

**BINDURA UNIVERSITY OF SCIENCE EDUCATION
FACULTY OF SOCIAL SCIENCE AND HUMANITIES
DEPARTMENT OF PEACE AND GOVERNANCE**



**EFFECTS OF MIGRATION BETWEEN ZIMBABWE AND SOUTH AFRICA SINCE
1990**

BY

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GOVERNANCE IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT FOR THE REQUIREMENTS FOR
THE MASTER OF SCIENCE DEGREE IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS**

**BINDURA, ZIMBABWE
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ABSTRACT

Since 1994, South Africa has received an influx of Zimbabwean migrants in search of a better living. However, due to South Africa's apartheid inspired immigration laws, many of these immigrants are faced with increased difficulty in regularising their stay to realise their immigration dream. This thesis examines South Africa's immigration legislation and how it negatively impacts the livelihood regimes of Zimbabwean migrants living in South Africa, from a development perspective. Through a critical investigation of South Africa's immigration policy, literature and document analysis, this thesis argues that the South African government is reluctant to overhaul its restrictive apartheid inspired immigration laws to safeguard its national interests, while covertly concealing its lack of capacity and tact to manage the Zimbabwe migrant situation. The study concludes that South Africa's immigration policy is outdated and exclusionary at the core. This has had deleterious effects on livelihood regimes of Zimbabwean immigrants as they are unable to access critical resources and services such as healthcare, employment, banking and legal protection due to the precarious nature of their immigration status. South Africa has received an influx of Zimbabwean migrants in search of a better living. However, due to South Africa's apartheid inspired immigration laws, many of these immigrants are faced with increased difficulty in regularising their stay to realise their immigration dream. This thesis examines South Africa's immigration legislation and how it negatively impacts the livelihood regimes of Zimbabwean migrants living in South Africa, from a development perspective. Through a critical investigation of South Africa's immigration policy, literature and document analysis, this thesis argues that the South African government is reluctant to overhaul its restrictive apartheid inspired immigration laws to safeguard its national interests, while covertly concealing its lack of capacity and tact to manage the Zimbabwe migrant situation. The study concludes that South Africa's immigration policy is outdated and exclusionary at the core. This has had deleterious effects on livelihood regimes of Zimbabwean immigrants as they are unable to access critical resources and services such as healthcare, employment, banking and legal protection due to the precarious nature of their immigration status.

ACRONYMS

ACM	African Centre for Migration
ANC	African National Congress
COSATU	Congress of South African Trade Unions
DFA	Department of Foreign Affairs
DHA	Department of Home Affairs
DZP	Dispensation of Zimbabweans Project
ESAP	Economic Structural Adjustment Programme EU European Union
UN	United Nations
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
ZIMPREST	Zimbabwe Programme for Economic and Social Transformation
ZSP	Zimbabwe Special Permit

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background to the study

Zimbabwean migrants share space with different contending groups and forces within the South African landscape (Rogerson, 2015). These groups include the diverse ethnic, class, linguistic constituents of the South African public, and other migrants, including, of course, other Zimbabweans. While it is important to understand the construction of space (physical, relational and perceived) in terms of the actions, or tactics, of migrants, it is also important to understand that migrant space cannot be easily set apart from other forms of space. Cross-border migration for employment within SADC was prevalent long before the drawing of colonial boundaries, dating back at least 150 years. The countries of Southern Africa have been sending and receiving migrants since the mid nineteenth century when labour migrants came to work on the Kimberley diamond mines, including from modern-day Zimbabwe (SAHRC, 2010).

The discovery of gold on the Witwatersrand changed the entire pattern of labour migration in the sub-continent (Scoones, 2016). Initially most migrants came independently. Male labour migration to the mines (South Africa, Zimbabwe) and commercial farms and plantations (South Africa, Zimbabwe,) is the most enduring form of legal cross-border labour migration within the region. Mine migration was the most highly regulated, through systems of recruitment under a single agency, the Employment Bureau of Africa (TEBA). By 1970, there were over 260,000 male labour migrants on the South African mines. Other mining centers in Zimbabwe also became magnets for labour migrants from other countries (Steinberg, 2012). The other major employer of migrants in South Africa and Zimbabwe were commercial farms and plantations.

Migrants also worked in the colonial period in urban centres in construction, domestic service and industry.

Contemporary large-scale migration from Zimbabwe has its origins in the structural adjustments reforms of the 1990s when growing unemployment started to increase and a brain drain of skilled Zimbabweans began. However, it was not until 2000 as the political and economic situation began to deteriorate, that migration from Zimbabwe began to accelerate and become far more mixed in character. The 2015 United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs (UNDESA) Bilateral Migration Database shows Zimbabwean migrants now live in at least 50 countries worldwide. Of the 856,345 documented Zimbabwean migrants outside the country, 252,569 (or 29%) were in the North and 603,776 (71%) were in the South. Some countries, especially in the North, recognise Zimbabweans as refugees and rates of acceptance of refugee claims are relatively high (Stoeffler et al., 2016). Others, including South Africa, generally do not and rates are low. Fewer than 1% of Zimbabwean applications for asylum have been granted refugee status (amounting to less than 1,500 in total). Zimbabweans are officially categorised in South Africa as 'economic migrants' and are not afforded the rights and protections of the 1998 Refugees Act, including the right to work and earn a livelihood (Tawodzera et al., 2015).

One crisis involves the political turmoil and economic meltdown in Zimbabwe after 2000, which has driven hundreds of thousands of citizens to seek a less precarious existence for themselves and their families by migrating to other countries. As a politically stable and economically robust neighbouring state, with low transaction costs for migration, South Africa has become an attractive destination for many crisis-driven migrants. Yet far from providing a safe space for refuge and rebuilding, South Africans have responded with increasing prejudice to the presence of Zimbabwean migrants (Thebe, 2016).

The other protracted and simultaneous crisis is therefore the xenophobic intolerance and violence in South Africa in which Zimbabwean migrants have become enmeshed. Xenophobia is not simply a response to migration from Zimbabwe, however, but part of a more general post-apartheid response to the opening up of South Africa to migrants from the rest of Africa and further afield. The targets of xenophobia and xenophobic violence are all foreign migrants and refugees, although the particular circumstances of migration from Zimbabwe have done little to insulate or protect Zimbabwean migrants. Zimbabwean migrants in South Africa who fled political violence and/or the desperate economic circumstances in their country of origin, have faced the daunting challenge of securing employment and re-building their lives in South Africa, while continuing to face routine challenges of discrimination, social exclusion, xenophobic harassment and violence (UNDESA, 2015).

1.2 Statement of the problem

While international migration has been increasing, predominantly driven along the lines of the South – North nexus, South – South migration also continues to swell, with “the world’s 82 million South-South migrants forming about 36% of the total stock of migrants” (Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, 2016. p. 3). Such statistics show that South – South migration is an increasingly significant factor in the economic and social development of many developing countries. However, restrictive and repressive migration policies, particularly in the receiving countries, have situated immigrants in a place where they have inferior legal, financial, economic, social and political positions. Subsequently, these policies have contributed to the rise in undocumented immigrants, and formation of a precarious, flexible, super exploited pool of migrant labour; used by governments and employers to “pull down wages and working conditions of the entire labour force” (Bowmen, 2015. p. 86). In this regard, this present study is premised on examining Immigration, Neighbourhood and Diffusion of crisis between Zimbabwe and South Africa since 1994.

