ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL INTERACTIONS OF IMMIGRANTS WITH THE LOCAL

POPULATION: A CASE OF ZIMBABWEANS WORKING IN DURBAN CBD

by

ROWAN MADZAMBA

216070410

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SUPERVISOR: Ms N. NZIMANDE

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Declaration

I, Rowan Madzamba, student number 216070410 the undersigned hereby declare that the study on **the economic and social interactions of immigrants with the local population: A case of Zimbabweans working in Durban CBD** is my own original work, both in conception and execution. All the sources that l have referred to or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by means of complete references in terms of the Harvard style of referencing. I further declare that this research project has never been submitted at any institution for any purpose, academic or otherwise.

Candidate: Rowan Madzamba

Signature:…………………………….   Date:…………………..........

Supervisor: Ms. N. Nzimande

Signature:………………………..   Date:…………………………

Dedication

This study is especially dedicated to my dearest Brother Mr Garikai Allan Madzamba and his wife Veronica Rusere Madzamba, who has been a pillar of strength at all times. I further dedicate this study to my late parents Phillip Madzamba and Ketty Musarurwa

Madzamba. R

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RSA

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Abstract

The study on the economic and social interactions of immigrants with the local population: A Case of Zimbabweans working in Durban CBD was conducted in Durban Central Business District under the EThekwini Municipality. The objective for this study sought to achieve objectives pertaining the types of jobs/occupations which Zimbabwean immigrants are doing in Durban, investigating the economic and social networks which Zimbabwean immigrants create with locals to help navigate the economy of Durban, finding out challenges Zimbabwean immigrants are facing in Durban and to find out the perceptions of the Durban community towards immigrants' contribution to the economy.

The study applied a cross-sectional research design in which it made use of the qualitative methodology. A sample size of 40 respondents, of which 20 were Zimbabweans and the other 20 were local South Africans working with Zimbabwean Immigrants aged between 20-60 years were considered. Snowball sampling and Judgmental sampling methods were employed. This study made use of an in-depth interview as well observations as research techniques. Data collected were analysed using thematic analysis and NVIVO software further helped form categories of responses.

Findings of the study indicate that jobs/occupations which Zimbabwean immigrants are doing in Durban cover a wide spectrum and include Caregiving, Driving, Graphic Designing, Hairdressing, Lecturing, Pastoring, Project Management, Security work, Teaching, Waiters, Bartending and Vending. Zimbabwean entrepreneurs who are in Durban most of them are in the Small Medium and Micro Enterprises (SMMEs) sector. Business, work and religious connections are main connections Zimbabwean immigrants have with locals in Durban and intermarriages also has further strengthened connections socially. Networks which immigrants create with locals determine the extent which immigrants integrate themselves with both fellow immigrants and locals in doing business. Social networks and the use of cell phone, therefore, serves as an anchor for immigrants to move from one place to another. Social networks are also used as a referral system of where to find jobs and where to buy cheap stuff. Challenges immigrants are facing in Durban includes discrimination, financial problems characterized by limited access to financial aid, social violence (xenophobia), language problems as well as failing to walk freely in town and also difficulty in finding employment. The coming of immigrants into Durban is considered as both good and bad by locals. Competition for jobs, competition for customers in business, service delivery and immigrants accepting less payment for high paying jobs are the perceived main sources of

conflict between immigrants and locals. The study recommends that, the government through its departments should try to value diversity. This is done by enlightening its citizens on embracing foreigners and different cultures. This enables less discrimination against immigrants and also can contribute to the reduction of attacks on immigrants. Since competition for jobs and service delivery are the main sources of conflict between immigrants and locals. The researcher recommends there is a need for the government to be stricter with organisations which first employ foreigners in place of locals, taking advantages of the vulnerability of foreigners.

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List of abbreviations

AIDS: Acquired Immunodeficiency Syndrome

ASGISA: Accelerated and Shared Growth Initiative for South Africa

CBD: Central Business District

GDP: Gross Domestic Product

HSRC: Human Science Research Council

IOM: International Organization for Migration

JIPSA: Joint Initiative on Priority Skills Acquisition

NSSL: National Scarce Skills List

SADC: Southern African Development Community

SAMP: Southern Africa Migration Project

SAPS: South African Police Service

SMME: Small Medium and Micro Enterprises

SocDev: Department of social development

StatsSA: Statistics South Africa

UNDP: United Nations Development Program

UNFPA: United Nations Fund for Population Activities

UNHCR: United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees

ZIPRA: Zimbabwe People's Revolutionary Army

ZSP: Zimbabwe Special Permits

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DEFINITION OF CONCEPTS
Migration

Different scholars define migration in a distinguishable manner because of their different approaches (Kew and Watso, 2010). Geographers emphasize time, space and significance of mobility in defining migration. Sociologists focus on social consequences of mobility, while economists focus and have given preference on the economic aspect of migration in defining migration (Kew and Watso, 2010). According to Chakraborty (2014; 115) "Migration is the shifting of people, an individual or a group of individuals from one geographical area to another, which may be permanent or temporary". Weeks (2008) defines migration as the process of permanently changing residence from one geographic location to another within the national boundaries of a country.

According to Oucho, (2002), migration is a change of residence and does not necessarily involve any change of occupation, but it is associated with occupational shifts of one kind or another.

Types of migration

According to Chakraborty (2014: 115) "typology of migration is influenced by space, time, volume, direction, cause, velocity, selectivity, stability, and behaviour". Kew and Watso, (2010), also suggests a more complex typology based on two main criteria which are the conservation-innovation and migratory force, which includes ecological push, political force, aspiration freely to find better conditions and social pressure exerted by a mass movement. Therefore, this marks that the Phenomenon of movement of people from one geographical location to another location can be spatial and the geographical area differs from village level to continent level. This movement is related to space and can be divided into the following types: Intercontinental migration, International migration, Interstate migration, Local migration, Rural- Rural migration, Rural-Urban migration, Urban - Urban migration and Urban-Rural migration.

For the purpose of this study, the focus will be on International migration, where the movement of people is characterised by crossing international borders. In this case, borders become a restrictive force for free movement, even though people migrate from one country and settle permanently or temporarily in another country. In this study, the focus, therefore, is

on the socio-economic activities of Zimbabweans who have crossed their international border to come and stay (permanently or temporarily) in South Africa, Durban in Particular.

Socio-economic interactions

These are factors that influence how a group act within society. This marks the socioeconomic interactions that involve the dynamic interplay of forces in which contact between persons and groups result in modifications of attitudes and behaviour of participants, in this case, economic activities which are as well affected and shaped by social processes (McGregor, 2010). In general, socio-economic interactions analyze how societies progress, stagnate, or regress because of their local or regional economy, or the global economy (McGregor, 2010). The focus is on the relationship between social behaviour and economics, examining how social norms, ethics and other social philosophies that influence and shape an economy making use of history, politics and other social sciences to examine potential results from changes in society or the economy (McGregor, 2010). Social and economic interactions for this study are therefore considered in the context of Zimbabwean immigrants in South Africa and locals. Therefore, this sought to explore how immigrants and locals associate, both socially and economically in driving the economy of Durban. As a result, this will reveal the state of the relationship between immigrants and locals. More so, this will help show networks immigrants create with locals, which Poros, (2001: 244) defines as "interpersonal ties linking kin, friends, and community members in their places of origin and destination". Poros (2001: 245), further notes that "immigrants have ties to institutions and organizations that help them to migrate, get jobs, or adjust to society in the destination country in other ways and do business". In so doing socio-economic interactions, for this study will mark and bring out contributions of both immigrants and locals into economy.

Refugee

Refugee is any person who due to a well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality and is unable, or owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country; or who, not having a nationality and being outside the country of his former habitual residence as a result of such events, is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to return to it (The new Refugee Act of December 1998)

Asylum seeker

An asylum seeker is someone who has applied for protection as a refugee and is awaiting the determination of his or her status (The new Refugee Act of December 1998)

Transnationalism/Transmigrants

Transnationalism involves the back and forth movement of immigrants, goods and services between host and home countries (Crush and McDonald, 2002). The immigrants involved in this type of back and forth movement between host and home countries are known as transmigrants (Crush and McDonald, 2002).

Asset

In this study, it refers to a useful or valuable quality, skill or person (Kew and Watson, 2010)

Liability

In this case, it refers to someone who causes trouble, or it can also be defined as a hindrance which puts an individual or group at a disadvantage (Kew and Watso, 2010)

Immigration

It involves the crossing of an international boundary (Weeks, 2008). In this study, it will mean the direct movement of African immigrants from their home countries and not from areas within South Africa, directly into Durban for the purpose of permanent residence. It starts by emigration when the people involved move out of their home countries, then when they have lived in South Africa for at least one year they become immigrants (Weeks, 2008).

Immigrants

People who leave their country of origin to enter and settle permanently in another country. In this study immigrant are people leaving their countries because of social, political and economic reasons from other African countries such as Cameroon, Zimbabwe, Mozambique, Nigeria, Ghana, Ethiopia, surrounding South Africa to reside therein (Weeks, 2008).

Migrant

In the study, it is one who will move from one geographical region to another within South Africa's boundaries (Adepoju, 1998).

Foreigner

A person in the country who is not a citizen of South Africa, in law, referred to as an alien (Weeks, 2008).

Xenophobia

It is the extreme fear of unknown strangers which often leads to discrimination against African immigrants (Weeks, 2008). It is often expressed by hatred, derogatory terms to refer to immigrants and violence against them (Weeks, 2008). Believing that foreigners may be more interested in taking their resources, services and violation of their norms and values South Africans develop feelings of fear which stir negative reactions/ anti-immigrant prejudices towards immigrants.

Discrimination

It involves making or seeing differences between two groups of people which often leads to behaviours directed against the inferior group. In discriminating South Africans have denied non-citizens service access, employment and displayed their superiority differences through their verbal remarks (Human Rights Watch, 2000).

Perceptions

The act or faculty of apprehending by means of the senses or of the mind, cognition and understanding (Weeks, 2008)

Scapegoats

African immigrants without power, who are unfairly treated, blamed for South Africa's social, economic, and political ills and failures. The anxiety and uncertainty of South Africans are reduced to point fingers on African immigrants as the cause of their complex problems (Timberg, 2005:12).

Gukurahundi

Brutal mass killings of Ndebele speakers believed to be supporters of Joshua Nkomo (leader of ZAPU) by a North Korean trained fifth brigade special unit of the Zimbabwe army. It happened in the Midlands and Matabeleland Provinces of Zimbabwe. (Hungwe: 2013; 4).

Legal

Refers to an act or omission that conforms to the law (Lushbaugh, et al 2008).

Malayitsha

Zimbabwean cross-border taxi operators who ply the cross-border (Zimbabwe-South Africa) routes. They transport undocumented migrants for a fee. In rural areas the price for transportation can be one or two cattle (Hungwe, 2013; 5).

Culture

Is the knowledge, language, values, customs, and material object that are passed from one person to another and from one generation to the next in a human group or society. (Kendall, 2008)

Operation Murambatsvina/ Restore Order

The systematic destruction of buildings and structures defined as illegal that took place in 2008 in towns and cities of Zimbabwe. It left most urban residents poor, homeless and unemployed (Hungwe, 2013; 6).

legal

Refers to an act or omissions that violate the law. (Hess, 2009).

Crime

It is behaviour that violets criminal law and is punishable by fines, jail terms and other negative sanctions. (Kendall, 2008)

Labour migration

The movement of persons from their home State to another State for the purpose of employment. Today, an estimated 86 million persons are working in a country other than their country of birth (IOM, 2013).

Small to medium enterprise (SME)

A convenient term for segmenting businesses and other organizations that are somewhere between the small office-home office size and the larger enterprise . SME is further defined as a legally independent company with no more than 500 employees.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION AND STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

1.1. INTRODUCTION

Migration has become a prevalent practice worldwide which continues to transform the population and economy of places of origin and destination. It has become one of the defining issues of the 21st century, and an essential, unavoidable, and potentially beneficial component of the economic and social life of countries and regions. According to (Weeks, 2008), people migrate from less developed regions to more economically developed regions in search of greener pastures or better opportunities in life. It is generally believed that those immigrants who have had the courage to leave their country and move to another are often enterprising and innovative (Shah, 2008). Fakir (2009) notes that people migrate with skills which may not be in high demand in their places of origin. Others migrate due to their entrepreneurial zeal and passion for trade and marketing which open new vistas of economic opportunity such as setting up small businesses.

According to Shah, (2008) people also become immigrants because they have fled worsening conditions or persecution. In that situation, although they may live in another country, it may initially be quite difficult to adapt and change practices and customs since its forced migration. As a result, in such situations, immigrants are clearly seen as different and in worsening economic times can be seen as sapping away resources that could otherwise have been used for local populations (Maharaj, 2002). They become easy targets when the general economic conditions in that host country worsen.

South Africa has become an important node for migrants from around and beyond the continent seeking profit, protection, and the possibility of onward passage (Loren *et al. 2009*). The flow of migrants from SADC countries and beyond has grown remarkably since the first South African democratic elections in 1994 most of them being Zimbabweans (Crush, 2001). Posel (2003: 16) maintains that there has been a growing movement of foreign migrants and refugees into South Africa since 1990 and they would not choose to be labour migrants, but would rather migrate to, and settle permanently in the places where they work. These immigrants are primarily from South Africa's traditional labour supply areas which include countries such as Lesotho, Malawi, Swaziland, Mozambique, Zimbabwe and Zambia (Posel, 2003: 16).

According to South African Statistics (2013), it was estimated that 2.2 million immigrants were living in South Africa. This, however, has led to the widespread belief amongst the general populace that South Africa is being transformed by mostly immigrants. Human Science Research Council (2011), noted that immigrants are viewed as liabilities, perpetrators of crime, corruption and other socio-economic ills. In addition, they are seen to be contributing to job scarcity, increasing competition for trade and other resources in South Africa (Human Science Research Council, 2011). Immigrants have been perceived to be bringing about the social economic burden on the country thus straining its scarce resources. This has resulted in hostility, tension and blame on foreigners in South Africa and has occasionally led to outbreaks of social violence (Human Science Research Council, 2011). Evidently, May 2008 and May 2015 saw a wave of xenophobic attacks on foreign nationals in different parts of South Africa (Winsor, 2015). These attacks resulted in the loss of lives and property. However, according to Loren *et al,* (2009), immigrants make positive impacts in the socio-economic development of South Africa. According to Human Science Research Council, (2011) immigrants are as well bringing about employment opportunities, and provision of cheap labour thus showing the positive impacts of immigrants, though the local populace has ignored this.

However regardless of the blame on social ills upon immigrants by the local populace, the South African cabinet in 2010 approved the brand-new Zimbabwe special permit. These permits granted four-year special residence permits to almost a quarter-million Zimbabweans (245 000), who entered the state legally or illegally (Department of Home Affairs, 2014). Stringent application conditions for the Zimbabwe Special Permit applications however included that the applicant must have a valid Zimbabwean passport; evidence of employment, business or accredited study; and a clear criminal record. These permits would allow Zimbabweans holding this special permit to reside, work, and conduct business and study in South Africa (Department of Home Affairs, 2014; StatsSA, 2014). Many had fled the political and economic turmoil in their homeland but lived abroad in the anxiety of the day their permits would expire, compelling them to return. In 2014 these Zimbabwe Special Dispensation Permit (ZSP) were renewed and 31 July 2015 was the deadline for Departmental adjudication and processing of applications by the Department of Home Affairs South Africa. These permits would further allow the permit holders to reside, work, study and conduct business in South Africa until December 31, 2017 (Department of Home Affairs, 2015). Furthermore, in 2012, besides the Zimbabwe Special Dispensation Permit (ZSP)

permits, 1939 permanent residence permits were granted to Zimbabweans, accounting for 29 % of such permits (StatsSA, 2014). Zimbabweans accounted for 18,899 temporary residence permits granted in 2013, accounting for 19 % of the total number of such permits.

1.2.   STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

With the number of immigrants on the increase in South Africa, estimated around 2.2 million as of 2011, there have been mixed feelings amongst locals (StatsSA, 2013). Local residents, business people and officials have a negative attitude towards immigrants with most of them dwelling on alleged criminal activities (Wentzel and Tlabela, 2006).

More so, the presence of immigrants in South Africa has had impacts on the job market, and the country's scarce resources, thus raising contentious issues (Wentzel and Tlabela, 2006). One notion, held by many South Africans, is that immigrants are taking their jobs. However, Timberg (2005:12) on the contrary, asserted that they are creating employment for themselves and sometimes for unemployed South Africans.

Immigrants are faced with a lot of challenges. Amongst these, include hostility and blame for all social and economic ills. However, considering these factors no study has explored the relationship between immigrants and the local population and examined the impacts of what immigrants are contributing to the navigation of Durban economy. Also realizing that Zimbabweans are being granted special permits more than other African immigrants, one could ask whether they do in fact add any value to the well-being of Durban and what is it which they are doing to make them deserve these special permits. In so doing the contribution and the kind of jobs Zimbabweans are doing to make them deserve these special permits has to be investigated. Therefore, this study seeks to examine the socio-economic interactions of Zimbabwean immigrants and the local population to the navigation of Durban economy and how they are being perceived, given their education, experience, and high involvement in small businesses.

1.3. AIM OF THE STUDY

To investigate the socio-economic interactions of Zimbabwean immigrants with the local population in the navigation of the Durban economy.

1.4. OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY
1. To investigate the types of jobs/employment which Zimbabwean immigrants are doing in Durban
2. To gain understanding of the economic and social networks which Zimbabwean immigrants create with locals to help navigate the economy of Durban
3. To assess the challenges Zimbabwean immigrants are facing in Durban
4. To explore the perceptions of the Durban community towards immigrants' contribution to the economy

1.5. RESEARCH QUESTIONS

1. What kind of jobs are Zimbabwean immigrants doing in Durban?

2. What are the economic and social networks which Zimbabwean immigrants create with locals to help navigate the economy of Durban?
3. What are the challenges Zimbabwean immigrants are facing in Durban?
4. What are the perceived contribution of immigrants to the Durban economy?

1.6. JUSTIFICATION OF THE STUDY
The findings of the study enlighten the Durban community on the contribution of Zimbabwean immigrants to their community and economy. This study provides detailed knowledge of whether immigrants are a liability or an asset to Durban. This in turn guides individuals to reflect on their attitude and perceptions towards immigrants. This study is further justified by its attempt to reveal the economic and social interactions which Zimbabweans in Durban create with locals to help navigate the economy of Durban. This means the kind of businesses Zimbabwean immigrants have in Durban, and how they connect with locals in doing business is revealed. More so networks and connections, as well as forms of communication which immigrants use in doing business, to interact and survive in Durban, are also revealed. The study further shows how Zimbabweans adapt and survive in Durban, thereby getting used to Durban way of living socially and economically. In so doing the study reveal the state of the relationship immigrants has with the local business people. The study also leads on to further research and contribute towards the generation of new knowledge on perceptions towards immigrants, especially in the South African context and particularly in South Africa.

1.7. THESIS OVERVIEW

This study is divided into (8) chapters. The first chapter is the introduction, brief background of the study, statement of the problem, the main aim of the study, objectives, and research questions as well as the justification for the study.

Chapter (2) comprise the theoretical framework adopted for the study as a guideline and the literature review which reviews relevant social scientific literature in and outside South Africa, on socio-economic interactions of immigrants (Zimbabweans in particular) with the local population. The core focus of the literature reviewed covered: jobs immigrants are doing in Durban, networks which immigrants create to the navigation of the economy, challenges which immigrants are facing In Durban as well as the perceptions of the local population towards immigrants. Definition of Concepts is also presented in chapter two.

