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Making a living and moving on: Exploring the livelihoods of regularised Zimbabweans in Johannesburg, South Africa

By

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A dissertation submitted to the Faculty of Humanities, School of Social Sciences at the University of Witwatersrand in partial fulfilment for the degree of Master of Arts in Migration and Displacement.

July 2017

Supervisor: Dr. Zaheera Jinnah

DEDICATION:

I dedicate this dissertation to my daughter, *Tanashe.* This is for you baby girl.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT:

My deepest gratitude goes to my supervisor, Doctor Zaheera Jinnah for her guidance and availability from the beginning until the end of the research process. Thank you for your patience, input and feedback.

Special thanks go to my family, my husband, my sister Lynnette, Vincent and to my beautiful daughter Tanashe, thanks for the encouragement and emotional support**.**

I am deeply indebted to the National Research Foundation (NRF) for their financial support towards my Masters programme, and to the ACMS family thank you for the support and encouragement.

I am also grateful to the participants who made this study possible. I thank you for your time and patience, without you this study would not have been complete, Thank you

To my mother, thank you for the prayers mum!

DECLARATION:

I Tariro Winnet C. Muchichwa declare that *Making a living and moving on: Exploring the livelihoods of regularised Zimbabweans in Johannesburg, South Africa,* is my own unaided work, it is being submitted for the degree of Master of Arts at the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. It has not been submitted before for any degree or examination by any other University.

_____

Tariro Winnet C. Muchichwa

Signed on the 12th of July 2017

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ABSTRACT

This research is encouraged by the recent developments in the migration patterns of Zimbabweans in South Africa in the period 2009-2016. The absence of secure livelihoods due to the political stalemate in Zimbabwe resulted in Zimbabweans looking for a safe haven in different parts of the world. South Africa is among many other countries which has been a recipient of both undocumented and documented Zimbabweans. Most Zimbabweans in South Africa were undocumented and in 2010 the South African government made an initiative to regularise the positions of Zimbabweans living in South Africa, yet there is limited academic research on the livelihoods of regularised Zimbabwean migrants in South Africa.

The rationale behind the implementation of the Zimbabwe Documentation Process (ZDP) in 2010 and the renewal of the process through issuing the Zimbabwe Special Permit (ZSP) in 2014 is noteworthy. However, this study explores the livelihood experiences of regularised Zimbabweans in Johannesburg, South Africa. The research examines the livelihood strategies, challenges, opportunities and outcomes of regularised Zimbabwean migrants. The purpose of this formative qualitative study is to investigate if the access to livelihood opportunities and outcomes among regularised Zimbabwean migrants are strongly dependant on documentation. This is an important area of study given the ongoing special dispensation for Zimbabweans in South Africa and the wider migration scholarship in the country.

Based on 15 semi structured interviews with regularised Zimbabwean migrants and 1 key informant conducted in Turfontein and Florida my assertion in this study is that the reported livelihood experiences of regularised Zimbabweans highlight a complex connection between documentation and livelihoods. On one hand findings show that documentation has improved the economic and social wellbeing of regularised Zimbabwean migrant in Johannesburg and on the other hand, documentation is undermining the livelihood options of regularised Zimbabwean migrants. For individuals who are in search of secure and sustainable livelihoods, findings show that mostly regularisation is offering limited protection and temporary rights to migrants who are likely to live in South Africa for years to come.

Key words: documentation, livelihood experiences, regularisation, regularised Zimbabwean migrants, South Africa, Zimbabwe, Zimbabwe Documentation Project, and Zimbabwe Special Permit.

ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

CBD	Central Business District
CoRMSA	Consortium for Refugees and Migrants in South Africa
DHA	Department of Home Affairs
ECOWAS	Economic Community for West African Countries
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
ILO	International Labour Organisation
IM	International Migrant
IOM	International Organisation for Migration
MIWORC	Migrating for Work Research Consortium
MIWUSA	Migrant Workers Union of South Africa
NGOs	Non- Governmental Organisations
OECD	Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development
SA	South Africa
SADC	Southern African Development Community
SLF	Sustainable Livelihood Framework
Stats SA	Statistics South Africa
UK	United Kingdom
USA	United States of America
USD	United States Dollar
WENELA	Witwatersrand Native Labour Association
ZDP	Zimbabwe Documentation Project
ZIWUSA	Zimbabwe Workers Union of South Africa
ZSP	Zimbabwe Special Permits

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STRUCTURE OF DISSERTATION

This dissertation is organised in five chapters. The structure of the dissertation is as follows firstly, Chapter 1 is the introductory chapter, which consists of the background of the study, research questions and aims, rationale of the study, definition of key concepts and terms and contextualisation of the study.

This is followed by Chapter 2 which discusses and reviews literature on three topics which are Migration and Immigration policies, Zimbabwean migration into South Africa and Livelihoods. In chapter two, a livelihood approach is reviewed, which will be used to facilitate the livelihoods analysis of regularised Zimbabweans in Johannesburg.

In Chapter 3 the study looks at the methodological approach and the research design used for this study.

Chapter 4 outlines and analyses the findings from the research, explains and includes a section on discussing the findings, termed Discussion. This chapter also includes of the livelihood framework was applied on the study.

Lastly, Chapter 5 looks at the conclusion, recommendations and the tools used to conduct the research of this study are in the appendices section of the dissertation.

1.0 CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background

Immigration has become a source of concern to politicians and the public alike, the world over (Machecka et al. 2015). Globalisation, political discord, environmental hardships, socio-economic strife and a desire to obtain an improved standard of living, continue to be drivers for human migration (Manik and Singh, 2013). Basically, migrants move to those countries that are providing the best economic opportunities for work and for safety reasons (Fasani 2015; Levinson 2005). South Africa is among many countries that have attracted different types of migrants and experienced various migration flows in the last fifty years (Jinnah, 2013; Crush 2011). This has made her a destination country for international migrants from the region and further afield (Jinnah, 2013). The collapse of apartheid and greater ease of travel to South Africa without the constant fear of harassment from the apartheid police and the army has made South Africa a more desirable destination for many countries (Crush et al. 2012). According to Census 2011, South Africa's population was 51.77 million, up from the census 2001 count of 44.8 million. The 2016 mid-year population estimate puts the total at 55.9 million people in South Africa, with a growth of 3.3% of its Gross Domestic Product (GDP) (Stats SA 2016 report). With the above estimates and figures South Africa has migrants across the globe, especially from the African continent.

Kiwanuka, Jinnah and Hartman (2015) postulate that in Southern Africa, high levels of economic and social inequality in the region and differing types of political systems explain the position of South Africa as a migrant-receiving hub in the Southern African Development Community, (SADC). To extrapolate on the position of South Africa (Akokpari, 2004) asserts that on a continent of declining economies, South Africa has been a magnet to migrants, attracting both skilled and unskilled labour to its borders. This implying that migration to South Africa has become a well-established household poverty reduction strategy among immigrants (Black et al. 2006).

Migration from Zimbabwe to South Africa has been no exception. The destruction and disruption of livelihoods of Zimbabweans due to the political and economic turmoil has led to a high migration rate of Zimbabweans into South Africa and the majority are undocumented (Crush, et al 2012; Tevera, 2007; Bloch, 2010). According to Polzer (2008) while

Zimbabwean migration since 2000, has been the largest concentrated flow in South African history, South Africa's reaction to this movement has been characterised by the attempt to continue with business as usual and no crisis response. However in September 2010 the South African government introduced Zimbabwe Documentation Project (ZDP) and the renewal of the ZDP, Zimbabwe Special Permit (ZSP) in 2014, to temporarily regularize the status of the Zimbabwe population, those who were working studying or operating their own businesses (Polzer, 2010; Amit, 2011, 2012). This resulted in 275 762 undocumented Zimbabweans being regularised in South Africa in 2010 and 197,790 ZSP permits approved for renewal in 2014 (Department of Home Affairs, 2011; 2015). The dispensation was a way to provide rights to those Zimbabweans who had been employed in the country but were not granted protection due to their permit status (Department of Home Affairs, 2011).

Though most countries looking to reduce the number of undocumented migrants have often resorted to regularisation programs (Levinson 2005), there is need to examine and understand the role documentation plays on their lives and livelihoods, as there is limited research on the impact it has on the livelihoods of regularised migrants. Therefore, this dissertation sets out to explore the livelihood experiences of regularised Zimbabweans in Johannesburg, and to establish whether documentation has a bearing on their ways of making a living.

1.2 Research Questions and Research Aim

The research problem

The research problem is to investigate if the access to livelihood opportunities and outcomes among migrants are strongly dependant on migrants being documented. There is need to explore the livelihood experiences of the regularised immigrants in relation to their wellbeing and security, after attaining their documentation in Johannesburg.

Research Aim

This study aims to explore how regularised Zimbabwean migrants living in Johannesburg are reconstructing and sustaining their livelihoods, now that they are documented.

Research Questions

Main Question

What are the livelihood experiences of regularised Zimbabweans in Johannesburg and how does documentation influence these experiences?

Sub research questions

What are the livelihood strategies of regularised Zimbabwean migrants in Johannesburg?

What challenges are regularised Zimbabwean migrants encountering when constructing their livelihoods?

What are the livelihood opportunities and outcomes of regularised Zimbabwean migrants in Johannesburg?

What role if any, does documentation play in these experiences?

1.3 Definition of key concepts

The following definitions are provided to clarify this study's use of key terms and concepts.

Documentation

In this study documentation, will entail Zimbabweans having their legal permits under the Zimbabwe Documentation Project and Zimbabwe Special Permit.

Regularisation

A policy which offers migrants who are in a country irregularly the opportunity to legalise their resident status, whether it is on a temporary or permanent basis (Levinson 2005).

Undocumented migrants

In this study, I am going to borrow Maharaj's definition of undocumented migrants. According to Maharaj (2002) undocumented migrants can be differentiated among three categories. The first category refers to those who enter the country without valid documents, (Maharaj 2002). The second refers to migrants who enter the country legally but stay on after the expiry of their visas. The third category refers to refugees and asylum seekers who generally have documents or their documents are being processed and they have a legal right to be in South Africa (Maharaj 2002).

Documented migrant

This is a migrant who has legal stay by having the necessary documents such as passport with a permit- (Maharaj 2002).

Livelihoods

In this study, I am going to employ the DFIDs definition of a livelihood. "*A livelihood comprises of the capabilities, assets and activities required for a means of living. A livelihood is sustainable when it can cope with and recover from stresses and shocks and maintain or enhance its capabilities and assets both now and in the future, while not undermining the natural resource base.*" (DFID, 2000). This definition fits the study, as it puts emphasis on the need to find out if regularisation influences their activities and lives, and also emphasises on social capital, an important aspect in securing sustainable livelihoods. Therefore, by

using this concept I would be able to measure whether regularised Zimbabwean migrants have the tools needed to make a living for themselves and for their families.

Livelihood experiences

Livelihood experiences in this study refer to livelihood strategies of regularised Zimbabwean migrants, livelihood challenges they are encountering when constructing their livelihoods and their livelihood opportunities and outcomes.

Livelihood strategies

According to Conway et al. (2002), livelihood strategies include coping strategies, designed to respond to shocks in the short-term, and adaptive strategies, designed to improve circumstances in the long term. However, in this study livelihood strategies are composed of economic, political and social activities that regularised Zimbabwean migrants generate to make a living.

Livelihood Challenges

In this study livelihood challenges refer to obstacles or constrain which undermine regularised Zimbabwean migrants' livelihoods.

Livelihood Outcomes

Livelihood outcomes are the goals to which people aspire, the results of pursuing their livelihood strategies (Levine, 2014).

1.4 Rationale of the Study

Though there are a plethora of publications on undocumented Zimbabwean lives and wellbeing in South Africa, there is limited information on how they are reconstructing and sustaining their livelihoods after they were regularised in 2010 under the Zimbabwe Documentation Project and in 2014 under Zimbabwe Special Permit. This study contributes to existing study on the livelihoods of Zimbabwean migrants, specifically looking at the documented. Most studies have focused on understanding the impact of lacking documentation on immigrants' livelihood outcomes and behaviour (Landau 2007; Bloch

2008; Maphosa, 2009; Kihato, 2007). For instance, Mawadza (2008) reflected on the experiences of undocumented Zimbabwean migrants who are residing in South Africa and highlighted their vulnerabilities, exploitation and abuse because of their lack of proper documentation. Bloch (2008; 2010) also highlighted lack of protection offered to undocumented Zimbabweans migrants due to their irregular status. However, less attention has been paid to the importance of policy evaluation on the livelihoods of Zimbabwean migrants after they were regularised.

A key gap in this study is to put more focus on how regularised Zimbabwean migrants attempt to secure their livelihoods in particular contexts and over a period of time, as legal statuses create a class of immigrants with rights and privileges distinct from those without (Kossoudji and Cobb-Clark, 2000, 2002; Menjivar, 2006). According to Muzondidya (2010) Zimbabweans who have left their country for South Africa are engaged in an ongoing process of negotiating new spaces for them and their children, as their new places of residence and work are becoming home. Crush, et al (2012) extrapolates that Zimbabwean migrants no longer see South Africa as a place of temporary economic opportunity for survival but rather as a place to stay and build a future for themselves and their families. From this notion, it is of significance to focus on how regularised Zimbabweans are getting ahead and moving on with their lives, as South Africa is increasingly seen by Zimbabwean migrants as a place to try and build a new life rather than a place of temporary residence and ready income (Crush, et al. 2012).

Furthermore this study is important in the sense that it is being carried out at a time when the Zimbabwe Special Permits are on the verge of expiring, and there is an ongoing debate on whether to end the dispensation or to continue with it. Therefore, the study sought to understand the lived realities of regularised Zimbabweans in relation to their livelihood strategies, challenges, outcomes and to find out if documentation is imperative in their quest of securing their livelihoods.

1.5 Contextualising the study

This dissertation seeks to explore the nexus between documentation and livelihoods of migrants, more specifically exploring the lived realities of regularised Zimbabwean migrants in Johannesburg. This is done with an understanding of the context they live in. Refugees,

asylum seekers, documented, undocumented migrants all emigrate from devastating situations like war, hunger poverty, to mention a few and settle in places where inequality is already persistent and prevalent. More than in the past, new immigrants in recent decades have tended to concentrate in urban areas (Baubock et al. 2006). Johannesburg as the economic hub of South Africa is already collapsing under the weight of over-population, inadequate infrastructure and stretched public services, and the presence of foreign migrants has been in constant resistance (Misago et al. 2009; Crush, 2011).

Jinnah (2013) postulates that migration and livelihoods are entwined, one informs and shapes the other and each constantly changes and shifting. The fluidity of migration means that livelihoods are changing, their function takes on different meanings as a migrant's social and economic environment changes (Jinnah 2013). Zimbabweans among many other foreign migrants find themselves in the same environment pursuing their livelihoods where the socio-economic environment is changing constantly.

For instance, the lives of regularised Zimbabwean migrants in South Africa are shaped in the context of a xenophobic environment. Violence against foreigners has become common and the ongoing threat of such against migrants, refugees and asylum seekers impacts their livelihoods options. It is important in this study to look at how regularised Zimbabwean migrants are striving to make a living, in such an environment, as their experiences challenges and opportunities of documented migrants remains unexplored.

Therefore, the study identifies and highlights strategies that regularised Zimbabweans living in Johannesburg use to make ends meet in an environment where much of the host populace face the same challenges as far as securing incomes for their livelihood. The question which remains to be answered is, how are Zimbabweans documented under the ZDP and ZSP able to build adequate livelihoods under an economic meltdown which is affecting both the natives and foreign migrants and the prevailing anti-immigrant sentiments among the host populace?

2.0 CHAPTER TWO – LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Migration and Immigration policies

2. 1.1 Irregular migration and the Vulnerability to Exploitation of undocumented migrants

When people migrate to other countries without proper documentation, they become vulnerable to all forms of abuse and exploitation (Crush and Ramachandran, 2010; Tevera, 2010; Hungwe, 2013). Vulnerability is the insecurity of the wellbeing of individuals or communities in the face of changing environments, and it can be external or internal (Black, 1994). External vulnerability refers to the more general effects or factors like economic or political circumstances and internal vulnerability touches upon people's ability to respond to those factors, the resources available and the outcome in terms of poverty or adaptation to those factors (Black, 1994). This concept of vulnerability will be a guideline to explaining the positions of irregular migrants in host nations in this first section of the review.

Irregular migrants are people who enter or work in countries without legal authorization, and are often labelled as illegal, clandestine or undocumented (Maharaj, 2002). In formal terms, Karagueuzian and Verdier-Chouchane (2013) define irregular migrants as those people whose presence in a country is not legitimated by rights of birth, citizenship, grants of settlement or by satisfying the terms of a current visa grant of leave or to stay. Drawing from the IOM report of 2010, Karagueuzian and Verdier-Chouchane (2013) postulate that the estimated irregular migrants are between 20 to 30 million people worldwide and this represents 10 to 15% of international migration flows.

However, the growing challenges, pressures, diversity and disparity of modern migration patterns have led various stakeholders to fail to manage the consequences of irregular migration. Kraler (2009) asserts that most immigration policies contain a specific aim of encouraging the entry only of certain chosen groups of migrants and it is this categorization that has led to the criminalisation of those who are not in the chosen group. For Castles (2004) this categorization has led to a surge of undocumented migrants in host nations, where migrants who enter a country without the necessary documents or permits, usually in search of employment, are likely to circumvent laws and present themselves as documented migrants.

Like any other continent in the world, African states are experiencing the same challenge of regulating and managing irregular migration. Adepoju (2008) noted that irregular migration is on the increase in many parts of Sub Saharan Africa including, South Africa. Though data on irregular migrants in the continent has been contested, South Africa is reported to host an important stock of undocumented migrants in Africa (Karagueuzian and Verdier-Chouchane, 2013). According to (Budlender 2013; Crush, 2010) out of the African regular migrants, 55% migrate within the continent, which is the most important South-South migration and the major bilateral corridors in Africa are Burkina Faso-Côte d'Ivoire (1.6 million), Zimbabwe-South Africa (1.3 million) and Mozambique-South Africa (1.2 million). Budlender (2013) extrapolates that though the number of illegal immigrants that reside in South Africa is a hot debate, respective scholars agree that undocumented migration to South Africa is on the rise, and estimate that undocumented migrants living in South Africa are just below 3 million.

However, though irregular migration has become a challenge, most immigration policies in Africa as well as Europe have focused on limiting irregular migration and on combating the employment of undocumented foreign workers (Kraler, 2009; Levinson, 2005). Machecka et al. (2015) argue that people are now moving faster and further than any other time in history and this is happening at a time when many countries are ill prepared to deal with the changing demographic trend and when policies and attitudes to population movement and immigration are hardening. For instance, South African Immigration law from 2002 is to promote skilled labour migrants, academic research and exchange and foreign investment in the country (Tati, 2008). According to (Mosselson 2010) South African law defines illegal immigrant as persons who have contravened the country's immigration laws and are thus deemed to reside without the requisite permission of the state. Mosselson (2010) further postulates that in law, undocumented migrants are defined as illegal foreigners and are distinguished from both South African citizens and foreigners who have legal permission to reside in the country. Thus, they are a category of illegal people and the state requires a set of specific laws with which to deal with them (Mosselson 2010; Menjivar 2006; Tati 2008).

Furthermore, the Immigration Act restricts the movement of irregular foreigners in South Africa by making it illegal to help or assist anyone in that status, giving immigration officials the power to arrest without a warrant and be deported (Tati, 2008). To make matters worse, procedures granting a visa to enter the country are time consuming, bureaucratic and involve

a great deal of logistical and financial hassles (Amit, 2012; Tati 2008). According to Mosselson (2010) the current South African state's approach to immigration constructs illegal immigrants as exceptions and places them within this no-man's land.

Moreover, Landau (2006) reiterates that irregular migrants are often accused of creating problems in the asylum system, by using the asylum system as a "back door" to legalize their stay in the country. Drawing from (Zetter 2005;2006), (Sigona, 2012), noted that, in the United Kingdom(UK) and European Union (EU), policies of deterrence and restrictionism have severely restricted access to the asylum process and curtailed regular migration routes, requiring migrants to use irregular means of entry and stay. Kraler (2009) also noted that unauthorised migrants in European countries have been deemed unwanted and illegal hence making them liable to deportation. According to De Genova (2002) the fear of being deported forces irregular migrants to live invisible to authorities and causes a spatial fear and sense of constant surveillance. Bloch (2008) also noted that by being undocumented, migrants are particularly powerless, being subject to removal and possible persecution for immigration violations. This highlighting the fact that policy makers are reluctant to accept that migration is an important livelihood strategy to economic migrants and refugees.

On the other hand Ellis (2003) points out that refugees and legitimate asylum seekers are confused with derogatory names such as illegal immigrants and these confusions result in sowing seeds of future social tensions. To concur with the above argument, (Landau and Segatti, 2011) postulate that undocumented migration is commonly seen as a risk for South Africa, as the populace believes that a threat of large numbers of relatively poor migrants from neighbouring countries are swamping the country and looting its resources and opportunities. According to Lee et al. (2001), in United States of America, (USA) prejudice against Mexicans is fuelled by the perception that illegal immigrants are a threat to the country's economy. Such myths have criminalised migration and migrants are presented as inherently undeserving of the rights and protection promised to everyone under the respective constitution (Landau and Segatti, 2011).

Moreover, lack of proper documentation has resulted in migrants mostly depending highly on employers and this promotes exploitation, abuse of rights and the provision of grossly sub-standard living conditions (Anderson and Rogaly, 2005). Rutherford (2008) research on Zimbabweans in Limpopo found that Zimbabweans felt that employers took advantage of

their desperation and the fact that their legality was unclear, gave their employers power to withhold earnings and pay below minimum wage. Jacobsen (2006) posits that many refugees and undocumented migrants cannot establish or maintain their livelihoods because they cannot exercise the rights to which they are entitled under international human rights, humanitarian law, and refugee law. To concur with Jacobsen (ibid), Bloch's research on Zimbabwean undocumented migrants in 2010 showed that undocumented Zimbabweans are marginalized and vulnerable with limited transnational capabilities, which in turn limits remittance activities, negatively impacting on families in Zimbabwe who are dependent on the remittances of those living in South Africa. Furthermore, Sebates-Wheeler (2009) noted that in Spain, most undocumented migrants find employment in the informal economy, with no contract, lowest wage and work on a temporary basis. Whereas, Malaysia allows freelance companies acting as vigilantes to deport the undocumented while others such as Korea impose fines on apprehended irregular migrants before deporting them, and subsequently make them pay the costs of deportation (Sebates-Wheeler ,2009). By encouraging non-nationals and those who hire them to work in the informal sector or shadow economy, the host government deprives itself of an important source of revenue and helps create networks of corruption and illegality that will be difficult to eradicate (Landau and Segatti 2011; Karagueuzian and Verdier-Chouchane, 2013).

However, it is important to realize that the declared objectives of states are often quite misleading (Castles, 2004; 2006). For Castles (2006) policies that claim to exclude undocumented workers may often allow them in through side doors and back doors, so that they can be more readily exploited. Segatti (2008) reiterates that instead of positively exploiting the presence of foreigners who often are well-educated, hardworking and experienced, a restrictive policy usually criminalizes migrants and drives processes of in formalization and illegality. Segatti (2008) points out that in efforts to protect the rights and livelihoods of citizens, immigration policy has de facto promoted the illegal hiring of non-nationals in ways that continue to undermine the unions and suppress the wages paid to all workers.