1.3 Research Objectives

The research seeks to:

1. To examine factors contributing to immigration in Zimbabwe and South Africa
2. To analyse challenges of immigration policies and laws towards international relations
3. To explore conflicts that have risen as a result of migrations.

1.3.1 Research aim

- To analyse immigration relations between South Africa and Zimbabwe

1.4 Research questions

- What factors are contributing to the realisation of immigration in Zimbabwe and South Africa?
- What challenges do immigration policies harness in relation to international relations?
- What conflicts have risen as a result of migrations?

1.5 Justification of the Study

To academics and immigration officers

This study is likely to generate new information useful to the academic community for further studies focusing on immigration and international relations, this research can be a point of comparison with future researches. The study will add to the body of knowledge on the impact of immigration laws and policies on international relations.

To the researcher

The researcher will broaden his knowledge on the implications of immigration on international relations.

1.6 Delimitations of the study

The aim of the research is to explore the impact of immigration on international relations. The research will focus on the discourse of international relations with specific focus on two countries namely Zimbabwe and South Africa.

1.7 Assumptions of the study

- The researcher assumes that the study will receive maximum cooperation and support from the respondents concerning the discursive implications of immigration between Zimbabwe and South Africa.
- The researcher assumes that the study will be objective in data collection, analysis, presentation and discussion of the study findings and will provide accurate information to the best of their knowledge.

1.8 Organisation of the study

The study has five chapters which are categorised as follows:

Chapter 1 provides an introduction to the study in terms of the background to the study, statement of the problem, significance of the study, research objectives and questions, scope of the study as well as assumptions of the study.

Chapter 2 reviews empirical literature on the thematic areas in alignment with the objectives of this study. The chapter also reveals the theoretical framework underpinning the study.

Chapter 3 focuses on explaining the research methodology guiding this study. This chapter includes a detailed explanation and justification of the research methods including research approach, research design, target population, sample size, sampling method, research

instruments, data collection procedures, data analysis and presentation methods, reliability, validity, and ethical considerations.

Chapter 4 analyses, presents and discusses data. Results and discussion are guided by research objectives.

Chapter 5 provides the conclusions to the whole study and gives recommendations. These conclusions are derived from the findings based on the research objectives of the study and data collected and analysed. The chapter provides implications that are based on theory, policy and practice, and limitations and future research.

1.9 Chapter summary

This chapter outlines the research map for the study. The background to the study- highlighting the subject matter under investigation, statement of the problem, research objectives, research questions, delimitations of the study, justification of the study, assumptions of the study and organisation of the whole research project are explained in this chapter. The background to the study denotes the overall situation of the immigration and diffusion of crisis discourse. The following chapter presents a review of related literature to the present study conforming to the research objectives of the study.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.0 Introduction

This chapter is devoted to the review of existing literature on earlier studies on immigration, diffusion of crisis, policies and dimensions. For the purpose of achieving the objectives of this study, it is necessary to review some earlier work in this subject that would provide us with adequate theoretical and empirical background for assessing the relevance and contributions of this research study. The subject matter in question is explicated within the Neoclassical Economic theory perspectives. This study ascertains the immigration relations in relations to the subject matter explored and delineated herein.

2.1 South African Immigration Policy Responses (1995-2015)

2.1.1 The Immigration Act of 2002

This Act was the result of a controversial process which excluded all the recommendation put through both the Green and White Papers. The Tripartite Alliance⁸ has been largely held responsible for derailing the possibility of a decent process that would have ushered a transformational approach to immigration. The Immigration Act of 2002 repealed the 1991 Aliens Act and the Aliens Amendment Act of 1995. This Act of 2002 was supposed to be revolutionary in its overhaul of apartheid inspired legislation. Instead the Minister, Mongosuthu Buthelezi, gave his office sweeping powers to delegate duties concerning immigration to other sections of the Public Service. As such, the Department of Home Affairs enlisted the South African Police Service (SAPS), and the South African Defense National Forces (SANDF) to conduct arrests, searches and deportations. This directive clearly mirrors the tools that the apartheid regime used to employ to enforce their brutal crackdown on other races considered inferior (Peberdy and Crush 2008).

Under the Immigration Act of 2002, there are a few legal stumbling blocks that migrants face in an attempt to regularize their documentation for them to get jobs. This legislation made it more complicated and time consuming to get legal documentation to work in the Republic of South Africa (Human Rights Watch, 2008). Furthermore, the Immigration Amendment Act, section 21(4)(b), ended employers' access to special exemptions for the recruitment of foreign workers based on ministerial approval, but preserves existing treaties with governments in the region. This section highlights the desire by the ANC-led government to close the legal "immigration gate," while maintaining access to cheaper labour. This further reinforces the argument that the current immigration legislation bears the hallmarks of discriminatory apartheid inspired positions.

2.1.2 The Immigration Amendment Act of 2011 and 2014

The Immigration Act of 2011 was an amendment of the Immigration Act of 2002. This Act did not diverge from the positions that characterized the 2002 Act. In fact, it added more restrictions in a bid to make South Africa unattractive to migrants. Notable changes included the repealing of the Quota work permit and the Exceptional skills visa, which were merged to create the Critical Skills visa. This signaled a protectionist stance by the government to try to limit the number of foreign migrants entering the labour force. The positions in the Amendment Act of 2011 resemble the restrictions that were instituted against Jewish immigrant in the Aliens Act of 1937, which was an attempt to protect the white labour market against Jewish migrants. As such, I argue as shown in this study that there is a continued remodeling of immigration legislation based on historic racist positions. Section 20 (c) of the Amendment Act of 2011 added a clause that penalized migrants that overstayed the time stipulated on their visas (Republic of South Africa, 2011). Considering the known logistical and organizational problems that plague the Department of Home Affairs (DHA), there is evidence of periodic delays in renewal of visas. As such, most migrants who are the majority on temporary visas run

the risk of becoming “undesirables” and facing deportation from South Africa. This move, although meant to enforce strict rules of stay in South Africa, also contributes to the problem by supporting the creation of undocumented aliens due to the inefficiency of the documentation systems. The Amendment Act of 2014 was aggressive in its exclusion agenda. The Department of Home Affairs contracted a private company, VFS Global, to handle all visa related applications. This not only makes it difficult for applicants to appeal but also shifts the handling of application traffic from the DHA to VFS Global. Such a move was meant to deter corrupt administration rackets from handling applications and direct contact with migrants. The move cost South Africa an estimated 4.4 billion Rand in tourism revenue in 2014-2015 because of the expenses and inconveniences faced by would be migrants and tourists (Eisenberg, 2015). Furthermore, Eisenberg notes the rate at which applications for work permits and permanent residence are denied is alarming and sometimes no satisfactory reasons are given (2015). This leads applicants to file appeals, which can last between 5-6 months. During this adjudication process most applicants automatically become ‘undesirables’, as per the Immigration Act.