Chapter (3) provides research methodology and research design of the study, which unpacks plans on how information for the study was gathered, analyzed and presented, whom to get information from, and when. The research follows a qualitative approach on the basis that qualitative research enables the researcher to construct meanings and interpret the behaviours of Zimbabwean migrants in Durban as well as locals' perceptions in Durban. The Chapter is divided into four main sections which include study area, research design, where the targeted population, sample size as well as sampling techniques used for the study is discussed. Methodological approaches which were used in this study make up the third section of this chapter. The methodology section, in addition, presents data collection and data analysis techniques that were used in the study. The last section of the chapter discusses limitations which were encountered during the study as well as ethical considerations that were observed in conducting the study.

Chapter (4) is the presentation, analysis, and Interpretation of findings of the study. These are based on responses given by Zimbabwean immigrants in Durban only.

Chapter (5) is the discussion of findings presented, analyzed and interpreted in chapter 4. The chapter discusses by reasoning, the data collected on the field while giving reasons why the collected data from Zimbabwean immigrants only is as it is

Chapter (6) is the presentation, Analysis and Interpretation of Findings of the study. These are based on responses given by South Africans only who are working with Zimbabwean immigrants in Durban.

Chapter (7) is the discussion of findings presented, analyzed and interpreted in chapter 6. The chapter discusses, by reasoning, the data collected on the field, while giving reasons why the collected data from South Africans working with Zimbabwean immigrants is as it is.

Chapter (8) provides conclusions, which is the summary of the study and the similarities which results of this study have with the existing theories adopted for this study. The last part of chapter 8 presents the recommendations made by the researcher basing on the findings and results of the study.

1.8. CONCLUSION

This chapter sets the roadmap for the study by showing objectives, aim, research questions and justification as well as the statement of the problem of the study. The chapter therefore clearly shows why the socio-economic interactions of Zimbabwean immigrants with locals have to be investigated. The chapter also details how the thesis is structured in the chapters to follow by presenting the thesis overview.

CHAPTER 2

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

2.1. INTRODUCTION

This chapter of the study reviews relevant social scientific literature in and outside South Africa, on socio-economic interactions of immigrants with the local population. Like any discussion on immigrants, discussions on the treatment of immigrants have to be done with acknowledgement of the sensitive nature of the subject. It is, however, important to ensure that the issues are discussed openly instead of closing them out to scrutiny. Stakeholders need to be well informed of what exactly is practically taking place. One way of achieving this is from thematic analysis of empirical evidence borrowed from previous studies. The core focus of the literature will cover: types of employment immigrants are engaged with; networks which immigrants create to navigate the economy; and challenges which immigrants are facing as well as the perceptions of the local population towards immigrants.

This chapter is divided into seven core sections. The first section presents the theoretical framework of the study. The second section presents literature on the kind of jobs immigrants are doing; the third section presents literature on networks which immigrants create to the navigation of the economy. The fourth section presents the literature on the perceptions of the local population towards immigrants and the fifth section will present literature on the challenges immigrants are facing. Sixth and seventh sections will present the hypotheses and definition of terms.

2.2. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

This sub-section covers the theoretical framework of the study. The theories guiding the study are the resilience theory as well as the dual labour market theory and the social network theory

2.2. 1. Dual labour market theory dual

Dual labour market theory was developed by Piore in 1979. Massey et al, (1993: 442) explains that the theory posits a "bifurcated occupational structure and a dual pattern of economic organization in advanced economies". Duality unfolds along the lines of two types of organization in the economy, namely capital-intensive where both skilled and unskilled labour is utilized, and labour intensive where unskilled labour prevails. The dual labour

market approach divides the labour market into a primary and a secondary segment. The primary segment is characterised by a capital-intensive method of production. Massey *et al.* (1993), explains that there is motivation amongst workers in the primary sector because there are benefits, pension, better paying jobs, high-status and high-quality job security. The primary sector is sometimes sub-divided into an upper and lower level and as such primary workers are always trying to prove themselves to their employers by portraying their skills and educational credentials.

The secondary segment is characterised by a labour-intensive method of production. "In a secondary segment, job management is entitled to complete control because there is a larger turnout and many in this job type either leave or are replaced quickly" (Massey et al, 1993: 442). These jobs give low emphasis to job morale and their workers lack motivation. The secondary jobs are mostly low-skilled, require relatively little training, and can be learned relatively quickly on the job. There are few barriers to job mobility within the secondary sector. Because the jobs are unattractive, there is little incentive to stay, and there are high levels of labor turnover, with workers moving on to other jobs or employers. Wages are low, and the terms and conditions of the job are poor. This segment is the one which most immigrants fall under South Africa. According to Kalitanyi and Viser (2010: 382) "due to vulnerability immigrants end up taking any job which is available, as such receiving low wages and they move from one job to another depending on where they are being paid better wages not considering working conditions".

The labour market is divide in two segments which are primary and secondary segments. Reich *et al.* (1973: 36), explains that the primary segments consists of skilled labour, "who are (on the job) trained to work with advanced capital goods, have more social status, a higher income and better employment conditions than unskilled workers in the secondary segment". The secondary segments consist of "jobs at the bottom of the labour market" (Reich *et al,* 1973: 360). In South Africa, most immigrants are found in the secondary segment, regardless of their qualifications they end up going for these low paying jobs. Massey *et al.*, (1993: 442) confirms that there are three possible explanations to the demand of foreign labour in modern industries which include, "general labour shortages, the need to fill the bottom positions in the job hierarchy, and labour shortages in the secondary segment of a dual labour market". General labour shortages lead to vacancies at the bottom positions in the job hierarchy. This is because bottom job positions are affected by motivational problems and low wages. Motivational problems come about because jobs at the bottom of

the hierarchy are often associated with low social status and because the opportunities for upward mobility are generally low (Massey et al, 1993). Because of labour shortages at the bottom of the job hierarchy, employers are compelled to recruit foreign workers.

The theory links migration to structural changes in the economy but explains migration dynamics with the demand side (Massey *et al.*, 1993). As immigration becomes desirable and necessary to fill the jobs, policy choices in the form of active recruitment efforts follow the needs of the market. The theory excludes sending countries and overemphasizes formal recruitment practices. This provides an intelligent explanation for the coexistence of chronic labour demand for foreign nationals alongside structural unemployment in receiving countries (Arango, 2000). In so doing marking the impacts of immigrants in the receiving countries, in this case, South Africa, Durban.

2.2. 2. Resilience theory

Resilience theory is a multidimensional field of study which has been addressed by social workers, psychologists, sociologists, educators and many others. The first research on resilience was published in 1973, Emmy Werner is one of the first scientists to use the term resilience in the 1970s in a cohort study of children in Hawaii. The history of resilience is such that it has been blessed with dedicated and professional researchers who have tried to determine what it is that makes one person more resilient to life's challenges than the next (Luthar *et al.*, 2000). Resilience theory addresses strengths people and systems demonstrate which enable them to overcome adversity (Luthar *et al.*, 2000). Resilience theorists generally agree protective factors reduce dangers and exposure to adversity and as such presence of protective factors results in an individual becoming more resilient (Luthar *et al.*, 2000). However, resilience levels differ with context and situation, but assets may remain the same. According to Luthar *et al.* (2000: 543) "too much and lengthy negative life events experiences, dangerous environments as well as inadequate schooling undermine life chances despite their assets of an individual". In this case exposure to adversity does not necessarily result in negative outcomes for people. The theory labels three different types of phenomena which are: (a) individuals who have experienced traumatic events but have been able to recover well; (b) persons who belong to high-risk groups, but who have more favourable outcomes than expected; (c) persons who show positive adaptation despite life stressors (Masten, Best, and Garmezy, 1990). According to Luthar *et al.* (2000: 543), "the

development of resilience theory is associated with decreased emphasis on pathology and an increase in emphasis on strengths".

This background, motivated the adoption of the theory, to capture the vitality and effects of the subject matter of this study. Two important conditions are signified by the theoretical construct of resilience: exposure to high risk and vulnerable situation as well as the ability to adapt positively and achieve success. Although this research does not focus on studying what is resilience, but the theory was utilized as guide creates the possibility of contributing to the ongoing discussion of the "what", "how" and "where" of resilience. In this vein, resilience is conceptualized in this study as a dynamic process of interaction between immigrants and their environment

Luthar *et al.* (2000), posits how resilience theory is driven by a core understanding that a pressing need for survival is the motivating factor for immigrants to move from aggressive and harsh environments. This means when the environment proves to impassive and inactive to support the entrepreneurial drive the immigrants have (Luthar *et al.,* 2000). The onus lies with the immigrant to take actions to tackle the barriers and challenges and establish an optimal system of performance for their business. The pressing need for survival is compelled by the uncertainty, risk, and vulnerability traditionally associated with the role of a foreigner and a street trader.

In addition, Luthar *et al.*, (2000: 544) explains that, "the reasons for living as a foreigner is often equated with capitalist compulsions or constraints of violence and persecution from home". This is so as African immigrants that are being pushed from home by either war and violence or economic hardship from their country of origin populating South African cities such as Durban (Steinberg, 2005). Thus, in talking about their life story as immigrants and street trader in the South Africa context, the immigrant street traders will define their conception of risk, vulnerability and adaptation. So, arriving in South Africa in a state of vulnerability and poverty, the immigrant relies on ties, skills or structural opportunities that can be leveraged for economic gains. In this sense, most studies have focused on the support of ethnic network as the social capital of the immigrant. That is, the immigrant is admitted into an existing network based on ethnic affiliations and thus, can appropriate existing benefits for material gains. However, to acquire entrepreneurship gains, the immigrant will need to develop ties. With "outsiders" or what is more recently conceptualized as "bridge social capital" (Luthar *et al.*, 2000. 544).

Furthermore, although a resilience theory assumes that a system is resilient when it absorbs high level of shock without losing its core, the social world is highly characterized by flexibility, relativity and dynamism, thus the core of resilience in a social dynamic will not be its regularity but how it changes its form to adapt to shocks. The response of the entrepreneurial activities of the immigrant street traders to the shock of the xenophobic violence of 2008, 2015 and 2017 may give an interesting view of social resilience.

2.2.3. The social network theory

Social network theory is a study of social structure made of nodes which are generally individuals or organizations. The term was first coined in 1954 by J. A. Barnes, it indicates the ways in which individuals or organizations are connected through various social familiarities ranging from casual acquaintance to close familial bonds.

What social scientists are concerned with are the interactions between each of the members of the network. These connections, called relationships or ties, are at the heart of what social scientists seek to study and understand. Why do the individuals interact, how do they interact and what is the level of closeness usually referred to as connectedness between group members? According to Hill and Dunbar, (2002), the theory explains how random people are connected. It's useful in the study of large groups and understanding how their members relate to others in the group as it provides insight into viral phenomena (Hill and Dunbar, 2002).

According to the theory, social networks operate on many levels, from families up to the level of nations, and play a critical role in determining the way problems are solved, organizations are run, and the degree to which individuals succeed in achieving their goals (Hill and Dunbar, 2002; Arango, 2000). With this background, to capture the dynamism and effects of the subject matter of this study, I have chosen to adopt the social networking theory as a guide. This, as a result, would help find economic and social networks which immigrants create with locals to help navigate the economy of Durban. Social networks have also been used to examine how companies interact with each other, characterizing the many informal connections that link executives together, as well as associations and connections between individual employees at different companies. In this case, it would be how immigrants as well as foreign entrepreneurs, interact with local business people and make associations in driving

the economy. These networks provide ways for companies to gather information, deter competition, and even collude in setting prices or policies (Hill and Dunbar, 2002). The shape of the social network helps determine a network's usefulness to its individuals. In this case, it would be how immigrants create useful networks with the locals which would help them adapt and succeed in Durban. Smaller, tighter networks can be less useful to their members than networks with lots of loose connections to individuals outside the main network. More "open" networks, with many weak ties and social connections, are more likely to introduce new ideas and opportunities to their members than closed networks with many redundant ties. In so doing with the inclusion of immigrants in the network would help bring in new international ideas, there marking why this theory was adopted as a guide. In other words, a group of friends who only do things with each other already share the same knowledge and opportunities. A group of individuals with connections to other social worlds is likely to have access to a wider range of information (Hill and Dunbar, 2002; Arango, 2000). It is better for individual success to have connections to a variety of networks rather than many connections within a single network.

2.2.4. Summary and the Correlation of the 3 theories.

The dual labour market approach divides the labour market into a primary and a secondary segment. The primary segment is characterised by a capital-intensive method of production and the secondary segment is characterised by a labour-intensive method of production. The theory, therefore, guides and help determine the segment which a high number of Zimbabweans working in Durban do fall under. With that the resilience theory guides in finding the challenges immigrants in each segment do face and how they happen to overcome these challenges. This is so as the theoretical construct of resilience denotes two important conditions: exposure to high risk or vulnerable situation and the ability to achieve success and adapt positively. Therefore, this means at the core of the resilience approach is the assumption that the immigrant is being motivated by the pressing need for survival in a harsh and aggressive environment. That is, the environment is not passive but active in its actions and reactions to deter the entrepreneurial drive of the immigrant. The social network guides and help indicate the ways in which Zimbabwean immigrants are connected through various social familiarities ranging from casual acquaintance to close familial bonds. This helps to determine the usefulness of social networks to immigrants when they first come to Durban. In

this case, it would be how immigrants create useful networks with the locals which would help them adapt and succeed in Durban overcoming all challenges posed by being an immigrant in Durban.

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.3. Regional migration trends to South Africa from the late 1990s to the present

The 1990s saw the post-apartheid South African government signing bilateral agreements with some neighbouring countries and signing the SADC draft protocol on the facilitation of movement of persons within the region (Hungwe, 2013). As a result, South Africa mainly received migrants from within and outside SADC region and some were undocumented and others refugee and asylum seekers. By 1999 there were black migrants from up to 28 countries (McDonald *et al.*, 1999). In the 1990s economic hardships due to structural changes in African countries and in South Africa made more immigrants continue coming to South Africa (Crush and Williams, 2010). At the same time the South African gold mining industry was shrinking and laying off migrant workers (Crush and Williams, 2010). The same period saw legal employees being laid off as well as the rise in several undocumented immigrants entering South Africa (Crush and Williams, 2010). According to Hungwe (2013: 26), the post-apartheid government announced three major amnesties for foreigners, which follows:

  (i)   The miners' amnesty of 1995. This means migrant miners who had been working on contract in South Africa since 1986 were to be awarded permanent residency status.
  (ii)   The amnesty for SADC nationals of 1996. Meant to benefit SADC citizens who had stayed in South Africa for five years or more with the conditions that they were involved in some economic activity, had no criminal record, had married a South African spouse or had dependents born or residing in South Africa legally.
  (iii) Mozambican refugees' amnesty. Was for the refugees who wished to stay in South Africa permanently.

From the year 2000 and after, the Immigration Act of 2002 which was later amended in 2004 encouraged the migration of skilled and semi-skilled workers to South Africa under the provision of the general work permit, corporate permit and quota work permit. The same period saw Lesotho and South Africa signing bilateral agreements in 2004 for improved and better facilitation of cross-border movement of migrants between the two countries (Crush and Williams 2010). According to Adepoju (2006), the same period saw growths in the feminisation of migration as well as an increase of woman cross-border traders. These women focused in the informal sector and stayed for shorter periods in comparison to the man who stayed longer participating in the mining industry. By 1994, the end of the Apartheid era led to the rise of immigrants coming to South Africa (Adepoju, 2006)

2.3.1. Determinants and trends of Zimbabwean migration to South Africa between 1980 to present

According to Hungwe (2013; 27), "Zimbabwean migration between 1980 and 2009 was caused by a combination of socio-political and economic factors ranging from the *Gukurahundi* to harsh economic reforms, *Operation Murambatsvina*, the growing political intolerance and eventually the economic crisis". The purging of the Ndebele people by the 5th Brigade in the early 1980s led to a rise in migration of Zimbabweans from Matabeleland into South Africa (Nkomo, 2001). The purging of the Ndebele is commonly known as *Gukurahundi* which was meant to consolidate Mugabe's claim to power, destroying the ZIPRA armed forces led by Joshua Nkomo, as well as silencing all opposing voices (Nkomo, 2001). This triggered a phase of migration streams from Zimbabwe to South Africa and different countries across the world. The ZIPRA armed forces leader (Joshua Nkomo) also fled and later came back to sign the 1987 unity accord with Robert Mugabe (Nkomo 2001; Stiff 2002). Pushed by the economic crisis and political violence and instability, after 1990 immigrants came from all parts of Zimbabwe and they comprised both skilled and unskilled workers (Stiff, 2002).

Although cross-border movements of Zimbabweans to neighbouring countries in the region has a long history, the scale of mobility has increased significantly in the last decade, and a significant proportion of traders and other entrepreneurs have been added to historical labour movements. According to Bloch (2008), Zimbabweans are mainly circular migrants who migrate as a means of sustaining livelihoods to support families and networks at home. Bloch (2008) further notes that, female migrants constitute an increasingly large proportion of Zimbabwean migrants. Many come as visitors, informal cross-border traders and shoppers.

Other Zimbabweans move to find 'piece-jobs, especially in the service, construction, and tourism industries. Zimbabweans in this can usually migrate alone, leaving their families and other dependents behind, and staying for short periods.

2.3.1.1. Migration of Zimbabwean skilled professionals

Brain drain among professionals in various professions tends to be the same. Skilled workers reasons for migrating includes: "unfulfilled expectations relative to political freedoms, uncompetitive salaries, poor working conditions, limited career development and opportunities, issues of governance and social security and attendant benefits" (Government of Zimbabwe's National Migration Management Diaspora Policy of 2009). These are the main reasons that account for the exodus of doctors and nurses from Zimbabwe to South Africa and beyond (Chikanda, 2011). According to Gaidzanwa (1997) reasons why Zimbabwean medical professionals migrated in the late nineties includes poor working conditions, shortage of personal protective clothing as well as equipment which included cheap things like gloves. Sibanda (2001; 118) notes that other factors include, "poor management, lack of incentives (such as staff and housing loans and other fringe benefits), frustrating grievance handling procedures, non-participation of employees in decision making on matters that concerned them and lack of career prospects". Factors that increasingly influence the propensity to migrate are when the potential migrant has a friend, relative or employment agents in the host country that assist with information and processes (Hungwe, 2013). Sibanda (2001:118) also notes that "among the professionals who left Zimbabwe in the 1990s most had abundant information from friends and adverts as well as easily available transport facilities and this was particularly true for medical and engineering professionals".

2.3.1.2. Migration of semi-skilled and unskilled Zimbabweans

"At the height of the crisis in Zimbabwe discovered that migration was no longer a rite of passage but a livelihood strategy and a career" (Hungwe, 213: 28). Crush (2006) also noted the increased number of female Zimbabwean immigrants in South Africa mainly concentrated in the informal sector and low skilled employment activities accounting 44% of Zimbabwean immigrants in South Africa. According to Hungwe (2013; 28), "Generally unskilled low wage earners tended to migrate through informal, risky and irregular means and most of these migrants entered South Africa without the necessary documents and through being smuggled by *malayitsha*, truck and bus drivers". Some, among these same migrants,

did not seek asylum because of the prohibitive costs of doing so (Hungwe; 2013). Bloch (2008:06) notes that "the prohibitive costs of seeking asylum including reaching the refugee reception office to make a claim, translation costs and fees to file claims (though they are meant to be free) mean that some who might try to seek asylum end up dropping out of the system and staying in South Africa as undocumented migrants instead".