Karagueuzian and Verdier-Chouchane (2013) report that in practice, undocumented migrants remain vulnerable to legal and human rights abuse, violations, poverty and social exclusion, as they lack the legal and administrative remedies to defend their rights. Bloch (2010) asserts that immigration status makes a difference, not just in terms of limited avenues for protection

and for accessing rights but also about the economic and transnational lives of migrants. To conclude on the review of irregular migration I draw on (Fasani, 2015; p 34) where the scholar states the following;

> *The debate on the future of the 11.5 undocumented immigrants estimated to be currently residing in the US unequivocally demonstrates the need for a better understanding of the role of legal status in determining immigrants' outcomes, choices and behaviour. Not only do we know relatively little about the consequences of lacking legal status but we also know possibly even less about the effects that different policies that affect legal status may produce.*

It is against this review that the research seeks to find out if the characteristics of undocumented migrants are still prevalent when one gets regularised. The above literature focuses on being undocumented and how undocumented migrants survive in different environments. Most research on Zimbabweans has mostly focused on their experiences and ordeals when they were undocumented. There is limited information on how they are moving on after being regularised, what they are doing, where they are now, in terms of their lives and livelihoods. The key gap in this study is the limited literature on how regularised Zimbabwean migrants are making a living and moving on with their lives after they were documented in 2010 and 2014.

2.1.2 Overview of the South African immigration policy

Immigration policies are there to guide, facilitate, manage and control the flow of migrants in countries, but the formulation and implementation of such policies globally has become a contested and controversial issue. South Africa being one of the rich countries in the African region faces challenges in managing its borders. The movement of people into, within and through South Africa has raised fundamental questions about the country's commitments to human rights, regional integration, security, and economic development (CoRMSA, 2011). A combination of domestic debates and global trends has put the country's response to migrants at the heart of South Africa's policy agenda, as South Africa is obligated by international law to protect refugees and asylum seekers and the movement of people within the region which helps to foster prosperity and human security (CoRMSA, 2011).

Despite South Africa's commitments to regional cooperation, human rights and African solidarity, the country has always implemented a controversial and detrimental immigration policy which restricts the movement of people. According to Segatti (2011), South Africa has simultaneously liberalized its economy and political system while implementing strict national migration laws, favouring bilateral labour agreements, and deporting thousands of SADC migrants. South Africa's migration policy is focused on control-oriented policies, in which the focus is on identity documents, detention and deportation (Vigneswaran, 2011; Landau and Segatti, 2009). Nshimbi and Fioramonti, (2014) assert that post-apartheid South Africa's deportation scheme ranks among the world's largest. As cited in (Crush and Dodson, 2007,) Nshimbi and Fioramonti, 2014 noted that after apartheid South Africa adopted a detain and deport strategy for undocumented migrants, which achieved 180,000 deportations per annum in 1999 and, by 2007, had over 1.5 million deportees. Furthermore, between 1988 and 2010 South Africa deported approximately 2.5 million people, and most deportees were SADC citizens and especially Mozambicans and Zimbabweans (Nshimbi and Fioramonti 2014).

Nshimbi and Fioramonti (2014) point out that most of the undocumented migrants that are deported from South Africa return, once again, via informal routes. Segatti (2008) refers the deportation policy as a "two gate policy" which was favoured by the Apartheid regime. Segatti, (2008) further postulate that the policy hinged on having one front gate open for populations with a favoured criteria the other, the back gate, with a double function, on the one hand preventing unwanted migrants from entering and on the other letting in, but only on a temporary basis cheap and docile labour. Crush and Williams (2005) noted that opportunities for Zimbabweans to work legally in other countries are limited but that has not prevented many from migrating. This showing that the deportation policy does not produce expected results, as deportees find their way back into South Africa.

Furthermore, in many ways, the issues confronting policy-makers in South Africa are similar to those engaging their counterparts in North America (Polzer, 2009). United States of America, the European Union, and countless other nation-states and political bodies are struggling to define attitudes and policies towards immigrants and immigration in the 21st Century (Polzer 2009; Lee et al; 2001; Kraler 2015). Polzer (2009) noted that United States of America, (USA) has also struggled to develop and implement effective policies for managing migration and cross-border flows with Mexico and other countries in Central

America, as billions of dollars of investment and draconian measures could not significantly reduce migration volumes. To make matters worse, it must be noted that a strong focus on detention as a policy option has also led to human rights violations, financial costs and unlawful deportations (Amit 2011; Polzer 2010).

Moreover, the restrictive nature of these laws has led to the mistreatment and neglect of refugee, migrants and asylum seekers living in South Africa as they are often denied access to healthcare, jobs, legal representation and social services (Segatti and Landau, 2009). According to Amit (2012), South Africa's government policy with regards to immigrants in recent years has led to the securitisation of immigration. This is because of the government viewing immigrants, especially those from Africa, as a burden to the country's already existing problems such as high levels of unemployment and poverty, recurrent labour unrest and prevalent uprisings due to state's failure to provide basic services (Amit, 2012; Hammerstad 2011; Landau 2007; Tati, 2008). These rhetoric messages have led to the rise of antagonism against foreigners in South Africa leading to xenophobic violence against them (Segatti and Landau 2009; 2011).

Landau, (2007) points out that migrants are taken as scapegoats to help preserve the post-apartheid project legitimacy by providing convenient explanation for widespread crime, disease and unemployment. Effective policies are often hampered by the one-sided explanatory models used to explain migration, as well as by interest conflicts in both domestic and international politics, and this often leads to migration policies with contradictory objectives or hidden agendas (Castles, 2006). Landau, (2006; 2007) asserts that South Africa has an immigration policy that is uniquely ill-suited to its context, as it is based on the myth of control, while on the other hand, South Africa continues to favour bilateral labour agreements under MOUs, which are unilateral and biased towards South Africa's needs (Nshimbi & Fioramonti, 2014).

Furthermore, the concept of citizenship as a boundary mechanism against migration has misguided South Africa's attitude towards foreigners. Baubock et al. (2006) postulate that citizenship is a more discriminating concept than both ties and belonging, because it is a status of membership granted by an established or aspiring political community. South Africa is increasingly seen as threatened, flooded, and swamped by illegal immigrants who are threatening and eroding the social fabric of post- Apartheid South Africa (Nyamnjoh,

2006). People's fears that illegal immigrants are crowding them out of labour markets and are draining already-limited economic resources and social benefits are put forward as partial explanations for the widespread and pervasive xenophobia in post-Apartheid South Africa, (Nyamnjoh, 2006). Amit (2013) also argues that under the Immigration Act (No 13) of 2011 the Department of Home Affairs has committed to combatting xenophobia in civil society and government, but, despite their efforts, xenophobic attacks have remained a major concern for South Africa. Xenophobia, anti-immigration sentiments and discourses, and hostility towards foreigners are rife within South Africa (Mosselson, 2010). Foreign migrants are being attacked physically and emotionally, on the pretext of not belonging.

In contrast Herbst, (1990) argues that people migrating towards the centres of politics and human mobility shows that citizenship regulations have not fully created a strong national bond between state and citizen. The large number and diverse origins of international migrants increasingly challenge long-held notions of citizenship within nation-state borders, as nation-states continue to hold substantial power over the formal rules and rights of citizenship and to shape the institutions that provide differentiated access to participation and belonging, with important consequences for immigrants' incorporation and equality (Bloemraad, et al. 2008). Research done by Amisi and Ballard (2005) on citizenship of Congolese migrants indicated that one of the dominant features of post-apartheid social movements is the extensive use of the language of rights to articulate needs, make social demands and secure legally enforceable commitments from the government. Rights have become a way of defining fairness and social justice and when it comes to migration, as citizenship in contemporary times is not a natural right; it is a status that one can qualify for and that is awarded and mediated by the state (Amisi and Ballard, 2005).

As I have shown above there is need of a better understanding of the role of migration for policies to be more relevant to peoples' livelihood strategies, and more sensitive to the negative consequences of measures that restrict migration (De Haan, 2000). De Haan (2000) further asserts that people migrate as an enhancement strategy, to improve the assets or capitals, which they need to, build their lives and livelihoods. Castles, (2006) also asserts that migration policies fail because they are based on short-term and narrow views of the migratory process. South Africa's immigration policy has been detrimental towards the livelihoods of migrants, be they be documented or undocumented.

A key gap in this review is that the South African immigration policy lacks equality of opportunity towards immigrants and this has led to an increase on undocumented migrants. The national and global debate usually revolves around economic impacts and the legal status of individual or groups of immigrants and not on their welfare and wellbeing. I argue that South Africa's main priority is on securitization and public order on the expense of the plight and livelihoods of immigrants. Therefore, the focus of this study is on how are regularised Zimbabwean migrants reconstructing their lives in the context where South Africa's migration policy continues to exert more restrictions and control over migration while facilitating tensions and between host populace and the foreigners.

2.1.3 Labour and Immigration policy

Labour migration has played a central role in the history and economic development of Southern Africa (Crush, et al. 2005). The desire to control, contain and use the movement of large populations for the benefits of a few was a key feature of colonialism and apartheid, (Crush, et al 2005). Since the end of apartheid and the decline of the employment opportunities in the mining sector, opportunities for temporary migrant employment have expanded and diversified (Crush, et al 2012). International migration has increased partly due to liberalization in southern Africa, as people migrate in search of better economic opportunities (Nshimbi and Fioramonti, 2014). Nshimbi and Fioramonti, (2014) drawing from UNDESA 2012 report, postulate that in 2010 there were 214 million international migrants of whom 29 million registered in 2010 were Africans and their major destination was Africa itself.

Migration in Southern Africa has been a long-standing feature of the labour market, particularly in the mining and agricultural sectors, and it can be considered that the industrial development of some countries was only made possible using labour from other countries (Olivier 2009). This highlighting the fact that for South Africa, labour migration serves as an important instrument to fill the gap in the labour market and which in turn positively contributes to the development of South Africa, and of the Southern region. However, though South Africa's migration policy is premised on facilitating labour standards and investment (Polzer 2009), South Africa's migration policy has been inconsistent, controversial and contradictory towards its goals.

According to Nshimbi and Fioramonti, (2014) two systems coexist in southern Africa that complicates migration governance, a South Africa-managed bilateral migration policy, and aspirations for a formal SADC-managed migration policy. Bilateral agreements between South Africa and neighbours have established a labour migration system that dims prospects for a regional migration policy (Nshimbi and Fioramonti, 2014). Unlike SADC, Economic Community for West African Countries, (ECOWAS) has the most advanced and best-implemented migration regime in Africa, with categorical legislation and evident commitment to free movement of labour, as an essential element to the Common Market goal (Nshimbi and Fioramonti, 2014). Therefore, the absence of a clear regional framework in SADC is triggering continuous repatriations and emergency measures such as forced deportations, which impose significant costs on governments while showing no effectiveness at controlling undocumented labour migration flows (Nshimbi and Fioramonti, 2013; Crush 2011).

Gordon, (2010) argues that the Department of Home Affairs and contemporary immigration policies have closed many legal routes of entry for foreigners who wish to work within the borders. Landau, (2007) postulates that South Africa's efforts to control and prevent immigration into South Africa are ill-suited to the reality in which the state finds itself. The DHA is more focused on a punitive approach to discourage migration, rather than a pragmatic approach that recognises migration as a fact (Landau 2007; Segatti 2008). For instance, Crush (2011:16), states that South African employers in the construction and service sectors have had a *"distinct preference"* for non-South African labor. However, the SA legal and policy framework offers limited access to documented migration options especially to semi-skilled workers, like construction workers (Crush, 2011).

Castles and Miller (2009) postulate that nationalists are on the assumption that unlimited rights of migration can lead to social disorder and breakdown. To control the movement of people the Immigration Act No. 13 specifies conditions for temporary and permanent residence in South Africa (Nshimbi and Fioramonti 2014). The permits for migrants include a work permit, a corporate permit for companies to source foreign labour and employ foreigners, a business permit for foreigners to run business in South Africa and facilitating the movement of students and academic staff within SADC for study, teaching and research (Nshimbi and Fioramonti 2014), drawing from South Africa's immigration policy. The

provision of permits has been limited and restrictive as South Africa's immigration policy towards labour prioritizes South African citizens.

However, despite the regulation and control of migration into South Africa, undocumented migrants significantly contribute to the current cross-border labour migration (Oucho and Crush, 2001). The end of apartheid brought new forms of labour migration to and from South Africa including a marked growth in irregular labour migration from neighbouring countries and the rest of Africa and a major brain drain of skilled professionals, primarily to Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) countries (Crush, 2011). According to Peberdy (2009) undocumented migration has persisted and most likely will continue to grow as many more sectors now employ temporary migrants and the informal economy has also emerged as a major employer and income earning opportunity.

From the above assertions and arguments, I argue that though the immigration policy of South Africa is skilled based, it is putting a blind eye on the growth of irregular labour migration which has become prominent in the informal economy. I argue that the term skilled has been used to discourage labour migration of the other sections, such as domestic work, construction, which in turn are contributing to the South African economy. A key argument under this review is that exclusionary labour policies towards migration are detrimental to migrants' livelihoods. Drawing from Madue (2015) I argue that South Africa's foreign and migration policies shape the perceptions of both its citizens and those of neighbouring states, and perceptions of South Africans towards labour migrants has led to xenophobic attacks on foreign migrants, one of the social ills which is hindering the livelihoods of foreign migrants. I assert that the key gap in labour policies towards migration in South Africa is the failure to increase the mobility of economic migrants who are in pursuit of livelihood options and in turn are contributing to South Africa's economy.

2. 2 Zimbabwean migration into South Africa

2.2.1 History of Zimbabwean labour migration to South Africa

Southern Africa has a long history of intra-regional migration and family reunion dating back to the mid nineteenth century (Crush and Ramachandran, 2010; Tevera, 2010). Cross-border migration for employment within the SADC was prevalent long before the drawing of colonial boundaries, dating back at least 150 years (Crush and Ramachandran, 2010; Tevera, 2010). The countries of Southern Africa have been sending and receiving migrants since the mid nineteenth century when labour migrants went to South Africa to work on the Kimberley diamond mines (Crush, 1997).

Wentzel and Tlabela (2006) postulate that the number of migrants coming to South Africa, particularly those originating from the African continent increased since the early 1990s and more so after the democratic elections in 1994. These migrants came primarily from South Africa's tradition labour supply areas which include countries of Southern Africa's traditional labour supply areas from Mozambique, Zimbabwe, Lesotho, Nigeria and Malawi (Wentzel and Tlabela, 2006). The Zimbabwean economy, much like that of the economies of the other states bordering South Africa, was inextricably linked to that of South Africa (Crush, 1997).

The opening of the Kimberley diamond fields in 1870 created a huge demand for unskilled labour, and an adequate supply of cheap labour was obtained through the establishment of the Rand Native Labour Association (RNLA), which was renamed the Witwatersrand Native Labour Association (WNLA) (Crush et al. 1991; 1997). According to Crush, (1997) the period from 1920 to 1990, almost every country in the SADC region was sending migrants to work in South Africa mines and migrants from Malawi and Zimbabwe were episodic supply, as the Southern Rhodesia now Zimbabwe prohibited employment of black Rhodesians outside the country. After attaining independence in 1980 the government of Zimbabwe prohibited the employment of Zimbabwean workers by WNLA, and this policy resulted in numerous Zimbabweans resorting to clandestine migration in South Africa (Wentzel and Tlabela, 2006; Crush 1997).

Furthermore, in 1980 brain drain of skilled and professional migrants from the Southern African region to South Africa and Botswana increased, as the two countries were offering higher income in the more highly skilled occupations, hence professionals were keen to move to the countries (Crush 2000; Wentzel and Tlabela 2006). Besides recruiting mine workers, farm workers were also recruited and the DHA made special arrangements to regularise the status of undocumented farm workers (Rutherford and Addison, 2007). Most Zimbabweans worked on these farms during picking season from about April to September and some would return to Zimbabwe, with the intention of returning next picking season, while others move onto other South African farms or seek employment elsewhere in South Africa (Rutherford and Addison, 2007). Harris and Lauderdale (2000) extrapolate that this form of transnational movement was facilitated by the 'opening-up' in post-apartheid South Africa, attracting immigrants from southern and other parts of Africa, even though apartheid immigration policies and attitudes continued to hold ground.

The above overview outlines the history of Zimbabwean labour migration to South Africa. Adepoju (2006) explains that migration nurtures economic development, encourages interdependence between countries and regions, and provides important links for the exchange of resources between countries. However, despite the history of Zimbabwean labour migration to South Africa which dates back to colonial times and the contribution made then, and the contribution being made to the South African economy, Zimbabweans still remain largely unrecognized, discriminated legally, socially, economically and politically.

2.2.2 Profile of Zimbabweans in South Africa from 2000 to 2016

Migration has become a crucial response of the poor, the better-off, the skilled and the unskilled to Zimbabwe's protracted crisis (Jager and Musuva 2016). Mawadza (2008) postulate that although there are migrants from all over Africa in South Africa, Zimbabweans are deemed to be one of the largest groups. Jager and Musuva (2016) postulate that the mass exodus of Zimbabweans in South Africa can be attributed to the governance crisis which led to an economic meltdown. Between 2007 and 2008 inflation rate had reached an official level of 230 million percent and the formal sector employment shrunk from 1, 4 million in 1998 to 998000 in 2004 (Raftopolous, 2008). Raftopolous, (2008) further postulates that 85% of the Zimbabwean population was below the poverty datum line by 2006. Therefore, it can be argued that the economic situation in Zimbabwe had reached no turning point and most Zimbabweans responded by migrating to other countries like South Africa.

Tevera and Zinyama (2002) pointed out that the nature of Zimbabwean migration has changed over time, as most Zimbabweans were young job seekers, motivated by the need to earn money and send it home, but recently families are migrating together as a survival strategy. To concur with Tevera and Zinyama, (2002), Crush, et al (2012) noted a growing feminization of migration with women accounting for 44 per cent of migrants in 2010. Baumann (2010) extrapolates that the community of Zimbabweans living in South Africa is both sizeable and diverse, as they comprise of documented, undocumented labour migrants, informal traders, skilled professionals, students, refugees, and business people. The need for money is not the only motivation behind the migration of Zimbabweans, but also the political violence, educational advancement, forced evictions due to the land reform and poverty have also played a part (Crush et al, 2012; Maphosa 2010;2011).

Furthermore, the political and economic meltdown in Zimbabwe resulted in out-migration rising from a total of some 200 000 Zimbabweans living in South Africa in 2001 to 2 million by the end of 2009 (Makina, 2007). Zimbabweans alone have received the highest number of all work permits issued in 2011, representing 25 per cent (Crush 2011; Budlender, 2013). Budlender, (2013) drawing from (Stats SA, 2012) postulates that in 2009 Zimbabwe was the leading country of refugee claims in South Africa, 68% all applications coming from Zimbabweans. However, Polzer (2009) argues that knowing the exact and total number of Zimbabweans in the country is not necessary for recognising the need for or planning a

response. The need for a response is created not by the absolute numbers of migrants, but by their vulnerability and level of impact on the host country (Polzer, 2009). From this argument, I argue that the South African government, policy makers and the media were more focused on the exaggerated numbers rather than focusing on effective policies to manage the migration of Zimbabweans.

Furthermore, Makina (2007) reiterates that the situation of most Zimbabweans in South Africa is largely that of multiple exclusions rather than multiple involvements. It is also clear that every policy or response geared towards Zimbabweans was implemented based on reducing the numbers of migrants rather than on their situation and needs. Makina, (2007) extrapolates that the most important aspect which must be considered when trying to understand Zimbabweans' views about South Africa's migration policy is the context that of two uneasy neighbours who have always seen each other as rivals for regional leadership. Makina, (2010) further postulates that contemporary aspects of this long-standing fractious relationship are Zimbabwean responses to outbreaks of xenophobia, and the popular view in South Africa that Zimbabweans have ruined their own country. Moreover Polzer, (2009) argues that the history of South African responses to Zimbabwean migration since the early 2000s, were few adequate policy options or responses for legal migration from Zimbabwe. Baumann (2010) noted that the sentiments of former South African president Thabo Mbeki, regional considerations within Africa Review SADC and South Africa's economic interests in Zimbabwe, are some of the main reasons why South Africa has avoided criticizing Mugabe. The government was slow to acknowledge the mixed nature of Zimbabwean migration and formulate a variegated policy response (Baumann 2010; Polzer 2009; Makina 2007).

A bone of contention remains on the status of Zimbabweans in South Africa, as the Department of Home Affairs has labelled Zimbabweans as economic migrants regardless of the reasons giving rise to their flight (CORMSA, 2011; Amit 2011, 2012). Hungwe, (2013) postulate that the discussion of voluntary and forced migration is quite problematic in relation to Zimbabwean migration, especially from the late 1990s onwards. To further argue on the status of Zimbabweans Betts and Kaytaz, (2009) define most Zimbabweans moving to South Africa as survival migrants. The term survival migrants refer to individuals fleeing an existential threat to which they have no domestic remedy, as the reasons of their flight have mainly been a combination of state collapse, livelihood failure and environmental disaster,

(Betts and Kaytaz, 2009). The notion that Zimbabweans are not facing persecution in their country, has led to the failure to respond accordingly to the plight of each Zimbabwean. Betts (2010) argues that from 2005 to 2009, 2 million Zimbabweans entered South Africa representing the most visible recent case of people with an obvious need for international protection. According to Polzer (2008) though Zimbabweans have been able to access the asylum this has been implemented by Department of Home Affairs (DHA), in a conservative and business as usual manner, leading to a very few Zimbabwean asylum applicants recognised as refugees, a situation that left large numbers of Zimbabweans undocumented and vulnerable in South Africa. Gordon (2010) extrapolates that once migrants cross the borders that demarcate their legality as citizens without sanction, they become stateless people who by abandoning their legal status are often termed illegal. Migrants regarded as not having legal status, are less protected by law and this allowing them to become vulnerable to exploitation and violence such as harassment, imprisonment and deportation (Gordon, 2010; Tati 2008).

In conclusion, the plight of Zimbabweans has been a huge burden to the South African government and the policy makers have politicized the number of Zimbabweans in South Africa, to shift the burden. Zimbabweans who qualify as refugees have been rejected on the pretext of all Zimbabweans being economic migrants. The implementation of a regularisation policy on Zimbabweans in 2010 has been applauded as a positive move, by the Department of Home Affairs. However, there is need for an examination on the livelihoods of regularised Zimbabwean migrants, to establish whether the response from the DHA, (ZDP and ZSP) is producing desired outcomes.

2.2.3 An overview of the Zimbabwe Documentation Project (ZDP) and Zimbabwe Special Permit (ZSP)

South Africa has a history of innovative policy development, and its policy decision regarding Zimbabweans will continue to attract attention from the continent and beyond (Polzer, 2007). South Africa's response towards the migration from Zimbabwe has been described as slow, as it was influenced by the foreign policy, which failed to recognize the crisis of governance in Zimbabwe (Jager and Musuva, 2016). However, after a prolonged awaited response, in 2010 the South African government announced a dispensation towards undocumented Zimbabwean in the country. Thebe (2016) noted that South Africa's announcement and implementation of a legalising amnesty under the Zimbabwe Documentation Project (ZDP) in 2010 was lauded as a step away from the laissez-faire approach to Zimbabwean migration.