2.1.3 Dispensation of Zimbabweans Project (DZP) and the Zimbabwean Special Dispensation Permit (ZSP) 2010-2014

The DZP was launched in 2009 after approval by the South African government and Department of Home Affairs. Its mandate was to i) Regularize Zimbabweans residing in South Africa “illegally”. ii) Curb the deportation of Zimbabweans who were in SA” illegally”. iii) Reduce pressure on the asylum seeker and refugee regime iv) Provide amnesty to Zimbabweans who obtained SA documents fraudulently (Rogers and Chandersath, 2014. p. 1). This project was also a reaction to the xenophobic violence that erupted towards the kickoff of the 2010 Soccer World Cup in South Africa. Due to the nature and magnitude of the impending event, South was put under the spotlight as they were the hosts. The xenophobic violence that erupted was captured around the world and questions concerning the capability of South Africa to host the

Soccer World cup in such an environment were asked. As Zimbabwe was collapsing in 2008, all the undocumented labour traffic that poured into South Africa from Zimbabwe created a labour surplus which was welcomed for stadium and other infrastructure construction ahead of the World Cup (Raftopolos, 2013). However, this excess labour, would need to be regulated after the World cup was over because the economic boom that came with the World Cup would have dissipated (Cottle and Rambaldi, 2013. p. 4). The fear was that it would result in increased competition for jobs and resources causing unprecedented antagonism between locals and migrants.

2.2 Dimensions of Immigration policy

Immigration legislation is complicated. Most research, however, focuses either on one vote or on some generic question about immigration flows. I argue that this approach is inadequate. Immigration legislation involves a number of different issues and thus evokes different preferences, depending on the issues and their framing. Furthermore, as it evolves over time, legislation may change its emphasis, adding new issues or reframing old ones. Using a single generic question about immigration or combining votes on immigration legislation risks eliding the patterns of political support for and opposition to it, as different issues with distinct effects are all aggregated. To better test the claims we make about the impact of economic and ideological variables on immigration policy, we need to differentiate the votes. This disaggregation allows us to focus more clearly on particular causal mechanisms. Our claims are strengthened when we match a vote on one specific set of issues with the theory relating to that type of issue.

2.3 Non-Economic Sources of Preferences: Ideology

A substantial part of the immigration literature has debated the relative importance of ideology versus economic interests. Some authors have argued that ideology and beliefs are most

important in immigration preferences; these studies tend to show that a wide variety of ideological factors can affect an individual's attitudes toward immigration (Burns and Gimpel, 2000; Citrin et al., 1997; Hainmueller and Hiscox, 2007). Conservative ideologies support a minimum role for government, especially in terms of the active redistribution of resources, whereas those holding left-wing ideologies favor a more expansive role of government in society and often favor redistribution to the poor. These ideological explanations have been used to help explain both trade (Milner and Judkins, 2004) and immigration aid policy making (Milner and Tingley, 2010, 2011) as well as many domestic policy areas (e.g., (McCarty et al., 2006)).

However, most existing evidence suggests that conservatives are less likely than liberals to support immigration, despite conservative antipathy for government intervention in markets. Numerous public opinion studies show that individuals with left party orientations tend to be more sympathetic to increasing immigration (Burns and Gimpel, 2000; Citrin and Sides, 2008; Facchini and Mayda, 2007, 2008; Hainmueller and Hiscox, 2007; Milner and Tingley, 2008). Legislative studies confirm this finding. Hix and Noury (2007) analyze legislative voting in the EU and find that left-right political orientation is the key explanatory variable for immigration voting, not material concerns. Gimpel and Edwards (1999) argue that since 1965 the redistributive impact of immigration has made it increasingly partisan and ideologically divided, with conservatives increasingly opposed. Fetzer's (2006) study of the 109th Congress also found strong support from conservatives for anti-immigration policy. In principle, conservatives should support unrestricted immigration. Interfering with the flow of people means government interference with the market. However, many immigration policies involve the question of who pays for the costs of immigration and its control, and conservatives are also opposed to higher taxes for the same reason. Others have noted that "antiimmigrant sentiment and fiscal conservatism intersect in a new 'fiscal politics of immigration.' Immigrants are

viewed as part of the reason for the high costs of social services and are especially vulnerable to attempts to reduce government welfare expenditures” (Huber and Espenshade, 1997, pg. 1035).

If an immigrant group is expected to join liberal political groups, they might also oppose increased visas since this may increase the number of liberal voters in the future. Liberal legislators should have different preferences. While those on the left may accept a government role in managing immigration flows, their preferences should depend on the perceived effects of immigration on citizens. If immigration has a negative effect, for instance., by displacing poor native workers, then just as in trade policy, left-wing individuals might prefer government policies to limit immigration, like strict visa limits on low-skill immigration. If immigration is seen as economically beneficial, or in some way fulfilling a desirable set of political goals (for example., expanding the coalition of groups that favor redistributive programs), then left-wing legislators may favor less restrictive immigration policies, such as higher visa limits and less border control. Further, left wing groups and legislators may favor legalization of immigrants so they become part of the legal workforce and are therefore able to join unions which are typically a liberal constituency. Hence we expect them to be more supportive of extending welfare benefits to immigrants, less supportive of border control, and more in favor of making employers bear the burden of immigration control.

If government policy on immigration revolves around redistributing its costs, one can expect partisan political ideology to play a major role. If these costs are more present in some types of immigration policy than others, then we should expect ideology to have a stronger effect there. Thus we expect ideology to play a large role in explaining votes on welfare benefits for immigrants. In addition, restrictions on the employment of immigrants place burdens on employers, who tend to hold more conservative views (Chau, 2003). Hence we expect that

rightwing individuals will oppose votes that put constraints on employers as they redistribute the costs of immigration to higher income individuals. Finally, border control votes are largely symbolic since they involve policies that tend to have little actual effect on immigration flows (Hanson et al., 2002; Rudolph, 2006). Others have argued that ideology maps onto symbolic concerns (Sears et al., 1980), and hence we expect these votes to be highly ideological. Furthermore, to the extent that border controls have increasingly been linked with national security concerns by conservative legislators (e.g., (Tancred, 2004)) and used as a divisive issue by Republicans (Barnes, 1993), we expect that ideology will play a salient role on immigration votes about border control measures.

This discussion suggests that different aspects of general liberal-conservative ideology will have a differential bearing on different types of immigration legislation. Although we cannot produce a more differentiated measure of ideology (for example, one that differentiate between attitudes towards government intervention in the economy and attitudes towards out-groups) because of data availability, this discussion does point theoretically to ways that our more generic measure of left-right ideology can play out across different types of immigration policy. In our conclusion we suggest research strategies for studying more closely the influence of ideology across different domains of immigration policy. The preceding theoretical discussion and distinctions between different types of immigration votes leads to the present key hypotheses stated in chapter one of this study; **H1**; Immigration yields positive outcomes towards international relations; **H2**; Immigration adversely impact on international relations. A further analysis of these hypotheses is delineated in chapter four.

2.4 The African Immigrants Vision and Disillusion

When an African migrates, the whole community views this as a chance for promotion, growth, and improvement of their lives (Nwoye, 2009). The expectation of such relatives is based on

the collectivist culture where an individual's success is viewed as communal (Sue & Sue, 2013). For those who are not able to achieve the success they had anticipated when they set out on this journey, the result is despair, decline, confusion, and cognitive discord (Nwoye, 2009). The loss of social support has a detrimental impact on most immigrants (Katsiaficas et al., 2013; Makwarimba et al., 2013). Collectivist societies offer an abundance of social support through neighbors and relatives (Sue & Sue, 2013). Upon arrival in better developed countries, African immigrants encounter little or no support; they experience separation from their families, trouble forming new relations, limited access to essential facilities, and lack of culturally appropriate linguistic services (Makwarimba et al., 2013). Other issues compounding the immigrant's dilemma are inadequate information or misinformation, changes in immigration status, which can affect some immigrant's access to health and educational benefits (Makwarimba et al., 2013).