2.4. KIND OF JOBS/EMPLOYMENT IMMIGRANTS ARE DOING IN SOUTH AFRICA

Evidence in developed countries shows positive effects of migration, while in developing countries it remains unclear (Fakir, 2009). Thus, there has been much debate as to the effect of migration as immigrants are often associated with negative effects (Fakir, 2009). South Africa like any other country in a shortage of skilled labour force as noted by Joint Initiative on Priority Skills Acquisition (JIPSA) (National Scarce Skills List, 2014). The Joint Initiative on Priority Skills Acquisition (JIPSA) was established in 2006 as an initiative of the Accelerated and Shared Growth Initiative for South Africa to deal with the supply of priority skills to the economy (National Scarce Skills List, 2014). JIPSA identified the following five priority skills areas for immediate attention: (i) High-level, world-class engineering and planning skills for the network industries", namely transport, communications, water and energy; (ii) City, urban and regional planning and engineering skills; (iii) Artisanal and technical skills, with priority attention to infrastructure development, housing and energy, and in other areas identified as being in strong demand in the labour market; (iv) Management and planning skills in education and health; and (v) Mathematics, science and language competence in public schooling (National Scarce Skills List, 2014). Since 2006 South Africa has procured many skilled personnel such as electric and civil engineers, doctors, and professors to support its economic growth (Dumba and Chirisa, 2010). These immigrants include skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled workers from the mostly African continent. UNFPA (2009), in support further noted that immigrants solve the problem of labour shortages in the receiving country.

Immigrants also work other various jobs as drivers, shop assistants, motor mechanics, teachers, engineers, doctors and accountants. However, most the migrants are employed in low income jobs. Key areas of employment for immigrants, are mostly in the construction industry, commercial farms and small businesses in the informal sectors where they receive low pay for long hours of work per day (Bloch, 2008; Crush and Williams, 2010). Hungwe (2013), explains that construction industries are mostly dominated by men whilst women dominate in domestic related work. Bloch (2008) notes that there is no control on payments

of workers as well as the working conditions, as a result, most immigrants are earning below minimum wage. According to Hungwe (2013: 154), "migrants gain entry in private organisations and employers that do not strictly require identity documents". Thus, in most of these organisations immigrants are given access to employment with only asylum documents or without work permit (Hungwe, 2013).

Studies shows that most immigrants dominate household or restaurant jobs. Hungwe (2013; 155) reveals that females dominate in domestic services (as domestic workers), hairdressing and hospitality industry (as waitresses), teaching and training, while males are predominantly found in the hospitality (as waiters and drivers), information technology and computers, motor and security industries. Mutsindikwa, (2012) clarifies that migrants may change jobs they rarely change their industry. However, there are clear cases of upward movement where one moves from domestic work to office work. This shift tended to be facilitated by sympathetic domestic employers (Mutsindikwa, 2012). These are mostly female migrants who are higher certificate holders with Diplomas, for example, former teachers who started off as domestic maids (Mutsindikwa, 2012).

2.4.1. Brain gain

South Africa has seen more skilled labour being absorbed into the country's labour force before and after the first democratic elections of 1994 (Holtz-Eakin, 2005). According to Maharaj, (2002), a high number of immigrants who come to South Africa have good qualifications, vocational experience, and skills. Maharaj (2002) notes that these immigrants commonly known as economic refugees chose to leave their countries of origin due to lack of employment opportunities. (Holtz-Eakin, 2005) further note that upon arrival economic refugees/immigrants who are highly qualified get the opportunity to work in areas of their expertise thus contributing greatly to the economy of South Africa. This marks that South Africa, benefits greatly from brain gain, as most immigrants have entrepreneurial skills which along the way is harnessed and in the reduction of unemployment, poverty as well as boosting economic growth (Holtz-Eakin, 2005).

According to Beine *et al*. (2007), skilled immigrants take up jobs and fill in gaps in the labour market. Meaning there is brain gain in the host countries, which makes rich countries richer by utilizing human capital from poor and less developed countries (Beine *et al*., 2007). Holtz-Eakin, (2005) notes that immigrants take also jobs which are detested by locals or jobs that

complement those of native workers thereby increasing employment opportunities for natives. Through employing citizens of neighbouring countries, South Africa established good relations with SADC countries (Beine *et al*, 2007). Since the early nineties, South Africa has been receiving medical practitioners from Zimbabwe and this has been a norm. Holtz-Eakin (2005), notes that by 2005, 50% of doctors in South Africa were foreigners and in the same year the Ministry of Health also recruited more doctors from as far as Tunisia. When immigrants come into a country they bring innovation and new ideas into the economy, meaning they also provide alternative solutions to resolve the problem of labour deficiencies in the receiving country's labour market (Beine *et al*, 2007). Holtz-Eakin (2005), further notes that through brain gain the receiving country experiences growth in its GDP since the country receives skilled labour which fills in gaps in the labour market thus improving productivity. Labour migration revitalizes the workforce and expands human capital resource base, thus enhancing productivity and prosperity (Holtz-Eakin, 2005).

2.4. 2. Immigration and self-employment

According to Holtz-Eakin (2005), Immigrants supplement the production of goods and create employment. This is so as some enter the country as business people and entrepreneurs. As the movement of immigrants from SADC countries and beyond has grown since the democratic elections in 1994, South Africa receives immigrant entrepreneurs from other countries (Peberdy, 2002). In their study, Kalitanyi and Viser (2010: 376) notes that immigrants use their entrepreneurial skills and experience to open their small businesses if they fail to get employment and about 73%-95% of these entrepreneurs want to work with South Africans. This is because they want to bridge the communication challenge. Thus, Kalitanyi and Viser (2010), conclude that immigrants in South Africa are creating more jobs than taking them. The results further show that "immigrants are creating employment for locals than taking jobs, entrepreneurs choose to work with South Africans for communication reasons, they are henceforth empowered and taught in business, as a result, they do not ask for high salaries" (Kalitanyi and Viser, 2010:382).

Peberdy, (2002) further noted that non-South African participants in the retail informal sector fall into four interconnecting and overlapping categories. These are mobile street traders, fixed street traders, street traders involved in cross-border trade and cross-border traders and shoppers. At least 20% of SADC entrepreneurs are involved in handicraft/curios sector, of

street trade (Peberdy, 2002). The informal sector creates jobs for both locals and immigrants, to a certain degree, thereby reducing unemployment in South Africa. This is so as many immigrants brought with them numerous skills from their countries of origin. They impart their skills to the locals and employ them, thus creating a job market for them (Holtz-Eakin, 2005). According to Kalitanyi and Viser, (2010: 389) "Immigrants contribute to the growth of the economy. This is so as they use most of their money in South Africa, either for day-to-day subsistence or acquisition goods to go with back home".

According to Peberdy and Rodgerson (2000) immigrants of taking jobs from locals, they create jobs for locals and themselves and are mainly focused on the small, medium and micro- enterprise sectors. According to Kalitanyi and Viser, (2010:379) "immigrant entrepreneurs create employment for both immigrants and the locals thus providing a means, through which immigrants and South Africans who lack education and technical skills can find jobs". This is as a result shows that Immigrant entrepreneurs enter the country and join the Small Medium and Micro Enterprises (SMMEs) sector in South Africa. "Therefore, they concentrate in small family businesses, especially the retail sectors (such as electronic shops, apparel and furniture shops) and service sector such as restaurants and salons" (Kalitanyi and Viser, 2010: 379). According to Kalitanyi and Viser, (2010: 380) "West Africa dominates in almost all sectors which include education, car industry as well as SMMEs". "Zimbabweans and Mozambique dominate in curio-selling as well as motor-car repairs/panel beating. Most of the entrepreneurs choose to employ locals for language advantages in communicating with clients as well as availability" (Kalitanyi and Viser, 2010: 380).

According to Maharaj (2002) the infusion and mixture of foreign nationals into the labour market help improve and impart knowledge to locals who will be working with immigrants and in the process, South Africans are empowered. Also, the presence of immigrants adds greatly to the production sectors of South Africa, as their presence increases demand local services and goods (Maharaj, 2002). Studies done by the Centre for Development and Enterprise (2006) show that most immigrants are self-employed at various levels, and are contributing greatly to the economy. The centre's results show that Zimbabweans are seen and considered as labour providers which can be good value for money, while Mozambicans are known for mechanical skills and Asians seen as entrepreneurs who sell cheap and affordable goods, thereby improving living standards of locals (Centre for Development and Enterprise, 2006).

2.4.3. Immigrants' contribution into the labour market

Migrant labour is a significant resource with positive and negative influences on the destination country's labour market (Arango, 2000; Holtz-Eakin, 2005). According to Holtz-Eakin, (2005) Development and growth of the economy are resultant from capital accumulation and the presence of immigrants marks an increase in labour force and productivity. Holtz-Eakin, (2005) further notes that economic growth is dependent on the labour force and economic growth arise from output growth rates and labour force contribution rates. Immigrants, in this case, are increases output in the economy of the host country. In most cases, migrants comprise those who are economically active, and in this case, migrants increase labour force contribution (Drinkwater *et al* 2003). Immigrants supplement the labour force of the host country in a way which is not destructive to the host country's economic impact per se (Drinkwater *et al* 2003). Highly skilled immigrants who come to South Africa result in the human capital dilution offsetting the physical capital dilution, and with such the economy of the receiving country grows (Eaton, 1998). Immigration according to Eaton (1998) "enhances output demand and leads to the economic growth of the host country. Immigrant workers, therefore, increase demand as they provide new goods and services as well as overall production rises and help industries to expand (Eaton, 1998)

According to Crush (2011), immigrant labour is important as it brings new skills and innovative ideas. The receiving country obtains skilled workers who fill positions which might go unoccupied. According to Castel-Branco, (2002) "foreigners are trustworthy, have low turnover, hard-working as most of them do not consider working conditions". Castel-Branco (2002) further notes that immigrants create employment opportunities for both locals and themselves since they increase demand for goods and services. This is so as, according to Castel-Branco, (2002) demand for labour is output motivated thus, increased demand for goods and services increases demand for labour. This then leads increased employment opportunities for both locals and immigrants. According to the International Organization for Migration (IOM), (2013), "Immigrants in South Africa are mostly occupied in regular income-generating activities". IOM, (2013) further notes that Immigrants unemployment rate is lower than that of the national extended unemployment rate for the black people born in South Africa. These include those unemployed and in search of jobs with those not economically active (IOM, 2013).

According to the International Organization for Migration (IOM), (2013) immigrant' residential area is one of the determining factors to judge their employment status and the kind of work the immigrant is doing. Crush, (2011) however notes that it is difficult for immigrants to find jobs which match their credentials, and they end up being underemployed taking lower paying jobs. More so, Crush (2011) proves that migration is labour-driven. In so doing self-selection plays a part and entrepreneurial migrant are the ones who move (Crush, 2011; Castel-Branco, 2002). More so, immigrants are not accorded same benefits from the government like natives, they then accept less paying jobs and end up being exploited (Crush, 2011).

2.5. SOCIO-ECONOMIC NETWORKS WHICH IMMIGRANTS CREATE WITH LOCALS

According to Poros, (2001: 245) "migrant social networks are different from other social networks due to their composition, their use and effect they pose on immigrants and people of the hosting country". Poros, (2001: 245) notes that in this case the importance of social networking among immigrants cannot be overstated as migrant social networks serve as an important tool in the migration process.

Poros, (2001: 244) defines migrants' social networks as "interpersonal ties linking kin, friends, and community members in their places of origin and destination". It is important to understand that immigrants have ties at various social levels ranging from institutions (universities, government or private agencies etc.) and organisations (NGOs, Religious or Cultural organization etc.) where they access education or get help in finding jobs, food, accommodation or facilitation in their migration (Poros, 2001; Castles & Miller, 1998). This creates a platform for beneficial interactions for most immigrants to network with various social groups and organizations. Thus, migration becomes an experience and an opportunity to explore opportunities that can be exploited for economic gain through social and political network created through the migration process and in the host country.

According to Castles & Miller (1998:26), migrants utilizes networks as an indispensable element "of settlement and community formation in the immigration area". Immigrants achieve this through devising social and economic strategies that networks them into social capital and this becomes the basis of interaction for social and economic gain (Castles &

Miller, 1998). It is therefore important to understand how migrant networks develop and work.

2.5.1. The importance of migrant networks

Immigrants' success according to Crush, (2011) is determined by the networks they create, commonly known as migrant's social network. Crush (2011; Castles & Miller, 1998) also argues that social networks which immigrants create to serve as an anchor to move from one place to another works as a referral system of where to find a job and housing as well as opening business. Migrant networks according to Crush (2011) further determine the extent immigrants integrate themselves in countries of origin and destination. "These help immigrants minimize risks when they consider places where they know individuals or organizations that will help with transportation and to settle" (Poros, 2001: 245). Therefore, social networks create connections and make migration possible. "Such networks further help to connect highly skilled and educated migrants with institutions and organizations that would want to recruit those" (Poros, 2001; 245). However, it must be noted that according to Burt (2004) immigrants' social networks do not offer endless stratum of generosity, but the network's existence is constrained by opportunity structures in the destination country. This means if immigrant's network in the receiving country exists in a marginalised state results in tense relations among co-ethnic members (Burt, 2004).

Crush (2011) reveals the existence of social networks that are created by immigrants. These networks exist between cross-border migrants, such as political organizations, home cultural associations and informal migrant mutual help groups, such as burial associations and savings and credit groups. Crush, (2011) notes that these networks are instrumental to the selection of a migration destination and information about living conditions prior to migration. Between 69% and 71% of men and women Interviewed by Crush, (2011) reported that most of them plan to move to places where they have immediate families and close friends. Crush (2011) adds that networks are also particularly important to help new migrants find employment given the hostile social environment evidenced by general xenophobic attacks in South Africa. Massey et al, (1998:43) also noted that "immigrants who are socially and economically integrated are obliged to help the newcomers integrate and by doing so they give relevance to this social capital". So "when migrant networks are well developed, they put a destination job within easy reach of most community members and make emigration a

reliable and secure source of income" (Massey et al, 1998:43). It is important to note that networks created by migrants, are constructed outside the formal state apparatus and for this reason these networks are coined informal networks.

However, the (HSRC, 2010) reported that these ties loosen with time and immigrants start to regard and perceive friends and neighbours as not very supportive. HSRC, (2010) concludes that immigrant communities are not only exposed to increasingly unfavourable policy conditions in countries receiving immigrants, but also the erosion of their networks as time goes on. Lindau *et al.* (2008) concurs that, this situation must be taken on the wider context of rapid urbanization and growth of African cities, where local populations are mixed. According to Kok *et al.* (2008: 227-234) the prevalence and strength of networks tend to correlate with the immigrants' countries of origin. This is so as support is given depending on factors like family structures. Meaning immigrants operate in cultural contexts and benefit from different supportive networks (Kok *et al.*, 2008).

2.5.2. Economic incorporation of immigrants

The economic incorporation of immigrants shows how important and harmful social networks are. Immigrants use social networking to find jobs, however, this has resulted in the rise of ethnic enclave economies (Poros, 2001: 256). These ethnic economies include an ethnic ownership economy which includes business owners and their co-ethnic workers. Poros, (2001: 256) outlines that "ethnic economies include ethnic-controlled economies where co-ethnic owners and employees have significant economic control and power in a certain industry or labour sector". Labour, information and money are the major factors these networks rely on amongst immigrants (Poros, 2001). Although these networks in question have proven to be beneficial to immigrants in finding employment, it important to note that some immigrants end up lacking upward mobility thereby face exploitation by fellow immigrants who employ them (Crush, 2011). Henceforth, inequality is also further perpetuated by immigrants' co-ethnic ties and networks.

2.5.3. Migrants networking and socio-economic development

Diaspora entrepreneurship is the development of immigrant business people who take advantage of their host countries policies which are promoting entrepreneurship (Poros, 2001). This economic development is based on organizational relations between migrants and governments, institutions, and agencies promoting it. The effects of this relationship are

much more global/Transnational. In so doing, "Diaspora entrepreneurs serve as a leeway for organizations in their countries of origin and destination to link" (Poros, 2001: 256). However, Crush (2011), articulates that diaspora entrepreneurship, remittance economies largely constitute financial exchange between immigrants with their interpersonal relations with family friends and community.

2.5.4. Networking and transnationalism

Poros (2011: 6) explains that transnational social networks, "comprises people who live dual lives through speaking more than one language, have homes in two or more countries and making a living through regular contact across borders". These transitional activities include social, political and economic benefits which are an outcome of ties that are developed at an interpersonal level or organizational level (Poros, 2011; Castles & Miller, 1998). Thus, transnational managerial activities shuttle back and forth between global cities. This further outline how inter-company transferees have become prominent, as immigrants make repeated trips across borders social purposes. According to Poros (2001: 6), "transnational activities rely fundamentally on migrant networks and exchange of goods and resources between social ties".

The World Bank (2011), estimates that the number of immigrants in the world to be 215 million. According to Castles (2002; 2004) this marks migration as a growing industry which has been perpetuated by migrant and kin relationships. Castles and Miller (2009) further argues that organising migratory movements have also become a source of income to individuals and travel agencies. He supports his view of the notion that the migration industry includes travel agencies who assist with all necessary information about the country of destination. According to Castles and Miller (2009), bankers, lawyers, labour recruiters, interpreters, housing agents and brokers forms part of the wide group of immigrants' skills which agencies would need more since they are marketable.

2.5.5. Networking and social exclusion

According to Muzondidya (2008), immigrants are resourceful, alert and they know when and how to manoeuvre connecting with each other. This means devise different ways and tactics of adapting and coping up (kin and ethnic networks, friendships and fake identities) within the host country, since they are excluded from a wide range of benefits as the natives. Some end up denying their citizenship and engage in intermarriages of convenience applying for asylum permits. Immigrants create these social networks as an access door to

accommodation, integrating (learning language and culture), and finding employment (Muzondidya, 2008). Therefore, these coping mechanisms depends on the migrant's history, social status and settlement patterns. More so, they utilize the rhetoric of Pan Africanism or past historical significant relations to negotiate access in a host country. For example, Zimbabweans have utilized these measures to negotiate access to stay in South Africa (Muzondidya, 2008). Raftopolous, (2009) in support notes that some claim cultural and linguistic ties between the Zulu and Ndebele in Zimbabwe. Thus, marking how social networking has been of paramount importance to adapt and work in South Africa. According to Fangen (2010), social networks protect individuals against racism and help immigrants form of social capital that helps reduce social exclusion.

Landau and Segati, (2009) further distinguishes two kinds of social links individuals have: those that link to people in the same position as ourselves or family members, people in the local neighbourhood, our immediate colleagues at work and those that link us to people in very different positions from ourselves with opportunities which they can bring to our attention but of which we are unlikely to be able to avail to ourselves without their help. Scholars agree that networking of individual groups should be promoted through social policies to help underprivileged and disadvantaged individuals, thus providing a leeway for them with steps to change their situation through 'network bridges' (Burt, 2004; Raftopolous, 2009). It is important to note that Interactions amongst migrants and locals lessen detachment and stigmatisation. The findings of Granovetter's (1973) cited by Hungwe (2013: 66) confirms that "intercommunity and intra-community ties are both needed by individuals". This is because intercommunity is argued to be a way of helping societies to widen their interests and strengthening their social bonds (Hungwe, 2013).

According to (Burt, 2004) social networks to immigrants' increase or decrease social marginalisation and this depends on whether the networks offer opportunities for individuals to build weaker ties with individuals outside their main networks. These weaker ties function as pathways to information, resources to members of different network groups thus it reduces exclusion of certain groups (Burt, 2004).

2.5.6. Social capital and social networking
Poros (2001) argues that social capital is more important than belonging to a social network to make migration a reality. In so doing Paros, (2001) defines social capital as the potential

resources linked to the migrant's social ties and the quality of the tie itself. According to Spicer (2008), the concept of social capital is utilised in studying migration, development education and poverty. It utilizes three notions closely tied to social capital which are social bonds; social bridges which includes ethnic, national and religious identities; as well as connections between institutions and agencies (Spicer, 2008).

Woolcock and Narayan (2000: 225) define social networking as: "those tangible substances which count for the daily lives of people; namely goodwill, fellowship, sympathy and social intercourse among the individuals and families who make up a social unit". They explain social network as an accumulation process for social capital. For example, someone can get introduced to friends of his neighbour and end up having his social needs satisfied and also bearing a potential mark of improving the living conditions of the entire community (Woolcock and Narayan, 2000).