Over the last decade, South Africa has adopted various strategies to deal with the growing influx of migrants from Zimbabwe, many of whom are in irregular status (Budlender, 2013). According to Budlender, (2013) in 2005, over 100,000 Zimbabweans were deported. After many years in which South Africa attempted to address Zimbabwean migration through general migration policies, there had been a recent shift towards specifically adapted policies for the management of Zimbabwean mobility (Polzer 2010; Amit 2011). This included a 90-day no-cost visa and a moratorium on deportations in April 2009 and a 12-month "special dispensation" permit, with the right to work, for Zimbabweans already in South Africa (Amit 2011; 2012; Crush, 2011). Nshimbi and Fioramonti, (2014) postulate that barring massive deportations, adjustments in South Africa's immigration policies facilitated the formalization of many undocumented migrants in South Africa. However, it must be noted that a moratorium on deportations was never fully respected by state officials involved in immigration enforcement and border management, as undocumented Zimbabwean migrants continued to be harassed and detained to be deported (Jager and Musuva, 2016; Amit, 2012).

The Zimbabwean Documentation Project ran from September to December 2010, and by 31 December 2010, a total of 275,762 applications had been received (Department of Home Affairs Report, 2011; Amit 2011; Jager and Musuva 2016). Under the ZDP, Zimbabweans could apply for work, study, or business permits if they had a Zimbabwean passport and documentation confirming either proof of employment or proof of registration with an

educational institution or proof of operating a business, (Department of Home Affairs report, 2011). The permit was valid for four years and in 2014 the government renewed 197,790 the permits under the ZSP adding three years (Department of Home Affairs report of 2015). However, it has to be noted that the Department of Home Affairs is reluctant in the provision of permanent residence to qualifying regularised Zimbabweans, as Zimbabweans regularised under the two permits have exceeded the required five years to apply for permanent residence. Gordon (2010) extrapolates that an immigration law can be understood as an instrument of control, discipline and coercion through the deployment of these laws as tactics. I argue that this is a tactic employed by the DHA to deter Zimbabweans from applying for permanent residence.

Furthermore, diverse reasons and perspectives that facilitated the regularisation of Zimbabweans in South Africa have been put forward by different scholars. Polzer, (2009) argues that the step taken, consolidated the fact that South Africa and SADC had committed to an ongoing process of greater regional integration. The South African government responded to the crisis of Zimbabweans by implementing a regionally beneficial migration management approach (CoRMSA report, 2011). As the strongest economy in southern Africa, South Africa attracts many people skilled and unskilled, long-term migrants and short-term visitors from other countries in the region, and its migration and border policies are very important to those countries (Hammerstad, 2011). The fact that South Africa and SADC had committed to an ongoing process of greater regional integration, resulted in the implementation of the documentation process, which guaranteed the harmonisation of rights between citizens and foreigners, and pledged amity towards migrants from Zimbabwe a member of the SADC region (Hammerstad, 2011). Muzondidya (2010) extrapolates that South Africa's migration management is sometimes perceived as unfair and discriminatory towards Zimbabweans. The Zimbabwean government and the Zimbabwean public believe that South African immigration policy deliberately targets Zimbabweans (Muzondidya, 2010). Therefore, the implementation of the dispensation project towards undocumented Zimbabweans in South Africa was for preserving regional relations.

Moreover, the other reason for regularising Zimbabweans was that South African authorities wanted to curb the fraudulent acquisition of South African Identification Documents (IDs), and to stop and prevent crimes (Department of Home Affairs report, 2011). Documenting Zimbabweans also discouraged vigilante crime-fighting against foreign nationals suspected

of being criminals by increasing public confidence in the ability of the state to maintain law and order (Department of Home Affairs report, 2011). The ZDP and ZSP were intended to improve levels of data about Zimbabweans, for security issues (DHA report, 2011). However, in contrast Polzer (2010) argues that the migration regime continues to be dominated by concerns about economic and physical security, rather than regional development and human rights. To concur with Polzer, I argue that the Department of Home Affairs is prioritizing the securitization of migration rather than the protection of human rights especially that of foreign migrants, and this has led to incessant xenophobic attacks on foreigners.

A developmental and migrants needs centered perspective, was also the driver of the documentation of Zimbabweans, as people were vulnerable to exploitation (Amit and Kriger 2014). The growing numbers and cases of abuse and discrimination, especially on South African farms of Zimbabweans necessitated the negotiations between the Zimbabwean and South African governments leading to the Zimbabwe Documentation Project (ZDP) carried out by the Department of Home Affairs in 2010 (Polzer, 2009). CoRMSA (2011) reported that the dispensation was a way to provide rights to those Zimbabweans who had been employed in the country but were not granted protection due to their permit status.

A key goal of the ZDP, was to regularise the status of economic migrants who were turning to the asylum system in overwhelming numbers (Amit and Kriger, 2014). Amit and Kriger (2014) further reiterate that the DHA perceived that most low skilled workers who did not qualify for work permits before the regularisation process saw the asylum system as the only regularisation option open for them. The Department of Home Affairs (2011) report highlighted that the main reason for the regularization process (ZDP) which started in September 2010, was to avert the pressure exerted on the asylum seeker management process. Amit and Kriger (2014) noted that the Department of Home Affairs believes that South Africa generous assertion of rights for refugees and asylum seekers is one of the predominant reasons the country receives so many applications and Zimbabweans are taking advantage of that.

In contrast a report done by Amit in 2012, on asylum seeking in South Africa and on the Zimbabwe Documentation Project showed that economic factors were not the sole motivation for flight by Zimbabweans casting doubt on the Department of Home Affairs' claim that over 90 percent of those in the asylum system are economic migrants. Amit's findings also

showed that the availability of asylum was not a major pull factor to South Africa as most respondents were unaware of the possibility of seeking asylum before arriving in South Africa. Amit (2012) further argues that due to the fact that Zimbabweans were required to surrender their asylum to the South African government, to enter the documentation process does not necessarily mean that individuals did not qualify for asylum. Amit (2012:24) states the following;

> *Many bona fide asylum seekers may have opted to apply for permits because of the significant barriers to obtaining asylum, including unfair adjudications and excessively long waiting periods for finalisation of an asylum claim*

Gordon (2010) argues that an immigration law can be understood as an instrument of control, discipline and coercion through the deployment of these laws as tactics. The tactic used was to by the Department of Home Affairs was to reduce the number of Zimbabweans, by sending them back home. Most of the migrants who were influenced to give up their asylum status were not able to re-enter the asylum system as they failed to obtain documentation under the DZP (Amit, 2012; Jager and Musuva 2016). The regularisation of Zimbabweans in a way has been a contradictory process as it increased the number of undocumented migrants instead of reducing the number. It must be noted that in 2014 some of the applicants could not afford the payment fee of renewing their permits (Interview with Liyah). Jager and Musuva, (2016) postulate that the short application period, along with administrative bottlenecks, prevented many potentially eligible Zimbabweans from obtaining the permits and those with special humanitarian needs who had not been able to work in the past were excluded.

As highlighted most scholars have focused on the formulation and implementation of the regularisation policy on Zimbabweans and there is limited information on how it contributes to their livelihoods. I argue that there is need for an evaluation outcome after implementing such policies towards migrants, as regularisation of undocumented migrants has become prevalent among policymakers in South Africa.

2.3 Conceptual Framework

2. 3.1 Livelihood approach

For a better understanding on the livelihoods of regularised Zimbabweans living in Johannesburg a livelihood approach was employed. A livelihood approach views the world from the point of view of the individuals, households and social groups who are trying to make a living in volatile conditions and with limited assets (Levine, 2014). People are presented as active agents who make their own choices and devise their own strategies. Levine (2014: 6) explains a livelihood approach as follows;

> *A livelihoods approach tries to hold two perspectives that have sometimes been viewed as opposites. On the one hand, it is essentially an actor-oriented perspective, seeing people as active agents who make their own choices and devise their own strategies. It has also essentially become what is now often called a 'political economy analysis', because it looks at how people's possibilities and choices are shaped by the broader structures of society in which they live politics, power, institutions, culture, and so forth.*

Ellis (2000) posits that the term livelihood attempts to capture not just what people do in order to make a living, but the resources that provide them with the capability to build a satisfactory living, the risk factors that they must consider in managing their resources, and the institutional and policy context that either helps or hinders them in their pursuit of a viable or improving living. This implies that economic success of migrants in places of destination does not solely depend on their effort but it is also influenced by social and economic factors within social hierarchies in their places of destination.

Livelihood Framework

The livelihoods perspective, developed originally in the 1990s by Chambers and Conway, and the DFID in 1999, is still widely recognised as offering the most comprehensive framework for understanding how people live (Levine, 2014). For (Rakodi, 1999; Chambers and Conway 1990), a livelihood comprises of the capabilities, assets, and activities required for a means of living and it is sustainable when it can cope with and recover from shocks and stresses and maintain and enhance its capabilities and assets both now and in the future,

whilst not undermining the natural resource base. The important feature of this livelihood definition is that it directs its attention to the links between assets and the options people possess in practice to pursue alternative activities that can generate the income level required for survival (Ellis, 2000). To undertake a livelihood analysis a framework is needed and per Carney cited in (Rakodi 2002: 9),

> *A livelihood framework is a tool that helps to define the scope of and provide analytical basis for livelihoods analysis by identifying the main factors affecting livelihoods and the relationships between them, to help those concerned with supporting the livelihoods of supporting the poor people.*

It is important to understand the structures or organizations, and the processes such as laws, policies, societal norms, and incentives while dealing on livelihood issues, as people's possibilities and choices are shaped by the broader structures of society in which they live (Scoones, 2009; Jacobsen 2006). Carney (1998) extrapolate that a livelihood encompasses the assets, capabilities and the vulnerability context. The following stage explains what every component in the framework encompasses.

Assets

Assets are the resources on which people draw to undertake their livelihood strategies. They include financial, human, natural, physical and social capital (Ellis, 2000; Carney, 1998). Carney (1998) posits that these stocks of capital can also be referred to as livelihood resources, which are what people have been it tangible or intangible. Physical capital refers to infrastructure and producer goods that are required to support livelihoods (Ellis 2000; Carney 1998). Ellis (2000) postulates that financial capital entails accessibility to cash, or its equivalent, for the pursuit of livelihood strategies. Natural capital available to an individual is more resource-based (Chambers and Conway, 1991). Social capital represents a person's entirety of social relations, that can be legitimized by the family, group or class membership and allowing access to material and immaterial resources, such as information and knowledge (Bourdieu, 1986).

Capabilities

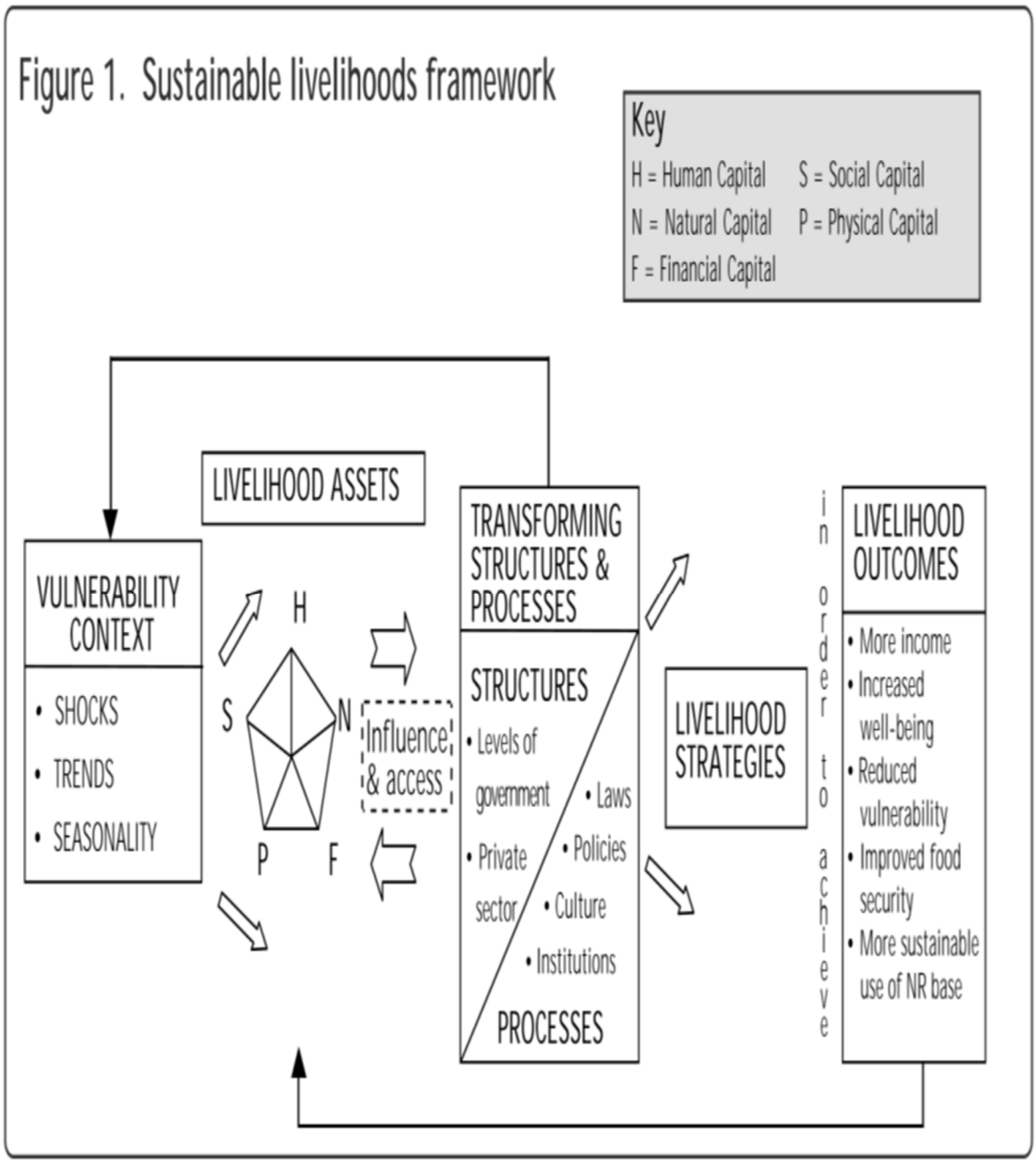
Capabilities are the combined knowledge, skills, state of health and ability to labour or command labour of a household (Meikle, et al. 2001). Capability refers to the freedom or ability of individual to achieve the intended goals, which range from being healthy or well-nourished to being happy or having self-respect (Meikle, et al. 2001). Drawing from Sen, Meikle et al. (2001) postulates that capabilities constitute people's freedom and opportunities to achieve well-being. Meikle et al. (2001) expound that assets and capabilities are closely linked to household livelihood security, as household may have assets but not have the capability to use them fully. Thereby both capabilities and assets interlink in producing expected livelihood outcomes (Ellis, 2003).

Vulnerability context

Vulnerability is the insecurity of the wellbeing of individuals or communities in the face of changing environments (ecological, social, economic, and political) in the form of sudden shock, long terms trends, or seasonal cycles (Carney, 1998). The vulnerability context is the range of factors in the external environment that make people vulnerable. The livelihoods of the poor are determined by the context, in which they are located, and the opportunities and constraints that this context provides (Meikle, 2002). The context (economic, environmental, social, and political) determines the assets that individuals are able to access, how they use them, and therefore their (in) ability to obtain a secure livelihood (Meikle, 2002). It is imperative to understand the social, economic and policy context within which migrants must pursue a livelihood (Jacobsen, 2006). For Meikle (2002) vulnerability is therefore closely linked to access to and control over assets, showing that accessibility is a key issue in people's livelihoods.

However, since this research main focus will be on the lives and livelihoods of migrants in Johannesburg it is important to understand the specific characteristics of urban livelihoods, as shown below in ***figure 1***

Figure1. Sustainable Livelihoods framework



Source; Carney 1998

According to Meikle (2002) an understanding of the nature of the urban context is critical when examining the specifics of urban sustainable livelihoods. An urban livelihoods framework comprises an analysis of the assets and strategies used to achieve desired outcomes, and the institutional or structural context sometimes called the' vulnerability context' or processes, institutions and policies (PIPs) which constrains or enables access to these assets and strategies (Jacobsen, 2006).

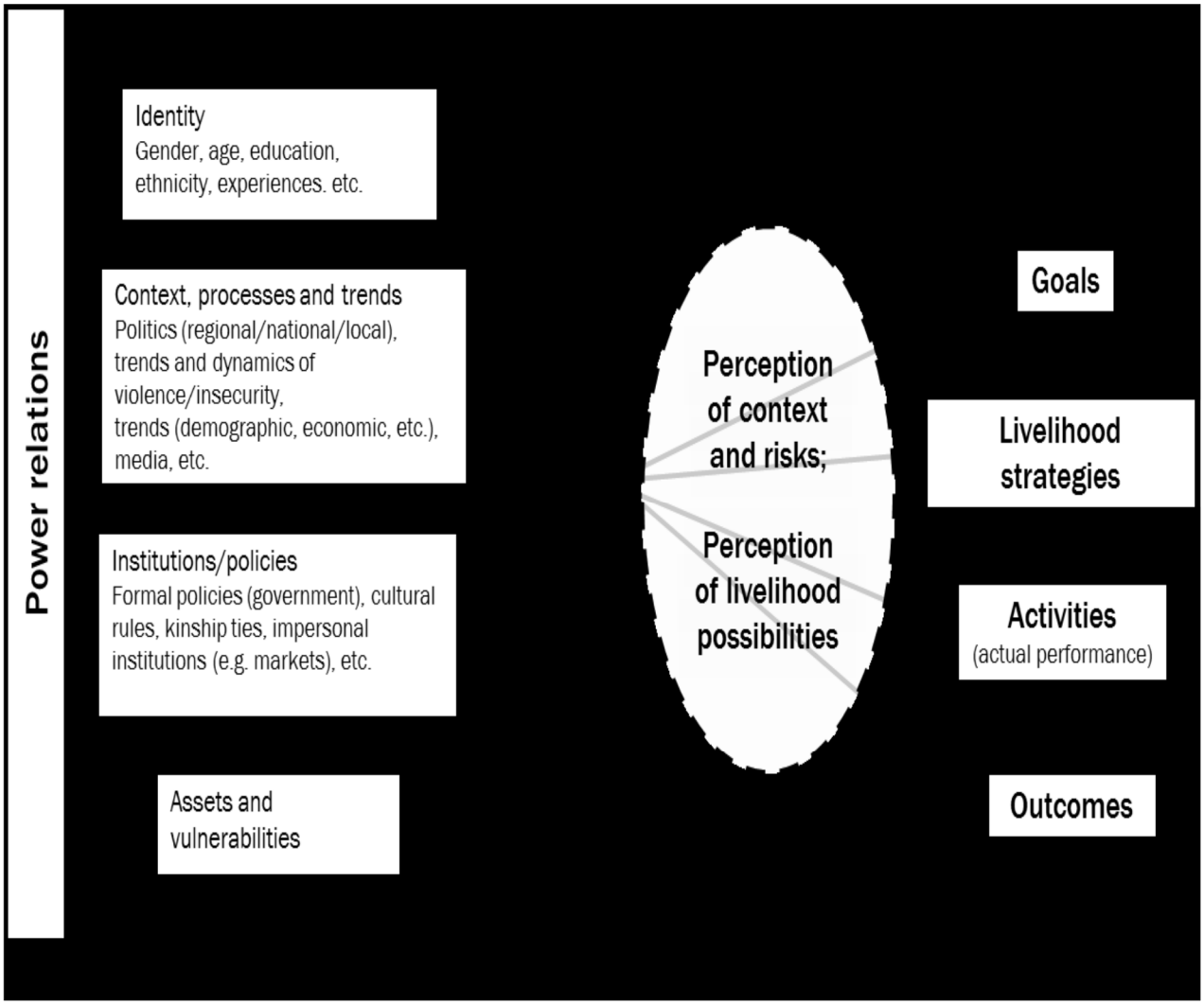
Economic opportunities in cities continue to attract migrants from rural areas or less developed towns in search of work and the chance to improve their lives, as most livelihoods depend on cash income (Meikle, 2002; Harris 1996). The livelihood of urban people is defined by the opportunities available to people and the constraints under which they operate (Meikle, 2002). Urban livelihoods are particularly distinct from rural livelihoods, because of the specific complexities presented within a complex urban context (Meikle, 2002). In an urban setting, there is different emphasis for each type of asset, for example, natural capital will generally be of less significance in the urban setting and financial capital more significant, as a cash economy is prevalent in urban cities.

However, Levine (2014) and Carr (2013) noted that the role of livelihood frameworks has been misunderstood for the past two decades. Levine (2014) extrapolates that livelihoods frameworks are too often expected include everything in the framework, but no single research study can include everything which is covered by a framework. Levine (2014: 8) states that

> *A framework sets out the possible areas which may influence the topic being studied and it provides a way of approaching the chosen research questions"*

Scoones (2009) posits that a Sustainable Livelihood Framework (SLF) is usually associated with household livelihoods but it can and should be used for thinking about individuals, specific groups of people, villages or districts, as well as about issues that go beyond the purely economic. People's ability to have a sustainable and adequate livelihood is shaped by the interplay of the resources which people can use and the institutions and 'politics' which influence how people can use resources and to what effect (Levine 2014; Scoones, 2009).

Figure 2: An operational map for research using a SLF



Source: Levine (2014)

Figure 2 above shows an operational map for research using a Sustainable Livelihood Framework, which I adopted and employed in my study. Levine (2014) explains that the use of this map is not intended to replace the Sustainable Livelihood Framework as a conceptual framework but to bring it to life to match to what is happening in this day in age. I concur with this angle which Levine has taken, as livelihood frameworks are sometimes outdated for researchers to practically use in the 21st century. This map has been a guideline in this research, as it encompasses aspects which should be considered when doing an analysis of the livelihoods migrants.

Levine (2014), stresses the importance of asking the right questions when doing a livelihood analysis, for instance, the map suggests separating out influences related to identity and, in a conceptual modification, it adds the dimension of people's perceptions. Levine (2014) explains why the following two aspects should be included in a livelihoods research.

Identity

Levine (2014) argues that identity is used to describe both how people see themselves and how others perceive them, which may sometimes be very different as both may be important in determining people's livelihood choices and outcomes. Identity may include people's age, their gender, ethnicity, religion, class, education, as people often have more than one identity, and different identities is more important in shaping different aspects of the livelihood, (Levine 2014). According to Levine (2014) identity always plays a role in influencing people's objectives and in shaping their opportunities, strategies and livelihood outcomes, because it may affect how they perceive and are perceived by so many different people, organisations and institutions.

Perceptions

Levine (2014) points out that perceptions have not been explicitly studied as part of livelihoods frameworks. Levine (2014) postulates that people always react to the context as they perceive it, as there are objective differences in the way they will be affected by the same events or trends, different things matter to different people. People have different abilities to deal with events or trends; and there are subjective differences in what people think the future may bring (Levine 2014). For Levine, (2014) what people perceive and think, is the starting point for understanding their rationality, and this will enable researchers to understand them as rational agents in charge of their own destiny.