Compared to other immigrants, Asian Americans and Hispanics have more support from the extended family, and more accommodating family situations (Leu, Walton, & Takeuchi, 2011). Social support is a psychological resource which can safeguard immigrants from depression and anxiety, but could wane across generations the longer one resides in the United States (Lau, Tsai, Liu, Hwang, & Wei-Chin Takeuchi, 2013). Unfortunately, most African immigrants do not have strong social networks to rely on; in fact, most of them end up relying on immigrants who may also be struggling to make it on their own (Nwoye, 2009). Limited social support can exacerbate an individual's mental health issues. Idemudia, Williams, and Wyatt (2013), found this to be a significant mental health challenge encountered by African immigrants upon arrival in the new country. This highlights the importance of establishing a therapeutic relationship with clients, and hence the significance of a non-English speaking immigrant being able to locate a therapist who understands them when in need of psychological services (Chi-Ying, Bemak, & Grabosky, 2011; Ruiz et al., 2013). To build trust in a therapeutic relationship, being

understood culturally, and the ability to speak a common language is vital (Ruiz et al., 2013). Care should be taken not to assume that being linguistically responsive implies cultural responsiveness or vice versa (Ruiz et al., 2013).

Acculturative stress results from negative stereotypes and insolence held by the host culture about the immigrant population (Huang, Appel, & Ai, 2011; Sirin, Patrice, & Taveeshi, 2013). Scarcity of national resources can pressure social systems, compound job competition, and escalate social tensions in communities leading to immigrants being unserved or underserved as a result of the conflict (Ruiz et al, 2013). The evolving global crisis in migration is an overall phenomenon worldwide affecting most countries; the emergence of immigrant communities or communities with immigrant background is a great challenge both for migrant and native societies (Bándy, 2011). Religion and culture have a key position in the identity of most migrants which often makes their mindset less amenable to modernization and the host nation's culture (Bándy, 2011). High unemployment among natives could increase the unwelcome temperament towards immigrants who are perceived as taking away job opportunities from the natives (Vidal, Martone, Muñoz, & Grossman, 2011). In this regard, the present study explores the dimensions of the immigration, diffusion of crisis between South Africa and Zimbabwe since 1994.

2.5 Chapter summary

This chapter highlighted the literature review and theoretical framework. The review of literature included highlighting the perceptions of the scholars on immigration policy, dimensions, theory and immigrants vision and disillusion. The next chapter describes the research plan. It examines the methods which were employed in undertaking this research as well as highlighting the research design, study population, sampling, data collection, ethical

issues, feasibility and the limitation and delimitations of the study. The next is Chapter 111 focusing on Research Methodology.

CHAPTER 3

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.0 Introduction

This chapter focuses on the research methodology the researcher employed in carrying out the research. This chapter focuses on the research design which is qualitative in nature, the type of sampling applied as well as the sampling methods. The chapter also focuses on the data collection instruments that the researcher used in collecting data as well how the data was analysed.

3.1 Research design

This research approach employed in this study is qualitative in nature. Corbin and Strauss (1998) describe qualitative research as, ‘research work whose production of findings is not as a result of statistical analysis of data.’ This means that all the data that will be collected would be devoid of any numerical statistics and measurements but descriptions and interpretations. Qualitative research is an inquiry process of understanding in which a researcher develops a complex, holistic picture, analyse words, and report detailed views of informants and conduct the study in a natural setting. It is an attempt to establish how participants create meaning of a specific phenomenon.

3.2 Target population

Target population is the total collection of all units of analysis, which a researcher wishes to consider for specific intended study (Rugenyi & Bwisa, 2016). Population is a complete set of components, persons or objects that have some common features well-defined by sampling

ways put in place by the researcher. For the purpose of this research the population consists of former and current councillors working in local government.

3.3 Pilot Study

The instrument used to collect data for the research is validated through pilot testing or pilot study. Flick (2018) described a pilot study as small scale study conducted before an actual study in order to reveal defects in the research plan. In pilot studying or pre-testing, the data collection instruments are tested before the actual study. The open-ended questions were pre-tested first before starting the data collection process. The pilot study was used to identify items in the open-ended questionnaires and semi-structured interviews that were ambiguous or unclear to the respondents and hence changed or modify them. The pilot study also helped the researcher to familiarise himself with the administration of the instruments. The purpose for piloting was to check for 'clarity and relevance of the research tools so that any necessary amendments could be done if necessary in preparation of the main study' ((Merriam, 2015). After carrying out the pilot test, necessary corrections were made before the actual data collecting exercise commenced.

3.4 Sampling

In carrying out a research, sampling is one of the most important parts. Coyne (1997) defines sampling as, 'the selection of individuals, units or settings that are to be studied during a research.' Latham (2007) refers to it as, 'a subgroup of a population chosen to be studied such that the chosen sample would then represent the entire population and would act as the primary source of data for the research activity.' Sampling refers to the identification and selection of participants for the study from a selected target population. It is used to select a portion of the population for study. The major criteria to use to decide on a sample size is the type of study, time, the resources available to the researcher and the extent to which the selected sample is

representative of the target population, (Bless & Higson-Smith, 2000; Nieuwenhuis, 2007; Flyvbjerg, 2007; Gobo, 2007)

3.4.1 Purposive sampling

Participants for this study were selected using purposive sampling. Blaxter, Hughes and Tight (2001:161) define purposive sampling as a sampling method that involves handpicking supposedly typical or interesting cases. It selects participants of the study among a selected target population, because of some defining characteristics that make them the holders of the data needed for the study. The choice of components in purposive sampling is not done haphazardly but the researcher creates conscious choices in order to obtain relevant and adequate data for a particular inquiry are chosen. In this research, purposive sampling was used to select former and current councillors working in local government since they are the very people who work in the system and are also the ones who are affected. The selection of the councillors was based on the fact the having participants who worked in the administration within different timelines helps one to clearly determine if there were any changes that manifested within their times in office from the former to the current. The selection also helps in outlining and bringing out the areas that needs improvement especially for the female councillors.

3.5 Data collection Methods

Since this study is qualitative in nature, the researcher will use qualitative methods of collecting data. The researcher will use semi structured interviews, document analysis and focus group discussions to collect data that helps in identifying the challenges the women face.

3.5.1 Interviews (semi-structured)

Semi-structured interviews were used by the researcher in the collection of data. This is a qualitative method of investigation that combines a predetermined set of open questions (questions that prompt discussion) with the opportunity for the interviewer to explore particular

themes or responses further. Berg and Lune (2004) says that, ‘semi structured interviews do not limit respondents to a set of predetermined answers and their advantage is that they help one understand how interventions work and how they could be improved.’ It also creates room for both the interviewer and the interviewee to talk and discuss some issues they might not have considered. These interviews will be conducted with the women in local governance so as to establish the different roles that they possess as well as the challenges that they encounter.

