movements into Southern Africa. It must be noted that Zimbabwe was once an importer of migrant labour and ended up being one of the greatest exporters of immigrants due to the economic meltdown that the country faced and still is trying to rectify. South Africa became the point of entry for immigrants since 1994 when people came to seek for employment from the mines and steel factories.

The findings confirms that social capital is very vital for immigrants especially those that are coming to the area for the first time. It assists them to find accommodation and employment in the neighbouring suburbs; this is mostly done through referrals. Social capital is the main factor according to the findings that brought immigrants to Diepsloot as most came to stay with their relative or a friend. Such relationships save them a hustle of finding a place to stay. Diepsloot is also regarded to be the cheapest place to reside in. It is said to have cheap rental places as compare to area in Johannesburg CBD such as Yvoville, Hill brow and other suburb areas in the CBD. Findings also indicate that Diepsloot is economically welcoming; residents are able to start any informal business to make a living out of. The study resonates with scholarly research that has shown that the existence of

immigrants in Diepsloot does not only lead to negative aspects such as crime, as widely held, but also boost the economy of the area (Mangava 2018). Immigrants also bring business and different skills and share them with or employ South African native-born citizens. This job includes construction of their rented rooms, fixing all electrical appliances as well as plumbing and many more.

In regards to the contestation of services. It was agreed that the native born citizens feels that the existence of immigrants in the area poses a huge pressure on the delivery of services. Some participants voiced out that there are too many immigrants that are queuing with the native born citizen in health care centres as a results they end up being turned away without receiving services. The findings also indicate that high population rate is a contributing factor to a distribution of Services. Diepsloot is only services by two clinics, yet it has three shopping malls. The number of the shopping centres in the area should be the indication that there is a high population rate. Therefore add also the number of schools as well as health care centres to accommodate every resident regardless otherwise immigrant will also viewed to be the issues because they also require services from the same centres.

Immigrants in Diepsloot are still confronted by a lot of challenges, one being victims of violence each time when there is a demonstration of dissatisfaction with services and resources in the area. Immigrants are being targeted for high rate of crime and it is indicated that immigrants put pressure on the services meant to be delivered for the community of Diepsloot.

The social network concept which has been used in the research assisted the researcher in analysing the data presented by the participants. It was essential for the researcher to use and understand the social network concept otherwise the data presented by most participants relating to social networks would have not been utilised the way it has been utilised in the research. This has concept assisted to understand the exclusion, discrimination, and violence against immigrants in Diepsloot informal settlement.

The key findings in Chapter 4 revealed that immigrants contribute to the economy of Diepsloot through paying VAT at local shopping centres when buying groceries to send back to their home country as well as through renting out rooms from local citizens, which assist landlords to support their family. It was also indicated that immigrants do not have ownership of the shacks in Diepsloot, but they have gained access to the shack through rentals and social relationships they share with the owners.

The locals are pointed out by most participants as the landlords or the owners of houses in Diepsloot. The most common housing options for immigrants in Diepsloot is the 'backroom' or the shacks. The minority of immigrants who actually call themselves the 'owners' of the shacks might have gained ownership through their kinship networks or through dubious means. The findings revealed that even though immigrants in Diepsloot are labelled as strangers by society. The society of Diepsloot is characterised by various strangers who cannot claim the place.

It was then identified the importance of social networks for immigrants access to housing and familiarised themselves with the living conditions of the area. It was indicated that immigrants came to Diepsloot through relatives that had already been in Diepsloot. The findings shows also that most immigrants have managed to start up their informal businesses to survive though they still face challenges of Dudula groups taking their stock and closing down their operating space because they do not have legal documents to be in the country and tell them to live the spaces for local residents.

Immigrants are confronted by dislike against them, because it is believed that they take jobs that are meant for local citizens, there are viewed as criminals who also steal women from their partners. The finger pointing that is happening in Diepsloot has caused most people to assimilate superficially. People would tend to hide their identities by imitating a South African identity. Most immigrants have managed to master South African languages and some have even legally or illegally attained South African identity cards. Diepsloot as it is stands as a consciousness of African unity. There is no problem with Africans being united in Diepsloot.

It was further, recommended that government needs to intervene and bring about policies that will allow residents of Diepsloot to co-exist without fighting over services and employment. Some Local citizens express that immigrants in the area should be deported back to their home country as they cause crime, contribute to the high population rate in the area and also put pressure on public services. Some locals had no issues sharing services with immigrants as they have built a relationship through their rental spaces; to them they view them as family. It is therefore suggested that there be an addition in the number of schools and health care facilities to accommodate the population of Diepsloot. This will assist limit the queues also for school children not attending school because they could not be placed in due to admission space available.

The overall conclusion on this study, indicate that the existence of immigrants in Diepsloot is not as bad as it is perceived by many. The finding relates to the studies conducted by Wotel, Hlatswayo, Mangava, Msibi and many more other scholars indicate that immigrant also share their skills with the native born and that they also create employment opportunities for the native born citizen. This therefore means that immigrants are needed to share and contribute to the socio-economic living standards in Diepsloot. It is also indicated that they are not only the contributors to crime and any other unauthorised activities as perceived.