2.3.2 The role of social capital on the livelihoods of undocumented migrants

Migration is best understood as one of the strategies adopted by individuals, households or communities to enhance their livelihoods (Ellis 2003). A livelihood on the other hand is understood as what people do to make a living, and the resources that provide them with the capability to build satisfactory living (Ellis 2003). Livelihoods are by nature influenced by a range of economic, social, political and environmental factors. According to Meikle (2002) the livelihoods of the poor are determined by the context in which they are located, and the opportunities and constraints that this context provides. The context determines the assets that individuals can access, how they use them, and therefore their (in) ability to obtain a secure livelihood (Meikle, 2002).

However mostly international migrants' lack of proper documentation often leads to lack of power to produce sustainable livelihoods. Jacobsen (2006) argues that international migrants including refugees are not able to access a secure livelihood because of the constraints relating to the Immigration Act and the difficulties experienced by lower-skilled workers who want to legalise their stay in South Africa. Not only do these issues affect migrants but also local communities, can create a conflict of attitudes and expectations between them and the host community in the sense that aliens and host communities tend to struggle over limited resources (Jacobsen, 2002). To overcome these challenges, social capital plays an important role in the lives of undocumented migrants.

Woolcock and Narayan (2000:3) define social capital as, "*the norms and networks that enable people to act collectively*". This definition recognizes that important features of social capital, such as trust and reciprocity, are developed in an iterative process (Woolcock and Narayan, 2000). According to Bourdieu (1986: 249), social capital is the "*the aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalised relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition"*. Bourdieu (1986) postulates that social capital is an essential value for individuals to have and maintain contacts with a series of other individuals in this case, it has helped migrants negotiate the city. Social capital has many benefits on migrants' lives as social networks help with the settlement of a new migrant in the receiving country (Hungwe 2015). Hungwe (2015) further postulate that social networks lower costs of migration and offer psycho-social support to the new migrant. Drawing from (Menjivar 1995; 1997), Hungwe, (2015) points out that migrant

networks help with the acquisition of information on the migration process itself and in the host country networks aid in providing employment, accommodation, food, security and even capital for businesses.

Furthermore, Al-Sharmani (2006) and Jacobsen (2005), explain how some of the Somali migrants acquire their livelihoods through remittances, which serve as their financial capital. The remittances usually come from family and relatives and social networks help refugees find employment, housing and sources of credit (Al-Sharmani 2006; Jacobsen 2005). Somali migrants are known to be self-reliant and have established livelihoods which are not reliant on aid as they enjoy a standard of living that is equivalent to or even higher than that of the locals (Jinnah 2013; Al-Sharmani 2006). Myroniuk and Vearey (2014) research on social capital and livelihoods of foreign born migrants in Johannesburg showed that, having more social capital is related to better livelihood outcomes at the micro and macro levels. Migrants and refugees with greater levels of social capital have increased individual prosperity and improved livelihoods (Myroniuk and Vearey 2014; Jacobsen, 2006). Moreover, research done by Hungwe (2015) on Zimbabweans in Johannesburg shows the role played by family and church networks as sources of social capital in aiding migration, settlement and social integration of Zimbabwean migrants.

However, questions remain on the normative nature of social capital and whether it may have negative consequences for those who acquire it (Myroniuk and Vearey, 2014). To concur with Myroniuk and Vearey (2014) International Organisation for Migration (IOM) (2013) report highlights that social networks are instrumental at the beginning of the migration process for migrants and the role of networks in improving migrant well-being diminishes over time. While Bourdieu (1986; 1994) does not take an interest in whether the effects of social capital are positive or negative. Putnam (1995) however qualifies that individuals make choices, but do not choose the principles of these choices and are therefore strongly influenced by structure. Sigona, (2012) research on the lives of undocumented migrants in United Kingdom, (UK) shows that being undocumented can and does impact social relations, as findings showed that the population under study faces difficulty in liaising with other documented migrants and the host populace. Young undocumented migrants in UK rely on secrets and lies to protect themselves and though family networks are crucial in their lives their lack of status makes them dependant, thereby being disempowered (Sigona 2012).

Hungwe's (2015) study on social capital on Zimbabweans showed that networks sometimes inhibit migrant integration into the host community. Hungwe (2015: 11) stated the following;

> *These networks are very useful in providing information regarding jobs, accommodation among other important issues. However, the form of social capital found in these networks is mainly bonding rather than bridging social capital. This means that Zimbabwean migrants are not really exposed to radically different information and resources from each other because they mix and live within similar worlds or similar networks.*

To concur with Hungwe, (Woolcock and Narayan, 2000) reveal the costs and dangers of social capital as it creates bondage rather than bridges for individuals to use to get ahead. Furthermore, for Crisp, (2003) issues of livelihoods and self-reliance from a technical perspective, such as financial resources are of importance, but there is also a need to link the question of livelihoods with the issues of rights and protection. Undocumented migrants depend on networks, which mostly are more vested in informal channels. Crush (2005) and Landau (2007) noted that many international migrants rely on the informal economy as they face difficulties in accessing employment and are often compelled to work informally because of their inability to access necessary documentation. Vearey (2008) further argues that individuals working within the informal economy within South African cities are considered among the most marginalised, and dependent on survivalist strategies, such as social networks.

As shown above, most migrants especially the undocumented base their livelihoods on social capital. Informal channels and networks are used as survival strategies, when one is undocumented mostly their lives are more on surviving than getting ahead. The above literature highlights the fact that social networks cannot protect and enhance migrant livelihoods in the long term, therefore, there is need to focus on the role played by documentation on the livelihoods of regularised Zimbabwean migrants.

3.0 CHAPTER THREE- RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This chapter shows how I conducted the study. This chapter presents the research methodology, research design, research population, study location, data collection tools, how data was analysed and interpreted, reliability and validity of the research and the limitations to the study. A section on ethical considerations is also presented in this chapter.

3.1 Research Design

People as individuals or as researchers live in a common world but when it comes to how they perceive the world it is different and this leads to social researchers to use different paradigms as a way of viewing the world. Denzin and Lincoln (2000) postulate that the paradigm selected, guides the researcher in philosophical assumptions about the research and in the selection of tools, instruments, participants and methods used in the study. This showing that a paradigm is a researcher's platform for the respective study. It is uncommon for a qualitative researcher to use quantitative methods because of the distinctions in the epistemological and axiological assumption in each research paradigm (Guba and Lincoln, 2005).

This research is more aligned to a phenomelogical approach. According to Gage **(**1989) and Ponterotto (2005), phenomelogical approach illuminate the paradigm of personal subjective experiences, and in this approach people cannot be reduced to the past, the past is influential, but it does not determine the present. According to Lester (1999), phenomenology is concerned with the study of experience from the perspectives of individuals and this approach enables surfacing of deep issues and making voices heard. Lester, (1999) further postulates that phenomenological methods are particularly effective at bringing to the fore the experiences and perception of individuals from perspectives and therefore challenging structural or normative assumptions. In this study lived experiences of regularised Zimbabwean migrants are being sought and examined, to find out what their present is and their future in terms of their livelihoods. When undocumented migrants get documented it is usually assumed that their lives will improve, therefore, this study is based on a phenomelogical approach which aims to understand the reality of the livelihoods of regularised Zimbabwean migrants, in Johannesburg.

3.1.1 Case study approach

The study is placed within a framework of a case study through a qualitative inquiry, where the aim is to try to understand how documented Zimbabwean migrants are making a living in Johannesburg, South Africa. Case studies are a strategy of inquiry in which the researcher explores in depth a program, event, activity, process, or one or more individuals (Babbie 2013; Yin 2003). Yin (2009) postulates that a case study research, assumes that examining the context and other complex conditions related to the case or cases, being studied are integral to understanding the case and this provides the rich descriptions or the insightful explanations that might arise.

A hallmark of case study research is the use of multiple data sources, a strategy which also enhances data credibility (Patton 1990; Yin, 2003). Potential data sources may include documentation, archival records, interviews, physical artefacts, direct observations, and participant-observation (Baxter and Jack 2008). In this study the researcher's case study is that of regularised Zimbabwean migrants in Johannesburg and as will be shown in the next sub sections, I employed interviews and secondary sources in form of published documents. Partly direct observations, were used by chance, when I had the opportunity to go to participants' homes and their workplace, I would view their workplace and the state of their houses, would also tell a story about their way of living.

3.1.2Qualitative Research Method

For this study, a qualitative approach is appropriate and has been employed as it is exploratory and descriptive in nature, and it gives insight into why and how these events or actions take place rather than just presenting a phenomenon (Creswell 2003; 2009). A qualitative approach suits the goal of this study, which is to explore livelihood experiences of regularised Zimbabweans and understand their livelihood strategies, challenges, opportunities and outcomes. For Patton and Cochran, (2002) qualitative research is primarily exploratory and allows the researcher to gain insights into the problem, and a deeper understanding of the meaning of human experience. Patton and Cochran (2002: 2) states the following;

> *Qualitative research is characterized by its aims, which relate to understanding some aspects of social life, and its methods which (in general) generate words, rather than numbers, as for analysis.*

Hoepfl (1997) postulate that unlike quantitative researchers who seek causal determination, prediction, and generalization of findings, qualitative researchers seek instead illumination, understanding, and extrapolation to similar situations. As a qualitative research, the purpose of the study is to understand the range of livelihood experiences that documented Zimbabweans under the ZDP and ZSP draw upon, the strategies they employ in their attempts to earn a living in Johannesburg and to establish whether documentation has a bearing on what people do to secure their lives and wellbeing. Guba and Lincoln (1994) extrapolate that the strengths of qualitative research derive primarily from its inductive approach, its focus on specific situations or people, and its emphasis on words rather than numbers.

Some of the advantages of using qualitative approach are that it is the most appropriate for studying complex and sensitive questions, as the researcher has the opportunity to prepare the subjects before asking sensitive questions (Patton, 1990; Creswell, 1998). For this study, the issue of livelihoods and documentation is always a sensitive one, as participants would be reminded of their past experiences when they were undocumented and I as the researcher had to be aware of how to ask sensitive questions without putting emotional stress on the participants. Therefore, a qualitative inquiry goes hand in hand with the sustainable livelihood framework, as the theory enables people to describe, explain the way they live, in their own words, not with numbers.

3.2 Sampling

3.2.1Research Population

This section provides the demographic characteristics of participants in the study. For Denzin and Lincoln, (1994) sampling involves selecting elements that represent a certain criterion. The study population comprised of 15 adults above 18 years of age documented under the Zimbabwe Documentation Project and Zimbabwe Special Permit and 1 key informant from a labour union, (MIWUSA). The study included both low and high-skilled workers, who live

in Florida and Turfontein, Johannesburg and my respondents were both Shona and Ndebele speaking people.

Of the 15 participants 8 (eight) were women and 7(seven) were men. Eight of the participants in this study are married, 2(two) are widows and the remaining (five) 5 are singles. Findings reveal that there are a mixed education levels among the respondents. 4 (four) of the participants have Ordinary Level, 5(five) of them have acquired their degrees in different fields, 5 also have their national certificates in different fields and only 1(one) has a junior certificate. This revealing the fact that all participants had basic education before coming to South Africa.

The age of the respondents ranged from 28 to 54 years. The age of participants showed that most of the respondents came here in South Africa in their youth and a few came in their late 40s and 50s. Most of the participants in this study have spent approximately eight to ten years in South Africa, looking for employment opportunities, to secure their livelihoods. Levine (2014) postulates that mostly a livelihood analysis takes the household as its basic unit of analysis, which puts a stronger focus on the economic side of livelihoods. Levine (2014), further postulates that livelihoods cannot be understood satisfactorily by taking only the household level. Levine (2014: 11) states that,

> *Some decisions and outcomes can best be understood by looking at a household collectively as single team; but in other ways goals, strategies, activities and outcomes have to be understood at individual level, with the household acting as an arena of 'struggle and negotiation' between people of different generations, sexes, etc.*

Therefore, this study will not take a gendered analysis stance, as gender is only one aspect of identity (Levine, ibid). The study will focus more on individuals as unit of analysis, as in this study, one or two family members in a household maybe regularised under the Zimbabwe Documentation Project and the Zimbabwe Special Permits. Therefore, more focus is put on individuals' experiences, goals, aspirations and expectations.

Table 1 below highlights the demographic characteristics of the research participants.

Demographic information of participants

Participants-Pseudonyms	**Age**	**Marital Status**	**Education**	**Location**	**Employment**
Morris	28	Single	Ordinary Level	Turfontein	Gardener and security guard
Herbert	36	Married	Degree in Economics and marketing	Florida	Lecturer
Memory	34	Single	Ordinary Level	Turfontein	Vendor
Lucas	33	Married	National Diploma in Agriculture	Turfontein	Restaurant manager
Sharon	34	Married	Ordinary level	Florida	Vendor
Brian	52	Married	National certificate	Turfontein	Vendor
Diana	54	Widow	Secretarial studies	Florida	Domestic worker
Mama marshal	30	Married	Fashion designer	Turfontein	Domestic worker
Liyah	36	Married	Ordinary level	Florida	Domestic worker
Gladys	46	Widow	Zimbabwe Junior Certificate/form 2	Turfontein	Company Cleaner
Byson	33	Married	Degree in Economics and marketing	Florida	Business/ company owner
Derick	36	Single	Degree - Accounting	Florida	Accountant
Tsitsi	41	Single	Degree-Sociology	Florida	Teacher
Luba law Sithole	30	Single	Diploma in engineering	Turfontein	Boilermaker
Nkosinathi	35	Married	Degree-marketing	Florida	Teacher

3.2. 2 Sampling techniques

To diversify my findings, I had to select my respondents across socio-economic lines, through using qualitative sampling methods which were purposive and snowballing. Purposive sampling was employed and I selected participants who were going to generate useful data for the research. Purposeful sampling is widely used in qualitative research for the identification and selection of information rich cases related to the phenomenon of interest (Patton 2002; Babbie and Mouton, 2001). According to Babbie and Mouton (2001) in purposive sampling, the sample units are chosen because they have features or characteristics which will enable detailed exploration and understanding of the central themes which the researcher wishes to study.

It is essential for the researcher to understand how to appropriately gain access to the intended participants. In this study, I initially used personal connections. Personal connections and referrals were employed in accessing participant. This not only allowed the researcher access to participants but also acceptance from the participants, making it easier to conduct the study. I also used snow balling in the research, to facilitate the identification of hard to find cases. Patton (2002) postulates that snow balling helps to identify cases of interest from sampling people who know people that generally have similar characteristics, who in turn know people with the same characteristics. This allowing existing participants or contacts to reach their social networks and refer the researcher to other potential participants (Patton, 2002; 1999).

However, there are limitations on snowballing technique that the researcher had to be aware of. A disadvantage of this approach however, is that one tends to find the same people, since they would have similar characteristics and the informants that one finds might be of the same kind (Liempt and Bilger, 2009; Henry, 2009). To avoid bias, as I stated above, (used purposive sampling), I first interviewed participants with diverse backgrounds and characteristics through purposive and then later used snowballing to complement my data collection.

3.2.3 Study Location

According to Vearey (2012) and Jinnah (2010), Johannesburg the continent's wealthiest city, attracts both foreign-born and internal migrants, due to a perceived opportunity to improve their livelihoods. The foreign-born account for approximately 385,764, or 9 percent, of Johannesburg's residents (Statistics SA, 2012). The focus of the study was in inner city Johannesburg, in Turfontein, and Florida a suburb in Roodepoort, West of Johannesburg. These areas selected have never been studied before and this is another key gap in this study. I also found out that the two-study location have never been hot spots for xenophobic violence, unlike other areas like Hill brow, Alexandra, to mention a few. Geographic diversity also enables reflection on other parts which Zimbabweans occupy, to find out how they are making a living in these respective study areas.

Figure 3: Turfontein Johannesburg South, 2190



Turfontein is near Gold Reef City, south of the Johannesburg Central Business District. Turfontein is situated south of the Johannesburg Central Business District.

Figure 4: Florida, Roodepoort, 1709



Florida is a small suburb located in South Africa's thriving Gauteng Province. The settlement is located around 16 kilometers away from Central Johannesburg.

3.3 Data collection tools

3.3.1 Interviews

An interview is a joint product of what interviewees and interviewer's talk about and how they talk to each other (Patton, 1994; 1990). The purpose of interviews is to have an appreciation of another person's perspective which is regarded as 'meaningful' (Patton, 1990). In depth, semi structured interviews were employed and this is because they are optimal for collecting data on individual's history, perspectives and experiences (Patton, 1990). In depth interviews refer to face to face encounters between the researcher and informants, directed towards understanding informants' perspectives on their lives, experiences or situations as expressed in their own words (Patton, 2002).

An exploration and examination of experiences, perceptions and perspectives was done through in depth semi structured interviews. It is difficult to determine whether any observed adjustment in livelihood outcomes following legalisation is fully due to the change in migration status or rather to some unobserved individual characteristics (Fasani 2015). Therefore, the use of open-ended questions allowed credibility and authenticity to the study as participants commented, described their experiences and feelings towards their lives. An interview guide was also used and in most cases I would use English when interviewing participants. Most participants preferred speaking in English; vernacular languages like Shona and Ndebele were rarely used in most cases. Vernacular language was mainly used when the interviewee could not understand what I was asking in English, so I had to clarify in either Ndebele or Shona.

Bouma and Ling, (2004) emphasise that a key to a successful interview is giving participants the opportunity to share information in their own words and in their own way, as this allows the researcher to probe where necessary to understand fully the matter at hand or the topic being discussed. In capturing the livelihood experiences of regularised Zimbabwean migrants in Turfontein and Florida I asked the participants about their lives before being documented, their struggles and survival tactics. The interviews also dwelled on their challenges, opportunities and livelihood strategies when they became recipients of the Zimbabwe Documentation Project and Zimbabwe Special Permit.

In the process of collecting data the participants chose their own places where they felt comfortable to talk freely about themselves. Usually would meet at a café/ restaurant, and place of work or at their homes. Interviews lasted between 45 and 60 minutes. Participants also chose to be recorded or not to be recorded. For those who were not comfortable with being tape recorded I had to take notes during the interview sessions.

I also had the opportunity to interview a key informant from Migrant Workers Union of South Africa (MIWUSA), Mandla. A key informant interview is a loosely structured conversation with people who have specialized knowledge about the topic the researcher wishes to understand (Carter and Beaulieu, 1992). Carter and Beaulieu (1992) further explain that, key informants' interview is a powerful data-gathering tool in qualitative research, as a key informant is regarded as an expert or knowledgeable person who imparts important information to the interviewer. During interviewing the key informant, I did not restrict myself to the interview guide as I was interested in knowing more about the regularisation process and the birth of Zimbabwe Workers Union of South Africa, (ZIWUSA), currently known as MIWUSA, an organisation which dealt with helping Zimbabweans get documented, thus my part was to listen and learn more from the respective informant.

3.3.2 Secondary Data Source

In this study, I also used secondary information as it plays a major role from the beginning of the research and also supplements the primary data from the qualitative interviews. Stewart and Kamins (1993) postulates that secondary research involves the collection of data, which has been already collected to solve a problem. It is necessary for the researcher to check the relevance of the information collected (Stewart and Kamins, 1993). The secondary data was in form of reports, journals written about the documentation process. I engaged in intensive literature search via the internet, books, academic journals, newspapers, policy documents and any other secondary data that gave useful information on policies, livelihoods and on the regularization of Zimbabweans. A critical evaluation and synthesis of information was implemented at the beginning and at the end of the study and this was done through examining commonalities, consistence and contradictions.

3.4 Data analysis

The data collected was analysed through thematic analysis. Thematic analysis was used to analyse data since it helps to extract descriptive information concerning the experiences of regularised Zimbabweans in Johannesburg and to construct meaning to understand their perceptions and opinions about their livelihoods and documentation. This process consisted of the following stages reviewing the data, examining, comparing and contrasting, and interpreting meaningful key ideas. According to Braun and Clarke (2006) thematic analysis is a qualitative analytic method for identifying, analysing and reporting patterns (themes) within data. Braun and Clarke, (2006:82) state that,

> *A theme captures something important about the data in relation to the research question and represents some level of patterned response or meaning within the data set.*

For Richardson, et al. (2000) after careful transcription, a researcher must avoid an anecdotal approach, and when checking themes, the researcher must ensure that themes are coherent, consistent and distinctive. In order to analyse my data, firstly I did an evaluation of my field notes, reducing the volumes of the long transcriptions, looking for the "how" and "what", in people sayings or responses. This also involved editing and correcting notes made in the field, and tying up loose ends so as to make the process more manageable (Marshall, 2006). I then examined the responses looking for commonalities and differences, bearing in mind to keep the voice of the participants, by paying attention to spoken words, the context, consistency and contradiction of views, thereby identifying potential themes.

Another important aspect of data analysis is generating themes and categories. I identified codes, through open coding, and this helped me reach conclusions on the data I had. This stage of analysis requires the researcher to be more focused and be able to pick up underlying issues in the collected data (Marshall, 2006). Therefore, in this process interviews were systematically read and key issues, concepts and opinions identified through thematization.

3.5 Research Validity and Reliability

According to Golafshani (2003), the use of reliability and validity is common in quantitative research and now it is being reconsidered in the qualitative research paradigm. Validity and reliability are two factors which any qualitative researcher should be concerned about while designing a study, analysing results and judging the quality of the study (Patton 2001; Silverman, 2005). Patton (2002) extrapolates that the credibility in quantitative research depends on instrument construction, while in qualitative research, the researcher is the instrument. To extrapolate on the role of a researcher (Winter, 2000) asserts that the difference between the two paradigms is that quantitative researchers attempt to disassociate themselves as much as possible from the research process, qualitative researchers have come to embrace their involvement and role within research. Therefore, the researcher's role is crucial as it influences the type and quality of data being collected.

To ensure reliability in qualitative research, examination of trustworthiness is crucial (Golafshani, 2003). In qualitative research discovering the truth through measures of reliability and validity is replaced by the idea of trustworthiness, which is defensible and establishing confidence in the findings (Hipps, 1993; Mishler, 2000). In this study, I came across some participants who were not willing to divulge information about their lives, especially when I asked about if there have been changes in their lives after the regularisation process and if they are getting enough income. For them to be open and to talk freely, firstly I earned their trust through explaining to them the reasons why I am conducting this study. I had to explain to them that I was not sent by any organisation, especially Home Affairs. Most of the participants thought I am from Home Affairs, and I was there to evaluate their situations, to see if they qualify for the renewal of their permits. I made it clear that this study was for academic purposes only. On the other hand, some respondents shared their experiences without hesitance, as they saw me as one of their own, however I had to be careful not to get attached or emotional, as this would distort the data I was being given.

Furthermore, some of the participants tended to exaggerate about certain aspects of their lives, and this became problematic, as I was not getting the intended information. To resolve the issue, after every interview, I would reassess my work, to find out if I had missed any important information, and to identity new information, which I would want to use in the next

interview. Identifying new information on every interview would allow the researcher to verify the accuracy of the information given before.

To avoid bias, I engaged multiple methods in this study. Golafshani (2003) points out that engaging multiple methods, such as, observation, interviews and recordings leads to more valid, reliable and diverse construction of realities. During my field work, I used interviews as my main data collection tool, however, in some cases, I would also observe, participants' workplaces, and where they lived. For Creswell and Miller (2000) reliability and validity are conceptualized as trustworthiness, rigor and quality in qualitative paradigm and to eliminate bias and increase the researcher's truthfulness of a proposition triangulation must be used. Triangulation is defined by Creswell and Miller, (2000: 126), as

> *A validity procedure where researchers search for convergence among multiple and different sources of information to form themes or categories in a study*

Therefore, to ensure validity in this study, I had to triangulate my sources. I employed interviews as the main tool for data collection, included the observation methods, and as I observed I wrote field notes as well. In addition to my sources, I also included a key informant from a labour union MIWUSA, to achieve research reliability and validity. Carter and Beaulieu (1992) explains that key informants' interview is a powerful data-gathering tool in qualitative research, as a key informant is regarded as an expert or knowledgeable person who imparts important information to the interviewer. Therefore, to establish the truth and to achieve reliability and validity in this study, as the researcher I had to triangulate my sources, which enabled data collection, interpreting and theorising of findings and data analysis.