3.5.2 Document analysis

The researcher will also use document analysis as qualitative method of acquiring data. The researcher will analyse documents and text written by other scholars that are relevant to this study. Heffernan (2001) refers to document analysis as, ‘the various procedures involved in analysing and interpreting data generated from the examination of documents and records relevant to a particular study’. The advantage of using this method is that one can get access to information that would be difficult to get in any other way.

3.5.3 Focus group discussions

In collecting data, the researcher will also employ focus group discussions as a way of collecting data. Morgan (2008) argues that, focus group discussions involve the explicit use of the group interaction patterns to produce data and insights on a phenomenon that would otherwise be less accessible in the absence of interaction found in a group. The focus group will help in getting vital and critical information as far as the involvement of women in local governance as well as the roles that they play. The researcher will conduct different group sessions with different participants. This is largely because the researcher intends to create a platform where informants will be comfortable in giving information freely and truthfully. The first group of informants will be with females in local governance that hold positions of influence.

3.5.4 Data sources

- **Primary data**

Primary data is the original data collected by the researcher for the purpose of his or her own study at hand and they come from first occurrences of a piece of work (Zayton, 2004). According to Kothari (2004), primary data is that which happen to be original in character and specifically for the study, where there has been little if any processing and is therefore collected for the first time. Primary data for this research will be collected by means of questionnaires. The justifications for use of primary data sources include the following: the data is original and is found to be relevant to the current research; Primary data is authentic and more reliable. With primary data, interpretation is better and specific research issues are addressed. Data gathering can be controlled by the researcher; the researcher does not depend on stored information like archives thus proprietary issues can be addressed (Yin, 2018). Primary data is relevant for this study to provide an informed in-depth analysis on the subject matter in question.

- **Secondary data**

Secondary data is data gathered and collected prior to and for the purpose other than this project. Secondary data is that which have already been collected and processed for a certain Purpose. O' Leary (2015) asserts that secondary data is pre-existing data in print and online., Examples of secondary literature sources include books, magazines and newspapers, journals and other publications. The justification for the use of secondary sources of data is to provide vital information pertaining to women participation in politics. Secondary data for this study will be sourced from academic journals, textbooks or articles (both online and in print).

- **Reliability and Validity**

According to Denzin and Lincoln (2019), reliability is defined as the extent to the questionnaire yields consistent research findings. It relates to the credibility of the findings (O'Leary, 2017).

Reliability means consistency or repeatedly over a time of study. Therefore using the same research instrument should repeatedly give the same results. Findings should be the same regardless of different settings or different assessors conducting the study, (Creswell, 2017). The researcher will minimise participant bias through ensuring anonymity of respondents. The researcher will also reduce bias through the use of a self-administered questionnaire to all respondents. Cronbach's alpha reliability test will be conducted on all the questions on the questionnaire. Values less than 0.6 will be considered poor, 'those within the range of 0.7 are considered satisfactory while values above 0.8 are good' (Adam, 2020).

Validity is the extent to which the research findings are said to have accurately represented what is actually happening on the ground or in the situation under study (O'leary, 2017). Faulty research procedures, poor samples and inaccurate measurement can undermine validity (Kothari, 2020). As noted by Denzin and Lincoln (2019), validity of a questionnaire is measured in terms of content, criterion and construct. Content validity will be guaranteed by making sure that the exploratory questions in the questionnaire cover all research questions. Literature review will be used to ensure content validity. Criterion related validity will also be used to test the usefulness of the questions, the extent to which investigative enquiries truly predicted customer loyalty was ascertained. Measurement scales which that correlate with literature reviewed propositions will be used to ensure construct validity. The researcher will carry out a pilot test to determine face validity that is to check if the questionnaire appears to be sensible. A pilot test will enable the assessment of questions, validity and reliability of data (O'Leary, 2017).

3.6 Ethical considerations

In carrying out the research, this is one of the sections that the researcher took into consideration. Given that the study focuses on individual who deals with public service, the researcher made sure to follow protocol and seek approval from the relevant people. The participants in this study

were cognisant of the intentions of the research as well as the role they played in carrying out the research, their consent was sought and they all freely agreed to participate. The researcher also agreed with the concerned participants that their identities would not be revealed but would use alias names since this research is primarily for educational purposes

3.7 Data presentation and Analysis

After data collection, the data was subjected to editing, coding and processing. Questionnaires were edited to guarantee consistency and accuracy and the enquiries were arranged in advance for easy coding. Coding involved allocating numbers or symbols to classify responses. Qualitative data for this research is presented in tables. The researcher used the descriptive analysis and inferential analysis. Descriptive analysis was used for describing the characteristics of the population through analysis techniques that transform into a form that can be easily understood. Whereas inferential analysis was used to make conclusions on the population based on the chosen sample and thematic issues underpinning the study.

3.8 Chapter summary

This chapter focused on the research methodology that the researcher employed in carrying out the research. The chapter describes the research paradigm which is qualitative in nature since the study is neither numerical nor statistical. The chapter explained the sampling method employed highlighting its advantages and relevance to the study. Data collecting methods were explained showing how each was relevant and suitable for the data required in the study as well as its analysis. Ethical considerations were also paramount in the study as highlighted within this chapter.

CHAPTER 4

DATA PRESENTATION, ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

4.0 Introduction

This chapter sets forth to discuss the findings of the research. The data was garnered from questionnaires distributed to the target population. The findings are presented in a quantitative format in order to allow ease of analysis and understanding. This chapter evaluates various sentiments and suggestions from the sample of respondents in preparation for a conclusive stance in the following chapter. The chapter addresses the research objectives of this study.

4.1 Preliminary data analysis

This section outlines an overview of the respondent's information for instance their demographic information along with further attributes that permit an enhanced comprehension of the determinants influencing the way they responded.

4.1.1 Response rate

A total of 50 questionnaires were distributed and 38 were successfully filled and returned. This marked a response rate of 76% which was favorable as suggested by Dommeyer et al., (2004) that a satisfactory response rate has to be 75% and above.

Table 4.1: Summary of Response Rate of the Samples

Category	Immigrant officers	Law Agents	Total
Sample	40	7	47
No.	37	7	44
Response rate			77%

The table 4.1.1 shows the overall response rate of the study. This study achieved 77% response rate. The response was above the set standard of 65% (Punch 2003). Hence, 77% response rate is of great significance in the presentation of the population of the study, high degree of confidence and validity of the findings.

4.1.2 Gender distribution

The majority of the respondents were males who constituted 51.7% of the respondents and females constituted about 48.3%.

Table 4.2 Gender analysis

		Frequency	Percentage	Valid Percentage	Cumulative Percentage
Valid	Male	31	51.7	51.7	51.7
	Female	29	48.3	48.3	100.0
	Total	60	100.0	100.0	

4.2 Key Findings

4.2.1 Immigration posits adverse relations

Table 4.3 Adverse impact of immigration and Asylum crisis

Do immigration yield adverse relations?	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Strongly agree	23	36	36	36
Agree	21	32	32	68
Neutral	8	13	13	81
Disagree	13	19	19	100
Strongly disagree	0	0	0	100
Total	65	100	100	

Table 4.3 shows that 36% of the respondents strongly agree, 32% agree, 13% not sure and 19% disagree on the adverse impact of immigration.