2.5.7. Benefits of social capital from social networking

According to McGregor (2010), social capital benefits immigrants directly using social networks which help immigrants to settle and adapt well to the destination country. McGregor (2010) notes that social capital lower migration costs and offer support to immigrants. This is so as through Migrant networks, information procurement on the migration processes is made available (McGregor, 2010; Glick et al, 2006).). In the Receiving country, social networks seek to provide information on employment opportunities, accommodation, food, security as well as capital for businesses (McGregor 2010).

2.5.8. Religion and networking between immigrants and locals

Through emphasising Christian universalism, Religion has also become part of the ways which immigrants suit into the community and be welcome with love (McGregor, 2010). Religious networks within communities lessen social exclusion, thus creating forms of belonging than ethnic or kin groups (Glick et al, 2006). Further notes that religious networks are a result of the desire by people to be accepted thereby create stable-lasting connections with the social world.

2.6. CHALLENGES IMMIGRANTS ARE FACING IN SOUTH AFRICA.

There are various challenges that immigrants are facing in South Africa, these include exclusion, exploitation, abuse, stigmatisation, victims of various stereotypes and xenophobia etc. All these factors clearly express the social and economic challenges that immigrants fall victim to. Therefore, this section explores literature to explore these challenges.

2.6.1. Experiences of immigrants in South Africa

Since 1994 after the democratic elections, South Africa has witnessed an increased influx of migrants especially from other parts of Africa (Landau and Segati, 2009). The increase of immigrants in South Africa has resulted in negative sentiments and opposition to immigration by the local populace and this has been said to be across the board from ordinary to high ranking politicians (Landau and Segati, 2009). According to Dumba and Chirisa (2010: 10) "immigrants are victims of crime from other immigrants as well as from South African criminals". This is so they face exploitation and harassment of the face employees. A report given by the South African Police Service (SAPS Soshanguve) in 2010 indicates that "50% of cases reported by immigrants are linked to non-payment of wages by employers" (Dumba and Chirisa, 2010: 5-15). This outlines how some employers employ immigrants who are in South Africa illegally and without proper documentation to exploit their labor and not pay them for the work.

Chigeza, (2011) notes that immigrants often victims of rape and assault, yet their cases are turned down due to corruption as police turn a blind eye when bribed by the perpetrators. In most instances police exert pressure and fear on these immigrants to drop the cases and not to report it anywhere else (Chigeza, 2011; Adepoju, 2003). According to the Citizenship Rights in Africa Initiative (2009), in a way to express dissatisfaction towards the government native South Africans take to the streets and loot foreign-owned businesses assaulting immigrants. Immigrants suffer in silence because they cannot retaliate to the insults in fear of getting deported and also they do not want to lose focus on their purpose of working and sending money to their families back home (Chigeza, 2011).

Hussein (2000) argued that the presence of immigrants catalyzes the occurrence of crimes. A case study on immigrants conducted in Gauteng Province, Rietzes (1997), cited by Hussein (2000) noted that illegal immigrants and those with fake papers are victims of choice. This is so as they are given 2 choices by employers, to face jail or go without pay, and mostly they

chose to go without pay. Due to this vulnerability immigrants become victims of crime than being perpetrators, as they are in a foreign land where they are less appreciated (Landau and Segati, 2009). However, studies have shown that immigrants are contributing greatly and positively to the economy of South Africa (Adepoju, 2003). This is because most of them are involved in various small businesses which are of value to economic participation (Adepoju, 2003).

2.6.2. Social violence

Social violence and attacks also worry international immigrants in South Africa. Palmary, *et al, (*2003) notes that After South Africa's 1994 first democratic elections, Alexandra Township Centre organized '*Operation Buyelekhaya'* (Operation Go Back Home) a campaign which was against the influx of foreigners in the township (Palmary, *et al,* 2003). More so in 2002, Du Noon Township outside Cape Town also passed a resolution expelling and prohibiting all foreigners from coming back (Palmary, *et al*; (2003). According to Palmary, *et al,* 2003, these attacks are fueled by the natives' dissatisfaction and anger on the worsening economic conditions and poor service delivery by the government. Also, the perceived notion of immigrants to be competing with locals for jobs, scarce resources as well as being perpetrators of crime fuel the attacks (Palmary, *et al*, 2003).

According to Ncube and Hougaard, (2010) "the way and manner which the police has conducted immigration raids has also been a challenge to foreigners and has also led to a perception by locals that they are assisting in getting rid of foreigners in South Africa". This is so as previous responses to xenophobic attacks included arrests and deportation of illegal immigrants and this has resulted in locals perceiving that the government action was assisting natives to forcibly remove immigrants from their areas (Palmary, *et al*, 2003). Winterdyk and Antonopoulos (2008) note that xenophobic experiences results into a wide range of emotions like anger, sadness, fear, powerlessness, vulnerability, and suspicion of others. As a result, in most cases, immigrants end up having difficulty in remembering and concentrating, they end up blaming themselves for their negative experiences (Winterdyk and Antonopoulos, 2008). Therefore, immigrants suffer trauma after trauma which further affects the family wellbeing. Winterdyk and Antonopoulos (2008) further note that xenophobic attacks do not affect individuals only, but the incidents send a message to community members, placing them at risk as well.

2.6.3. Challenges in getting proper documentation

According to the Migrant Workers' Association of South Africa (MWASA), (2014), immigrants in South Africa face many challenges and they are desperate, vulnerable and afraid to join unions and they are also open to xenophobic attacks. On top of these challenges, they are also supposed to face and deal with day-to-day administrative hassles, which may include difficulties in opening bank accounts and finding employment (Idemudia, 2013). Getting proper documents has also been a challenge to most immigrants, despite the amnesty and extension of 4-year special dispensation given to some immigrants. Ncube and Hougaard (2010), explains how most Zimbabweans who received special permits expressed uncertainty for the future as they wondered for their renewal. According to Ncube and Hougaard (2010), expresses how the Commission for Conciliation, Mediation and Arbitration discovered that immigrants lost their provident fund savings and have been denied justice in court as the rulings stated that South African law do not cover undocumented immigrants.

2.6.4. Post Migration challenges of immigrants in South Africa

Idemudia et al, (2013:22), notes that upon arrival in South Africa immigrants are faced with challenges which can be categorized in 2 subthemes which are consistent among both women and men. The two subthemes are minimal opportunities to obtain resources and employment and experiences of exploitation and coercion (Idemudia et al, 2013).

2.6.4.1. Minimal opportunities to obtain resources.

Idemudia *et al.* (2013: 22) notes that, "regardless of gender, when in South Africa immigrants face same challenges to obtain necessities such as food, water, and housing that were unavailable to them when they were still in their countries of origin".

2.6.4.2. Exploitation and coercion.

According to Idemudia *et al.* (2013: 23), vulnerability of immigrants is a result of their immigration status. This is so as the immigration status also determines the wages which that person will receive. More so, if one is fortunate enough to get a job, uncertainty of whether they are going to be paid or not affects them as there is no guarantee that they will receive appropriate wages for such (Idemudia et al, 2013; Crush 2006).

A research by Rutherford and Addison (2007) shows that there have been violations against immigrants who are working in low paying jobs mostly Zimbabweans working in farms. The blame for all this is put upon farmers themselves, as well as lack of law enforcement as this

include salaries below the minimum wage and working overtime without consent and no payment. Idemudia et al, (2013: 23), notes that "it is difficult to ascertain that because of immigrants' status and nature of their work they are being underpaid, but it has to be noted that undocumented immigrants are paid less than others". In so doing those with secure statuses have a wider range of employment experience (Idemudia et al, 2013: 23).

2.7. COMMUNITY PERCEPTIONS TOWARDS IMMIGRANTS

According to Crush & Williams (2005: 16), "South Africans are said to be intolerant of foreigners and they have restrictive migration policies, unlike people from SADC region who are said to be having a more relaxed attitude towards immigrants". A study conducted by SAMP in 1998, indicate that 1 in every 5 South Africans feels that foreigners must go back to their home countries (Crush; 2001). Crush (2001: 13-16) further notes that "locals feel the government should put more restrictive policies on immigrants, increase border patrols, all foreigners to carry identity documents and heavily penalise local businessman who employs illegal immigrants".

2.7.1. Immigrants as perpetrators of crime

According to Crush (2006), immigrants have been viewed as perpetrators of crime within communities and they have been a common topic of di scussion over the media. This has resulted in negative attitudes towards immigrants by natives accusing them of criminal activities happening in societies (Crush, 2006). According to Hungwe (2013:65), "the coming of immigrants into South Africa has been viewed as a national security threat which needs immediate action and intervention". These claims according to Hungwe (2013:65) "relies on unsubstantiated claims about the inherent criminality of foreign nationals".

According to De Jong and Streinmetz (2006), human trafficking, drug trafficking and prostitution are the main crimes immigrants are highly involved in. Gamba (1996) also reported that 60% of illegal immigrants who come to South Africa are armed and this has led to locals blaming immigrants for all social ills, especially those from the SADC region. Peberdy & Crush (1998:2) on immigrants as perpetrators of crime notes that "there is an immigrant category made of peripatetic traders and businessman who have strong links, and relationships or counterparts among nationals of the receiving country some are smugglers of goods or drug traffickers". Peberdy & Crush (1998:2) further notes that "with the increased

cross-border mobility which has almost become a way of life between countries, women from neighbouring countries have been actors rather than being victims of the process". Therefore, this has resulted in natives perceiving all foreigners to be dwelling in criminal activities (Gamba, 1996).

Winkler (2006) further notes that undocumented immigrants, especially in South Africa's major cities, are less likely to respect rules and institutions of the governing bodies. This has been labelled as a way which immigrants manage to escape taxes, avoid census, as well as subverting regulatory agencies which are a threat to their interests. Winkler (2006) also notes that not having proper documentation is also a crime in itself which all illegal immigrants must face charges as most of them will end up venturing into anti-social behaviours. Winkler (2006) further notes that "Immigrants who are excluded from the community due to their status do not participate in development planning processes, and such exclusions make government policies less likely to address city residents' priorities and needs and this might, harm public institutions' efficacy and legitimacy".

Landau and Segatti (2009) noted the obsession locals have towards immigrants' criminal activities which they say is so distracting the police to attend to serious issues and this has resulted in South Africans committing more crimes, putting the blame on foreigners. However, according to Guy, (2011), as immigrants flee economic and political instability in their home countries, criminals do also migrate looking for greener and opportunities.

Danso and McDonald, (2000: 16-17) note that "effects of migration in South Africa are not only limited to the area of employment but its effects are said to be greatly contributing to high levels of crime in South Africa". "Migration and crime have been an issue of concern, where immigrants are mostly dwelling on alleged criminal activities by the local populace and the media at large" (Danso and McDonald, 2000: 16-17). Danso and McDonald, (2000: 16-17) "further notes that It is true that immigrants' involvement in criminal activities has increased in South Africa and a functional connection exists between immigrants and crime". Hussein (2000) further indicates that immigrants are also involved in fake telegraphic transfers of funds and withdrawal credits, selling counterfeit identity documents to fellow foreigners as well as buying properties using fake identity documents.

2.7.2. Perceived negative impacts of immigrants

2.7.2.1. Impact on health system and poverty

According to Hussein, (2000) apart from the perceived effects on crime and employment, immigrants are also perceived to be affecting the provision of services such as education, health and housing for natives. This is so as it is believed that migrants who move from different parts of the world, do carry with them diseases consciously and unconsciously, and these diseases include malaria, tuberculosis, scabies and AIDS (Vermaat, 2006). In the case of illegal immigrants who enter the country without proper documentation, natives perceive that they bring diseases with them and go untreated and easily spread diseases. This is so because of lack of adequate health services in their home countries and fear of going to South African clinics without proper documentation (Hussein, 2000; Crush, 2006). Furthermore, Hussein, (2000), Immigrants do put pressure on clinics thereby increasing the doctor to patient ration. This so as clinics which are meant to serve South Africans are strained by immigrants who also would want treatment. More so immigrants do engage in sexual activities amongst themselves as well as locals. They further engage in sexual activities with local sex workers marking fast spread of sexually transmitted and other diseases (Hussein, 2000).

2.7.2.2. Immigrants increasing poverty levels

According to Rector, (2006) immigrants are perceived to be increasing poverty levels in the host countries. Some migrants, in this case, political and environmental refugees, especially from third world countries as they migrate to another country, they cause a strain on the resources of the host country thereby increasing poverty levels in that country (Rector, 2006). Immigrants also spread diseases with epidemic potential which can be credited to poverty (Hussein, 2000). Immigration results in low skilled workers flowing into the country and compete with native low skilled for jobs. Raphael and Smolensky (2009), argues that, this depresses wages, leaving South Africans with little disposable income. Resulting in South Africans living below the poverty line (Hussein, 2000). Refugee immigration increases the number of people in need of assistance and the cost of providing such assistance puts the burden on the government which would need to balance between assisting refugees and its own people who are also in poverty (Rector, 2006).

2.7.2.3. Perceived immigrants' effects on wages

The Economic theory proposes that immigrants and migration affect the wage structure as it results in the lowering wages of competing workers thereby raising wages of complements (Borjas, 2004). According to Borjas, (2004) low skilled migrants compete with low skilled natives in the receiving country's labour market. The influx of immigrants with less formal and little education slows wages growth of natives. As immigrants' increases, this means an abundance of labour in the receiving country which creates employment competition in the labour market for the locals and as a result depresses wages (Borjas, 2004).

The increase of unskilled immigrants in the labour market result in the fall in wages (Solomon, 2000). This becomes a huge challenge in the host country as the natives have to compete for the same pie of jobs for low wages than usual hence leading to a decline of working conditions in the country (Solomon, 2000). Achieving full employment is the goal of every country's economy and high unemployment results in high rates of poverty, inequality, and social instability (Rector, 2006). However, the increase of migrants reduces the chance. Thus, Danso *et al.* (2000), articulates that South Africans blame foreigners for taking jobs which are meant for them. Ruak and Graham (2011), reported that unskilled immigrants in South Africa have negative contributions and effects to the economy which include adding surplus labour to an environment that has surplus low skilled workers already.

According to Hussein (2000), expressed that immigrants have a double effect in a country. For instance, in South Africa immigrants firstly, increase strain on limited resources and the economy. Secondly, the large number of immigrants have greater negative impacts on South Africa's crime rate, social services and increasing poverty levels. More so, failing to get jobs, immigrants end up settling in farms close to their borders accepting fewer salaries. Hussein, (2000) notes "that immigrants are preferred by employers, as they accept lower wages and work longer hours. Some do jobs which natives wouldn't do, these include working only for food and shelter". By so doing, locals are replaced by foreigners in the place of work (Hussein, 2000). For example, the owner of Cafe Zurich in Hillbrow dismissed 20 South African waiters and replaced them with 20 foreigners who worked without salaries but only survived on tips (Mokoele, 2013).

2.7.2.4. Displacement and relocation of locals because of immigrants

According to Davies and Head (1995), due to the increased number of immigrants who come looking for jobs, locals face displacement due to the increased relocation and retrenchment. Rector (2006) further notes that, labour migrants reduce wages, and do not consider any

working conditions thereby leading to job insecurity for locals. Due to these circumstances, immigration is argued to slow the economic growth of the host country (Drinkwater *et al.,* 2003). More so, Borjas (2004) observed that labour immigrants are costly to labour importing country. This is because immigrants increase the crime rate, violence, and corruption especially undocumented (Borjas, 2004). According to UNFPA, (2005) migration is a sensitive and emotional issue which politicians politicize due to fear of the electorate, and they end up blaming immigrants for their problems and quandary.

Increased number of immigrants has direct budgetary effects on the receiving country (Drinkwater *et al.,* 2003). Showing the perception of locals that immigrants are not beneficial because exerting pressure on resources, increase the crime rate, increase unemployment, and even reduce wages (Borjas, 2004). An increase of immigrants may intensify underdevelopment in the receiving country. The labour exporting country is also deprived of its productive labour force and loses its human capital (Borjas; 2004). The sending country further loses highly skilled personnel who are productive (Borjas, 2004). Borjas, (2004) further notes that migration separates families and thus, increases the risk of spread of HIV and other sexually related illnesses.

2.8. CONCLUSION

Evidence in developed countries shows positive effects of migration, while in developing countries it remains unclear. There has been much debate as to the effect of migration as immigrants are often associated with negative effects. Immigrants have been a common topic of discussion over the media and within communities as perpetrators of crime as they have been accused of dwelling on alleged criminal activity". With such fallacies, local people blame foreigners as responsible for the high crime rate and unemployment. The impact of migration in South Africa is not only limited to the area of employment. Immigration and crime in present-day South Africa is an issue of concern and it is true that the involvement of immigrants in crime has increased in South Africa. In so doing literature on jobs immigrants are doing, networks which immigrants create to the navigation of the economy, challenges which immigrants are facing as well as the perceptions of the local population towards immigrants was discussed in this chapter. Methodology and research design will be discussed in the next chapter.

<p style="text-align: center;">**CHAPTER THREE**</p>

<p style="text-align: center;">**RESEARCH METHODOLOGY AND RESEARCH DESIGN**</p>

3.0. INTRODUCTION

With the realizing that Zimbabweans are, being granted special permits more than other African immigrants, one could ask whether they do, in fact, add any value to the well-being of Durban Economy. In so doing the contribution and the kind of jobs Zimbabweans are doing to make them deserve these special permits has to be investigated, thereby taking into consideration their socio-economic interactions with the local population. However, such discourses are only unpacked once the researcher would have made plans on how he would gather information, analyse and present it, whom to get information from, and when? This chapter presents the research design and methodological approach that was used for the study. It is divided into four main sections. The first section looks at the study area, secondly, the chapter focuses on the research design where the targeted population, sample size as well as sampling techniques used for the study is discussed. Methodological approaches which were used in this study make up the third section of this chapter. The methodology section, in addition, presents data collection and data analysis techniques that were used in the study. The last section of the chapter discusses limitations which were encountered during the study as well as ethical considerations that were observed in conducting the study.

3.1 STUDY AREA

The study was conducted in Durban, the largest city in the South African province of KwaZulu Natal (StatsSA community Survey, 2007). Durban metropolitan municipality ranks third among the most populous urban areas in South Africa after Johannesburg and Cape `Town and it is also the second most important manufacturing hub in South Africa after Johannesburg (StatsSA community Survey, 2007). Durban's manufacturing sector is geared for export, with nearly a third of South Africa's manufactured exports being produced in KwaZulu-Natal. The largest manufacturing industries in Durban are the automobile and component sector, pulp and paper products, chemicals and petrochemicals, and food and beverages. The mining sector which includes titanium dioxide, zircon along with iron, steel and ferroalloys also forms part of the manufacturing sector. Durban forms part of the EThekwini Metropolitan Municipality and it is famous for being the busiest port in South Africa. The city is also seen as one of the major centres of tourism because of the warm subtropical climate and extensive beaches. The city's climate, history, cosmopolitan mix of

culture, the coastal location, wildlife, scenic landscapes, adventure, sports infrastructure, and the basic tourism infrastructure to build on, make it more attractive to immigrants (James *et al, 2006)*.

Durban has a population of 595061 comprising of 51.46% female and 48.54% male with 199784 households (Census, 2011). The municipality, including neighbouring towns, has a population of almost 3.5 million, making the combined municipality one of the biggest cities on the Indian Ocean coast of the African continent. The metropolitan land area of 2,292 square kilometres (885 sq. mi) is comparatively larger than other South African cities, resulting in a somewhat lower population density of 1,513/km^2 (3,920/sq. mi) (Municipal Demarcation Board, 2015). Durban has the highest number of dollar millionaires added per year of any South African city with the number rising 200% between 2000 and 2014 (Municipal Demarcation Board, 2015).

However, in 2015, the city experienced xenophobic attacks on foreign nationals working and living around the city. Regardless of the attacks the city has the second most important manufacturing hub in South Africa as well as the busiest port in South Africa and has become an attraction for immigrants to work in the manufacturing industries as well as its ports (James *et al,* 2006). More so since the city has been recognized as one of the seven wonders cities and its highest number of dollar millionaires added per year, serves also as an attraction to immigrants seeking to better their lives as well as new opportunities. The study sought to investigate the contribution and the kind of jobs Zimbabweans are doing in the city, thereby taking into consideration their socio-economic interactions with the local population to the navigation and economic growth of the area.