3.6 Limitations

Firstly, a qualitative inquiry enabled this research to collect information on the livelihood experiences of regularised Zimbabweans in Turfontein and Florida, Johannesburg. However, one of the limitations in this study was that I sampled a limited number of regularised Zimbabweans in Turfontein and Florida, as I employed a purposive and snow-balling sampling strategy. The study samples did not present every regularised Zimbabwean in Johannesburg, South Africa in general.

Furthermore, though it was not difficult to find participants in this study, it was a challenge to get time from the respondents during the week. I had to attend gatherings such as church services on Sundays and every Saturday I had to go to Florida market Square, where people buy and sell staff informally. In Turfontein I usually met my participants at their homes on Sundays and they were a few cases, where I interviewed participants during their working hours. Therefore, accessibility was not a problem in this study; however, availability of participants proved to be a challenge in this study.

During my field work, another limitation which I encountered was that some of the participants were not willing to give much information on their lives and what their day to day activities were. My motives as a researcher were in question as some participants were suspicious of what I was going to do with the information they were giving me. At first I, had explained to the participants what the research was about with the help of the Participant Information Sheet, (see appendix 1). When I realised that some of the participants appeared suspicious and were withholding information I had to explain to them the purpose of the study with my own words and using vernacular language for them to understand. Lastly, during my data analysis, I realised though I was exploring the livelihood experiences of regularised Zimbabwean migrants more research is needed on the impact of regularisation of regularised migrants. For instance, in this study results were more exploratory aligned to qualitative work only, and to assess the impact of regularisation on the livelihoods of regularised Zimbabwean migrants both qualitative and quantitative methods should be adopted to complement each other. Therefore, though the study was exploratory and descriptive in nature, an economic research (quantitative) is needed for future research, in order not to leave out important aspects when partaking a livelihood analysis on regularised Zimbabwean migrants.

3.7 Ethical issues

Conducting research on humans presents several challenges and ethical behaviour by the researcher must be taken into consideration. This study was approved by the University of the Witwatersrand's Human Research Ethics Committee (non-medical) with the clearance certificate protocol number H16/09/16. (See Appendix V). Ethical standards were given priority during and after the collection of data to protect the rights of participants and of the researcher. The following steps were taken:

Informed Consent

It was made clear to interviewees that participation is voluntary and full informed consent was gained prior to taking part in the interview. No participant was coerced into participating without their consent. Written consent to participate, as well as to be audio-recorded during the interview was requested from the participants. All participants were advised that involvement is completely voluntary and they may choose to stop their contribution at any point and withdraw their participation without facing any consequences. They were also informed that there will be no individual benefit from participating, but as a collective, the participants will be contributing to academic knowledge and development.

Protection of identities- Anonymity and Confidentiality

Participants were also informed that they do not have to give their name or may provide a false name to protect their identity. Other information that might identify the respondent was anonymised during the interviews. Interviewees were informed that neither their participation in the research nor the contents of the interviews will be disclosed to anyone outside the research. This was done by assuring participants that only the researcher and supervisor will have access to the interview material, such as audio-recordings and transcripts (Haverkamp et al 2005). Where access to individuals had been through other people known to them, (snowballing) interviewees were assured that confidentiality regarding the content of interviews will be maintained.

Offering advice or assistance to an interviewee who was being exploited at work, or having problems was attempting for the researcher, But I the researcher was clear about the limits to help or information that I could provide, mostly I would send participants to Lawyers for Human Rights if necessary to get professional help.

4 CHAPTER FOUR – FINDINGS AND ANALYSIS

This chapter presents the findings of the study based on the analysis of the data. The main question of the study sought to understand the livelihood experiences of regularised Zimbabwean migrants in Johannesburg. This chapter answers four sub questions, explains how the livelihood framework was applied in the study and later discusses the findings engaging with the literature reviewed.

4.1 Presentation of findings

1. What are the livelihood strategies of regularised Zimbabwean migrants in Johannesburg?

The first sub question looked at the livelihood activities and resources (assets) that regularised Zimbabwean migrants employ in reconstructing their lives and livelihoods in Johannesburg, South Africa. This question sought to find out what resources are available or are disposable to regularised Zimbabwean migrants. It also sought to find out how they develop their own livelihood strategies to sustain their lives, now that they are documented. In this section of findings, I looked at the economic, political and social strategies that they use to make a living. According to Levine (2014) it can be difficult to get 'inside' a livelihood directly and yet unhelpful to understand it from a great distance. One useful way of approaching livelihood rationality is by contrasting what people do with what they do not do (Levine, 2014). Therefore, in this study my focus was after diverse livelihood strategies that respondents are partaking, and how their strategies have changed after the regularisation project. The following are the findings;

Economic strategies

i. Self-Employment/ Entrepreneurship

Most participants in this study indicated that before being documented they were all over the place, but the most important aspect which kept them surviving was self-employment. Even well-educated Zimbabweans who were not documented before the regularisation process also engaged in self-employment as a survival strategy. However, results from this study reflect the prominence of entrepreneurship as a livelihood strategy for both low skilled and skilled workers. Hungwe (2013) drawing from (Brettell and Alstaff, 2007) noted that there is a higher rate of self-employment among immigrants than local native-born individuals. In-

depth interviews also indicated that vending is most common among the low skilled regularised Zimbabwean migrants in providing for their families. Vending has become a livelihood strategy for mostly low skilled workers. In this study, it has been revealed that vending for others is the main source of income. Brian stated that:

> *Eeeeh I am a vendor, I sell whatever I find on demand on the market you will find buyers, because here five rand (R5) is a lot of money, unlike in Zimbabwe.*

When I asked Memory a vendor who lives in Turfontein, working in Johannesburg, Central Business District (CBD) if she can fend for her family through vending she says the following;

> *Yes, I can take care of my family through selling and I am happy because I work for myself without anyone harassing me, no boss"*

From the above reiterations, I argue that self- employment and entrepreneurship have become a livelihood strategy as there are few employment opportunities for low skilled workers. According to Bommes and Kolb (2006) entrepreneurship has been welcomed as strategy to increase autonomy of migrants. Jinnah (2013), further describes South Africa as a country with minimal employment prospects in the formal economy but with booming business opportunities in its cities, townships and rural areas. For low skilled workers, formal employment does not present itself as a strategy they would employ for their livelihoods. Most migrants, who do not possess the skills or the education to enable them to find good paid, secure employment in the formal sector, settle for work in the informal sector (Jinnah, 2010; 2013). Thereby, self-employment in the informal sector provides an alternative to livelihoods of regularised Zimbabwean migrants in this study.

On the other hand, for high skilled workers, vending is mainly for supplementing their incomes. Chirau (2014) extrapolates that engaging in the informal economy, entails a deliberate choice based on the recognition that the formal economy is no longer in itself a sufficient basis for urban livelihoods. When I asked one of my participants, Nkosinathi if teaching is the only source of income he has, he stated the following;

> *I am a teacher from Monday to Friday, on Saturdays I will be parked at the Florida Market Place selling fish, Sunday I go to church and I even have clients there who*

buy fish from me. I cannot rely on my salary only I had to do something that brings cash fast.

Florida Market is an informal place, where people sell their goods, second hand clothes, toiletries, food, among other items. The Saturday market is in a form of a flea market where anyone who has something to sell can sell after paying sixty rands (R60) to secure your place. Budlender and Fauvelle-Aymar (2014; 9) stated that;

South Africa has a relatively small informal sector compared to other Sub- Saharan African countries, yet International Migrants (IM) are over represented in this sector.

Budlender and Fauvelle-Aymar (2014) further postulate that the reason behind overrepresentation of foreign born migrants in the informal sector is that the respective sector has the lowest entry cost into the labour market and that they are importing types of activities which are prevalent in their countries of origin. To concur with the assertion above, Sharon one of the participants in this study stated the following;

I used to come and buy grocery, basics, like soap, cooking oil and other things which were scarce in Zimbabwe here, (meaning South Africa) and sell in Zimbabwe. I did that for a long time and we were not getting much but it was better, tairarama (we were surviving), but later it was no longer profitable, at the border they will charge you huge amounts or if you cannot pay they will take your items, So I decided to come and work here. Money is valuable here; in Zimbabwe I was selling but getting paper money. Do you remember, that time of trillion dollars? ... (asking the researcher), Yaah I was not getting any profit, because who would want trillion dollars in South Africa, when buying stock, so coming here and selling it is making me take care of my family.

Therefore, self-employment and entrepreneurship is one of the economic strategies that regularised Zimbabwean migrants are employing. Though, self-employment is more aligned to low skilled workers, this study has shown that both low skilled and high skilled workers are employing this strategy for the betterment of their lives.

Remittances

One respondent from this study acknowledged that in some cases, she receives cash from her family and friends in Zimbabwe and Johannesburg. Though South Africa has various cheap and available basic commodities, migrants are also receiving money from their countries to help them sustain their families, especially in times of need. It is usually assumed that when migrants emigrate from their countries, they will be able to sustain their families, but moving out of your country does not necessarily mean financial stability, as migrants face specific challenges which undermine their livelihood activities. Tsitsi stated the following;

> *Life becomes tough sometimes in South Africa, I am working, yes, but sometimes I do not get paid on time, I have to pay rent, take care of my child, as a single mother it is tough, so my family sometimes send money to me, to cover all those costs till I get paid. The problem is I am on contract and I am not paid by the government but by the school, so sometimes they tell you, we do not have funds yet, and what can you do, you just have to wait, you can wait for months till you get paid.*

When I asked her how they send the money to her, she said,

> *They send the money through a trustworthy bus driver or at times through the bank, mostly Post Office, and I get my money, it is very hard to accept money from your parents, when I am the one supposed to take care of them, but sometimes I do not have a choice, I have to pay rent, fees for my child.*

Nkosinathi also a teacher acknowledged the same, he said the following;

> *Foreign teachers here do not have permanent positions, unless you have an ID card I am on a temporary contract, they (South African employer) do as they please with us because they know we desperate for work. I am a Maths teacher, Head of that Department and what do I get peanuts, late payments, no benefits at all, and loads of work, can you imagine? (asking the researcher). So, that is why I do not depend on salary only, but ngiya dhoba dhoba (I try to do other things that being me cash).*

However, not all participants are receiving remittances from their country of origin, as most participants in this study cited that they are the ones responsible for sending cash and grocery to their families in Zimbabwe.

ii. *Renting out rooms*

Another source of income for regularised Zimbabwean migrants is from renting out rooms to other migrants. This has become a livelihood strategy to minimise costs of living on their part and supplement their incomes. Very few foreign migrants' own houses and flats. Participants in this study acknowledged that they are tenants where they live. However, they have found a way to maximise on that through subletting other rooms, to other migrants. This strategy is prominent in both areas of study. I found out that most participants in this study could rent full houses, when they got documented since they had the requirements needed to rent a house. Lucas a restaurant manager stated that;

> *When I was, undocumented I used to live in a one bedroom flat (mumacurtain), where one room will be divided by a curtain. It is easier now easy for me to look for better shelter for my family, I now have the required documents, so I can rent the full house, and some other rooms I am not using are being rented by my co-workers both Zimbabweans. I usually take single people it is better that way, because I do not want a crowded a house, I have kids you know".*

I further asked Lucas if renting out some of his rooms to other migrants is beneficial to him and he said;

> *Renting the full house costs, me 4200 rands per month and I have two tenants who pay 1500 rands each, so that's 3000rands I am getting and will only pay 1200rands, so it is helping me a lot. People especially migrants want safe accommodation, people they can trust, and who can you trust except a fellow Zimbabwean also. Zimbabweans prefer to stay with Zimbabweans, if you are a Nigerian you stay with Nigerians. If I could buy a house I would make huge profits, I tell you.*

The above reiterations, highlight that foreign migrants trust and depend on each other in various ways. Firstly, though Lucas is benefiting from renting out other rooms to fellow

migrants, he is providing protection and security to them and in return they are doing the same to Lucas and his family. Research done by (Sigona, 2012) on irregular migrants in the United Kingdom, shows that undocumented migrants find support and friendship in their fellow nationals. It can be argued that social networks still play a role in the livelihood of migrants even if they have their documentation.

However, not all regularised Zimbabwean migrants in this study are making profits from renting out their rooms to other fellow migrants. Some participants have expressed concern on the exorbitant rental fees they are paying. Brian's expressions follow in the conversation below;

> *Brian*: *Our main problem is that rent is very expensive, because they know foreigners are very afraid to live in the ghettos and mikuku so they know we want safety and they charge you for that.*
>
> *Researcher: Afraid of what if I may ask?*
>
> *Brian: Xenophobia, you cannot live in Alexander, where they do not want foreigners, you will get killed, that is suicide kkkkkk (he laughs) and so that is why I decided to live in Turfontein in the backyard of my landlord its safe that way*
>
> *Researcher: How is it safe if I may ask?*
>
> *Brian: It is very rare for them to attack their fellow South African, they respect each other's property and if I get attacked no one would want to rent his backyard anymore, so he protects me. Even, when they were attacks in Johannesburg CBD in 2015, he warned me not to go to work, because they were attacking foreigners, especially those who sell in the streets.*

From the above findings, it can be noted that due to economic and safety reasons most regularised Zimbabwean migrants who can rent full houses, have taken it as a livelihood strategy to rent out rooms to other fellow migrants, and this is also part of building social networks.

iii. Formal employment

Competent and well skilled respondents in this study expressed gratitude for being regularised, as they are now able to look for better jobs which match with their qualifications. Legalization offers formerly undocumented immigrants the employment mobility to leave unfair or low-paying jobs (Koussoudji and Cobb-Clark, 2002). Koussoudji and Cobb-Clark, (2002) further postulate that legalization provides labour market mobility to move into jobs that reward existing human capital. A conversation with Herbert showed that some of the educated regularised Zimbabwean migrants in this study can get work in the formal sector. The conversation is as follows;

Researcher: Okay, tell me how you came to be in South Africa?

Herbert: I came after hearing people were getting 3 months' permit in the radio. By that time, I was in Zim, I saw it as an opportunity, then I came and later I heard that they (Home Affairs) are now giving working permits.

Researcher: Were you working at that time?

Herbert: Yes, I was working by then, at Delta, as a debtor's clerk

Researcher: So how was the process, when you were getting your ZDP permits

Herbert: For me it was okay, it was an opportunity I had to take, because before getting the ZDP permit in 2010, I worked for a certain company and this required me to renew my passport every three months at the border and come back it was very expensive, so I was very grateful that I got the permit.

Researcher: What qualifications do you have if I may ask?

Herbert: Bcom marketing and economics, and now I have an assessor moderator course which I did here in South Africa

Researcher: Ok, so do you feel that your Zim qualifications are recognized here in South Africa?

Herbert: Yes, I did a convention, for the Bcom marketing and Economics degree at SAQA and it became a Bachelor of Technology in marketing

Researcher: What jobs have you held in SA so far?

Herbert: I am now working for Institute for Quality, as a facilitator and moderator for learner course or I can say lecturer and I am happy because it is hard to find jobs South Africa, at least I had to use my qualifications to look for a decent job

Furthermore, Derick an accountant stated the following;

When I came here in 2007 to look for work, I thought it was going to be easy to find a job, since I was qualified enough. You know (referring to the researcher) when you are in Zimbabwe people say accountants, Maths teachers, they are on demand, so you think you just going to send a CV and you will get thousands of responses from prospect employers but that was not the case. I came here and struggled for three years no decent work, no permit; it was horrible I tell you. For three good years, I worked as a waiter just to survive, and the surprising thing is, my boss knew I was a qualified accountant, I even did his books for him, but he (the boss) never thought of giving me a better job, it was just a matter of working to survive. When it was announced that whoever is working without a permit, must come and apply with an affidavit from the employer as proof that I was working, I saw it as an opportunity to look for a better job. When I got the permit, I started applying for a more professional job while I was working at the restaurant. One day I got a call from an agent, who called me up for an interview, to work for a certain company in Fourways. I was successful enough and here I am working as an accountant in Fourways.

The above conversation revealed that educated and competent regularised Zimbabwean migrants are now able to find formal jobs and are no longer being under employed. This finding also highlights that the private sector is more prominent in hiring foreign migrants than the government, as most well educated participants in this study fall under the private sector. The question which remains unanswered is why is the private sector more prominent in hiring foreign employees than the government itself?

However, it must be noted that not all educated migrants in this study can find employment in the formal sector as some are struggling to pursue their careers. Diana had this to say in the following conversation;

Researcher: What qualifications do you have if I may ask?

Diana: I did Secretarial studies in Zimbabwe

Researcher: Ok, did you have a job in Zimbabwe, before coming here?

Diana: Yes, I worked as a secretary at Charter Rural Council in Mvuma

Researcher: What jobs have you held in South Africa so far?

Diana: Now I am a domestic worker.

Researcher: Okay, so how did you find this job?

Diana: Through an agent which deals with employing people.

Researcher: So, you get your income from domestic work

Diana: Yes, I do not have time to look for other jobs since I stay with my boss I am always busy. I do not have a starting point

From the above conversation, I argue that not all educated migrants find their way in the formal sector, some remain stuck in the informal sector because they lack essential information, limited opportunities and level of education and skills may be not competent enough in the labour market, as they assume. Therefore, I assert that the livelihoods of regularised Zimbabwean migrants vary according to employment opportunities, competency, levels of education and access to information.

iv. Diversification of sources of income

Employing diverse income generating activities is another livelihood strategy that is being adopted by regularised Zimbabwean migrants in this study. According to Timalsina, (2007) income diversification and enhancement enables migrants and their families at the origin to better cope with shocks and uncertainty. This notion also applies in the lives of the participants in this study as regularised Zimbabwean migrants are involved in two or more economic activities to supplement their basic incomes. The reason cited by participants in this study is the uncertainty on the security of their jobs in South Africa. Most of them argued that though they are regularised they do not feel that they can base their livelihoods on one source of income. When I asked Morris what he does for a living, he stated the following;

Since 2010 I have been working as a gardener, but now I am also a security guard at night at a certain company. South Africans here do not want dangerous job like a being a guard, especially at night. But us we want money to live, so that is a risk we

are willing to take, than to die poor. But South Africans will not risk their lives for that, which is why you find my sister (referring to the researcher), most security companies have Zimbabweans, but you will never notice them, because they disguise themselves as South Africans, so that they will not be bullied that a foreigner is a security guard. People do not take that serious and it is also for their protection.

During this conversation, I further asked Morris what he meant by saying they disguise themselves for protection, and he stated the following;

They (referring to Zimbabwean security guards) disguise themselves by pretending to be South Africans. You can only do that when you know one or two South African languages, especially Zulu and Sotho. Even security company owners they tell us, that *we have to know the language very well, so that we can be able to communicate with customers or any other person during working hours.*

Budlender and Fauvelle-Aymar (2014), postulate that international migrants are much more frequently in precarious employment than domestic migrants. Budlender and Fauvelle-Aymar (2014; 10) further states that;

International Migrants (IM) are more likely to have poor working conditions and to occupy positions that nationals are not willing to take. The higher probability of IM to be employed in informal or precarious activities is more expected internationally, at least for low skilled IM.

It must be considered that not only are low skilled workers involved in diversifying their sources of income also highly skilled participants in this study feel the need to diversify the sources of their income. Herbert stated that;

Researcher: So, what else do you do besides being a facilitator at your company?

Herbert: I teach students Mathematics especially those in Matric. Every Saturday and Sunday I have three or more students who will need extra lessons, and those who will be repeating their Matric I teach them in order for them to pass.

Researcher: Oooh okay, so how much do you charge if I may ask?

Herbert: Lessons for the whole month they pay 700rands and if it is towards exams for revision I add 150 rands to make it 850 rands

Researcher: So, you are making money hey?

Herbert: kkkkkk (laughs) kukiya kiya vahanzvadzi zviite (just trying to balance all sides, to make a living my sister)

Besides Herbert employing diverse sources of income, Nkosinathi a teacher in a private college in Florida also acknowledged that he sells fish every weekend to supplement his income. Nkosinathi stated that;

I am a teacher from Monday to Friday, on Saturdays I will be parked at the Florida Market Place selling fish, Sunday I go to church and I even have clients there who buy fish from me. I cannot rely on my salary only I had to do something that brings cash fast.

Research done by Jinnah (2013) on Somali migrants in Johannesburg showed that diverse range of livelihoods strategies that Somali are engaged in are not particularly matched to skills, education or experience, but rather to an ability to adapt to opportunities that exist. The same can also be said of regularised Zimbabwean migrants as they are grabbing any and every income generating opportunity that comes their way, to improve their lives and secure livelihoods. Timalsina (2007) extrapolates that diversification of sources of income is more related to livelihoods sustainability than improving. Livelihood sustainability or diversifying the earning opportunity, at household and individual level fosters improving livelihoods to the people (Timalsina, 2007). To conclude, Adger et al. (2002) posits that diversification and increasing income levels are beneficial for resilience. The concept of resilience will be discussed in this section as a social strategy, which regularised Zimbabwean migrants are employing.

Social strategies

v. Saving groups/ Marounds

Social networks in which people interact are integral to their livelihoods of regularised Zimbabwean migrants. Saving groups is one of the livelihood strategy that is helping regularised Zimbabweans to save and investment their money, who cannot access financial services, such as a bank account or credit. Chirau (2014) defines saving groups as revolving clubs where members meet fortnightly or every month-end to pay subscriptions that are

invested and later shared by members. Memory a vendor in Johannesburg when asked if she can make profit from selling, she stated the following;

> *Tinokandirana ndiri muma rounds (I am in a savings group), so it's better that way, I get more money every week we invest 50 rand and every month is 500rands.*

In Shona savings groups are called "marounds" and in South African language they call it stokvel. Chirau (2014) further postulates that savings group are a form of social security for the poor, however, interviews from this study show a different stance as well off participants have stated that they also engage in savings group as a supplement to their incomes. Nkosinathi a teacher at a school in Florida stated that;

> *I am in a Stokvel group with my other fellow teachers, I do not have a permanent position here, I am on contract, so this helps me to save my money and invest in something worthwhile.*

The above assertion from participants shows that social networks are prevalent in the livelihoods of regularised Zimbabwean migrants. Being documented only does not guarantee migrants protection and sustainability of their livelihoods, therefore from what I gather I argue that social capital is a form of intervention on the livelihoods of regularised Zimbabwean migrants.

vi. Linguistic strategies

Language plays a crucial role on the livelihoods of regularised Zimbabwean migrants, especially for those in the informal sector. Language is a key element for those in the informal sector, as they interact with diverse individuals. Holaday (2010) in her research noted that for migrants to be able to communicate they had to adopt, South African languages, to make their lives easier, to avoid xenophobic identification and for their businesses to grow. Brian a vendor in Johannesburg stated that;

> *I can speak Ndebele, so normally it's easy to learn to speak Zulu. So, I speak Zulu most of the time and a bit of Sotho. If you are surrounded with Sotho and Zulu speaking people you will learn eventually. Knowing their language is important*

because you must know what your customers want and what others are saying about you, who are also vendors like me.