4.2 Conflicts emanating from migrations

4.2.1 Asylum Crisis

Majority response from the respondents aver that Zimbabwean asylum application figures are staggeringly high. An immigrant officer respondent avered the following;

In 2008 SA became the world's number one asylum destination, with 207 200 new asylum claims lodged. Of these new applications, 122 600 were lodged by Zimbabweans. The year after, another 149 453 Zimbabweans applied for asylum.

By 2011, over 300 000 asylum seekers, the majority Zimbabwean, were still awaiting a decision, many having waited for years. Worse than the backlog, the asylum determination system is in tatters. Another law agent respondent postulated that;

The long waiting time combined with a superficial and pre-determined assessment of individual applications means that SA's asylum system invites widespread abuse at the same time as allowing serious protection failures. Zimbabwean and other migrants needing work, education and healthcare apply for asylum in the confidence that it will allow them several years in the country while awaiting a decision.

One of the immigrant officers commented that;

Zimbabweans with genuine protection needs, on the other hand, such as victims of human rights abuses, political violence and persecution, have a near-zero chance of receiving refugee protection in SA, despite the country having signed up to the UN Refugee Convention.

The overall response suggested that despite the urgent need to reform its refugee status determination procedures, the SA government has kept the UN High Commissioner for Refugees' (UNHCR) Pretoria office at arm's length. It is, for instance, slow at providing asylum statistics to the refugee agency. SA could make much better use of UNHCR expertise and resources in order to work through its asylum application backlog, train staff in refugee law, and put in place robust procedures for asylum determination.

4.3 Factors and consequences contributing to immigration in Zimbabwe and South

Africa

Consequences for South Africa and Zimbabwe

Majority response postulated that SA has benefited from the influx of highly skilled Zimbabweans into its formal economy, an influx that has helped alleviate SA's skills shortage. This said, the government's long neglect of undocumented Zimbabwean immigration has affected SA adversely. Commenting on the adverse impact of immigration, a law agent respondent explained the following;

Domestically, it has allowed xenophobic and autochthonous sentiments to fester to the extent that xenophobic violence and vigilantism have become a threat to domestic stability – at least within the confines of the townships and informal settlements. By keeping silent over why Zimbabweans have arrived in such dramatic numbers and by downplaying the political aspects of the Zimbabwe crisis, SA's political elite has chosen not to make a case for the need to show African solidarity with Zimbabwean brethren in a time of crisis. Internationally, SA's reputation as a liberal democracy, champion of human rights and a 'rainbow nation' has been damaged by such outbursts of xenophobic violence, and by the failings of its asylum system.

Majority response from respondents aver that the neglectful approach to Zimbabwean undocumented immigration has played a central role in SA's handling of the Zimbabwe crisis. Another respondent argued that;

The combination of silence at an overall policy level, and harassment, hostility and insistence on treating Zimbabweans as any other undocumented labour migrants, has worked well to complement SA's quiet diplomacy strategy towards Zimbabwe: SA has avoided criticising conditions within Zimbabwe or legitimising the diaspora's cause for flight.

One of the immigrant officers postulated that;

By suffering the presence of the Zimbabwean diaspora enough to allow remittances to flow back and opposition activists to stay in exile, SA has helped avoid economic collapse in Zimbabwe while also providing a political pressure valve for the ZANU-PF regime.

A law agent respondent concurred that;

Harassment, corruption and threat of deportation has reduced the possibility for the diaspora to group together as a political force.

4.4 Implications of immigration policies towards international relations

4.4.1 Immigration policy response

Respondents posited that SA's immigration system was already under strain. desperate condition. Despite the dire situation within Zimbabwe, DHA immigration officials argued that;

Zimbabweans were simply economic migrants looking for jobs, thus adding fuel to xenophobic discontent. Only after May 2008, when xenophobic riots left 62 people dead – many of whom were Zimbabwean – did the government seem inclined to tackle the rise in xenophobia, first by

deploying the military to restore order and protect immigrants and then to finally take a closer look at its immigration approach towards Zimbabweans, by far the largest immigrant group in the country.

A moratorium on deportations and visa-free entry for 90 days was introduced. Known as the ‘special dispensation’ this eased the situation for undocumented Zimbabweans in SA, and contributed to stabilising the economic situation within Zimbabwe through the freer flow of remittances. The ‘special dispensation’ was suddenly revoked in September 2010, and substituted with a ‘Zimbabwe Documentation Process’ aimed at regularising the stay of undocumented Zimbabweans. The DHA promised a four-year work, education or business permit for those who could prove they had been in gainful employment, attending an educational institution or running a business (including informal stalls) on 1 May 2010, as long as the person showed up with a Zimbabwean passport to register with immigration authorities. Respondents argued that this documentation process has been less than successful, with around only a quarter of a million Zimbabweans applying by the deadline in January 2011. A law agent respondent posited the following;

There are many reasons for the reluctance to register, including difficulties in acquiring Zimbabwean passports and proof of employment, and a strong distrust of the DHA and whether it will actually come good on its promise of four-year permits. By September 2011, 134 369 permits had been issued, out of 275 762 applications received by the DHA. The uncertainties surrounding both the special dispensation and the documentation process mean that neither succeeded in taking pressure off SA’s asylum system.

The Green Paper (1997) and the White Paper (1999)

The Green and White papers were attempts by the South African government to transform their immigration legislation. These policy papers called on all civil society to discuss and forward feasible policy positions that could be further refined into law. In what is referred to as the lost decade of immigration (1994-2004), a legislative reform process was launched, which would culminate in a new Immigration Act (Crush and Dodson, 2006). This process would produce the draft “green and white” papers on immigration, with the former preceding the latter in the South Africa system. The Green paper is that first draft of a new policy tabled for public consultation and other stakeholders.

The White paper contains detailed proposals for legislation. The initial observation that stands out in the 1997 Green Paper is the changing language, which morphed from a racist and segregationist tone to a much more nationality-oriented position (Centre for Development Enterprise (CDE), 1997). This was signaling a shift from an apartheid position, which discriminated against immigrants on racial grounds replacing it with an all-inclusive regulatory framework. Unlike the 1991 Aliens Act and the 1995 Immigration Amendment Act, the 1997 Green Paper focused on four major attributes that would contribute to a progressive and effective immigration policy framework. The focus of immigration policy according to the Green paper would be to: “ (a) to enhance the country’s integration into, and competitiveness within the global economy; (b) to further the process of regional integration and development within the Southern Africa Development Community (SADC) (c) to generate macro-economic growth and employment opportunities in the formal and informal sectors, as outlined in the Growth, Employment and Redistribution (GEAR) framework; and (d) to provide improved living standards for our people”(Department of Home Affairs, Green Paper, 1997. p. 13).