3.2. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Henn (2006) defines methodology as the guideline systems or different methods that are used to collect research data. Bless and Higson, (2013), also defines methodology as the different methods that are used to collect research data. Traditionally there is two basic types of methodology; quantitative and qualitative methodology. Whereby quantitative research methodology is any research which results in the data being expressed in numerical form. Qualitative research methodology, on the other hand, may be defined as the research methodology which presents data in words, expressions, symbols using qualifying words and descriptions to record and investigate aspects of social reality (Bless and Higson, 2013).

For this study qualitative methodology was used. Qualitative research is any data based on observations and it uses qualifying words to express the objective of the study. According to Kendal (2008), qualitative research is an interpretive description that is in words used to analyse underlying meanings and patterns of socio-economic and development challenges. Nicholas (2005) further notes that qualitative methodology reads into data that is more textual in nature rather than data in numbers. Using qualitative approach for this study helped the researcher to typically gather data on development challenges in natural settings such as where people live and work, offices or shopping malls. This further helped to produce data that is holistic, contextual, descriptive, in-depth and rich in details on economic activities and contribution of Zimbabwean immigrants working in Durban CBD due to the observation of actions and interviews. According to Nueman (2006), qualitative research focuses on participant's perceptions, experiences and ways of making sense of their lives. By focusing on respondents' perceptions and experiences, gave an extensive description of the participant's knowledge and awareness regarding immigrants' contribution to the local economy. According to Mouton (2001), a qualitative method is "appropriate to the study of those attitudes and behaviours best understood within the natural setting and which describes the actions of the research participants in detail". A qualitative study was also necessary for this study because of the timing, agreeing with Mouton (2001) who indicated that a qualitative method is best suited to study events as they occur, rather than having to reconstruct them in retrospect.

3.3. RESEARCH DESIGN

3.3.1. Introduction

According to Polit and Hungler (1991), research design refers to the researcher's overall plan for obtaining answers to the research questions. It spells out the strategies that the researcher adopts to develop information that is accurate, objective and meaningful. Bless *et al* (2006), also states that research design guides the researcher to do research and is used to test the hypothesis under given conditions. It should enable the researcher to formulate the most effective way to focus on the sample that represents the entire population as the units of analysis, (Bless *et al*, 2006).

This study applied a cross-sectional research design in which it made use of the qualitative research methodology. As a result, the qualitative paradigm rendered the study both positive and interpretive analysis and interpretation. According to Bless and Higson (2013), research design refers to the set of procedures that guide the researcher in the process of verifying a

hypothesis and excluding all other possible hypothesis or explanations. It allows the researcher to draw conclusions between variables.

3.3.2. Target population

The target population were Zimbabwean immigrants working in Durban CBD and locals who are working with Zimbabwean immigrants in Durban CBD. For this study, young people between 20-60 years were interviewed.

This age range was appropriate, as this is the age range of people who are still economically active. Thus, this exhibited a wide range of attributes, behaviours, experiences, incidents, qualities that helped the researcher gain greater insights into the socio-economic interactions of immigrants with the local population, by looking at them from both the angle of the young people and that of the elderly people. Therefore, all the above-mentioned factors made the subjects described, the appropriate target population.

3.3.3. Study sample

A sample is a subset of the whole population which is being investigated by the researcher and whose characteristics are generalized to the entire population (Bless and Higson, 2013). Therefore, it is a representation of the larger population and is used to draw inferences about that population.

This study made use of a sample of 40 respondents as a representation of the population because it was relatively manageable hence it ensured fast collection of data. In so doing 20 respondents were Zimbabwean immigrants working in Durban CBD and the other 20 were local South Africans working with Zimbabwean immigrants in Durban CBD. This number was manageable hence it gave more and ample time to the researcher to probe respondents getting answers. In so doing this helped to produce data that is holistic, contextual, descriptive, in-depth and rich in details on economic activities and contribution of Zimbabwean immigrants working in Durban CBD due to observations of actions and interviews.

Bless *et al* (2006), further argue that the more heterogeneous a population is, the larger the sample must be to represent the characteristics of the population correctly. Looking at the Durban population, one would realize that it has characteristics of a relatively homogeneous population such as race, language, religion and it also is a youthful population, hence the researcher was confident in using a sample size of 40 participants.

Furthermore, the sample for the study involved a smaller number of subjects. This reduced investment in time and money hence it was affordable and allowed the researcher a lot more time with participants. Manipulations were much easier with smaller data sets and it was easier to avoid human error when inputting and analysing the data.

3.3.4. Sampling techniques

Sampling refers to the process of selecting a suitable sample to determine parameters of a population (Babbie and Mouton, 2001). Babbie (2005) also notes that sampling techniques describe the process of selecting subjects for a study to have knowledge of a larger collection of these subjects. According to (Bless *et al*, 2006), sampling is a practical way to collect data when the population is infinite or extremely large. Sampling involves two different techniques such as probability and non-probability sampling. Probability sampling occurs when the probability of including each element of the population can be determined for instance systematic and stratified random sampling. Non-probability sampling, on the other hand, refers to the case where the probability of including each element of the population in a sample is unknown for example judgmental or cluster sampling.

This study made use of snowball sampling and judgmental sampling. Judgmental sampling was based on the judgment of a researcher regarding the characteristics of a representative sample. Purposive (Judgemental) sampling made conducting the study less time consuming and less costly, as well as eliminated inappropriate respondents. This sampling method allowed the researcher to choose a sample appropriate for the study. Snowball sampling was also used for this study, as the researcher did not know all Zimbabweans working in Durban CBD. This sampling method allowed the researcher to recruit future subjects by asking the sample to recommend acquaintances that might have the specific information deemed useful for the study.

The purposive technique further allowed the researcher to select units that were analysed to be the most common in the population under investigation. For instance, in this research, the population size was 40 respondents, so the researcher judged the people for the study not just selecting any person or place for conducting the research. In so doing purposive sampling helped the researcher to eliminate inappropriate subjects and selecting the most appropriate ones in possession of knowledge needed for the study.

3.3.5. Timeframe

According to Webster (1985), the time dimension is of great necessity to be aware of, because it determines how long the research is going to take. Time dimension guides the researcher's time limit through the process of the study. This study was cross-sectional and was carried out in a period of six weeks from the beginning of February 2017 up to the end of March 2017. Conducting the study over a short period was desirable as it did cut the costs that would have been incurred if the time spent on the field would be longer.

3.3.6. Research techniques

Data collection techniques allow us to systematically collect information about our objects of study (people, objects) and about the settings in which they occur (Bless *et al*, 2006). There are various data collection techniques which include observations, interviews, and focus group discussions. The techniques that were used in this study include in-depth interview and observations and these are explained in-depth, below.

3.3.6.2. In-depth interviews

An in-depth interview is a kind of interview which involves direct personal contact with the participant who is asked to answer certain questions directing to the study. According to Bless *et al* (2006), there are many types of in-depth interviews and these include a non-scheduled interview in which people are asked to broadly speak out about the study, non-scheduled structured interview and scheduled structured interview.

This study made use of the structured scheduled interview to gain requisite information. This technique was suitable for qualitative research since the study made use of qualitative methodology. Therefore, this technique provided deep information about the economic activities and contribution of Zimbabwean immigrants in Durban. There is also information which required me to obtain it directly from the respondents in a structured way, for example, demographic profile, hence this was achieved by the use of a scheduled structured interview. Scheduled structured interview in which a set of established questions with instructions on how to answer them. To reduce bias in the study, questions were presented to each respondent were the same thereby limiting the role and influence of the interviewer and this enabled a more objective comparison of results. Questions pertaining the age of respondents, occupation and residence as well as their experience with immigrants in their area of residents.

3.3.6.3 Observations

Observation is the other research technique that was used in this study. According to Bless *et al.* (2006), observation is a data collection technique based on the direct observation of the participants' behaviour. It is a type of qualitative technique whereby the researcher observes and record events as they occur. Bless *et al.* (2006), further argue that although a seemingly straightforward technique, observation must be pursued in a systematic way, following scientific rules, if usable and quantifiable data are to be obtained.

Although the in-depth interview helped collect more information, a direct observation also helped collect contextual data on settings and interactions. Using direct observation enabled the researcher to do a systematic environmental analysis of the social setting under investigation and recorded the natural and physical environment where people live and work.

This technique enabled the researcher to analyse how immigrants' and local population interact. Facial expressions and body language involuntarily conveyed a great deal of information about people's attitudes and feelings. This non-verbal data was important to the researcher. Using this type of observation, the researcher simultaneously observed and recorded the participant's behaviour in responding to questions asked. This in-turn enhanced the scope of data collected unlike collecting data through using interviews only. Observation also provided richer and broader data on how immigrants and local population interact in the navigation of Durban economy.

3.3.6.4. Data analysis and presentation

Data analysis is a process of transferring raw data into variables that can be analysed to produce information constructed by the researcher (Babbie, 2005). This data analysis is the process that follows after data collection is complete. Analysing involves examining data in ways that reveal the relationships, patterns or trends within it.

Data collected for this study were analysed using the thematic analysis to identify patterned meaning across a dataset and provided an answer to the research question being addressed. Patterns were identified through a rigorous process of data familiarisation, data coding, and theme development and revision. NVIVO software further helped form categories of responses. Since this study was a qualitative study, data presentation was further done in the form of written summaries or narratives that were gathered from in-depth interviews and observations. This permitted an unlimited number of possible answers as respondents

answered in detail qualifying and clarifying their responses. Also, unanticipated findings were discovered and permitted adequate answers to complex issues. Finally, qualitative method questions permitted creativity, self-expression and richness of details, and helped show a respondent's logic, thinking process, and frame of reference.

3.4. ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

Ethical considerations are concerned with whether the behaviour conforms to a code or set of principles (Bless, *et al,* 2006). Higson-Smith (2006) also notes that the study of research ethics helps to prevent research abuses and assists investigators in understanding their responsibilities as ethical scholars. To ensure that the study was ethically conducted the researcher considered the following ethics; informed consent, confidentiality, anonymity and discontinuance.

3.4.1. Informed consent

Informed consent involves the process of getting permission from people being researched (Bless and Higson-Smith, 2006). This is the right of subjects to decide-free of pressure or constraint (autonomy) and in a fully informed manner-whether, they will be involved in any research endeavour (Beauchamp and Faden, 1986). In this study, the researcher provided a full disclosure of facts needed to allow respondents to decide whether to participate and a written informed consent letter was given to them prior to the beginning of an interview. Additionally, an outline of the overall purpose of the study summarizing what the study entailed, what would take place, in a language the study subjects understand was provided. The participants were informed as to what the study entails and how it would affect them. The participants were made aware of any potential risks and benefits of participating and were not be coerced into participation; instead, they were notified as to their right to decline if they chose not to participate.

3.4.2. Confidentiality

Confidentiality is a set of rules that limit access or places restrictions on certain types of information (Babbie, 2005). It is concerned with who has the right of access to the data provided by the participants (Giddens and Sutton, 2006). In this study, the researcher ensured that any information that was provided by the respondents, whether sensitive or personal was protected. Only the researcher and supervisor had access to the information given by the participants. Therefore, the confidentiality of information that was supplied by the research subjects was achieved because the information they gave out will not be disclosed to anyone else.

3.4.3. Anonymity

Anonymity entails concealing of identities in all documents resulting from the research. In this study, despite having to be physically in contact with the respondents during interviews, to ensure that the identities of the respondents remain concealed, the researcher assigned code numbers instead of personal details to the participants' completed questionnaires and during in-depth interviews. This ensured that the researcher and others working on the project would not know the identity of the respondents and any information which they provided to the researcher would not be traced back to any of the respondents who participated.

3.5. LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

The researcher encountered language barrier challenges. This is because the researcher is from Zimbabwe and the study was conducted in Durban a dominantly Zulu speaking population while the data gathering tool was in English. The researcher was limited in his ability to interpret the questions from English to Zulu for the help of those who did not understand the language creating misunderstandings between the interviewer and the interviewee. To minimize the limitation, the researcher, however, had to find a fluent Zulu speaking person to assist in the process of data collection so as to counter this constraint. This was done to avoid the distortion of questions and responses and gathering incorrect information that could otherwise lead to falsified outcomes and conclusions.

In some instances, some respondents were rude and uncooperative. This is because targeted respondents assumed the researchers to be from government or help-based organizations. Some tended not to want to co-operate either out of fear, political reasons or asked for incentives for them to be interviewed. However, in the informed consent letter, the researcher outlined the purpose of the study before engaging with the subjects being studied. In addition, the clarity that the researcher is a student was made and that this will be an academic study and therefore, any interaction that was held did not involve any direct personal or financial reward.

3.6. CONCLUSION

This chapter presented the research methods and research design that was used for the study. Using qualitative methodology and techniques, relevant data needed was collected. The chapter also described the study area and showed that using purposive sampling and snowball bow sampling, a relevant representative sample was chosen for the study. It also showed how

structured interview schedules and in-depth interviews, supplemented by observation were used to gather data. Lastly, the chapter presented how data was analysed and presented, it also highlighted the ethical considerations that were adhered to and the limitations encountered by the researcher.

<div align="center">**CHAPTER FOUR**</div>

<div align="center">**DATA PRESENTATION, AND INTERPRETATION:**</div>

<div align="center">**ZIMBABWEANS WORKING IN DURBAN CBD RESPONSES ONLY**</div>

4.0 INTRODUCTION

This chapter presents findings of the study basing on the responses given by Zimbabwean immigrants working in Durban CBD. This chapter is divided into 4 sections which present and interprets the study findings. The first section presents, interprets and discusses the demographic profile of the respondents; the second section is data presentation and interpretation of the kind of jobs Zimbabwean immigrants are doing in Durban; the third section the economic and social networks which Zimbabwean immigrants create with locals to help navigate the economy of Durban while the fourth section presents and interpret challenges Zimbabwean immigrants are facing in Durban.

4.1. DEMOGRAPHIC PROFILE OF IMMIGRANTS

Table 1. Sample Characteristics of Participants of In-depth Interviews (Zimbabweans only)

Sample Characteristic	Frequency	Percentage
Age		
20- 29 years	3	15
30-39 years	12	60
40-49 years	4	20
50-60 years	1	5
Sex		
Male	12	60
Female	8	40
Marital status		
Married	10	50
Single	7	35
Separated	3	15
Educational attainment		
Primary	0	0
Secondary	1	5
Advanced/Tertiary level	19	95
Employment status		
Employed	16	80
Self employed	4	20
Mean number of years in South Africa		
1-2 years	2	10
3-4 years	3	15
More than 4 years	15	75
Religious affiliation		
Christian	20	100
Traditional	0	0

Monthly Income		
R1000-3000		
R3000-5000	5	25
R5000-7000	6	30
More than 7000	9	45
Language spoken		
Shona	20	100
Ndebele	0	0

The demographic characteristics of respondents presented and analysed in this section include age, marital status, religious affiliations, employment status if the immigrant work with native South Africans as well as monthly income of Zimbabwean immigrants in Durban. Immigrant partnership in business with natives, residential area, language spoken and family size as well as duration immigrants have been in South Africa is also presented in this section.

4.1.1. Sex of respondents
By probing sex of respondents, it was meant to find out which sex of Zimbabwean immigrants has the highest number of people in Durban. Out of the total twenty Zimbabwean respondents of the study, twelve of them were male, while eight were females. Male respondents were slightly higher than female respondents because most female immigrants were afraid to answer openly the moment they saw questions asking kind of jobs they are doing in Durban. Though all proof was provided and shown that it is for academic purpose, still some female immigrants were afraid of participating, thinking the researcher is representing the South African government, investigating them to find out if they are staying in Durban legally. Male immigrants were therefore easy to approach since the researcher is also a male, so it was easy to approach male respondents.

4.1.2. Age of respondents
To determine the age group of Zimbabwean immigrants who migrate into the country age group of respondents was asked. For this study, all immigrants interviewed for the study falls between the ranges of 20—60 years. This depicts an age group that is young, economically active and employable.

4.1.3. Marital Status of respondents

Respondents for this study were grouped into five groups of those who are single, Married, Divorced, widowed and separated. Out of the twenty Zimbabwean participants of the study, ten of them were married. It is likely that the decision to migrate to Durban was motivated by finding jobs to support their families. Those who are single were seven while divorced, widowed and those who separated all had one respondent. Those who had separated reported to be having families thus further marking the reason why they had to migrate to Durban, so that they may find jobs to support their families.

4.1.4. Level of education of immigrants

Participants for this study were divided into five categories, namely, those with no education, primary, secondary, advanced level and tertiary level. Investigating level of education of respondents was meant to find out the kind of skills Zimbabwean immigrants, migrate into Durban. Out of the twenty respondents, nineteen reported that they have reached an advanced and tertiary level, while only one respondent said secondary level.

4.1.5. Number of years in South Africa.

This was meant to probe the period Zimbabwean respondents interviewed for this study have stayed in Durban. This was also meant to weigh the contribution; which immigrants have done over the period they have stayed in Durban and finding out changes, which has happened to the life of the immigrant during the period he/she has stayed in Durban. Out of the twenty Zimbabwean immigrants interviewed for the study, fifteen of them, especially those who hold the Zimbabwe Special Permit (ZSP) reported having stayed in the country for more than four years, while three stayed three years and two said they have stayed for two years.

4.1.6. Religious affiliation of immigrants

Asking religious affiliations of Zimbabwean immigrants in Durban was meant to investigate immigrants dominating. All respondents said they are Christians and some said they have used it to make connections with locals. Therefore, this supports findings of McGregor, (2010) who argued that "Through emphasising Christian universalism, Religion has also become part of the ways which immigrants suit into the community and be welcomed with love. Religious networks within communities lessen social exclusion, thus creating forms of

belonging than ethnic or kin groups (Glick et al, 2006). They further note "religious networks are a result of the desire by people to be accepted thereby create a stable-lasting connection with the social world".

4.1.7. Employment status of immigrants, working and partnering in Business with locals
The reason for probing the employment status of Zimbabwean immigrants in Durban was to assess whether Zimbabwean immigrants in Durban are self-employed or companies in South Africa employ them. This helped reveal immigrants' contribution to the South African labour market. From the twenty respondents interviewed for this study, sixteen of them said they are employed while four said they are self-employed (Own businesses). It is of interest to note that jobs Zimbabwean immigrants are doing in Durban cover a wide spectrum. However, it should be noted' that those who own businesses are partners with locals, and they have employed both locals and foreigners in their enterprises. It is also of interest to note that some immigrants who are employed here in South Africa are also involved in cross-border trading. Some are teachers and their wives are into cross-border trading as they buy staff (Cloth and groceries) here in South Africa to resell in Zimbabwe. All immigrants interviewed for this study said they are working with locals and their relationship is very good though, fear of unknown also disturbs them since attacks against immigrants can start anytime.

4.1.8. Monthly income and Residential area of Zimbabwean in Durban
Investigating monthly income of Zimbabwean immigrants was meant to find out the average money they are receiving per month, which makes them want to stay in Durban. For this study, four categories of R1000—R3000, R3000—R5000, R5000—R7000 and more than R7000 were formed. Out of the twenty respondents interviewed for this study, nine of them said their average monthly income is more than R7000, while six said is it between R5000---R7000 especially those who are working as vendors. Those with formal education and working reported being having a monthly income of more than R7000 rand and most of them are staying in Durban CBD.

4.1.9. Family size and language spoke by Zimbabwean in Durban
All respondents interviewed for this study said their monthly income is not enough, but they are managing to support their families. However, it should be noted that immigrants interviewed for this study said their families are back home in Zimbabwe and instead of sending cash they prefer sending groceries by bus, which they reported to be cheaper. All

respondents interviewed for this study speak Shona language and some are now fluent in Zulu, especially those who have stayed for more than four years in South Africa.