Memory also stated that;

Tinotongotaurawo hapana yekutamba hatizivi kuty tikutaura Zulu, Pedi Tswana, tinongotaura kusvika tanzwanana (We just try to speak their language even though we do not whether we speaking Zulu, Pedi, Tswana, there is nothing we can do) but if you keep on interacting with them you will get used to speaking their language, and it will be better for our business.

Buscher (2013) in the study on refugees in Kampala noted that learning the local language in the country of settlement can become very important for their survival. Buscher (2013) explains that the ability to understand and communicate using the predominant language is essential for the integration into the South African society. Respondents in this study have adopted the native languages as a strategy which will benefit them in their business and for the protection of their livelihoods.

vii. Social networks

In this study, social capital also plays a role in the lives of regularised Zimbabwean migrants, as a social strategy to improve their livelihoods. According to Kobia and Cranfield (2009) most migrants rely on social capital when they are undocumented and in this study social networks are still relevant when one gets documented. Most participants in this study highlighted that personal networks helps them on dissemination of information as on job vacancy and it also helped them on the renewal of their permits in 2014. Findings in this study also reflected on how social capital can lead to economic benefits, as regularised Zimbabwean migrants are involved in savings groups. For Bourdieu and Wacquant (1992) social capital, which neither derives from nor is independent of the other forms, comprises social responsibilities, connections, or linkages, and under certain circumstances is convertible into economic capital. The conservation below shows the importance of savings groups in the lives of regularised Zimbabwean migrants;

Researcher: How many are you in your Stokvel/ savings group?

Memory: Ten

Researcher: If I may ask how many are Zimbabweans and South Africans?

Memory: Aaaaah, (appearing shocked that the researcher is asking such a question) we only Zimbabweans

Researcher: If I may ask why Zimbabweans, don't you work with South Africans also?

Memory: IIiiiiiiih you cannot work with South Africans in cases of money, they will run away with it and who will you tell when they are in their country

The above conversation shows that Zimbabweans do not trust South Africans, to be part of their livelihood activities. Participants reiterated that they can interact with fellow Zimbabweans through savings groups *(ma rounds*), and not any other nationality. Findings present the network theory which puts emphasis on the how significant interpersonal ties are in relation to the livelihoods of regularised Zimbabwean migrants. Social capital, according to Bourdieu (1994:90), is *"the sum of active or potential resources that are connected through the possession of a network of permanent relations of mutual acquaintance and recognition, which are more or less institutionalized, or, in other words, with the inclusion into a group"*. However not all strategies depend on social networks, though I can assert that migrants documented or undocumented both rely on social networks for some of their livelihood activities.

viii. Resilience

Adger et al (2002), posit that resilience is people's ability to cope all aspects of demographic change, including migration. On the other hand, social resilience is the ability to cope with and adapt to environmental and social change mediated through appropriate institutions (Adger et al. 2002). Porter et al. (2008) further extrapolate that social resilience is a relatively new concept which emphasises the importance of social context in coping with adversity. I argue that the concept of resilience can be applied to regularised Zimbabweans migrants' lives as part of their social strategy to build their lives in South Africa.

Most participants in this study expressed concern over xenophobic violence and sentiments from the South African public. Respondents acknowledged that they are afraid to live in and work in South Africa, however they reveal that they do not have a choice, as they are here in search of better lives which makes them strong and able to cope with volatile situations. Herbert expressed the following;

> *Crime is everywhere, even in Florida, though it is a quiet suburb, everyone minding their own business, you always find thieves everywhere. On my way to work I take a taxi to Johannesburg CBD, haaaaa that place is dangerous, I have been in South Africa for the past eight years but you will never get used to that place. I lost two phones just walking, I do not know what happened, I just later realised that my cell phones where gone. I do not feel safe; it is a blessing to come back home every day alive, I am even afraid to own a car kkkkkk (he laughs). But what can I do I am here to work, I am the breadwinner, here and at home (meaning Zimbabwe).*

Lucas a restaurant manager stated the following;

> *At my workplace, I serve different people with different minds, some try to belittle us because we are Zimbabweans, and we serving them (South Africans). We no longer care what they say, we here to stay, and work for our families. They can do whatever they want, but us not going anywhere, until our country is back to normal. Even if Home Affairs does not renew our permits, will always find our way back here, where else can we go.*

Adger et al. (2002) explains that resilient individuals have a repertoire of coping skills that are adapted to the situation at hand. These coping skills allow them to effectively manage stressful situations, thereby transforming them into less stressful ones or enabling them to come to terms with aspects of life that are uncontrollable (Adger et al. 2002). I argue that resilience has become a social strategy that is being employed by regularised Zimbabwean migrants to overcome social ills like exploitation, discrimination and xenophobia, to enhance their lives and livelihoods.

The above findings show that there are widespread and diverse strategies, and structures that regularised Zimbabwean migrants are employing. Participants in this study employ both formal and informal strategies to sustain their livelihoods. Informal economy does not exist for undocumented migrants only, but it is another strategy which is used for backing up livelihoods of documented migrants also. Findings also show that regularised Zimbabwean migrants in South Africa are not into political activities; rather they are in South Africa to work for their families and improve their lives.

2. ***What challenges are regularised Zimbabwean migrants encountering when constructing their livelihoods?***

i. Language barrier

Language and identity issues relate to access to livelihoods indirect and in more complex ways (Porter et al. 2008). Language defines one's identity and social life mutually shapes each other (Porter et al. 2008). Without knowing the language of the local people, it is hardly possible to have any interaction with them (Holaday, 2010). Buscher (2013) and Porter et al, (2008) postulate that refugees face constraints to participate in the host economy because of language barrier, as it directly affects their chances of working. Memory a vendor who works in Johannesburg CBD stated the following;

> *Language is a problem, when you work with South Africans. Tinotongotaurawo hapana yekutamba hatizivi kuty tikutaura Zulu, Pedi Tswana, tinongotaura kusvika tanzwanana (We just try to speak their language even though we do not whether we speaking Zulu, Pedi, Tswana, there is nothing we can do) but if you keep on interacting with them you will get used to speaking their language. But (sighs) in the clinics, nurses tell you that we do not speak English hatisi varungu (we not whites), so it becomes a problem. It is not that they do not know how to speak English, they do not want especially if you are a foreigner, just to make things hard for you.*

Most participants in this study shared similar experiences about language hindering their access to services and pursuing their livelihoods. Morris a gardener in Florida, stated that;

> *Yes, if you are a Zimbabwean you are always discriminated, worse if you do not know how to speak their languages. I am lucky because my bosses are white, but when it comes to home eish it's a problem.*

Buscher (2013) extrapolates that migrants with poor language skills, do have difficulties with accessing information and support. Holaday (2010) articulates that language is a shared value that enables membership and is used as a basis for exclusion. Both migrants and citizens observe the importance of speaking the right language in South Africa, more specifically; the "right" languages are Zulu and Xhosa (Holaday, 2010). English is an obvious indicator of outsider status sharing a language is important to being included in South African society (Holaday 2010). Therefore, language barrier has been a challenge towards the livelihoods of regularised Zimbabwean migrants, as it plays a role towards social and economic integration.

ii. *Lack of credit*

According to Chirau (2014) credit acts as a means of increasing household incomes through allowing for investments in income generating activities and small business ventures. The inability to access formal or semi-formal sources of credit hinders chances of starting or expanding small enterprises (Chirau, 2014). One business owner in this study expressed concern on the inability to acquire credit for his business endeavours. Byson reiterated the following;

> *My company is into cooperate training, one day I got an order, to train a certain company and it happened that at that time I did not have the financial means to sponsor the workshop. I decided to go to the bank to apply for a small loan, but they refused, they just told me that I did not qualify, all my bank statements, financial statements were there but they just refused. They did not even give me a reason. hahahaha (he laughs), it is better they tell you because you are a foreigner at least that is a reason, and the funny thing is I do not have a criminal record, I pay my taxes, I do not have a bad debt record, I have never been black listed. My record is straight. So, it is a big problem to us foreign entrepreneurs, you are doing everything by the book, but what do you get nothing in return, maybe if I can get a South African ID, hahahaha (he laughs). This business permit yhooooh, worse it is about to expire, there is nothing you can do, you just have to wait.*

I also asked other participants if they ever purchased anything on credit, and most of them shared the same sentiments of not even bothering looking for credit. Most of the respondents in this study acknowledged that the process of getting credit from retailers or banks is time consuming, hectic and torture especially for foreigners. Nkosinathi stated that;

> *Even if I have a pay slip, have a bank account, I will never bother myself going to purchase on credit again, it is a waste of time and energy, those people drag you the whole day, saying do this, do that, go certify your papers, give us referral numbers, need police clearance and at the end of day they tell you, "Ngiyaxolisa sir hau qualifier (I am sorry sir you do not qualify). So, I buy my staff with cash, cash at hand, and no stress that way.*

From the above reiterations, complex and strict administrative regulations towards foreign migrants in this case regularised Zimbabweans limit their livelihood opportunities to make decent and prosperous lives. Most requirements needed and measures taken by the South African governments deter regularised Zimbabwean migrants from building their lives in South Africa.

iii. *Lack of Social Acceptability*

Legally, regularised Zimbabwean migrants have been integrated, but social integration has remained a problem despite migrants having their documentation. Regularised Zimbabwe migrants in this study find it difficult to integrate in the SA communities, because of their distinct cultures, language and religion. Idemudia et al. (2013) in the article, *"Migration challenges among Zimbabwean refugees before, during and post arrival in South Africa"* postulate that despite the difficulties encountered in their homeland, newly arrived Zimbabweans in South Africa exchange old struggles for a new array of foreign and traumatic challenges. I argue that social exclusion has negative influence on the livelihoods of regularised Zimbabwean migrants as this has led to the eruption of xenophobia. During an interview with Liyah, she reiterated the following;

> *In the clinics if you do not know the language they won't attend to you, one day I went to the clinic, and they kept on speaking to me in Sesotho, I could hear what they were saying but I could not respond, so they told me to move aside, and the nurse attended to the other person next to me.*

For Tevera (2013) xenophobia poisons social interactions between locals and migrant groups and at the same time undermining the positive effects of migration on human development. In addition, research on teachers in Kwazulu Natal by Manik (2013) showed that most immigrant teachers found themselves experiencing xenophobic prejudices, attitudes and behaviour at the workplace and in greater society. Lack of social acceptability has resulted in institutionalised xenophobia and this is disrupting the livelihood activities and wellbeing of regularised Zimbabwean migrants. Regularised Zimbabwean migrants in this study feel insecure and I argue that this leads to insecure livelihoods also.

iv. *Discrimination and Exploitation*

In this study, I argue that lack of social acceptability leads to discrimination and exploitation. Findings show that some of the participants in this study are experiencing various forms of abuse from their employers even though they are documented. The major issues affecting regularised Zimbabwean migrants are exploitation and most of them are working long hours, yet they are not receiving fair compensation. Sharon a domestic worker expressed the following sentiments;

> *You meet different people, some treat you well, and some others do not. Some can pay you half of what you supposed to get, some do not pay at all. Some, who are nice, pay well.*

I further asked Sharon if she uses her permit when looking for work and her response was;

> *Sometimes I use it, some of my employers want a permit and others do not even ask for a permit, especially those who want cheap labour*

When I asked Diana, a domestic worker, who works in the suburbs of Fourways how she gets paid she stated that;

> *I get paid cash, she refused to give me papers to open a bank account, she is evil I do not know where to search for other work, since I found it through agents. I am not allowed off days and if I have an emergency at home it is difficult for me to ask her.*

Participants who are formally employed also expressed concern towards the remuneration they are getting in their respective workplaces. Herbert a lecturer stated that;

> *I do not receive any benefits at all, no medical aid, no funeral policy, I only get transport allowance Our bosses when it comes to non-South Africans tend to reduce costs or cut costs on us, because you are a foreigner.*

The above statements from the respondents reflect the inequality that regularised Zimbabwean migrants are facing in their workplaces; some are getting paid less than their local counterparts. There are not receiving any social benefits even though they are now documented and this has remained a challenge in their day to day lives. Singh (2013) research examined the experiences of Zimbabwean teachers in schools of the Capricorn district of Limpopo province. The findings indicated that Zimbabwean teachers do experience xenophobia within the schools where they teach and the greatest threat that they face is job

security (Singh, 2013). Criminalization of livelihood activities like vending also counts under discrimination and exploitation. Participants have cited harassment by police as a big challenge which undermines the construction and productivity of their livelihoods. Brian a vendor stated the following;

> *Police do not care that you have a permit. They want money if you are a foreigner, if you do not pay they will bother you every day.*

Upon saying the above statement, I further asked Brian if he gives police money, and he stated the following;

> *Yeeees, I do because if I do not they will harrase you as if you have stolen, they can even tell you that your papers are fake, just wanting you to give them money. It is called protection fee, if I do not pay my business will not be protected even from thieves.*

Research done by Amisi (2006) on Congolese refugees livelihood strategies showed that constant police harassment and xenophobia is affecting their lives and means of living. According to Holaday (2010) migrants perceive legal documentation as simultaneously necessary and useless, when it comes to exploitation. While documentation helps, migrants access certain social rights that the Constitution guarantees, money often speaks louder than papers when migrants whether documented or undocumented are harassed by the police, (Holaday, 2010). Therefore, the discriminatory treatment of regularised Zimbabwean migrants, highlights that there is need address institutionalised xenophobia.

v. *Restrictive conditions on permits*

Conditions on both permits the ZDP and ZSP have been inconsistent, inappropriate and unrealistic. Research done by Hungwe (2013) on *"Survival Strategies of Zimbabwean migrants in Johannesburg"* concludes that exclusion of Zimbabweans in the labour market and other spheres of South Africa is largely a product of attempts by South African institutions and officials to draw boundaries separating insiders from outsiders. I argue that conditions on the ZDP and ZSP permits are complex and restrictive towards the livelihood activities and options of regularised Zimbabweans. During my interviews, I came across an

interviewee Liyah, who was documented in 2010 under the first phase of the regularisation process (ZDP) but failed to renew in 2014 because she could not afford the application fee at that time. When we were having our conversation, she said;

> *I have been a maid since 2010. the only problem I encountered was I could not look for other work besides being a maid, I had found work at Nandos, but they said your permit is stating that you are domestic worker, so you have to go to the police and get an affidavit, so that we can employ you", The 2010 Permit was written the job I had that time, and I could not look for another job. It was written to work as a domestic worker, so that was a problem, because I am not a maid by profession.*

Liyah's statement reveals two points, which I did not realise before interviewing her. Firstly, the Zimbabwe Documentation Project in 2010 specified which job migrants were supposed to do in the country there was no room for change, so regularised Zimbabwean migrants did not have the capacity to look for other jobs, besides those mentioned on their permits. Moreover, most regularised Zimbabwean migrants expressed concern over the specification of the job title on the permit as this affected those who were qualified enough to get better jobs than they had. I argue that this blocked any other opportunity for regularised migrants to improve their lives and livelihoods. Furthermore, Liyah mentioned that she was not able to renew her permit in 2014, because of financial reasons, this showing measures used by the Department of Home Affairs to reduce the number of documented migrants.

3. ***What are the livelihood outcomes of regularised Zimbabwean migrants?***

In this section I am focusing on the opportunities available to regularised Zimbabwean migrants in their everyday livelihood activities. To be able to assess the kind of opportunities regularised Zimbabwean migrants are getting, I found it important to look at their livelihood outcomes. By looking at the livelihood outcomes of the respective participants, this determined the opportunities they have earned and how they utilised them to their advantage. Schafer (2002) defines livelihood outcomes as goals being pursued and the living results of their activities.

According to Levine (2014) little attention is given to understanding people's livelihood outcomes despite the the amount of interest shown in supporting them. To concur with Levine, I argue that in the case of regularised Zimbabweans under study, much effort has been put by the South African government, civil society and lobby groups to regularise Zimbabweans, in a quest to give them a lifeline to better their lives. Carr (2013) asserts that learning afterwards how a policy or an intervention affected peoples' lives, (an outcome evaluation) is important as, outcomes depend on the strategies employed, but any among the full range of forces such as institutions and policies, assets, relative power and identity which may have played important roles in determining how successful the strategies were. Therefore, this section attempts to evaluate the feasibility of the regularisation policy on the livelihoods of Zimbabweans through examining and assessing their livelihood outcomes. The livelihood outcomes are as follows;

i. Access to formal employment

This study shows that after the regularisation of Zimbabweans, some of the participants who are well educated enough were able to find employment in the formal sector and others started their own legitimate businesses. Devillanova, et al (2014) in their study on Italy's amnesty of 2012 noted that legal status significantly increases the employment probability of immigrants that are potentially eligible for the amnesty relative to other undocumented immigrants. Koussoudji and Cobb-Clark, (2000) assert that legal status creates a whole new set of opportunities that allow newly legalised workers to move up the occupational ladder. Byson, who owns a consulting company in Roodeport, stated the following;

When I did not have proper papers, I used to work as a telesales person for a Nigerian guy (name withheld) in Braamfontein, where I was selling training workshops and conferences to big companies, but I was getting peanuts. I would get a deal or tender for 60k (60 000rands) or more and get only 1500 rands no commission. Sometimes he (the Nigerian guy) will just give me money to pay rent, for transport and for food only. It was hectic my sister (referring to the researcher). So, when it was announced that we are getting permits I was happy, after that I started working at home, doing my own staff, and later own I opened my own consulting company doing the same thing I was doing for that Nigerian guy. I am now fine, now I can enjoy my profits, because I know how this business works, I now have my BEE certificate although the level is not the same as South Africans, its better, I cannot complain.

Gladys also had this to say;

I am now part of a cleaning service company at Countrywide. I used to sell anything I found on the market, before having this permit, but this did not bring me enough money to take care of my family in Zimbabwe. I then found an agent who helped me found work in this company. I do not get much but is better now, it is a stable job, and it is not the same like running around, where sometimes I did not get anything. At Countrywide, we clean houses that people have evacuated from and that people are about to live in.

From the findings above, this study shows that access to employment when one gets regularised is an expected outcome. Devillanova et al. (2014) point out that the fear of being arrested and deported makes it difficult and risky to search for alternative wages for undocumented migrants, and it is usually expected that legal status unequivocally increases wages and returns to skills for employed immigrants. However, Devillanova et al. (2014) further noted that the effect on employment is instead, theoretically undetermined because of the effects on both labour demand and labour supply which are ambiguous.

ii. Asset ownership

Levine (2014) postulates that livelihood outcomes are not only simply economics but households and individuals must be able to make claims over assets and have their capabilities to have these claims respected. Livelihoods outcomes are measured by the degree of success in people meeting their objectives (Levine, 2014; Carr, 2013). Evidence in this study showed that education plays an important role in the lives of regularised Zimbabwean migrants. Human capital, especially educational attainment and previous work experience, had a generally positive impact on the living standards of regularised Zimbabwean migrants.

In this study, during my interviews I managed to observe where some of the participants are staying, and I can assert that more educated participants in this study stayed in expensive, safe neighbourhoods and are investing their earned money into buying property and assets such as cars. When I asked Tsitsi a single mother of one, why she decided to live in Florida, Tsitsi reiterated the following;

> *I used to share a room with my former roommate in Fourth Avenue; my daughter by then was in Zimbabwe, with my parents. I did not have papers and I used to teach in some college in Johannesburg, where I was getting 2500rands per month. I did not like the way I was living and the salary I was getting but had no choice, at least I was getting something, but I could not afford to stay with my child, the money was too little, as it covered rent, food, and transport costs. Also, when you working in Joburg (meaning Johannesburg) and you do not have papers you have to carry cash, so it was difficult, uuuuh (sighs). So, when Home Affairs said they are giving us permits, I was so happy, when I got the permit, someone told me that there is a vacancy in a certain school in Florida; they are looking for a Maths teacher so I applied and I got the job. I was getting enough money so I decided to stay in this neighbourhood where it is quiet and safe, and through my savings I bought myself a car, from a colleague from work, so that I can take my daughter to school. I cannot say I am now satisfied with the life I have, but it is much better, it is a starting point, I just pray they renew our permits or give us permanent residence.*

Byson also shared the same experiences after having his business permit. He stated that;

> *When it was announced that we are getting permits I was happy, because I was working at home, doing my own staff, and later own I opened my own consulting*

company doing the same thing I was doing for that Nigerian guy. I am now fine, now I can enjoy my profits, because I know how this business works, I now have my BEE certificate although the level is not the same as South Africans, its better, I cannot complain.

From the above narrations, it can be asserted that educated regularised Zimbabwean migrants are better off as they are choosing a higher quality life in South Africa. However, Budlender and Fauvelle-Aymar (2014) argue that though it is assumed that a higher level of education will be in a better position in the labour market, it must be noted that the relationship between education and employment can be different for immigrants and nationals. Budlender and Fauvelle-Aymar (2014) further argue that education could be a plus if there is a preference for foreign degrees or conversely it could be a hindrance if foreign degrees are less well recognized than domestic degrees in the labour market. From the research, there is no case where participants' qualifications were rejected, but the most respondents acknowledged discrimination despite having documentation in the labour market, because of not being South African citizen. A participant expressed this notion during the interview;

Researcher: What qualifications do you have?

Herbert: Bcom marketing and economics, and now I have an assessor moderator course which I did here in South Africa

Researcher: Ok, so do you feel that your Zim qualifications are recognized here in SA?

Herbert: Yes, I did a convention, at SAQA for the Bcom marketing and Economics degree and it became a Bachelor of Technology in marketing

I argue that in this study, no respondent has acknowledged that their qualifications are not being recognized, but failing to find the intended to job in the labour market is because of opportunities and the fact that when it comes to hiring, the labour market gives first preference to the locals.

iii. Investment

A less contentious indicator of economic security is people's ability to invest, which broadly reflects the degree to which they feel able to sacrifice current well-being for the sake of an improved future (Levine 2014; Carr, 2013). Investment is what people do when they have something that they choose not to enjoy immediately because they want to have a greater benefit later (Levine 2014; Carr, 2013). Respondents in this study are working hard to fend for their families in Zimbabwe, and some are capitalising on educating themselves for a better future, (human capital investment). Cortes (2004) and Khan (1997) postulate that immigrants' visions and aspirations for themselves in the host country are important for investment in their own human capital and eventual growth of their earnings. The main issue pointed out by participants is that they are not in South Africa, to enjoy the luxuries they find in the country, but they are here to work so that they will be able to send their children to school. Memory who has four kids in Zimbabwe had this to say in the following conversation;

Researcher: How different is your life in South Africa to the life in Zimbabwe?

Memory: Living in South Africa is better

Researcher: Why is that if I may ask?

Memory: Here (meaning in South Africa), if you are serious you will find something to do, that will give you money unlike in Zimbabwe, where you can work the whole day and come home with the nothing. I am not here to play I have four kids who all are going to school; they need clothes, food and fees. Since I came here I am now able to take care of my children, no more hunger, I send them money through eco cash, grocery, and I pay for their fees. I tell them every time that life in South Africa is not cheap, so they must work hard in school there, (meaning in Zimbabwe). The main reason why I am here is my children, Are you a mother? (asking the researcher)

Researcher: Yes, I am

Memory: Then you know what I am talking about. It is not easy to see your children going to school hungry without food, how can they learn when they are hungry?