Immigrants socialise well with the native born South African that some have found themselves families from each other and they have learnt to live for one another. It is therefore proven that Zimbabweans immigrants play an important role in socio-economy of Diepsloot. They also create employment and running small informal business that also service the native born as well as immigrants equally. Diepsloot needs immigrants to assist bust the economy and also the development of the area.

The study indicates that as much as unemployment rate might be the greatest challenge in South Africa as whole and Diepsloot included. Residents of Diepsloot are still able to survive and make a living through the informal economic activities available in the area. Which is the reason Diepsloot is considered to be economic friendly as it accommodate all its residents employed and unemployed.

The main recommendation for the study is that the government as it is responsible to render equal service to all its citizens regardless. It is important that they be considerate of the number of people that are meant to receive the same service. This will help provide enough facilities that will services people diligently. These facilities include but not limited to schools as well as health care centres. This will also assist in limiting violence activities demonstrated every time there is a contestation in the area. What was done with the malls was brilliant it should also be looked into for schools and clinics. Then the area will not have school kids all around the area because they were not admitted as well as have patience sent back home because the queue was to long etc.

The findings suggested that immigrants should not only be seen as criminals but also as job creators. Also, South African citizen need not to hide behind immigrants for their criminal activities. Immigrants must be given a chance and accommodated as well so they do not live in fear and not hide their identification. It is suggest that immigrants and native born citizens find common ground to co-exist because they need each other for survival and maintaining their living standards.

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1: Question Guide For Interview With Migrants

Day of interview ……

Time of interview …….

Thank you for agreeing to respond to this research study. We are aiming to understand the social and economic contribution of immigrants to the economy of the city. In particular, we are interested in your own experiences with your work and involvement in the community of Diepsloot. Be rest assured that the purposes of this research are for meeting the requirements of a Masters in Management. The information gathered will be used by the researcher for the purpose of the study. All responses will be treated with confidentiality. Your assistance is greatly appreciated.

SECTION A: DEMOGRAPHICS

1. How old are you?

	<18 years		41- 50 years
	18 - 30 years		51-60 years
	31- 40 years		60 years

SECTION B: REASONS FOR MIGRATING

3. Can you tell me a bit about your earlier life. How was your upbringing at home before moving to Diepsloot?

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

4. How long have you been living in the City of Johannesburg, and Diepsloot in particular?

_____

5. Why did you leave your home country/ city to come to South Africa, particularly to Diepsloot? [Probe for issues such Political instability, Economic, business and employment opportunities].

_____

6. Do you have any formal education, If yes

(i) What qualifications do you have?

---

7. Did you obtain your qualifications in South Africa, if yes

(i) What was your experience when registering with the higher institution?

(ii) Was it difficult to obtain it?

_____

8. Do you think the skills and the level of your formal education is of demand in Diepsloot?

_____

_____

9. In what ways are you making use of your formal education to in your current job in the city?

_____

10. Would you say that you are working in the area of your qualification?

_____

SECTION C: ECONOMIC CONTRIBUTION

11. Which situation best explains your employment status? [Employed part-time, full-time, not employed but looking for work, not employed but not looking for work, self-employed]

_____

12. If you are working or self-employed, what is the nature of that job that you are currently doing and where are you working?

    _____

    _____

13. Do you have any beneficiaries back at home or they stay with you in Diepsloot?

---

14. When you assess your budget each month, where do you spend your income most? [Is it in expenses of living here in SA or sending money and goods home?]

---

15. In what ways do you think you are contributing to socio-economy of Diepsloot?

_____

16. Which business operations do you think contribute more to the economy of the Diepsloot? (Groceries and Restaurant shops, clothing and footwear as well as Panel beater shops)

_____

_____

_____

17. According to your own lived experience, do you see migrants as adding value to the socio-economy of Diepsloot? What makes you say that?

---

18. Is it possible to share skills with local citizens/migrants for the benefit of Diepsloot economy, If not

    (i) why?

---

19. Do you think the city should have systems/ mechanism in place to support migrants supporting socio-economic in Diepsloot? If yes,

    _____

    (ii) What support do you think Diepsloot need most to grow the economy of the area?

    _____

    _____

20. What challenges do you think migrants pose to the smooth functioning of the community of Diepsloot? (Basic service delivery, Health care services and Employment opportunities)

    _____

    _____

    _____

Thanks for your time and effort

Appendix 2: Question Guide for Interviews with Migrant Entrepreneurs

Day of interview ……

Time of interview …….

Thank you for agreeing to respond to our survey. We are attempting to do an evaluation of the contribution of immigrants to the economy of the city. The information gathered will be used by the researcher for the purpose of the study. Please be accurate and honest as possible and complete all the questions. All responses will be treated with necessary confidentiality. Your assistance and co-operation is greatly appreciated.