4.2. KIND OF JOBS ZIMBABWEAN IMMIGRANTS ARE DOING IN DURBAN

4.2.1. Kind of jobs/ occupations Zimbabwean immigrants are doing

The jobs/occupations which Zimbabwean immigrants are doing in Durban cover a wide spectrum and include Caregiving, Driving, Graphic Designing, Hairdressing, Lecturing, Pastoring, Project Management, Security work, Teaching, Waiting and Bartending and Vending. Of the twenty Zimbabweans interviewed for this study, seven of them were teachers and lecturers in tertiary colleges and universities. The fact that most of the immigrants interviewed were teachers' and some are proprietors of private colleges did not come as a surprise to the researcher. Results show that mathematics and science subjects' teachers are the ones in high demand more than other subject teachers. The excerpts below encapsulated some of the teachers' sentiments:

> *I am a teacher, and I have also realized that it is easy to be a teacher here in South Africa if you got your papers. Especially if you can teach Sciences, English and Mathematics. I have connected people and they are now employed and personally, I have changed schools and I go where I am offered something better (Teacher, Male, aged 33)*

Another teacher also said:

> *You know us Zimbabweans, here in South Africa; it is like all of us are teachers. Ever since I came to South Africa most of my Zimbabwean friends and the people I know are teachers. It's like we all crossed Limpopo River to come and teach. I am a Mathematics teacher (Teacher, Male aged 31)*

It should also be noted that Zimbabwean entrepreneurs who are in Durban have mostly engaged in the Small Medium and Micro Enterprises (SMMEs) sector which is concentrated in the retail and service sectors such as restaurants and salons. In addition, some immigrants indicated that they are Caregivers to people living with cancer and the elderly. This involves comforting cancer patients and making follow-ups on how they are living. One of the respondents said:

My son, here in South Africa I am ready to do any job if I am going to be paid. Even if it means looking after a mad person 24 hour a day or bathing old aged white people like how others are doing, "I can". At the end of the day what is important is to get something to support my family back home. (Caregiver, Female, aged 40)

Some immigrants indicated that they are working as drivers transporting goods in and outside Durban, as well as outside South Africa. These include drivers who drive articulated trucks, which transport goods which are vital for the economy.

Some immigrants are also working as security guards and vendors. Vendors are selling in the streets commodities such as fruits, vegetables as well cheap clothing. Some of the vendors said they are also involved in cross-border trading and they reported that they chose to be vendors because they have few or limited qualifications, which could make them get formal employment. One of the respondents in the streets said,

I am a vendor, and I have been a vendor since I came to South Africa. Being a vendor is the only thing I realized can make me survive and feed my family back home because if you do not have a formal education it's difficult to get a job in Durban. So, I came prepared to be what I am, as the money I get is enough to send groceries back home. (Vendor, female aged 35)

Those who are working as pastors are mostly pastors in immigrant-dominated churches, where they teach Christian faith and give counselling to congregants. Through observations pastors in foreign dominated churches, are looked after by the church.

4.2.2. Status of employment of Zimbabwean immigrants in Durban

In terms of tenure status, the study found out that some immigrants are working on a permanent basis, while others are working on contract and temporary bases. Of the twenty respondents, sixteen said they are employed on contract basis. All respondents who are employed reported that they are employed on a contract basis and the duration of the contract is dependent on the expiry date of the permit. One of the respondents had to say this:

I work on contract basis, and my contract is expiring in December of which I will be forced to go back to Zimbabwe to renew the permit. I was given a 3-year contract because my permit is also for 3 years. So, for now, I'm not even sure if my contract will be renewed unless I present a new active permit (Teacher, Male, 33)

The above participants' sentiments were echoed by another teacher who mentioned that lengthy of work permit also decides lengthy of your contract

With work permit organizations are forced to give a contract which does not exceed the length of your work permit, which is the reason why I am working on a contract basis, and the contract is renewed as I renew my permit after expiry (Teacher, Male, aged 31).

And another respondent also said:

You cannot be permanently employed here in South Africa if you have a work permit, maybe if you have permanent residence status or citizenship. But even locals I work with we are all on contracts (Extruder, Male, aged 23)

Only four respondents indicated that they are working on a permanent basis and most them are those who own the enterprise/business or company and those who are in managerial positions.

4.2.3. Position and day-to-day duties of Zimbabwean immigrants in Durban

From the respondents interviewed, teachers indicated that their' day-to-day duties are teaching and instructing students and most of them are teaching mathematics, accounting and science subjects. Lecturers are lecturing tertiary level modules in Universities and private tertiary colleges. Hair Dressers indicated that they do nail polishing and styling of hair. Some hairdressers also said they hold certificates which were awarded to them for hairdressing in Zimbabwe. One female hairdresser said:

I am a hairdresser and I also have a certificate for manicure and pedicure which I was awarded back in Zimbabwe when I finished the course. So now, the experience and skill I have helps me in serving my customers so well (Hairdresser, female aged 30)

Pastors, day-to-day duties are giving counselling to congregants as well teaching Christian faith to their followers. Drivers do drive long vehicles, transporting goods to different areas inside and outside Durban, as well as outside South Africa. One of the drivers had this to say:

> *I am a truck driver, I transport different goods, especially from the ports to Zimbabwe and locally too depending on where I am instructed to go (Driver, male, aged 37)*

Caregivers said they look after patients with cancer and the elderly people, while Extruders day-to-day duties are to make and extrude plastic roles from the machine. In addition, security guard's day to day duties is protecting and looking after premises and goods as well as directing customers when need be.

4.2.4. Working hours per day

Besides soliciting positions and day-to-day activities of respondents, working hours of respondents were also reviewed. Out of the twenty respondents interviewed thirteen of them are working 8 hours per day from 8 o'clock in the morning to 4 o'clock in the afternoon as stipulated and agreed upon on their contracts. Those who indicated that they are working 8—10 hours per day, it was found out that this is determined by how customers are coming to buy from them. Only four respondents indicated that they are working more than 10 hours per day. These are mostly those who are working in retail shops who waits for big supermarkets like Shoprite to close so that they capitalize on customers who would want produce late hours. However, most of the immigrants working long hours reported not to be happy working late hours. One of the respondents said:

> *You know it's only that we do not have an option since we need to support ourselves, but we are never happy working many hours per day, which we are never fully paid. I am also a hairdresser, I do that when I am off here at the shop. It's very unfortunate back home things are like what they are, the situation is no longer good. Please go vote in 2018, we need you youth in numbers back home (Retail Shop worker/hairdresser, Female, aged, 30)*

4.2.5. Means of survival upon arrival.

By investigating Zimbabwean immigrants means of survival upon arrival was meant to assess whether immigrants had any money with them when they first came to South Africa. Results show that in most cases Zimbabwean immigrants do not come with any money when they

first come to South Africa, but they come with the hope of working and finding money here. One of the respondents said:

> *You know when we are coming to South Africa, we come with the hope of finding a job so quick, and what is important on first coming is not money but a place to stay, where you can be accommodated while looking for a job. (Teacher, Male, aged 32)*

In support another respondent said:

> *When you come to South Africa, to some of us it is a dream come true, so thinking of coming with money, while we know life is better here, it is another story. The moment you come here, people back home will already be expecting you to be sending them money. So, with that in mind, it is difficult for one to come with any money. (Vendor, Female, aged 35)*

Immigrants who come with money are those who are well prepared and certain that they have a job waiting for them. Those who had money on first coming reported that they budgeted a certain amount of money which they assumed would help sustain them until they find employment, however, the help of family and friends was also involved. One respondent had to say this:

> *I did all my applications when I was still in Zimbabwe through the help of a friend, so when I came, I was assured that I am needed for work after 2 months, I had to budget some money to sustain myself, before receiving my first salary, that is why I had money on my coming to South Africa". (Teacher, Male, aged 33)*

Out of twenty Zimbabwean immigrants interviewed for this study fourteen of them said they had to do menial jobs before finding formal employment in Durban. Some had to work in restaurants as waiters and servers while women mostly had to be house cleaners and some man could go to the extent of becoming garden boys. Those who are vendors started to be vendors from onset same as pastors up until now. Some reported that they came formal employment waiting for them already, as their coming to Durban was a response to a call for a job. This is what some of the respondents had to say:

> *Before I became a teacher, I had to work in a restaurant, but I was applying for a teaching job in local colleges and schools around since I have a teaching Degree (Teacher, Male aged 33).*

Another Teacher had this to say:

> *My brother, imagine with my teaching degree I had to become a maid in a white man's house but one thing I did I never stopped applying for the job I am qualified to do. One thing I realized is when we are here in South Africa, what is important is, do you have something to do. So, what is on the table is what we go for, because if you jump the ladder surely you will violently fall while people back home are expecting something from you (Teacher, Female, Aged 30)*

Another respondent said:

> *You know when coming to South Africa what will be in mind is finding anything that can make you survive. I am now a teacher, but I had to become a house cleaner when I first came to South Africa four years ago. When coming we have that thinking that everything is readily available but, when you are here you must work and compromise for what is on the table (Teacher, Male, aged 31)*

4.2.6. Duration before finding employment

Out of twenty participants, thirteen of them said it took them less than a month to find employment in Durban. Some (five) reported that it took them more than 5 months to find jobs in Durban. Results indicate that Zimbabwean immigrants on their first coming to Durban chose to do any job available regardless of qualifications one has. Some of the respondents reported they had to do jobs like being a house cleaner, working in restaurants, becoming bartenders, as they applied and waiting to find formal employment. Therefore, this contributed to most of them finding employment sooner than expected. One respondent had this to say:

> *It took less than a month because my sister connected me to her Indian bosses, who employed me as a shop assistant in their clothing shop. Few month later I*

was then employed as a mathematics teacher at a private college in Verulam (Teacher, female, aged 33)

Another respondent echoed the same sentiments by saying:

When I arrived in South Africa, I was 20 and that time I had to work with my brother in a barber shop, if not for him I almost became a security guard (Extruder, Male aged 23)

However**,** Zimbabwean immigrants who indicated to have come to South Africa jobs already waiting for them reported that their coming was a result of a call for a job.

4.2.7. Duration took to get legal documents to work in Durban

Besides the asylum, Immigrants who hold study permits and Zimbabwe Special Permits (ZSP) reported having waited less than six months to receive their permits. Results indicate that some had to wait for one year to receive their work permits from the day of application. Only a few (3) said it took them more than a year to get legal documents to live and work in South Africa. One respondent had to say this:

It took me less than Six months to receive my permit, remember the Zimbabwe Special Permits, you only needed a valid passport and they could give you a receipt which we also used to apply for jobs as proof that our permits are being processed (Caregiver, Female, aged 40)

Another respondent said:

It took me less than 3 months to receive my study permit, I am Pastor at the same time I am studying as a part-time student, so study permits and they process study permits faster than any other permit. (Pastor, Male aged 40)

4.2.8. Possession of any form of identification and type of identification

Misconceptions on the identification of immigrants in South Africa has been reported to be a matter, which needs attention. Out of the twenty respondents interviewed for this study fourteen of them are in possession of the Zimbabwe Special Permit (ZSP). Some reported being in possession of a passport with a general work permit while others have a passport with a study permit. None of the respondents reported that they do not have a passport or any form of identification. However, some respondents were not willing to say out openly if they

have legal documents or not, thinking I am from the police, as a result they could just say they have passports with permits. One of the respondents said:

> *Even if I did not have, a permit, there is nowhere I was going to tell you that I do not have. (Driver, Male, aged 37)*

4.2.9. Bribing of officials to get legal documents

Immigrants in South Africa have been accused and reported to be highly involved in fraud and corruption (Idemudia, 2013). Results of this study indicate that all twenty Zimbabweans interviewed for this study, never bribed any government official to get legal documents, which they hold. One of the respondents said:

> *I have never bribed anyone to get legal documents or even the job I am doing. However, if I had done so, I do not think I was going to say it out so easily to you because this is a sensitive issue, and I do not want to nail myself, but openly speaking I have never bribed anyone to get my legal documents (Teacher, Male, aged 31)*

Another respondent said:

> *I have never done that. Why would I, while these Zimbabwe special permits were so cheap and easy to get (Project manager, Male, aged 50)*

Another female respondent said:

> *I am afraid of shortcuts, so bribing to get work permits, most of the times it will backfire, I have seen people being arrested and deported for trying that. Above all the likelihood that you get a fake permit is so high. (Teacher, Female, aged 30)*

In so doing, they all reported that they applied directly to Home affairs office legally to get their permits.

4.2.10. How not having legal identity documents affects immigrants' lives

All respondents were of the same views that not having legal documents deprive immigrants of so many opportunities as it makes difficult for them to find formal employment in government or big companies. All respondents also reported that failure to have legal

documents makes it is difficult for one to be registered at a tertiary college/university or evenly to get financial assistance. All of them also said you cannot open a bank account or walk freely in town if you do not have legal documents. Furthermore, without legal documents, they reported you might be arrested by government officials especially the police and home affairs officials and be deported. One of the respondents said:

> *If you do not have a permit or a valid passport in South Africa, life might become difficult more than it was back home. You cannot do anything, you cannot even get a formal job, or open a bank account and evenly to register at a college. Worse walking in town you are never free in your mind you might be arrested and be deported (Driver, Male, aged 33)*

One of the respondents said:

> *Without legal documents, it would make It would make finding formal employment difficult. You might be deported if caught by the police or home affairs officials. You have difficulties in opening bank accounts and you are never free when walking (Project manager, male, aged 50)*

Echoing same sentiments another respondent said:

> *Everything I do, be it school and work-related, banking, credit facility needs correct identity documents and valid permit, so without these things, my life is doomed (Graphic designer/Technical artisan, male aged 40)*

4.3. SECTION 3. ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL NETWORKS IMMIGRANTS CREATE WITH LOCALS

4.3.1. Help, and period taken to adapt to Durban social life

Out of the twenty Zimbabweans interviewed for this study, sixteen said they were helped by a fellow countryman to adapt to Durban social life. Most of them stated that fellow countrymen gave them accommodation and stayed with them until they find employment thus helping adapt to Durban social life. One of the respondents said:

> *Coming to South Africa, you need to make proper calls with people you know this side so that they may help you settle and adapt well to the life of South Africa. So, me, I was helped by a friend, a former classmate from back home*

> *who accommodated and stayed with me until the first month I found my own job. Before I came I had to enquire much information from her and everything (Waiter, Female, aged 30)*

Another respondent said:

> *My brother and his wife were already here in Durban, so everything became easy for me since they accommodated me. Above all my Zulu girlfriend helped me more especially with isiZulu (Teacher, Male, aged 30)*

Only two male immigrants, said they were helped by an immigrant from another country: One of them said:

> *An immigrant from Congo and another one from Zambia helped me. We stayed together, and they introduced me to the people of the company I first worked for: (Graphic designer, male, aged 23)*

Those who are working as Drivers (2) reported that they do not necessarily need help to adapt to the life of a certain place. They both said they are never at one place due to the nature of their job, which makes them travel from place to place all the time. One driver had to say this:

> *I am always on the road and my family is in Zimbabwe, and I am an international transporter, so I am always travelling from place to place. Right now, I am in Durban just to pick a load and I have been here for two weeks. For this reason, it is difficult for me to adapt to new practices (Driver, male, aged 37)*

On duration is taken to adapt to social life, vendors said it took them less than a year to adapt Durban social life and local culture. They reported that they were forced to do so since they would need to communicate with local customers. Some said they adapted in less than a year because they started dating local girls who taught and helped them with how things are done in Durban. Others said it took them a year while others more than a year as most of them are not exposed to locals who can introduce them. One of the respondents said:

> *Being a vendor helped me to adapt faster since I spend most of my time in the streets with locals. This helped me to learn how they do their things, which I was forced to adopt so that I may suit their society neatly. Above all for business purpose I had to adapt as fast and quick as I could, to communicate well in the streets (Vendor, Female, aged 27)*

Another respondent said:

> *My brother you know we want to survive, so you must be wise so to adapt well and learn faster I had to look for a serious relationship with a Zulu girl, who helped me learn and improve my Zulu. Right now, I am married to her we have 2 children, and everything is good, we are so happy together. (Teacher, Male, aged 33)*

4.3.4. Forms of communication between immigrants and local business people

Findings of this study indicate that technology seems to be taking the lead in the way Zimbabwean immigrants communicate with local business people. Out of twenty respondents interviewed fifteen of them said they first call using a cell phone before walking in, then book for a face-to-face meeting when doing business. Some said they prefer a face-to-face meeting whereby they walk into the offices or premises where they order their goods. Others said a cellphone or telephone call is enough to communicate. However social networking with fellow immigrants was reported to be of importance in giving a lead on where to order cheap staff and goods: One of the respondents said:

> *Before I travel to collect my stuff for business I first call and communicate with my suppliers so that I travel to their workshop knowing all that I want is readily available. (Hairdresser/cross-border, aged 42)*

Another respondent had this to say this

> *Doing business in Durban obviously, you need to make proper calls before attempting anything. So, I first must make my calls before wasting my transport money. Obviously, a cell phone is of importance than to walk in,*

>*(smiling) what if I just come and find what I want is out of stock. (Project manager, Male, 50)*

To those who do not have any relationship with local business people said if they had the relationship, they would prefer to use a cell phone or social media as well as face-to-face meetings to communicate with local business people.

For instance, one of the respondents said:

>*If I were connected to any business people obviously, I would communicate through the phone to book a face-to-face meeting with the people I would be doing business with. (Teacher, Female)*

4.3.5. State of the relationship between immigrants with locals in doing business

Figure 1 below shows NVivo derived model results of the state of the relationship of immigrants with locals in doing business.