This study shows that regularised Zimbabwean migrants who have families in Zimbabwe and South Africa are striving to get more income so that they can invest in their children's education, for them to have a bright future. Waddington (2003; 30) states that;

> *Where migration is an accumulative strategy, not simply one of survival, future generations may benefit through investment in their education.*

Furthermore, some other participants mentioned that they are buying land in Zimbabwe and building their houses with the income they are now earning. Derick, mentions the following;

> *Home is always best, we are here to work, so I bought a CBZ (Commercial Bank of Zimbabwe) stand in Zimbabwe, where I am paying in instalments and at the same time I have started the construction. I buy building materials here (meaning in South Africa) and transport it them Zimbabwe. It is very cheap to buy material here, so by the end of next year (meaning 2017) I would be done, with building my house.*

From the above reiterations, I argue that regularised Zimbabwean migrants opt to invest in Zimbabwe, where they feel welcome, safe and can claim their rights. For most regularised Zimbabwean migrants in this study investing in South Africa is a risk they are not willing to take, as they argue that their future is uncertain as their livelihoods and lives are based on a negotiated permit.

iv. Food Security

Excessive poverty to the extent of starving and not being able to afford to put food on the table for their families has been one of the push factors which motivated Zimbabweans to be all over the world, in search of better livelihoods. Bloch (2008) argued that the lack of economic livelihood rights and opportunities in Zimbabwe means that many are working to send money and food to family members. When I asked participants in this study, what led them to come to South Africa, most of them shared the same reasons of not being able to provide adequately for their families. Food shortages were the main reason they cited. Sharon stated the following;

> *Zimbabwe's situation is very hard, there are no jobs, and there is hunger there. I had to come here with my husband and leave my children with my mother. I want to be with them but I cannot. It is very painful to live without your children, but what is painful is to watch them die of hunger. When I came here in 2008 there was no food in Zimbabwe, shops were empty, but now food is there, but expensive to buy. I do not*

have a choice it is better they live in Zimbabwe and I send them grocery there and they go to school, it is much cheaper that way.

This study shows that earning a decent income and diversification of sources of income have resulted in regularised Zimbabweans in Johannesburg being able to bring food to the table for their families, both in South Africa and Zimbabwe. According to Betts and Kyats (2010) 72% of the Zimbabwean population were living below the total consumption line and this was due to livelihood collapse and food shortages. Most Zimbabweans expressed gratitude towards having permits to work and fend for their families as they are now able to send them groceries. Participants who had families in Zimbabwe acknowledged that they are sending grocery and money to Zimbabwe. Memory said the following;

I am now able to take care of my children, no more hunger, I send them money through eco cash, grocery, and I pay for their fees."

Gladys also says;

I send my children money and grocery, through mukuru and malaitsha. Living and working here in South Africa is better, even my family in Zimbabwe; they have a better life, because I am in South Africa, its different from Zimbabwe where I was just seated doing nothing, watching my kids suffering and starving. Even, myself I have to eat well so that I have energy to work for my family. Food is cheap in South Africa, I eat. I work hard for my family and send them food also.

According to (Timalsina 2007) improved food security both in the origin and destination is also a livelihood outcome that must be considered when embarking on a livelihoods analysis. Therefore, food security is an important livelihood outcome among regularised Zimbabwean migrants as they can afford a decent lifestyle, for themselves and their families.

v. Family Reunification

Most of the respondents acknowledged that the special permits allow them the right and chance to return to Zimbabwe to their families for visits and their families could visit them in return. Being undocumented and sometimes having an asylum did not give Zimbabweans in South Africa the privilege to go visit their families whenever they felt like. Lubalaw stated the following;

When I completed my Diploma, I crossed the border to come here and look for work, I did not have a permit, from 2008 up to 2010 I never so my mother, we were just talking on the phone, for two years I never returned home I was scared I would never come back, and to think of how I crossed the border without papers, it was difficult to repeat that same situation. So, when I got my permit I was very happy, now I can go and see my mother any time, without hassles. Also, my mother can come and visit me now, it is hard when you are undocumented to have visitors, where will they stay when, you are being harassed by police.

Sharon who lives with her husband reiterates that;

When my husband and I got papers, we were so happy, we could now go and visit our children. We were just communicating with them over the phone, and it is very painful, because I missed them a lot, just sending gifts, money, grocery is not enough, seeing your children is very important. During the school holidays, they come here, I just tell my mother to help them board the bus and will pick them up at Park Station, but now at the border they no longer want kids to travel alone, so my husband when he is free at work, he goes to fetch them before they cross the South African border.

Enchautegui (2014) argues that legalization programs that prevent family reunification can be detrimental for the well-being of immigrants. In this case regularised Zimbabwean migrants can visit their family and relatives in Zimbabwe, though the permit does not give the regularised migrant privilege to petition permits for immediate family members in Zimbabwe. For Menjivar (2006), family members play a role in expanding the availability of resources and enable economic mobility, as family members can pull their resources together and contribute financially. Nkosinathi stated that;

My wife and my children are in Zimbabwe, I want to live with my family but I cannot apply a spousal permit for my wife, because my permit does not allow that. It is very hard I am here (meaning I am in South Africa, and there are in Zimbabwe, it is not right, but my permit does not give me that right, so unless they change the conditions of the ZSP, I think I will apply for another permit which allows me to stay with my family. It also cuts on costs, imagine I pay rent here and I pay rent there, I buy

grocery here and I buy grocery there, so it is better they come here and stay together as a family.

Moreover, the inability to bring family from abroad takes an emotional and economic toll on immigrants, especially for mothers and fathers who send remittances to children and spouses abroad often hindering their own economic well-being, (Abrego, 2009). From the above expression, being unable to petition for permits for immediate family members, has become a challenge, which regularised Zimbabwean migrants in this study, hope the Department of Home Affairs will put into consideration when and if they renew their permits in 2017.

vi. Increased Well being

Tamilsna, (2007) argues that in addition to income and things that money can buy, people value nonmaterial goods. People's well-being is enhanced and increased by having good access to assets, (Timalsina, 2007). In this study regularised Zimbabwean migrants acknowledged that despite challenges they face as migrants in a foreign country, their lives have improved, mentally and physically. Brian stated that;

I now feel safe to walk in the streets, especially I work in Johannesburg CBD, and police won't be a problem anymore, and eeh and (mhuri kumusha dzakurarama), our families are now living well in Zimbabwe.

Participants in this study acknowledged that because of the permits their minds are now at ease, they can now work for themselves and their families. Therefore, I argue that increased wellbeing results in better livelihood outcomes.

vii. Legitimate Livelihoods

The study also revealed that regularised Zimbabwean migrants are practising legitimate livelihoods. Porter et al. (2008) point out that a range of illegal and potentially harmful livelihood strategies are practiced when one is undocumented and this includes prostitution, selling drugs, robbery (including armed robbery). Machecka et al (2015), postulates that undocumented labour migration is usually associated with illegal immigration activities. However, in this study no one has confirmed that he or she is involved in potentially harmful livelihood activities.

4. <u>What role if any, does documentation play in these experiences?</u>

Questions mostly asked after migrants are regularised are that, are migrants livelihoods secure now that they are documented? Does documentation shape their opportunities and strategies? Does documentation guarantee direct and equal access to rights? Kraler (2009) argues that there is limited evidence on the impact of regularisation in European nations and I argue that there is also limited research in Africa, especially South Africa. I argue that no evaluation policy has been done after the regularisation of Zimbabweans in South Africa in 2010. In this sub section I am looking at the role if, any documentation plays on the livelihood experiences of regularised Zimbabwean migrants.

I argue that the regularisation of Zimbabweans came as a life line, which gave them the platform to express their identity as Zimbabwean migrants in South Africa. An interview from one of the founding members of (Zimbabwe Workers Union of South Africa), ZIWUSA now known as (Migrant Workers Union of South Africa), MIWUSA, highlights the significance of the regularisation policy on Zimbabweans. Mandla (key informant) explained the importance of ZDP and ZSP on the lives and livelihoods of regularised Zimbabwean migrants in Johannesburg, South Africa. Firstly, I asked him more about the foundation of MIWUSA, and he stated the following;

> *The birth of ZIWUSA was in 2013, after Zimbabweans had experienced challenges of bogus organisations that preyed on them for money, in the pretence of helping them get their papers. ZIWUSA was mainly an association for Zimbabweans, and in 2015 it reformed into a labour union for all foreign migrants, not only Zimbabweans. What I can say is MIWUSA is a migrants' union that represents all migrants living in South Africa especially on labour matters, as we found out that most migrants are not aware of their rights. The union also assists migrants in general issues socially and on immigration issues".*

I further asked him to elaborate more on the challenges that led to the formation of the association; ZIWUSA and Mandla reiterated the following;

> *The challenges which faced most Zimbabweans on the documentation process, was that there was no awareness on the implementation of the first phase which was the*

ZDP, so some did not apply on time, some attempted to apply, but there were rejected, so as long as they attempted to apply, we were there to help them at no cost

.

Therefore, the above reiterations show that there have been challenges during the implementation of the regularisation policy and this has led to several undocumented Zimbabweans being rejected (Amit, 2011; 2012).

However, the decision to grant Zimbabweans the right to work, has contributed positively to the livelihoods of regularised migrants. The dispensation program also enables Zimbabweans in South Africa to contribute to Zimbabwean reconstruction through remittances (Polzer, 2010). Though Zimbabweans have presented themselves as innovative agents seeking to secure economic well-being despite all the social ills like xenophobia and discrimination in South Africa, this study reveals that documentation plays a major role in the lives of regularised Zimbabwean migrants. Regularised Zimbabwean migrants indicated that their lives have improved for the better compared to the period when they were undocumented.

When I asked participants if there were any challenges they faced during the process of applying for the respective permit, the participants' response showed that they were not bothered with the hassles of applying for the permit but were grateful that the regularisation policy was implemented. Diana reiterated that;

The first and second phases of the ZDP and ZSP permits were not that difficult, the only difficult thing was renewing the asylum every month. For me it was very difficult knowing that every month you are in a queue renewing your asylum, so for me this permit is much better and I can look for work freely.

Mama Marshall also stated that;

No I did not see any problems except for long queues. I was very happy that I was getting a long-term permit, I can look for work now, that was different from the asylum which required renewal every time and you could not look for a stable job. But we surrendered the asylums before getting the permits.

The above reiterations imply that the documentation of Zimbabweans empowered them, to partake their livelihood activities. Fasani (2015) noted that undocumented immigrants are

often constrained to certain segments of the labour market in which their illegal status is easily hidden or ignored. However, regularised Zimbabwean migrants' perceptions of increase of choice when it comes at looking for better jobs, making plans for the future, shows that documentation is a prerequisite for better livelihoods. Levinson (2005) also noted that an important consequence of regularisation programmes, is that they eliminate the need for migrants to live in the shadows, providing them with an opportunity to seek better working conditions.

Furthermore, Fasani (2015) postulates that legalisation provides undocumented migrants with increased labour market mobility, expanding their opportunities for employment into occupations and sectors that were inaccessible to them as undocumented immigrants. The study has shown that the regularisation of regularised Zimbabwean migrants opened gates for Zimbabweans to look for better jobs, since most of them were under employed, doing menial jobs. Research done by Jinnah (2010) on Somali migrants showed that migration status does impact on an individual's position in the labour market, as the legal status of an individual determines the breadth of their labour mobility. Cobb and Kossoudji (2002) also reported that the legalisation of Mexicans in 2000 changed their mobility patterns creating more job opportunities for them. Without documentation, the lives of most Zimbabwean migrants were based on the survival aspect of getting by, however from the interviews most participants acknowledge that, now that they can now make choices, plan for their future, and make a living without hesitating.

On the other hand, the permit has significant limitations towards the livelihoods of regularised Zimbabweans, as it offers limited and sometimes no protection at all on the livelihoods of regularised Zimbabwean migrants. Some of the participants in this study expressed concern on consistent harassment and bribery from police and their landlords. The following conversation with Morris a gardener and security guard at night puts emphasis on the argument above;

> *Researcher: So, you have a bank account?*
>
> *Morris: No, I use someone else's account*
>
> *Researcher: Why is that?*
>
> *Morris: At the bank, they are troublesome, they need many documents like proof of residence but I do not have. My landlord refused to give me, I live at the backyard*

Researcher: Oooh okey I see, can you tell me more about your life after you were given the permits?

Morris: It's now better because the police won't trouble me, but there are some police who do not care that you have a permit. They want money if you are a foreigner

Researcher: So, do you give them the money?

Morris: Yes, I do because they will harrase you as if you have stolen something; they can even tell you that your papers are fake, just wanting you to give them money. If you tell them (the police), they can verify with the Home Affairs, they tell you we do not have time for that, nikezi imali yedrink (give me money to buy a bottle of drink)

Ngwato and Jinnah (2013) postulate that though South Africa has one of the most progressive constitutions that grant most socio-economic rights to everyone, nationals and international migrants, in practice foreigners are usually deprived the opportunity to access basic services. For instance, the labour market is regulated in the way South African citizens are to benefit.

Furthermore, findings from the study show that the regularisation policy on Zimbabwe both the first phase of the process ZDP in 2010 and the second phase in 2014 excluded eligible individuals on a basis of financial grounds. Amit (2012) in her report "*No way in"* found out that the inability to afford a passport in 2010 was the most commonly reason for most Zimbabweans not to apply. Participants in this study reiterated the same sentiments about not being able to afford to renew their permits in 2014. During interviewing, one of my participant Liyah, I found that she was only documented under the Zimbabwe Documentation Project in 2010 and in 2014 she could not renew her permit. When I asked her if she managed to renew her permit in 2014 she stated the following;

No, I did not renew my permit, because of money. I did not have the 870 rands at that time because I was not working. By that time my permit had expired and my boss had told me that I cannot work for her anymore because my permit had expired. She said go and renew your permit first and then you come back at work, you see in 2010 they did not want money they only wanted your passport, and a paper which showed that you are working, so it was easy".

Moreover, most participants expressed concern on the conditions on the permits. The 2010, Zimbabwe Documentation Project conditions were as follows;

1. *To conduct work as a or (business with), or study with (.....) until .....2014. Permit will be null and void subject to negative outcome of police clearance.*

The 2014 Zimbabwe Special Permit conditions are as follows;

1. *ZSP permit entitles the holder to work, or conduct business*
2. *ZSP permits will not be renewable/extendable*
3. *ZSP permit holder cannot change conditions of his/ her permit in South Africa*
4. *ZSP permit does not entitle the holder the right to apply for permanent residence irrespective of the period of stay in the Republic of South Africa*

Mandla (key informant) reiterated that though the regularisation of Zimbabweans has benefited Zimbabweans, the permit consists of stringent conditions, which limit the livelihood activities and opportunities of regularised Zimbabwean migrants. The conditions on the recent permit (Zimbabwe Special Permit) are affecting the livelihoods of both low and high skilled workers in different ways, (Interview with Mandla). Mostly, regularised Zimbabwean migrants in this study expressed concern and indicated that there are stressed out, since the permits are on the verge of expiring. I argue that the fact that they are negotiated permits has proven to be a challenge to regularised Zimbabwean migrants, as they do not have any control on renewing or extending their permits. The decision to grant new permits in 2017 or to revoke is determined by the Department of Home Affairs. The inability to renew or to extend the permit, and not able to change the conditions on the permits is a major challenge to regularised Zimbabwean migrants, as it negatively impacts on their pursuit of livelihood options and livelihood sustainability.

Moreover, for low skilled who had benefited from the regularisation expressed concern on whether they are going to be deported, as they do not have critical skills needed for them to apply under normal permits. Diana a domestic worker stated the following;

> *We do not know what us domestic workers are going to do if they do not renew our permits, there are rumours that they are going to deport us, because people like us do not have the skills they want, so we do not know we are just going to wait, unless they give us permanent residence. It is better because it does not expire, unlike permits which will have to renew every time they expire. If you have one you won't be*

troubled about the future, unlike this permit which expires next year. We do not know if we are going to be deported, if we going to renew, or get more years will just have to wait.

According to Kiwanuka, et al (2015) South African restrictive immigration regime has narrow avenues for low skilled workers to enter and remain in the country. To extrapolate Jinnah (2013) postulates that prior the 2010 documentation many low skilled Zimbabwean migrants in South Africa found no regular means to enter and remain in South Africa, aside from the asylum seeker system, which resulted in an overburdened and inflated system. Therefore, the regularisation of low skilled workers had proven to be a noble gesture from the Department of Home Affairs. On the other hand, high skilled workers feel trapped in the regularisation policy on Zimbabweans. They feel that they have wasted time, which they would have applied for permanent residence under normal procedures. Derick stated the following;

The situation is tricky, as for me I spent nine years in South Africa, but I cannot say my papers are in order, right now this permit does not allow me to apply for permanent residence regardless of the number of years I have spent in South Africa. Home Affairs is telling us to go and apply for other permits in Zimbabwe what about the years we have spent here. Imagine going to Zimbabwe to apply for another permit after all these years I have lived in South Africa, what guarantee do I have that I will get that permit. There is no guarantee, because right now it is not clear what Home Affairs calls critical. If they (meaning Home Affairs) do not want to give us permanent residence according to their laws, they should change the conditions on the permit that they are going to give us. The one we have now gives us limited options in the labour market. Some companies out there do not even know or recognize the permit. So, they must rectify that

This study has also shown that both low skilled and high skilled regularised Zimbabwean migrants are vulnerable, because of their weak immigrant status. Piper (2013) reiterates that citizenship is becoming less important for the skilled who obtain most rights via permanent residency. However, this study found out that both low and high skilled regularised Zimbabwean migrants need a permanent residence permit as they feel they have been in South Africa for a long period. Participants reiterated that they have exceeded the five years

required for one to get a permanent residence status. The following conversation with Diana, a domestic worker shows participants perceive permanent residence as the only solution to their problems;

> *Diana: If Zimbabwe becomes better, I want to go back. I do not want to raise my grandchildren in here, but I do not have a choice we must work, unless if the South African government gives us permanent residence, I will stay.*
>
> *Researcher: Why do you want permanent residence, if I may ask?*
>
> *Diana: I am just saying, but I know they won't give us kkkkkk she laughs*
>
> *Researcher: But what will a permanent residence do if I may ask?*
>
> *Diana: It is better because it does not expire, unlike permits which will have to renew if we are* allowed *to. If you have one you won't be troubled about the future, unlike this permit which expires next year. We do not know if we are going to be deported, if we going to renew, or get more years will just have to wait.*

Herbert also had this to say;

> *Researcher: Okay so are you happy with what you doing?*
>
> *Herbert: I am happy but you are never satisfied, you will always want to climb the ladder, going to go where I want to go*
>
> *Researcher: What's stopping you to get where you want to be, if I may ask?*
>
> *Herbert: Ummm if we get permanent resident maybe things would be better, will be more liberal to look for a better job than what I have now, because now we scared that if you lose this job you won't get a job because of the permit*

The above conversation reflects that regularised Zimbabwean migrants need a permit which offers more rights and protection towards their livelihood endeavours. This pointing to the fact that a strong conclusive migration status is central to the livelihoods of regularised Zimbabwean migrants, as it affects the integration of immigrants in the labour market, the ability to fend for their families, access to financial services and social protection.

4.2 Discussion

Application of the sustainable livelihood framework (SLF) on the study

A sustainable livelihood framework was used in this study as a guideline to find out the livelihood experiences of regularised Zimbabwean migrants in Johannesburg, South Africa. The framework enabled the researcher to understand and examine the livelihood experiences of the participants by getting insights on how they are reconstructing their lives. According to Collinson (2003) a livelihoods research is a relatively safe way of investigating sensitive issues in insecure environments, and the study fits this explanation, as livelihoods of Zimbabwean migrants in South Africa has always been a sensitive issue.

This study has four sub-questions which aim to answer the main question which is, *what are the livelihood experiences of regularised Zimbabweans in Johannesburg and how does documentation influence these experiences?* The first sub-question required the researcher to look at the strategies that participants are employing to build their livelihoods. The findings identified and unpacked diverse livelihood strategies that regularised Zimbabweans are employing in reconstructing their livelihoods**.**

I found out that livelihoods are not only based on economic activities but other aspects such as, social and political. Thus, I divided my findings in three categories, social, economic and political strategies. Findings revealed that most of the economic strategies employed by regularised Zimbabwean migrants are enabled by being documented. The framework also enabled the researcher to look at the changes in access to assets, and findings reveal that access to documentation has enabled participants in the study to access formal employment, diversify their sources of income, and engage in savings groups and entrepreneurship.

Political capital a very important asset to make, shape and reshape livelihood strategies of poor people is a missing dimension in most of the research works (Levine 2014; Carr 2013). Levine (2014) extrapolates that political capital can influence significantly in accessing assets to poor people in different contexts and circumstances. However, taking a closer look at the livelihood strategies employed by regularised Zimbabwean migrants I argue that they do not have the privilege and capacity to defend their political rights in South Africa, though migration itself is a political issue. Though, regularisation of migrants in a host nation is a political move made from a political decision I argue that regularised Zimbabwean migrants are incapacitated to defend their own rights. Regularised Zimbabwean migrants, who try to

defend their rights to protect their livelihoods have received limited protection because of their identity. This study also revealed that Zimbabwean regularised migrants have access to human, social and financial capital and the level of access to each capital is determined by the background and characteristics of each respective individual. Furthermore, Levine (2014) argues that a livelihood analysis does not explain and show available assets portfolio in a society or a household only, but also shows that access to assets can be modified and improved by diversifying and intensifying livelihood strategies, and this varies according to the specific contexts and circumstances. In this study, I can assert that regularised Zimbabwean migrants have managed to sustain their livelihoods in a hostile environment, through employing diverse and strategic activities to enhance their livelihoods.

On the second sub-question, I focused on challenges that regularised Zimbabwean migrants are encountering when pursuing their livelihood activities. This question required the researcher to look at the constraints that participants in this study are encountering when pursuing their livelihoods. I argue that all the challenges mentioned in the section of findings can be related to the issue of identity. According to Levine (2014) identity is a crucial aspect when analysing livelihoods. Levine (2014: 13) states that;

> *Identity is used to describe both how people see themselves and how others perceive them.*

From the above description, I argue that challenges found to be affecting the lives and livelihoods of regularised Zimbabwean migrants are linked to the aspect of identity. Being a migrant in a foreign country is a challenge itself as it makes migrants vulnerable. Vulnerability is the insecurity of the wellbeing of individuals or communities in the face of changing environments (Meikle 2002; Carney 1998). On the other hand, vulnerability context is the range of factors in the external environment that make people vulnerable (Meikle, 2000). Regularised Zimbabwean migrants pursue their livelihoods in an environment where their rights are limited and not recognized. I argue that regularised Zimbabwean migrants in this study are vulnerable because of their "identity". Challenges such as lack of credit, language barrier, lack of social acceptability, discrimination, exploitation and restrictive condition on permits, makes regularised Zimbabwean migrants vulnerable. Vulnerability is therefore closely linked to access to and control over assets, showing that accessibility is a key issue in people's livelihoods (Meikle, 2002).

The third sub-question looks at the livelihood opportunities and outcomes of regularised Zimbabwean migrants. On this question the focus is on the results of their livelihood strategies. The question I asked on this section is that, are regularised Zimbabwean migrants in Johannesburg, meeting their livelihood goals and objectives? According to Levine (2014) little attention is given to understanding people's livelihood outcomes and this is in contrast with the amount of interest given in supporting their causes. Levine's argument is applicable to this study rationale, as after the regularisation of Zimbabweans, no effort has been made by the government, civil society or academics to evaluate how the regularisation policy affected migrants' lives and their livelihoods.