In an ideal scenario, the above goals, if achieved, would aid in creating a developed national economy that has a global, regional and local appeal. Surprisingly, some of the Green Paper

points outlined above only appeared on this paper, and were not incorporated into the new legislation. As the deadlines effected by the Constitutional court to revise the Aliens Act of 1991 approached, some of the major issues raised in the Green Paper were set aside as the ANC, its elite, and other members of the Tripartite Alliance (SACP and COSATU) conjured up amendments that added more restrictions to the proposed Bill (Wa Kabwe-Segatti, 2006). For example, the remnants of senior white officials in the Department of Home Affairs, who were playing an advisory role to the ANC, submitted what Crush and McDonald (2001) called a chilling communiqué that called for a bold declaration of war against undocumented immigrants, characterizing them as “one of the country's major social and economic plagues,” which require “draconian measures” to deal with (p. 10). Clearly, with immigration advice coming from apartheid ideologues, the chances of immigration reform were temporarily halted. Obstructionism and power brokering have no doubt been complicit in creating the policy discord that characterizes immigration in South Africa.

The obstructionism referred to here, is that which saw influential political figureheads in South Africa’s tripartite alliance composed of the African national Congress (ANC), Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) and South African Communist Party (SACP) refuse to overhaul legislation over fear of being engulfed by foreigners (Wa Kabwe-Segatti, 2006. p. 183). In another important policy position, South Africa categorically denounced any chance of bilateral agreement between Southern African countries to create a free mobility zone that resembles that of the European Union (Green Paper, 1997). Instead, South Africa opted to carry out its own screening of migrants, citing wealth disparities that would fuel increased competition for opportunities, which would disadvantage South African nationals. As such, there are some “positives and negatives” that the Green Paper 1997 brought to the fore in the bid to create a sound policy position on immigration. These, however, cannot all be discussed

here. The focus is to draw on those aspects of the policies that contribute to the disenfranchisement of undocumented migrants.

Consequently, further refinement of the Green Paper culminated in the creation of the White Paper, which also was problematic overall. The Lawyers for Human Rights (LHR) responded with sharp criticism. First, the Lawyers for Human Rights were concerned that the White Paper failed to adequately address the issue concerning human rights afforded to non-South Africans. They cited a few areas of concern pertaining to i) border control ii) training of immigration officials and xenophobia (LHR, 1999). During the period under analysis, South Africa considered opting out of border control to border management. The point of order that the Lawyers for Human Rights raised was that, though it was plausible to forward recommendation on how to transition from border control to management it should also be something done with a policy to guide its implementation (LHR, 1999). This observation has some credibility in that there are major logistical backlogs in the implementation of more recent border management controls. In addition, corrupt officials have soiled the image of the institution that is supposed to create fluid legal relationships with immigrants.

The White Paper 1998-1999 uses language that seems to condemn “discrimination” against any person, which aligns with the constitution. However, in addressing the undocumented migrant question, the White Paper recommended making South Africa unattractive to would be migrants (LHR, 1999). In other words, South Africa wanted to tighten legislation to have a gridlocked employment market, which was accessible to citizens first. Also, added to this would be increased policing, to close all the loopholes that undocumented migrant might have access to. It should be noted that this strategy was one of the main causes of the disruptions in livelihoods in most informal settlements when xenophobic violence first erupted. For instance, towards the 2010 Soccer World Cup, the police adopted a zero tolerance approach to crime and because

attitudes in the South African Police Services (SAPS) attribute crime to migrants, Zimbabwean migrants were targeted and arrested. The migrants would be detained for long periods of time before being deported (HRW, 2006).

Despite the construction job boom associated with hosting the Soccer World Cup, most migrants were unable to continue work as result of harassment from the police and locals. In addition, the White Paper categorized non-nationals as “undesirables” without specifically delineating who was represented by such demeaning terminology (LHR, 1999). It is such small nuances that evidence a deeply ingrained “us and them” mentality, which blinds policy formulation processes and impact development, not only of individuals, but communities at large. The White Paper did not wield a powerful position to influence change in the approach to addressing the plight of migrants. In all its totality, it had the skeletal framework like that of the Alien Act of 1991, which fostered a “we and them” position. Both the Green and White papers were never used when it came to creation of new legislation.

Dispensation of Zimbabweans Project (DZP) and the Zimbabwean Special Dispensation Permit (ZSP) 2010-2014

The DZP was launched in 2009 after approval by the South African government and Department of Home Affairs. Its mandate was to i) Regularize Zimbabweans residing in South Africa “illegally”. ii) Curb the deportation of Zimbabweans who were in SA” illegally”. iii) Reduce pressure on the asylum seeker and refugee regime iv) Provide amnesty to Zimbabweans who obtained SA documents fraudulently (Rogers and Chandeparsath, 2014. p. 1). This project was also a reaction to the xenophobic violence that erupted towards the kickoff of the 2010 Soccer World Cup in South Africa. Due to the nature and magnitude of the impending event, South was put under the spotlight as they were the hosts. The xenophobic violence that erupted was captured around the world and questions concerning the capability of South Africa to host the

Soccer World cup in such an environment were asked. As Zimbabwe was collapsing in 2008, all the undocumented labour traffic that poured into South Africa from Zimbabwe created a labour surplus which was welcomed for stadium and other infrastructure construction ahead of the World Cup (Raftopolos, 2013).

However, this excess labour, would need to be regulated after the World cup was over because the economic boom that came with the World Cup would have dissipated (Cottle and Rambaldi, 2013. p. 4). The fear was that it would result in increased competition for jobs and resources causing unprecedented antagonism between locals and migrants. Under this dispensation, the DHA had received 294,511 applications (242, 731 were granted, with 51,780 either rejected or not finalised) for DZP permits to work, study or conduct business in South Africa (Chiumia and Van Wyk, 2014). This dispensation was a massive disappointment in that the numbers of application that were accepted is far too small compared to the actual estimates of Zimbabweans thought to be in South Africa, which is between 1, 5 to 3 million undocumented Zimbabweans (Chiumia, 2013). The number of approved applications is less than a third of the estimated total population, and the question to ask is how does DHA address the rest? Zimbabweans did not respond to hand in their fake documents for amnesty because of a lack of trust in the system and the operations of the DHA and fear of deportation (Amit, 2012). Most Zimbabweans, as mentioned earlier, are accustomed to long queues and prolonged waiting periods.

Majority response avered that many Zimbabweans were skeptical to get some work is not an option as it has direct impact on their livelihood. It was rather suspicious for many Zimbabwean migrants as a system that has continuously restricted migrants through policing, deportation and xenophobic violence to suddenly change course. Trust in the institutions that safe guard the people's sovereignty is a principle that fosters development (Sen, 2000). Adopting the Sen logic, if the Department of Home Affairs was run efficiently and policy reforms were carried out in

the interest of developing the lives of both the citizen and the non-citizen, meaningful development would take place. Furthermore, some people in positions of influence have misplaced conceptions about the impacts of migrants in South Africa. Those migrants are part of the informal sector, which alone contributes an estimated 28 % of GDP (The Times Editorial, January 11, 2016).

From a policy perspective, it is a prerogative for the South African authorities to create permanent lasting solutions whose reach aims to empower the marginalized. Moving on to the Zimbabwe Special Dispensation Permit (ZSP) (2014), which was the successor of the DZP, and a vehicle that the DHA sought to use as a way to document and an attempt to regularize Zimbabwean migrants in South Africa (De Jager and Musuva, 2016), the purpose of the ZSP was to institute a head count of Zimbabwean migrants under the guise of extending their legal documentation that allowed them to remain legal in South Africa. Like all its predecessors, the ZSP was an exclusive dispensation that sought to restrict a group of migrants. Just as the Immigration Act of 1913 was set up to bar Indians from inter-provincial movements in the Union, the ZSP had a similar mandate. It sought to enforce conditions that did not allow the holders to apply for permanent residency or to renew the permits. Once a Zimbabwean applied and was granted this permit they could not change the conditions of the permit (Moyo, 2015). There is a peculiar trend visible in this dispensation. It shows a continued pattern and positioning that is characteristic to most historic immigration legislation in the post-apartheid period. The DHA's argument is that they are giving Zimbabweans a reprieve allowing them to remain in the country. This is not however a permanent solution but rather temporary one that pushes most Zimbabwean migrants into precarious occupations (De Gruchy, 2015).