SECTION A: DEMOPGRAPHICS

1. How old are you?

	<18 Years		41- 50 Years
	18 - 30 years		51-60 years
	31- 40 years		60 years

SECTION B: ECONOMIC CONTRIBTIONS

2. What type of business do you operate?

---

3. How long have your business been operating?

---

4. When did you move to Diepsloot?

---

5. How did you know about Diepsloot?

---

6. What attracted you in Diepsloot?

_____

_____

_____

_____

7. Would you characterize your business as registered/ unregistered?

---

8. How do you think your business contribute to the economy of Diepsloot?

_____

_____

_____

9. Have your business been operating from Diepsloot since its formation? If not,

(i) Where did it start operating

_____

(ii) Why did you move from the first place of operation?

_____

(iii) How did you get business space in Diepsloot?

_____

_____

_____

10. How would you describe your relationship with your clients/ customers in the community?

    _____

    _____

    _____

11. Do you offer credit to your customers?

    _____

    _____

12. If you are in a position to share, how much do you make on a good day, Bad day, or monthly?

    _____

    _____

13. Are you registered with SARS?

    _____

14. Has your business been registered? (Registration status of business with CIPC)

    _____

    _____

15. Which licenses does your business require? E.g. liquor license, hawkers' license, Health permit? Etc

    _____

    _____

16. Has any form of protest in the community lead to your business being looted? If yes,

    (i) What measure did you take to get it back to operational state?

    _____

    _____

Thanks for your time and effort

Appendix 3: Question Guide for Interviews with Community Leaders (Ward Councillor or CBOs)

Day of interview ……

Time of interview …….

Thank you for agreeing to respond to our survey. We are attempting to do an evaluation of the contribution of immigrants to the economy of the city. The information gathered will be used by the researcher for the purpose of the study. Please be accurate and honest as possible and complete all the questions. All responses will be treated with necessary confidentiality. Your assistance and co-operation is greatly appreciated.

SECTION A: DEMOGRAPHICS

1. Age:

	<18 years		41- 50 years
	18 - 30 years		51-60 years
	31- 40 years		60 years

Section B: PROFILE/ THE ROLE IN THE COMMUNITY OF DIEPSLOOT

2. What is your role in the community?

_____

_____

3. Why did you take the role?

_____

_____

4. Where you elected or volunteered into the role?

_____

_____

5. What is your nationality?

_____

SECTION C: ECONOMIC CONTRIBUTIONS

6. How is your role assisting the socio-economy of Diepsloot?

_____

_____

_____

7. Does your role support migrants to live in Diepsloot?

_____

8. How has been your experience with migrants in the area?

_____

_____

9. In what ways do you think migrants contribute to the local economy?

_____

_____

_____

10. Is there any form of support your organisation/role provide to migrant living in the area?

_____

_____

11. What support do and you and the organisation provide to immigrant?

_____

_____

_____

12. Which nationality dominate more in the area?

_____

_____

13. What public services migrant in Diepsloot requires the most? Why?

_____

_____

14. According to your experience, do you think the city needs more migrants to grow its economy? Why?

_____

_____

_____

15. What category of migrants are most desirable to the economy of Diepsloot? Why?(Skilled and educated immigrants as well as Entrepreneur migrants)

_____

_____

16. What are challenges posed by migrants to the smooth function of Diepsloot?

_____

_____

_____

17. What measures in place to address these challenges?

_____

_____

18. Do migrants create employment for local citizens? If yes,

(i) How?

_____

_____

20. Do you think Diepsloot needs more migrants to grow its economy? What are the reasons for your answer?

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

Thanks for your co-operation.

Appendix 4: Question Guide For Interviews With South African Citizens

SECTION A: DEMOGRAPHICS

2. Age:

	<18 years		41- 50 years
	18 - 30 years		51-60 years
	31- 40 years		60 years

1.

SECTION B: SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC CONTRIBUTIONS

2. Where do you originally come from?

   _____

3. How and Where did you find out about Diepsloot?

   _____

4. What do like the most about Diepsloot?

   _____

5. Diepsloot is a diversed township. with your observation, How would you describe living conditions in the area?

   _____

   _____

   _____

6. What do you think is the most dominant language and Why do you think so?

   _____

   _____

   _____

7. With your observation, How is the relationship between South African citizen and other migrants form other countries?

_____

8. Do you think migrants in Diepsloot play an important role in developing the local economy? How so?

_____

_____

_____

9. According to your observation, do you think Diepsloot needs more of migrants? Elaborate.

_____

_____

_____

10. What is your view on illegal migrants?

_____

_____

_____

11. Do you think they are or should be treated differently from South African citizens, as far as public services are concerned? Why?

_____

_____

_____

_____

12. Do you think the government should assist migrants that are struggling in the area?

_____

_____

13. What public service do you think Diepsloot lack as a result of the existence of migrants in the area?

_____

_____

14. What skills do migrants share with South African Citizens?

_____

_____

15. Do you think migrants should also benefit from government housing subsidy?

_____

_____

16. What other public services do you think should extended to migrants?

Thanks for your co-operation.