Findings in this section of the study showed that regularised Zimbabwean migrants are striving to reach their goals despite the challenges they are encountering in pursuit of their livelihoods. Levine (2014:18) states the following;

> *Assessing outcomes is only half the task needed for livelihoods research. It is also necessary to understand what determined these outcomes. In part, outcomes depend on the strategies employed, but any among the full range of forces (institutions and policies, assets, relative power, identity, etc.) may have played important roles in determining how successful the strategies were.*

Therefore, I assert that documentation plays a role in enabling regularised Zimbabwean migrants to reach their intended goals in life. Findings in this study also reflect that the livelihood outcomes of regularised Zimbabwean migrants are not only economic, but also include social aspects of life, like family reunification, increased physical wellbeing, and engaging in legitimate livelihoods. Reliance on social ties as a coping mechanism is a prevalent strategy employed by the majority of regularised Zimbabwean migrants in Johannesburg. Including all aspects of livelihoods when assessing livelihood outcomes is important as it shows that people are not just concerned on economic success, but on other facets of life as well.

Furthermore, the study showed that opportunities and outcomes of regularised Zimbabwean migrants are diverse due to their different characteristics and status. Participants in this study had different socio-economic status, due to their level of education, and access to employment opportunities. Carr (2013) and Levine (2014) point out that individuals and

household members have different goals, they may have competing or complementary objectives, since they have different economic opportunities and unequal claims on resources. Among interviewed regularised Zimbabwean migrants, this study showed that there are some participants who are still struggling to survive despite being documented and others are coping and manging and lastly there are some who are successful in their lives.

The fourth sub-question, *what role if any, does documentation play in these experiences,* requires the researcher to find out if the regularisation of Zimbabweans enables them to access and claim resources, and to find out if the strategies they employ and the opportunities they have, enable them to reduce their vulnerability as migrants in Johannesburg. Jacobsen, (2006; 9) stated that;

> *The vulnerability context is determined by the law and policies of host governments and the way these policies are implemented".*

Findings in this study showed that mostly complex and restrictive administrative regulations hamper livelihood activities and opportunities of regularised Zimbabwean migrants. However, though all migrants are experiencing the same challenges, findings also showed that mostly highly skilled workers are better off when it comes to claiming and accessing resources. Piper, (2013: 9) states the following;

> *What we can increasingly observe globally is a tendency towards 'bifurcation', between skilled and less skilled migration in the ease of migration between countries, with skilled typically being offered 'better deals', with regard to entitlements and rights.*

Piper (2013) further postulates that access to entitlements is usually determined by the context which includes formal and informal set of rules and regulations defined by social norms and conventions. Therefore, I argue that though documentation plays a role in the livelihoods of regularised Zimbabwean migrants, significant differences in socio-economic statuses and economic strategies among the regularised Zimbabwean migrants also contribute to different livelihood outcomes.

Discussion of findings

The study attempted to explore the livelihood experiences of regularised Zimbabwean migrants in Johannesburg. By understanding their livelihood strategies, outcomes, the opportunities that they now have and the challenges they are encountering when they are constructing their livelihood activities, the study established that there is a complex interplay between documentation and livelihoods of regularised Zimbabwean migrations. Documentation through regularisation policy is an indispensable mechanism for decent and dignified livelihoods of both low skilled and highly skilled, as it improves access to socio-economic opportunities and rights. However, this study shows that though documentation improves livelihood opportunities of regularised migrants it still offers limited protection on their livelihoods and their rights.

Nshimbi and Fioramonti (2014) extrapolate that regularizations by no means provide the type of sustainable legal framework needed to manage regional migration effectively, let alone guarantee the basic forms of protection for migrant workers. I concur with Nshimbi and Fioramonti by arguing that mostly regularisations are, offering limited protection, temporary rights to migrants likely to live in South Africa for years to come. For example, the regularisation of Zimbabwe does not provide long-term protection on labour matters and this is critical towards the livelihoods of Zimbabwean migrants. The lack of migration-supporting policies on temporary responses such as the Zimbabwe Documentation Project and Zimbabwe Special Permit, push many migrants to illegality, despite the demand for their labour in certain sectors, thereby hampering the livelihoods development potential of some migrants (Amit, 2012).

Kraler (2009) postulates that regularisations follow different rationales and are framed in various terms, which are employment (economic), humanitarian logic, or simple adjustment in the context of immigration reform. The shortfalls during the implementation of the documentation process of Zimbabweans and the livelihood challenges regularised Zimbabweans are encountering daily, shows South Africa's response towards Zimbabweans is more aligned to South Africa's national interests which are more aligned to security benefits. Mawadza (2008) points out that Zimbabweans in South Africa are viewed as a source of insecurity rather than being viewed as subjects to life of insecurity. This has led to less recognition of their rights in South Africa. According to Piper (2013) migrants'

livelihood rights are a highly-contested subject for both legal and undocumented, as the lack of recognition of migrants' rights in practice means migrants have little access to rights. Therefore, it can be argued that immigration status does not guarantee rights but migrants in this study experience specific challenges which have negative impact on their lives and livelihoods.

Furthermore, South Africa's outlook is characterised by an intense fear of the emergence of a large-scale permanent immigrant population from Zimbabwe (Crush, et al. 2012). According to Maphosa (2010; 2011) some Zimbabweans can be regarded as trans-migrants who want to establish homes both in Zimbabwe and South Africa as they spend their lives moving across the borders of these two countries and much of their time is spent in South Africa. In contrast findings in this study showed that most regularised Zimbabwean migrants want to go back to their country, but they are uncertain about what the future holds in Zimbabwe.Therefore I argue that though it is implausible to expect South African government to resolve the entire livelihood challenges related to Zimbabweans, I argue that it is commendable if effective solutions towards migrants' specific challenges are implemented. Research done by Jacobsen (2006), on refugees showed that urban refugees could be highly beneficial to cities if they could pursue productive lives, absent legal restrictions, harassment and insecurity, without placing the host society at a disadvantage. Crush (2011) asserts that South Africa will continue to be a major destination for temporary labour migrants from neighbouring countries. Therefore, there is need for a conclusive, concrete policy framework towards Zimbabwean migration, not just a temporary response, as South Africa, respectively still represents far much better economic opportunities compared to those that exist in their country of origin.

Moreover, despite being documented the Zimbabwean migrant population do not seem to trust South African authorities and feel the state fails to guarantee their safety, (Hungwe 2013; Crush and Tawodzera, 2011). According to Hungwe (2013) and Dumba and Chirisa (2010), Zimbabweans among other foreign migrants still face xenophobia, regardless of whether they are documented or undocumented. To concur with the above argument Manik and Singh (2013; 1) states that;

> *South Africa (SA), the big apple of Africa has been perceived as a destination where dreams can be accomplished given legislative and policy advancements post-apartheid but this will soon plummet to South Africa being perceived as the rotten*

apple of Africa, if xenophobia is not addressed and repetitively swept under the carpet especially by government institutions, key political figures and civil society."

Manik and Singh (2013) extrapolate that xenophobia is institutionalised in numerous segments of the South African society, and these include the media and government departments. I argue that institutionalised xenophobia is more prominent as a catalyst for disrupting the livelihoods of respective migrants, in this case of regularised Zimbabweans.

Research done by Machecka, et al. (2015), on undocumented Zimbabweans in South Africa, showed that for many migrants, social integration is rarely easy and for some impossible. Lack of legal status prevents people from experiencing rights that are both fundamental, such as working and accessing the justice system, and necessary to functioning in modern society, such as opening bank accounts and registering births and deaths (Machecka et al. 2015). In contrast findings in this study showed that regularised Zimbabwean migrants despite having a legal status are still deprived of accessing rights, such as access to the justice, access to health, education, social protection in the labour market. For Hungwe (2013) institutions that are largely exclusionary towards Zimbabweans are hospitals, banks, police and to some extent, schools. Jinnah and Holaday (2009) argue that people who move out of their countries of origin experience vulnerability because they do not have access to the same entitlements that are available in their country of origin. The loss of migrants' citizenship or nationality also exposes them to vulnerability and limits their access to certain services (Jinnah and Holaday, 2009). This showing that xenophobia has been instuitionalised, and this has resulted in incessant vulnerability of regularised Zimbabwean migrants.

Mountz et al. (2002) further point out that temporary status has important effects on immigrants' sense of belonging and of their future thereby affecting livelihoods. Because of the uncertain future, it offers, temporary status prevents immigrants from making investments both small and large as part of their livelihoods (Mountz et al, 2002). Jacobsen (2006) research on refugees and asylum seekers noted that the possession of adequate and recognized documents is particularly important in accessing social services, employment and housing. Findings in this study have shown that regularised Zimbabweans who are better off are not certain whether to invest more in South Africa or not. For instance, a business owner I interviewed spoke of buying a house in South Africa but he is not sure if it is the right decision to make, when his permit is on the verge of expiring. This shows that despite documenting Zimbabweans in 2010 and 2014 South African government in particular, the

department of Home Affairs is failing to recognize the rights and dignity of the regularised migrants. Hungwe (2013) postulates that because of the weak and exclusionary permits most Zimbabwean migrants are just getting by rather than getting ahead with their lives.

Findings in the study showed that most formal employees are not getting benefits from their employers despite performing the same duties as their local natives. In this study, I found out that teachers have been exploited and they have nowhere to report to as they are in fear of losing their jobs. Research done by Singh (2013) on Zimbabwean teachers indicated that they do experience xenophobia within the schools where they teach and the greatest threat that they face is job security. Enchautegui (2014) study on regularised workers in Italy showed that while unauthorized immigrants are at extreme vulnerability to violations, temporary status workers are also at high risk as they are less likely to come forward to report injuries and wage violations. Hungwe (2013) extrapolates that employers capitalise on the precarious positions of migrants whose legal status is weak and unclear and exploit them, exposing them to poor working conditions and little pay. I argue that regularised Zimbabwean migrants like any other migrants are always at a deprived position when it comes to labour matters and this is a challenge towards their livelihood goals. Therefore, there is need to implement social and labour protection policies for foreign workers in workplaces.

In conclusion, the livelihood experiences of regularised Zimbabwean migrants in Johannesburg reflect a complex relationship between regularisation and livelihoods. Findings show that regularised Zimbabwean migrants are striving to move on with their lives, on the other hand their livelihoods are not secure and sustainable enough to address the specific challenges migrants face daily in foreign lands. Despite being documented regularised Zimbabwean migrants remain vulnerable to all kinds of social ills like xenophobia, exploitation, discrimination, to mention a few. According to Mosselson (2010), while a legal identity may indicate the right to have rights in a state, it does not necessarily elevate already vulnerable people to a status where they enjoy equality or consequence as members of the community.

5 CHAPTER FIVE- CONCLUSION

The presence of Zimbabweans living in South Africa has been acknowledged and recognized by the South African government through the implementation of the Zimbabwe Documentation Project in 2010 and the Zimbabwe Special Permit in 2014. However, the rationale for this study emanated from the desire to shed light on how regularised Zimbabwean migrants are making a living now that they are documented and to establish whether documentation has a bearing on what they do in their lives. Though the findings in this study may not be ground breaking or surprising, they increase an understanding on how regularised Zimbabweans are moving on with their lives. The study also gives an insight on their living standards, as little is known on the experiences, perceptions and the effect the regularisation programs have on the livelihoods of the regularised populace.

Chau (2001) argues that though migrants are perhaps one of the most researched groups, existing literature tends reflect the views of the state and not much of experiences of the ordinary migrant. Chau (2001) further noted that presenting a one-sided view of any situation especially from a prescriptive approach is not enough and from his point of view I argue that this does not open space for any critical analysis of the regularisation of migrants on their livelihoods. Findings in the study reveal that regularised Zimbabwean migrants still lack access to protection, equal opportunities in their endeavours, especially in the labour market. The study has shown that though documentation improves livelihood opportunities of regularised migrants and yet it still offers limited protection on their livelihoods and their rights. Regularised Zimbabwean migrants continue to face discrimination and exploitation, even though they are now documented.

Furthermore, documentation of Zimbabweans under the Zimbabwe Documentation Project in 2010 and the renewal through issuing Zimbabwe Special Permits in 2014 reflects how Zimbabweans among other foreign nationals are valuable assets to South Africa, but the South African government fails to put into consideration the specific needs of immigrants who are trying to move on from the disparities they faced in their home country and make a living in South Africa. As Briones (2006:38-39) states;

> *In a highly political environment of restrictive immigration controls which constrain migration as a livelihood strategy to many, coupled with oppressive development*

policies which have obliterated livelihood access in countries of origin, seriously undermine the beneficial outcomes of migration

The Department of Home Affairs, is not willing to accept that as long as the political situation remain the same in Zimbabwe, people will always find South Africa as a land of opportunities for the betterment of their lives, and this unwillingness has led to reluctance in addressing challenges regularised migrants are facing in the quest of securing their livelihoods. Though the livelihoods of regularised Zimbabwean migrants have been enhanced by their documentation, they remain vulnerable to insecure and unsustainable lives and livelihoods, because of an inconclusive policy which lacks a mandate to protect their livelihoods from ills such as discrimination, exploitation and xenophobia. I assert that there is a complex relationship between documentation and livelihoods of regularised Zimbabwean migrants.

RECOMMENDATIONS

For further research, I suggest that more focus should be put on assessing the impact of regularisation policy, on the livelihoods of regularised migrants. In most cases, the absence of secure and sustainable livelihoods is mostly a major push factor which explains the motivation behind migrating. Therefore, there is need for an evaluation policy/ process, to find out if this kind of policy is feasible enough to solve migrants' livelihood issues and concerns.

Furthermore, besides Mozambicans and Zimbabweans being regularised on different terms and conditions, it must be taken into account that recently the Department of Home Affairs is in the process of regularising undocumented Basotho from Lesotho. Therefore, I recommend regularisation to be a long-term policy, with feasible conditions which will not put a strain on the livelihood activities of the recipients, as the South African immigration policy is now focusing more on implementing regularisation policies than on detention and deportation, to solve irregular migration. Therefore, there is need for regularisation policies to be on a long-term basis, as short-lived policies do not contain ideals of diversity, inclusivity, when it comes to migrants needs.

In addition, there is dire need for the South African government to plan and implement the integration of migrants and the locals in South Africa. Integration only through legalising the stay and the right to work of migrants in South Africa has proved to be inadequate. Despite being regularised Zimbabweans were among the foreign populace who were attacked in the recent 2015 xenophobic attacks, as they were told to go back home. Therefore, it is imperative for the South African government, to take a closer look at integration policies be it in formal and informal environments. The economic and social exclusion of these migrant populations appears to be rather counterproductive for the economy and the social cohesion of the receiving country, on both the short and long run.

Finally, I recommend the need to reflect on the significance of engaging other actors like migrants themselves in determining what is relevant in securing and protecting the livelihoods of migrants. The department of Home Affairs, the International Community, International Labour Organisation (ILO), civil society and the private sector, cannot work alone in providing amicable and practical solutions to the livelihood concerns of foreign migrants.

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APPENDICES

Appendix I: Participant information sheet

Title of research project: Making a living and moving on: Exploring the livelihoods of regularised Zimbabweans in Johannesburg, South Africa

Research Protocol Number: H16/09/16

Introduction

My name is Tariro Winnet C. Muchichwa; I am from the Department of African Centre for Migration Society (ACMS) at the University of the Witwatersrand. I am carrying out a study that is exploring the livelihoods of documented Zimbabwean migrants in Johannesburg, South Africa. My supervisor is Dr Zaheera Jinnah, who can be contacted at Zaheera.Jinnah@wits.ac.za or by phone at +27 (0) 11 717 4699. I the researcher can be contacted by email at tariromuchichwa@gmail.com or by phone at 0839463544/0747720967.

Invitation to participate and what the study entails:

I would like to invite you to take part in this study as it will help us to understand the activities that documented Zimbabweans are doing to make a living. The purpose of the study is to understand the range of livelihood activities that documented Zimbabweans under the DZP and ZSP draw upon and of the strategies they employ in their attempts to earn a living in Johannesburg and to establish whether documentation has a bearing on what people do to secure their lives and wellbeing. Your participation is entirely voluntary, you may choose not to participate, and you can at any time withdraw from the study. Your confidentiality will be ensured, and you will remain anonymous in the final dissertation and I, the researcher, my supervisor and the University of Witwatersrand will only have access to information you provide. The duration of this interview will be between 30minutes to an hour and I may ask you that we meet again for a second time to talk more about this. No remuneration will be given for participation in the project. Neither will there be any penalties if you choose not to participate.

Risks, Costs and Benefits

There are very few risks in participating in this study. I will ask you some personal questions about your life and work. You may experience some discomfort in discussing some of the topics in the interview, and some questions may cause you emotional distress and you may be reminded of sensitive or emotive issues or events that may have occurred in the past. If for any reason, you are uncomfortable you can skip a question or chose to stop the interview at any time. If any of the topics discussed in the interview upset you, I can refer you to a counsellor that you can talk with further. There are no direct benefits for participating in this study, but, this research will help us to understand the experiences, challenges and opportunities Zimbabwean immigrants, in relation to their wellbeing and livelihoods. There are no direct costs associated with this research project. The information that will be collected is purely for research purposes and to learn more about the range of livelihood activities that documented Zimbabweans draw upon, the challenges and opportunities they face in the quest of securing their livelihoods.

The information that you share with me may be written up in research reports. We will NOT use any of your personal details and it will not be possible to identify you personally in any of the research reports. Your responses may be made available in an anonymised format for a variety of subsequent purposes, including for future teaching and research projects.

Please feel free to ask me any questions that you may have about the research project or the interview both during the interview and afterwards. If you are prepared to participate, please sign the consent form.

Appendix II: Verbal Consent Form for In-depth interview participants

Title of research project: Making a living and moving on: Exploring the livelihoods of regularised Zimbabweans in Johannesburg, South Africa

Research Protocol number: H16/09/16

You are kindly invited to take part in a study that I, Tariro Winnet C. Muchichwa am conducting for the fulfilment of the requirements for the Masters of Arts (MA) in Migration and Displacement Studies at the University of the Witwatersrand in Johannesburg, South Africa.

I, the Researcher will read through this carefully with the participant and tick the preferred response

	YES	NO
I have read and understood the participant information sheet, and have had the opportunity to ask questions.		
I understand that I am free to withdraw from this study at any time with no negative consequences.		
I understand that all information will be confidential and my responses anonymised. It will not be possible to identify me in the final report		
I give consent for my responses to be made available in an anonymised format for a variety of subsequent purposes, including for future teaching and research projects		
I give my consent to be audio taped during the interviews		
I understand that after the tapes will be kept for 2 years after publication, or for 6 years if no publication results. I also understand that I am free to withdraw this consent at any time.		
I consent to participate in this study.		

FOR VERBAL CONSENT

PARTICIPANT:

Printed Name of Participant Date

For verbal consent, only (to be completed by me the researcher)

- **I....., herewith confirm that the above participant has been fully informed about the study and has given verbal consent to participate as indicated above.**

Printed Name Signature Date

Appendix III: Tape-Recording Consent Form

Title of the research project: Making a living and moving on: Exploring the livelihoods of regularised Zimbabweans in Johannesburg, South Africa

Research Protocol number: H16/09/16

Introduction: Hello, my name is Tariro Winnet C. Muchichwa; I am from the Department of African Centre for Migration Society (ACMS) at the University of the Witwatersrand. I am carrying out a study that is exploring the livelihoods of documented Zimbabwean migrants in Johannesburg, South Africa. I would like to invite you to take part in this study as it will help us to understand the activities that documented Zimbabweans are doing to make a living. The purpose of the study is to understand the range of livelihood activities that documented Zimbabweans under the DZP and ZSP draw upon and of the strategies they employ in their attempts to earn a living in Johannesburg and to establish whether documentation has a bearing on what people do to secure their lives and wellbeing.

Can the researcher tape this interview?

- I understand that tape-recording is voluntary
- I understand that if at any point, I feel uncomfortable tape-recording will be stopped.
- I understand that recorded information will be confidential and will only be accessible to the researcher.
- I understand that if at any point, I want to withdraw from this study, recordings will be destroyed
- I understand that transcripts of the interviews will be made available upon request
- I agree/do not agree that my interview be tape-recorded
- I agree/ do not agree that my verbal consent be tape recorded as well.

Print Name (in full) _____

Signature_____ Date_____

Appendix IV: Interview Guide

Title of Study: Making a living and moving on: Exploring the livelihoods of regularised Zimbabweans in Johannesburg, South Africa.

Research Protocol number: H16/09/16

Background information

How old are you?

How long have you been in South Africa and how long have you lived in Johannesburg?

Tell me about how you came to be in South Africa?

Is your family here with you? If no, may I ask why?

Prior to being documented in 2010, did you have any other permit?

How did you find the whole process?

Have you faced any challenges during the process? If yes, which ones?

Did you manage to renew your permit in 2014? If no, may I ask why?

What qualifications do you have, national certificate diploma, degree, etc. that you have?

Do you feel that this is recognized in South Africa now that you are documented?

Livelihoods

Prior to coming to South Africa were you employed? In what sector?

What job have you held while in South Africa?

Did you have a permit to stay and work in South Africa?

What are the main sources of income for your family?

What type of work are you doing now?

Are you happy with the type of work you do?

How do you get your payment?

Have you had any problems receiving your pay?

Have you ever felt discriminated working in South Africa?

How many jobs did you have since you came to South Africa?

Do you have a contract?

Do you help anyone here or at home or elsewhere? Do you send money home? If so, how and when?

Do you receive money here? From whom, why and how?

How different is your life in South Africa to the life in Zimbabwe?

Challenges/ Opportunities / Livelihood Outcomes

What were the social and economic experiences of your life before having the DZP/ZSP permit?

What are the challenges you are facing today if there are any?

Has the permit been beneficial to you, if yes in what ways and no in what ways?

What changes have you experienced in your life since you became the holder of DZP and ZSP, in terms of access to services and the labour market?

Have you ever faced problems accessing services and resources while using your permit, if yes or no how?

Future

What are your plans for the future, if I may ask?

Would you want to continue to stay in South Africa? If yes / no, may I ask why?

Thank you for your time, is there anything you would like to ask me?

Appendix V: Ethics Clearance Certificate

Research Office

HUMAN RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE (NON-MEDICAL)
R14/49 Muchichwa

CLEARANCE CERTIFICATE	**PROTOCOL NUMBER: H16/09/16**
PROJECT TITLE	Making a living and moving on: Exploring the livelihoods of regularised Zimbabweans in Johannesburg, South Africa
INVESTIGATOR(S)	Miss T Muchichwa
SCHOOL/DEPARTMENT	Social Science/
DATE CONSIDERED	23 September 2016
DECISION OF THE COMMITTEE	Approved
EXPIRY DATE	17 October 2019

DATE 18 October 2016 **CHAIRPERSON** (Professor J Knight)

cc: Supervisor : Dr Z Jinnah

DECLARATION OF INVESTIGATOR(S)

To be completed in duplicate and **ONE COPY** returned to the Secretary at Room 10004, 10th Floor, Senate House, University.

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

Signature

28 / 10 / 2016
Date

PLEASE QUOTE THE PROTOCOL NUMBER ON ALL ENQUIRIES