Figure 1. Relationship between immigrants and locals in business
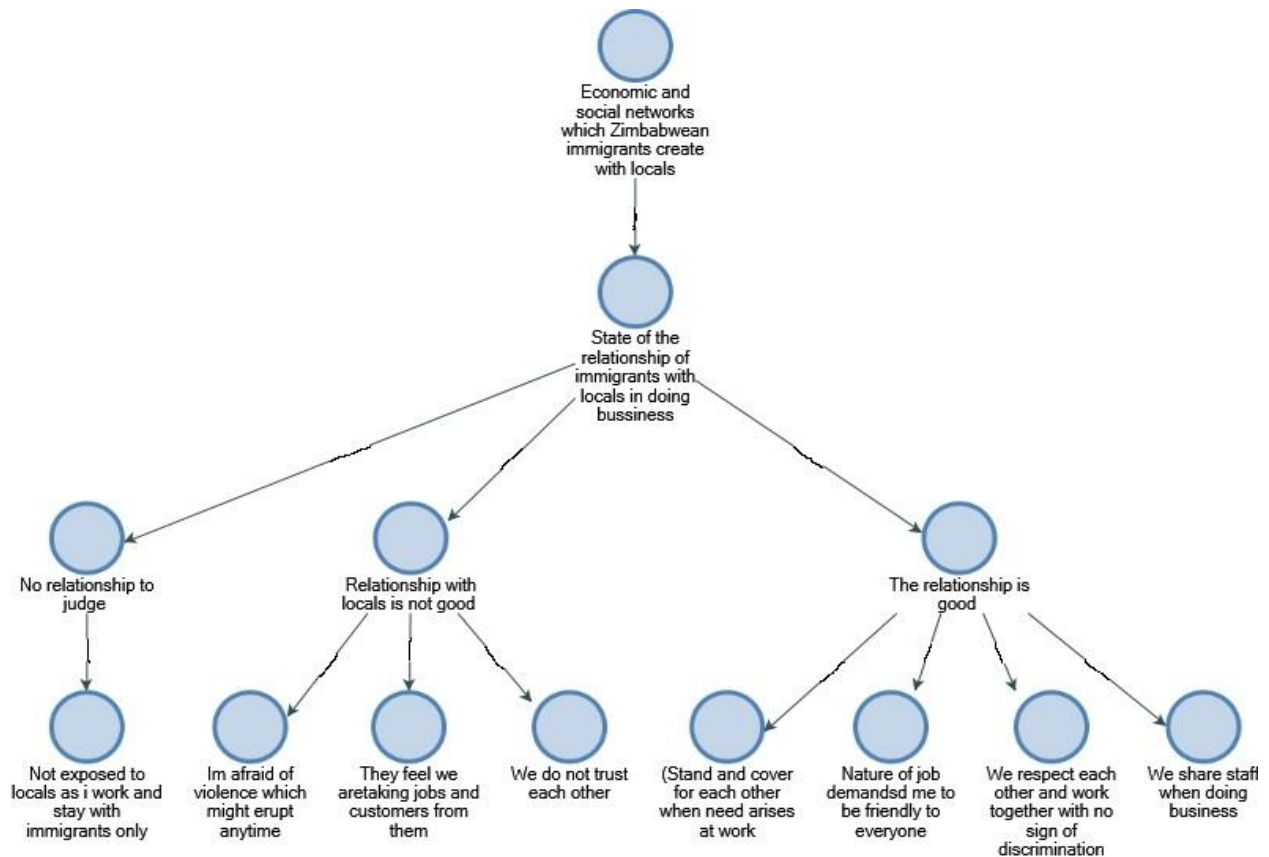
Figure 1 above indicates the relationship between immigrants with locals in doing business is characterized by mixed feelings. Results show that immigrants' relationship with locals in

doing business is good. However, some discrepancies were also found as some of the respondents said the relationship is not good and some said they have no relationship to judge. Results further show that immigrants in doing business with locals, they share staff and sell on each other's behalf especially those who are vendors. One respondent had to say this:

> *Yes' we relate so well, and our relationship is so good, we work together, help each other, and share staff. But you know as a foreigner though we work together well fear is always within us because of the attacks we see on TV. (Hairdresser, female, aged 30)*

In addition, results indicate that being a vendor demands one to be friendly to everyone, to gain respect and work together with no sign of discrimination. Results also indicate that at the workplace or during business immigrants and locals do stand and defend each other when the need arises. One of the vendors had to say this:

> *I am a vendor so, most of the time I spend my time with my colleagues who are all locals, so whether I like it or not, to work well I must relate well with my local business colleagues, as such our relationship is so good. (Female, Vendor aged 27)*

In line with those who said that their relationship with locals is not good, it was reported that locals feel that immigrants are taking jobs from them and do not trust each other. Results show that immigrants are always afraid that social violence (xenophobia) might start anytime. As a result, this strains the relationship between locals and immigrants, to the extent that some immigrants do not have any relationship with locals. More so some immigrants do not have relationships with local business people to judge since they are not exposed to locals as they stay and work with immigrants only. One of the respondents had this to say:

> *In 2015, I witnessed xenophobic attacks, since then I live in fear because it is something which I believe can start anytime just like in 2015, so most of my colleagues and partners are also Zimbabweans (Hairdresser/ Cross-border trader, aged 42)*

4.3.6. Types of connections Zimbabwean immigrants have with locals.

Results show that business, work, social and religious connections are the main connections Zimbabwean immigrants have with locals in Durban. One respondent had to say this:

> *My brother, we are in a foreign country, if we cannot pray to God for protection then we would have forgotten what is making us survive. All my local friends I met them at church and we relate so well, some evenly check on me during the week, and they are caring (Female, Teacher, aged 30)*

In business, results show that immigrants do buy and resell goods from local business people, some are partners in business and they work together in their workplaces. One of the respondents also said:

> *I am a graphic designer and I do design a lot of things, including business cards for both locals and foreigners. So yes, that is how I connect with local business people, as I design posters and business cards for them. Some are my friends we chat more often, with quite a number with business people here in Durban (Graphic, Designer, aged 40)*

Religiously some said they had to join local churches so that they suit neatly into the local society and be accepted.

4.3.7. Benefits and economic contribution of immigrants

All Zimbabweans interviewed for this study said their presence in Durban is beneficial to locals. All of them said they are an addition to the labour force marking the skill diversity infusion into to the local economy. It was also indicated that immigrants are imparting knowledge as most of them are teachers and lecturers in tertiary colleges. Those who are self-employed said they are creating employment for locals since they are working with locals in their enterprises. By buying and reselling goods made in South Africa immigrants reported that they are increasing local industries production. One respondent had this to say:

> *Yes, I have imparted my knowledge to the people I work with. I have employed some locals to work for me in my home (Project manager, male, aged 50)*

Another respondent had this to say

> *I am a teacher, this proves how important I am to the economy of Durban. I am imparting knowledge to the future generation thus marking my contribution as I am equipping local children with skills which are necessary for the survival of the economy. (Teacher, Female, aged 30)*

Another one also said:

> *Yes, my presence is beneficial, I have business people I design their business cards, calendars and programs for them: Graphic designer, male, aged 23)*

Another graphic designer also said:

> *Yes, I help the local youth by drafting business profiles for them, thus starting and building new that later help to develop Durban (Graphic designer, male aged 41)*

Another teacher also said

> *I am a teacher and my wife is a cross-border trader, so on-top of educating locals we are also benefiting local industries because all the staff my wife sell in Zimbabwe we buy from local companies and industries here in South Africa (Teacher, Male, aged 31)*

4.3.8. Kind of dangers immigrants are exposed to during work time

Results of the study show that dangers immigrants are exposed to vary depending on place and kind of work one is doing. Out of the twenty Zimbabweans interviewed, nine of them said they are exposed to dangers during work time while eleven said they are not. It was mentioned that those who are drivers are exposed to accidents while vendors reported name-calling, attacks and robberies while on duty. One of the respondents exposed to danger had this to say:

> *Nowadays I no longer feel threatened or angry being called a (Kwerekwere) but it is one of the things I hurt to be discriminated of which I am forced to*

accept because at the end of the day I am a foreigner. But to say the truth I am open to any form of danger, robberies, and name-calling even xenophobic attacks. (Vendor, Male, aged 35)

Another vendor also said:

Sometimes they call me with mocking names, and xenophobic actions are seen them sometimes and tribalism (vendor, male aged 27)

Those in industries reported that they are exposed to injuries from machines during work time. Some immigrants (9) said they are not exposed to any danger during work. Results show that nature of the job is the one which determines the kind of danger one is exposed to. Teachers reported being spending most of their time in school premises which are highly protected thus limiting exposure to danger. One of the teachers said:

I cannot say I am fully exposed to danger, but that will depend on which type of danger you mean. In these premises I am not exposed to any danger, the college is highly protected with securities everywhere. (Teacher, male, 33)

Another respondent said

Not any problem I can think of now. I do not feel any different from the locals when I am at work (Project manager, male, aged 50)

4.3.9. Implications should immigrants leave Durban (South Africa)

All twenty Zimbabweans interviewed shared same sentiments on the implications should immigrants leave Durban. All of them reported that, if immigrants are to leave Durban, there will be a loss of skills and lack of skill diversity in the economy of South Africa and the economy of Durban will be greatly affected. One of the respondents said.

My brother, immigrants we are now too many in this country especially here in Durban too. So, considering that, the economy will be greatly affected, because some have started companies, and I know a lot of Zimbabweans who are bosses in some organisations here in Durban, some I design their business

cards here. So, imagine the kind of people Durban will lose if immigrants are to leave Durban. (Graphic designer, Male aged 23)

Another respondent

Durban will lack the diversity it has now. Foreigners bring in new skills that benefit the Durban society. Locals employed by foreigners would lose their jobs (Manager, male, aged 50)

In addition, it was said that Industries and production will be affected and locals who are working in foreign-owned business will lose their jobs: Another respondent had to say this:

The school I am working at right now as a teacher, the owner is a foreigner and we also have quite a several local teachers. Imagine if the owner is to leave how many people will lose their jobs. Above all, it is a well-paying school. So those teachers if foreigners are to leave they will lose their jobs, so is every local out there working at a foreign-owned organisation (Teacher, Male aged 30).

4.3.10. Government officials' protection to immigrants and their properties

Mixed feelings towards government officials' protection on immigrants and their properties were shown. From the twenty respondents interviewed sixteen said government officials are protecting immigrants' properties while only four were of the view that government officials are not protecting them. Respondents who said officials are protecting their properties, some of them said they feel safe because of the protection, which they are given. It was reported that government officials and the police do not discriminate based on nationality, they respond to reports fairly. In addition, government officials were said to be fighting xenophobia and attacks on immigrants' properties as they are always patrolling in immigrant-dominated areas monitoring activities. One of the respondents said this:

Government officials are trying their best to protect us, it may not be enough but the very same services they are giving to locals is what they are giving to us. The police respond to cases if you report to them. Most of the time they are also fighting xenophobia denouncing it, above all the police will never harass you for no reason. (Teacher, Male, aged 33)

Another respondent said

> *Yes, they are protecting because if you report your case or anything to the police they do not segregate your case because you are not South African (Pastor, male, aged 40)*

> *Yes, they, are doing their best, they do respond to emergency without discrimination (Graphic designer, male, aged 23)*

Another respondent said:

> *Yes, I feel protected, but I have never at any time point seen them condone violence against foreigners. So as much as I feel protected, there is more that can still be done (manager, male, aged 50)*

Zimbabwean immigrants who said government officials are not protecting their properties, all of them reported that immigrants are only treated well if they are in possession proper and legal documents, if not your case may not be attended to. It was also said that police respond late to calls and reports as well as discriminate based on being a foreigner when attending to a case. Another respondent had to say this:

> *If you do not walk with your permit, these guys instead of protecting you they can harass you. It once happened to me, so I am talking from experience. (Vendor, Male, aged 35)*

Another respondent had to say this:

> *My brother one thing I will never forget is my shop which was once looted during these xenophobic attacks in 2015. I almost thought of going back to Zimbabwe. So, I cannot say they are protecting us, while they watched my shop being looted (Male, Graphic designer/Technical artisan, aged 40)*

4.3.11. Comparison of living standards in South Africa and life in Home country

Out of twenty participants, nineteen of them said they now have better-paying jobs and some got their first jobs here in Durban, which they could not find in their home countries. Some are now living in decent houses and own properties, something, which they could not afford in their home countries. One of the respondents said:

> *My brother, you know the situation back home, I thank God, that I am now working, and I am now sending money to support my family in Zimbabwe, something which I could not properly do when I was in Zimbabwe. Right now, I am a better person I can tell you. (Teacher, male, aged 31)*

Another respondent had to this to say:

> *That's an obvious case brother, I am a better man here in South Africa. I never dreamt of driving a car, but now I own two cars. Do you think in that country of Mugabe, a person like me could do it? My life is really, better here in South Africa than I was in Zimbabwe. (Project manager, aged 50).*

Only 1 person a pastor said he was better in his home country. Here is what he had to say:

> *Back in Zimbabwe, I could walk freely anytime here in South Africa after 6 pm I rarely walk outside like I am used to doing in Zimbabwe. Financially my church back in Zimbabwe was used to pay me better than the church I lead here in Durban. (Pastor, Male aged 40.*

4.4. SECTION 4: CHALLENGES IMMIGRANTS ARE FACING IN DURBAN
4.4.1. Challenges immigrants are facing in Durban

Results show that challenges immigrants are facing in Durban includes discrimination, financial problems, social violence (xenophobia), language problems, failing to walk freely in town, difficulty in finding employment, limited access to service delivery and financial aid. It was reported that using work permit it is difficult to get financial aid, to register a company and to open a business bank account unless you have a business permit or permanent resident status. The business permit requires a lot of money and requirements but to those who can afford it is easy to register a company. One respondent had to say this:

> *My brother, I am a young man full of ideas but the only challenge I am facing right now is I do not have any capital to start anything of myself. Of which banks here if you are a foreigner you cannot get a loan which you can say I am now starting this. Besides that, you cannot even register a company in*

your name if you are foreigner to start with, you will need business permit
which is not easy and expensive to get (Graphic designer, Male, aged, 23)

Name-calling is also another form of abusive and discriminatory way, which immigrants reported to be facing in Durban. One respondent said:

Everything is just a challenge if you are an immigrant, the fact that I am an
immigrant that's when every challenge starts. I am afraid of talking my own
language because of these attacks which are happening, worse as dark as I
am, I am easily noticed that I am a foreigner, but whichever way, we came to
look for money, we shall do our best to feed our families (Teacher, male, aged
30)

Difficulty in finding employment is also another challenge immigrants are facing in Durban, as preference is given to locals first. The language problem is also one of the problems reported by all respondents. Another respondent had to say this:

I am a Shona amid Zulu speaking people, I am forced to speak English all the
time, and this has been an issue because most locals prefer to speak in Zulu
but of late I now have few words I can speak. So, it is difficult for me to
communicate most of the time as I am always forced to speak in English even
when shopping, and sometimes, you know English is English, we cannot
understand each other sometimes (Hairdresser, Female, aged 30)

4.4.2. Immigrants free movement in Durban CBD

Out of twenty respondents, nineteen reported that they move freely in Durban. Only one respondent said immigrants do not move freely in Durban. To those who said immigrants move freely said that immigrants only move freely if they always carry permit with them all the time. Others said we walk freely if they move in safe places and if they speak the local language. It was also indicated that only those who are now used to the area do walk freely in Durban since they have adapted to the area and are now familiar to local people. One respondent said

Yes, obviously I walk freely in town, if you are not told, you cannot recognise that I am not from here. I speak Zulu fluently, and I look like Zulu. That has saved me, so each time I walk around I am Zulu and I am always speaking Zulu. But the truth is my brother, whether you are a local or a foreigner, town is town no one is free or exempt to "Tsotsis", we are all victims when walking in town (Vendor, Male aged, 35)

Another respondent said:

Yes, I do move freely, but I believe it is because I have mastered the isiZulu language. I would not feel very safe if I spoke English (Hairdresser, female, aged 42)

In trying to assess' other reasons that make an immigrant not to move freely in Durban, Social violence and Language problems were said to be main reasons, which makes it difficult for immigrants to move freely in Durban. It was indicated that language makes it easier for immigrants to be easily identified by government officials, which may result in harassment if one is not in possession of his permit. Another respondent had to say this:

If I could speak Zulu, I could walk freely, but I do not know a single word, where I work, we only speak English all time, so exposure to Zulu I do not have. That makes it difficult for me to walk freely in town due to the language problem, as it limits me to communicate freely. But I am working on it at the end of the day we are in their country, we must adapt and be like South Africans. (Teacher/Lecturer, Male, aged 31)

4.4.3. Immigrants employment in Durban

Figure 2 below is Model showing results of whether it is easy for immigrants to find employment in Durban or not.

Figure 2. Immigrants' employment in Durban
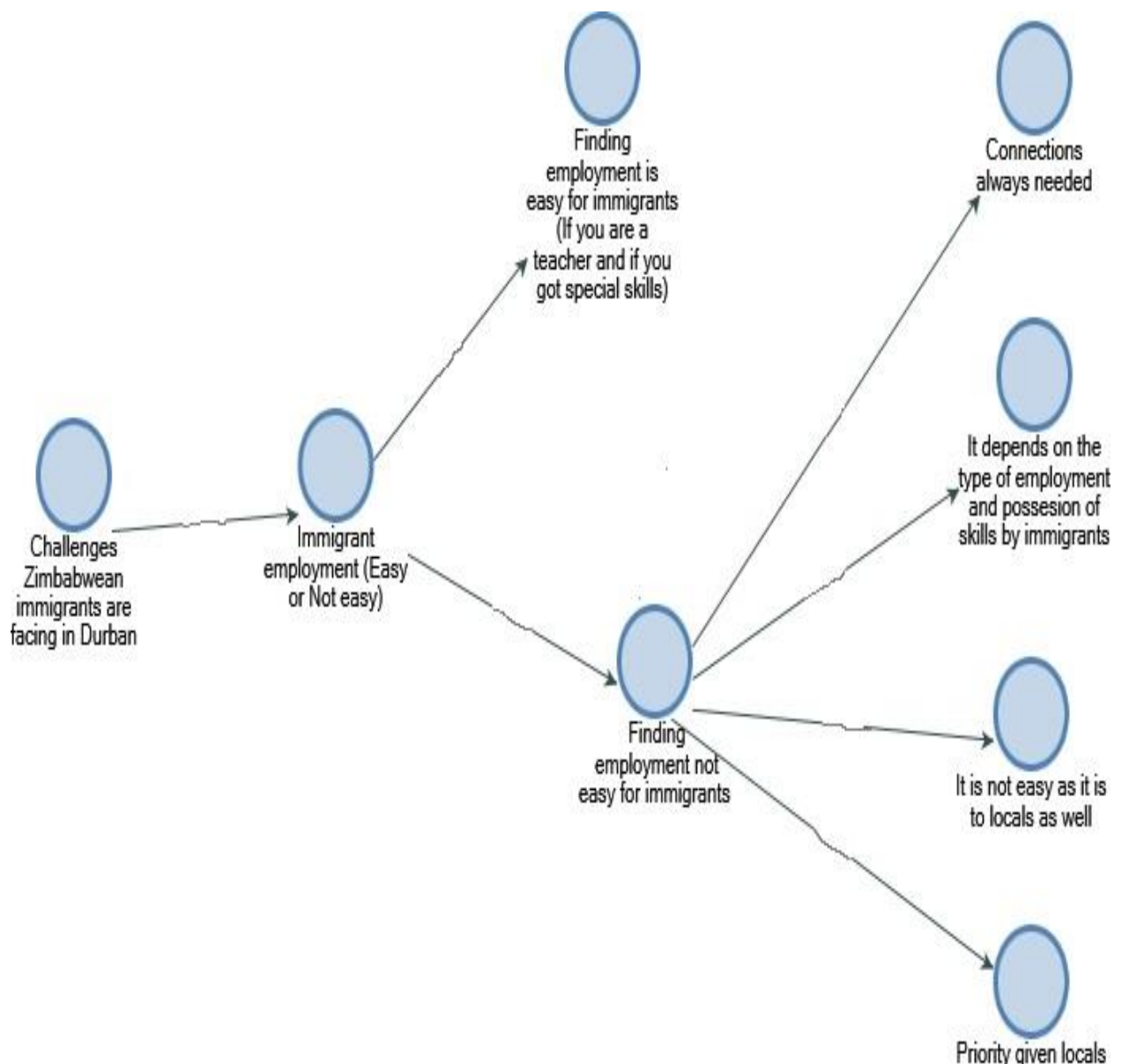
Figure 2 above show results of whether it is easy for immigrants to find employment in Durban or not. Out of twenty respondents, nineteen of them said it is not easy for immigrants to find employment in Durban. Some of the respondents mentioned that connections are always needed to find a job in Durban. Results show that it depends on the type of employment he is looking for and the kind skills which one possess which determines. Most

of them mentioned that it is difficult but for teaching the probability of getting a job is higher as it is not that much difficult in comparison to other jobs. Results as reported by most respondents said that priority is given to locals when it comes to employment issues in Durban thereby making it difficult for immigrants for immigrants to find jobs in Durban. It is of interest to note that some immigrants were of the view that, the same way immigrants struggle to find employment is just the same with locals. Another respondent said:

> *Talking about finding jobs, I have realised how we foreigners struggle to find jobs, it also the same with locals. So somehow depending on your qualifications, it is difficult for both locals and foreigners to find employment in Durban, though sometimes preference is given to Locals in formal organisations. (Graphic designer, male, aged 23)*

Another respondent said:

> *It is not easy my brother, some we became vendors not because we wanted to but we tried to look for jobs but what I could find was not up to what I expected. After calculating I realised selling cloth like I am doing is better than being a waiter or working in the construction industry, like. (Vendor, Male, aged 35)*

However, the only person said it easy for Zimbabwean immigrants to find jobs in Durban, if you are a teacher or if you have special skills which are scarce in South Africa.

4.4.4. Relationship between immigrants and government officials

Immigrants interviewed for this study had mixed feelings towards the relationship they have with government officials in Durban. Out of the twenty participants, eighteen of them said that relationship between immigrants and government officials (Police and Home affairs) is good but on condition that you produce permit or asylum when asked to. One male respondent said this.