The ZSP is solely controlled by VSF- Global an international company contracted by the government to process applications (Chiumia and Van Wyk, 2014). The ZSP was meant only to

benefit those that had successfully applied and received their DZP. However, those Zimbabwean migrants that had been rejected in the first dispensation were to re-apply under the new ZSP. The outsourcing of the VSF Global was meant to increase the efficiency of the application processes and the turn over times that applicants had to wait before receiving their decisions. VSF global is a known international company that provides its services in many other economically advanced countries like Canada, Australia and the United Kingdom. Because of the reputation that VSF Global has, it would be logical to expect a change in the service delivery. However, a close look at the applications processed from the time of the launch shows no change from how the DHA handled the same processes (De Gruchy, 2015).

4.5 Chapter summary

The chapter presented the results that the researcher garnered from data collection. The research findings were presented and analyzed and interpreted in the context of the research questions. The pattern that emerged indicated the complexities associated with immigration, neighborhood and diffusion of crisis between Zimbabwe and South Africa. The next chapter will give a summary of the research and recommendations for future research.

CHAPTER 5

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.0 Introduction

This chapter presents a summary of the research findings, the conclusions drawn from the research findings and recommendations. It seeks to find the link between the research questions, objectives and the research findings. The summary encapsulates all the findings of the study and then provide recommendations for future researches and transformation.

5.1 Summary

The study reveals that the public debate on how many Zimbabweans live in SA has been filled with unfounded, contradictory and politicised numbers. The fluid nature of Zimbabwean migration patterns, with some settling in SA for longer periods, others working for a few months on commercial farms, and others again merely trading for a few hours or days before returning home, means that the number of Zimbabweans present in SA at any time will vary. Adding to the problem of determining numbers, corruption within the Department of Home Affairs (DHA) has enabled many Zimbabweans to obtain fraudulent SA identity papers. Despite these caveats, it seems safe to estimate that somewhere between one and three million Zimbabweans are staying in SA. Zimbabwe's 2002 census, withheld from publication by the Zimbabwean government but leaked in 2004,² showed that compared to projections of 'normal' population growth from the 1992 census, two to three million people were 'missing'. Some of this is due to the HIV/Aids epidemic and reduced birth rates, but a considerable proportion must be attributable to

emigration. The vast majority of those leaving were bound for SA. It should also be expected that emigration numbers increased after the census as the political and economic situation in Zimbabwe continued to deteriorate. In 2008 alone, SA deported around 300 000 Zimbabweans.

The study also shows the quandary in which most undocumented migrants are in because of a highly the securitized South African immigration regime. South Africa has not overhauled its immigration legislation since the 2002 amendments. The Alien Control Act of 1991 is in effect though with minor changes. The Green and White Paper of 1997 and 1998 respectively presented a real chance at immigration reform but due to obstructionism and power brokering from some powerful political institutions like the ANC, SACP and COSATU, the process of creating substantive new legislation was abandoned. The obstructionism led to the stifling of the policy formulation process as it excluded civil society from participating in the creation of a new policy. With the exception of a few minor changes, removal of racialized language, the core of the new legislation, that is still influenced by apartheid, which championed exclusion of particular groups of people. In this instance, the exclusionary policies were aimed at keeping African migrants out of South Africa.

This study finds that the South African government has had an inclination to taking neoclassical positions, which tend to focus on the policies that keep migrants entering South Africa at a minimum. The South African governments' approach is that of making South Africa unattractive to would be migrants by instituting restrictive policies. For instance, heavy community policing, refusing access to social services like health care facilities, housing, and delays in getting legal documentation are factors that can

contribute to people not migrating to South Africa. However, the complexity of the Zimbabwean migrant problem requires a broader outlook to manage the crisis, which is why the discussion of theories like the neoclassical theory were incorporated to understand the complex nature of the crisis and allow the examination of the crisis from a multi-dimensional perspective.

The SA government's somewhat *laissez-faire* approach to the mass influx of Zimbabweans over the past decade has contributed to its quiet diplomacy strategy, but has done so at a cost to internal domestic stability and its reputation internationally. It has contributed to stabilising the situation in Zimbabwe, but at the same time has also contributed to propping up a status quo lacking in democratic credibility. Recent efforts to regularise the stay of Zimbabweans in SA, combined with a more vigorous and forceful mediation effort in Zimbabwe, show that the challenges posed by the xenophobic reaction to Zimbabwean immigration are now taken more seriously.

A change in government attitude towards the Zimbabwean diaspora could have a positive effect both on domestic stability and the prospects for a democratic Zimbabwe. If the government were to acknowledge the political as well as economic factors causing the exodus to SA; and if it would harness the potential of the diaspora beyond remittances to contribute to shaping an inclusive and democratic future for Zimbabwe, the SA government would achieve two things: It would tell a story to its domestic audience not of job stealers, criminals and welfare scroungers but of African brothers in need of solidarity and compassion during a time of crisis. It would also prepare the stage for engaging with the diaspora groups in a more democratic and inclusive manner, which would strengthen the long-term prospective for stability in Zimbabwe. It seems short-

sighted to ignore in the negotiations for Zimbabwe's future, the fact that a significant proportion of Zimbabwe's citizens have voted with their feet and are currently residing in SA.

5.2 Conclusions

From the research findings, it can be argued that the other avenue that requires further inquiry relates to the need for southern African academic scholarship to generate more ideas for understanding the shifts in migrant behaviour and their movement across both physical and non-physical spaces. Thus far, scholarly engagement with African migrants in South Africa has disproportionately focused on their presence as temporary rather than permanent settlers. The pertinent observation from the current research is the need for a shift towards a conception of migrants as permanent rather than temporary. Such focus will help academic research understand the dimensions and forms of migrant permanency and policy makers to come to accept the fact that migrants populate certain spaces in Johannesburg and regardless of high levels of transience, they remain migrant areas.

5.3 Recommendations

This study recommends the following;

- South African Immigration Act should be aligned in accordance with proffering an inclusive environment to Zimbabweans immigrants.
- South African Immigration policies should be revisited
- South Africa government should harness immigration ideologies that support the promotion of unity between South Africans and Zimbabweans

- There is need for both governments (South Africa and Zimbabwe governments) to create ‘spaces’ (harmonious principles and policies) that sideline the xenophobia tendencies and acts that trigger negative relations.

5.4 Areas for further research

- There is need for future researches to delve into the exploration on different aspects of general liberal-conservative ideology that have a differential bearing on different types of immigration legislation.
- Future studies can broaden the subject matter of immigration policies by suggesting viable immigration approaches and policies that yield positive outcomes between South Africa and Zimbabwe immigration relations.

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