> *These Home affairs guys, eish, especially when they are doing their raids with the help of the police, if they get you and realise you are a foreigner, the first thing they ask is your passport. If you do not have, it might be difficult for you the following day you find yourself in their cells (Vendor, Male, aged 35)*

Some also said the relationship is good since government officials are always willing to help and they always respond to calls when called for an incident. However, only two respondents said the relationship is not good. One of them had this to say:

> *The only person I am afraid of our government officials here in South Africa, I have seen people being arrested and deported, so experience makes me hurt home affairs officials (Project manager, Male, aged 50)*

4.4.6 Immigrants association with the local community
Figure 3 below presents the NVivo derived Model showing results of whether immigrants do associate well with the local community

Figure 3. Immigrants association with the local community
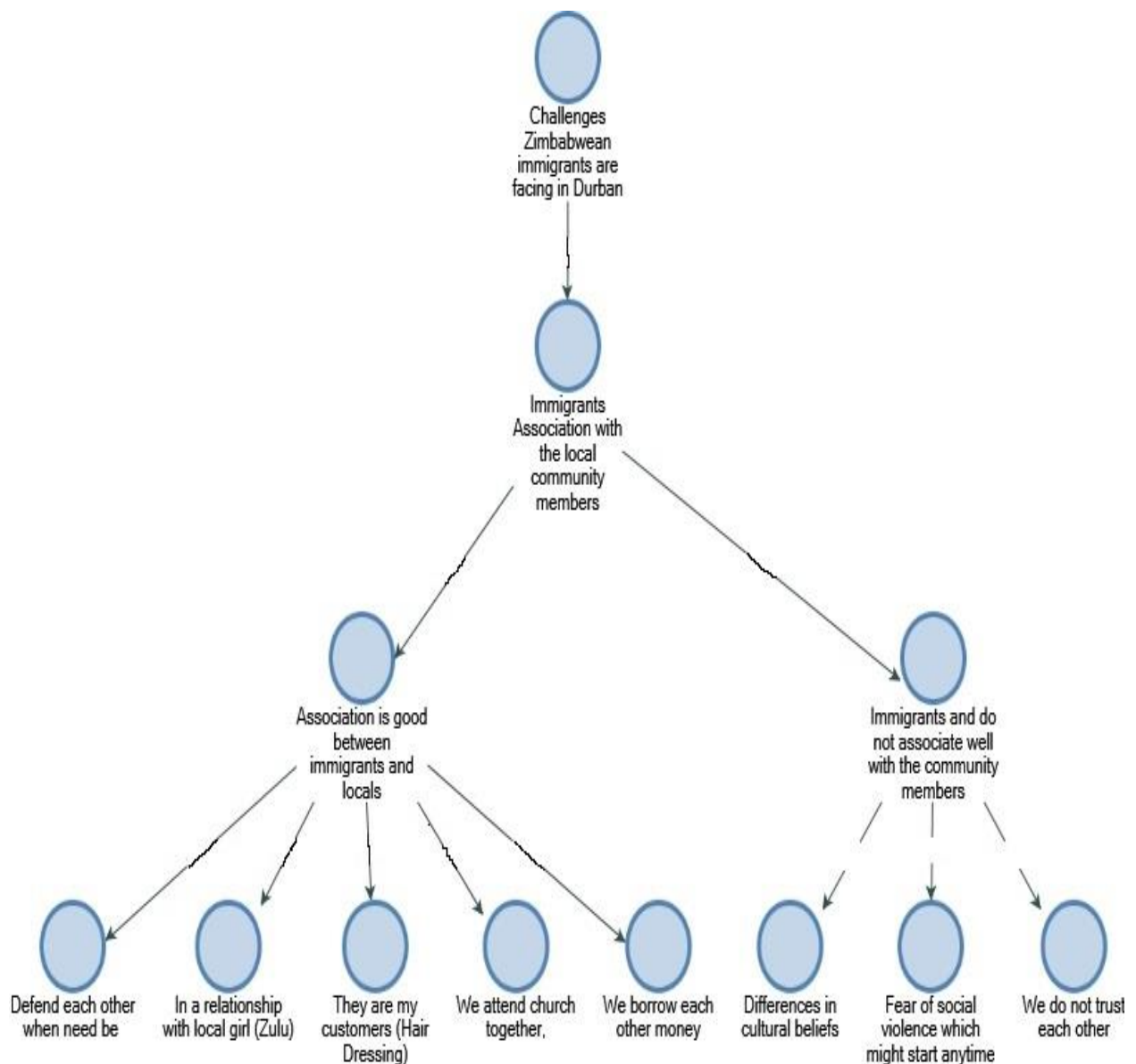
Results, as indicated by figure 3 above, fourteen out of twenty respondents, indicated that they do associate well with local community members. Most of them said at their workplaces and at home, they do borrow each other money in times of need as well as defend each other when need be. Some also said they are in relationships with local Zulu girls while others said they attend church together thus making them a family. One respondent had to say this:

> *We do associate well, we work like a family, sometimes borrow each other money, evenly teach in one of the locals' classes when one is not around, to cover the gap for him/her (Teacher, Male, aged 31)*

Another respondent said:

> *Yes, I associate very well with local community members. I have made a lot of good friends over the years and I trust my community to stand up for me when need them. I feel at home in my current community (Manager, male, aged 50)*

> *Yes, we associate well, we do socialise well and my girlfriend is Zulu, and that explains the strongly how the community has accepted me (vendor, male, 27)*

However, it should be noted that there are some (6) who said their relationship with locals is not good. They said this is due to cultural differences between locals and immigrants. Also, lack of trust between immigrants and locals as immigrants live in fear of social violence which they assume might start anytime strains the relationship. Also, blame on immigrants as depriving locals of some of the services, which are meant for locals was said to be one of the reasons why the relationship with locals is not good. One of the respondents had this to say:

> *I do not trust Zulu people, my friend, I have seen people being beaten in 2015 with these guys, since that time the trauma still haunts me, so the truth is I live and work in fear not trusting any one of them (Male, Graphic designer/Technical artisan, aged 40).*

4.5. CONCLUSION

This chapter presented and interpreted results of the study using the preliminary theme as subheadings to arrange the data in a logical way. Very rich information was obtained under each theme and this helped to address the research question. The chapter is divided into five sections, and the results discussed and interpreted are from the information given by

Zimbabwean immigrants only. The first section contains demographic characteristics of Zimbabwean immigrants interviewed for the study. The second section focused on investigating the kind of jobs Zimbabwean immigrants are doing in Durban, where results show that, a high number of Zimbabweans are teachers. The third section contained results about the economic and social networks immigrants create with locals to the navigation of Durban economy. The fourth section addressed challenges immigrants are facing Durban. These results are further discussed in detail in the next chapter which presents the discussion of results for Zimbabweans only.

CHAPTER FIVE

DISCUSSION OF RESULTS (ZIMBABWEANS ONLY)

5.0 INTRODUCTION

This chapter presents the discussion of findings of the study on responses given by Zimbabwean immigrants only. Discussion of findings seeks to investigate, by reasoning, the data collected on the field while giving reasons why the collected data is as it is (Bless *et al,* 2006). Resultantly, findings of this study are weighed against the research aim, and objectives to identify differences and similarities. The results further answer to research questions so as to compare with relevant literature.

5.1. KIND OF JOBS IMMIGRANTS ARE DOING IN DURBAN.

Findings of this study show that Jobs Zimbabwean immigrants are doing in Durban cover a wide spectrum. This includes jobs like Caregiving, Driving, Graphic Designing, Hairdressing, Lecturing, Pastoring, Project Management, Security work, Teaching, Waiting and Bartending and Vending. Most Zimbabwean teachers in Durban are teaching in private schools and private tertiary colleges, many of them being mathematics and science subjects' teachers. This demonstrates that immigrants are filling the skills gap in South Africa. This is so as noted by Joint Initiative on Priority Skills Acquisition (JIPSA), which was established in 2006 as an initiative of the Accelerated and Shared Growth Initiative for South Africa (ASGISA) to deal with the supply of priority skills to the economy (National Scarce Skills List, 2014). On the skills, which they identified, to be lacking in South Africa, Mathematics, science and language competence teachers were said to be short. This can be attributed to being the reason why mathematics and science immigrant teachers were higher in numbers as they are filling in the skills gap in that field and easily noticeable in their respective institutions. This further suggests that immigrants are contributing to the academic development of Durban. These findings are also consistent with the findings of UNFPA (2005) that the country-receiving immigrants' benefits from knowledge and skills transfer from immigrants. This is so as evidence from this study shows that teachers and lecturers are transferring knowledge and skills to locals. However, it has to be noted that most Zimbabwean immigrant entrepreneurs who are in Durban are mostly in Small Medium and Micro Enterprises (SMMEs) sector. These SMMEs are concentrated in the retail sectors such as electronic and clothing shops as well as service sector which includes restaurants and salons which they employ both immigrants and locals to provide labour for them.

In addition, findings of the study indicate that some immigrants hold top office jobs as some are working at managerial positions as project managers, supervising co-workers. However, it has to be noted that before finding formal employment and better-paying jobs, most Zimbabwean immigrants chose to work and be employed in low paying jobs, as they apply for jobs which they hold qualifications for. Some had to be waiters, security guards and became housemaids as they were applying for better-paying jobs. This reveals that immigrants first take up menial jobs which are low paying as a stepping-stone while they look for better-paying jobs. These support findings of Crush and Williams (2005), who also noted that that key areas of employment for immigrants are mostly in restaurants, construction industry, commercial farms and small businesses in the informal sectors. Bloch (2008) also found a similar pattern of causal work among immigrants who receive low pay and work long hours per day, most of them being restaurants and agricultural labourers. However, Bloch (2008) further notes that there is no control on payments of workers as well as the working conditions, as a result, most immigrants are earning below minimum wage. Bloch's (2008) findings are also evident with Zimbabwean immigrants in Durban, as they opt to take jobs which they earn below minimum wage and has also contributed to most of them to find employment sooner than expected. This is so as most of the respondents for this study indicated that it took them less than six months to find jobs in Durban as they were willing to do any job available.

It also must be noted that Zimbabwean immigrants are doing jobs which locals are reluctant and not willing to do. These jobs have been reported to be a born of contention between locals and foreigners, as this has resulted in local firms especially in the private sector to consider foreigners more than locals. This is so, as results indicate that immigrants do not complain of the conditions which they are working in. This has been attributed to the fact that most of the Zimbabwean immigrants in Durban are not part of local trade unions. Also, some do not consider wages if they get something at the end of the month to feed their families back home. This supports the findings of Dumba and Chirisa (2010) who also found out that "immigrants take up jobs which locals are not normally willing to do given the nature of the job". These findings also echo Holtz-Eakin, (2005) who also noted that "immigrants take jobs that would otherwise do not exist, jobs which are detested by locals".

On issues pertaining the status of employment, most Zimbabwean immigrants who are employed on contract basis, duration of their contracts is mostly based and dependent on the expiry date of their permits which however becomes stressful when that permit is about to

expire. This has been attributed to the fact that Home Affairs officials are always on the check if immigrants are working and staying in South Africa legally whereby employing an illegal immigrant is a crime. As a result, organizations' end up giving contracts to immigrants for the duration equivalent to the period that particular immigrant has to stay in the country as stated in his work permit.

Results of the study show that immigrants on their coming to South Africa, most of them do not come with any money. However, they do come to South Africa with the hope of finding money here in Durban. This has been attributed to the economic difficulties and hardships in Zimbabwe. As a result, they come with no money expecting and hoping for better living conditions here in Durban. This supports the findings of Weeks, (2008) who found out that people migrate from less developed regions to more economically developed regions in search of greener pastures or better opportunities in life. However, networks which immigrants create with locals and the fellow countryman who are already here in South Africa always help the new immigrant to settle, as they accommodate him/her till he finds a job.

Findings of this study further show that Zimbabwean immigrants who did not have any money with them on first coming were helped by friends (fellow immigrants) and family members who accommodated them to survive before finding employment. This further supports Crush (2011) who noted that immigrants' success is mostly and directly determined by the migrant's social network. Meaning that immigrant's social network serves as an anchor to move to another place, find a job and housing and to open up a business. This marks that migrant networks determine the extent immigrants integrate themselves in their host countries and maintaining a connection to their home countries at the same time.

Results of this study support the findings of Shah (2008) who found out that people become immigrants because they have fled worsening conditions or persecution. In that situation, although they may live in another country, it may initially be quite difficult to adapt and change practices and customs since its forceful migration. As a result, they end up opting for any job available regardless of the qualification one has until new avenues open. However, this has been attributed to the fact that due desperation and need to survive as well as supporting their families back home Zimbabwean immigrants they chose to consider any job that would be available at that moment to make money.

Legal staying of immigrants in South Africa has been an issue which has seen some immigrants being deported for not having legal documents to stay in Durban. Findings of this study on the duration which respondents (Zimbabwean immigrants) interviewed for the study reported to have taken to get legal documents to work and live in South Africa shows that those with study (student) permits took less than six months to get their study permits. This means study permits have a shorter processing period than other permits. Work permits are the ones which were reported to have taken longer to be received. The delay on work permits was attributed to the period of time one applied for the permit and if one had all documents needed for the permit. Results indicate that some immigrants could receive calls, or their papers could not be accepted, or application be rejected due to missing document/s. This could make a person re-apply thereby resulting in the delay of him receiving the permit in time.

It has to be noted that most Zimbabweans working in Durban CBD possess a passport with a Zimbabwe Special Permit (ZSP). This is attributed to the fact that these permits were given to every Zimbabwean who had a valid passport during the time the permits were being given and these permits were further renewed in 2014. These permits allow Zimbabweans holding this special permit to reside, work, and conduct business and study in South Africa. More so, some Zimbabweans also hold an Asylum and most of these people include those who fled political instability in Zimbabwe, as they were political activists. In addition, these people came to South Africa when the time to apply for Zimbabwe special permits had closed. However, all of the respondents interviewed for the study reported having never bribed any official to get legal documents. This can be attributed to the fact that most of the respondents would not openly say if they did bribe an official fearing that I might be investigating them. Therefore, some would openly say if they did bribe, they were not going to openly say it out.

Without proper identification comprising work or study permit, findings of this study show that it would make it difficult for an immigrant to find formal employment in government or big companies. More so, it would make it difficult for one to be registered at a tertiary college/university or evenly to get financial assistance. Above all without proper documentation findings of this study reveals that an immigrant cannot open a bank account or even to walk freely I town thereby resulting to harassment by government officials especially the police and home affairs officials and would face deportation or they could harass you.

5.2. ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL NETWORKS IMMIGRANTS CREATE WITH LOCALS

Zimbabwean immigrants in Durban before coming to South Africa, they had to communicate with a fellow countryman who gave them accommodation and stayed with them until they found employment, thus helping adapt to Durban social life. This then marks that the connection which an immigrant has in Durban gives one the confidence to leave his country knowing that I have a place to stay as he find ways to survive. Therefore, this further marks that success of an immigrant is directly determined by the migrant's network. Meaning that immigrants social network serve as an anchor to move to another place, find a job and housing, open up a business. This resonates findings of Crush (2011) who noted that migrant networks determine the extent immigrants integrate themselves in their host countries and maintaining a connection to their home countries at the same time. These help immigrants minimize risks when they consider places where they know individuals or organizations that will help with transportation and place to settle.

Exposure and interaction with locals have been said to be the main and best way to adapt to Durban social life as well as adapting to local practices. Findings of this study show that it took most of the immigrants less than a year to adapt to the social life of Durban. This was due to the exposure they have to locals because of nature of their jobs. This has also been attributed to the fact that, immigrants would want to be like locals and behave like locals so that they may accommodate everyone to be their customers. More so, due to fear of discrimination and social violence, a high number of Zimbabweans reported having adapted and adopted local practices so that they may suit neatly into the South African society.

In terms of the relationship Zimbabwean immigrants have with locals, the relationship is mainly business and work relationship. This was attributed to the fact that immigrants as they come to South Africa, they mainly come looking for jobs and businesses which they may do to support their families back home. As a result, they are forced to have good business and work relationships with locals. Therefore, this narrates that the relationship Zimbabwean immigrants have in doing business with locals is good though immigrants work with fear of social and xenophobic attacks which may start anytime, as they assume.

Results of the study further show that immigrants have social and religious connections with locals. Both locals and immigrants do attend church together and stay in the same neighbourhood. Attending church together has made immigrants have a family. Findings of the study on religious connections confirm the findings of Glick *et al.* (2006), who noted that

"through emphasising Christian universalism, Religion has also become part of the ways which immigrants suit into the community and be welcomed with love and lessens social exclusion, thus creating forms of belonging than ethnic or kin groups". Thus, religion is viewed to provide a sense of belonging, family and support for immigrants.

Considering the advancement in technology, mobile networking has become a major form of communication between business people within and across borders. Zimbabwean immigrants interviewed for this study indicated that the use of social media and cellphone to communicate before coming to Durban is of importance. This marks that before coming to South Africa the immigrant through social networks they create, first make all proper calls about the place and all that he/she wants to do. This also supports various scholarly the findings which clarifies that social networks in immigrants receiving country, seeks to provide employment opportunities, information, food, accommodation, security and in some cases capital for businesses (Dolphin and Genicot, 2010; McGregor, 2010). This means forms of communication are clearly defined when doing business.

Landau *et al.* (2008), in their study articulates that some foreign/immigrant owned organizations often employ immigrants only. They further justify that immigrants only consider each other when job opportunities arise. However, these conclusions by Landau *et al.* (2008), fail to correlate with various studies including the findings of this study. Unlike Landau *et al.* (2008), this study found that, high number of immigrant respondents in businesses have paid a local to do work on their behalf and have also employed locals in their organisations. Some immigrants reported that when something needs fixing at home and at workplaces, they hire locals. This further supports findings of Kalitanyi and Viser (2010: 384) who also found out that "73%-95% immigrants prefer to work with South Africans". The results further show that immigrants are creating employment for locals than taking jobs. The entrepreneurs choose to work with South Africans for communication reasons, they are henceforth empowered and taught in business, as a result, they do not ask for high salaries echoing Kalitanyi and Viser, (2010:381) who also found similar patterns.

Zimbabwean Immigrants reported their presence in Durban as very beneficial to the economy of the city. Results indicate that they buy and sell goods, which are bought from local industries, thus increasing production. However, these findings can be attributed to the fact that it is only immigrants who were asked if their presence is beneficial to locals, in a way they could say only positive things about themselves. In addition, results indicate that

immigrants are an addition to the labour force and this marks the infusion of skill diversity to the local economy thereby marking how immigrants' presence in Durban is beneficial to locals. More so immigrants are imparting knowledge as most of them are teachers and lecturers in tertiary colleges.

More so findings of this study show that immigrants in Durban are creating employment for both themselves and locals. This is so as some Zimbabwean immigrants in Durban have opened companies, which has employed locals, thus creating employment for natives. These findings support findings of Holtz-Eakin, (2005), Castel-Branco (2002) and Crush, (2011). Holtz-Eakin, (2005) found out that a country receiving migrants' profits from increased Gross Domestic Product (GDP), employment creation as well as increased labour force. In support Crush, (2011) noted that through increased consumption, productivity, labour force growth, immigrants' increase the host country's GDP. According to Crush (2011) "in the host country, immigrant labour is important as it brings new skills and innovative ideas". Castel-Branco, (2002) also found out that the receiving country obtains skilled workers who fill positions, which might go unoccupied. He further notes that foreigners are trustworthy, has low turnover, hardworking, as most of them do not consider working conditions.

However, regardless of the positives which Zimbabwean immigrants have to the Durban economy, they also reported being facing challenges which they assumed to be a major hindrance to work freely as they expect. These challenges, however, differ and depend on the kind of job one is doing. This is so as drivers due to their nature of their Job they are exposed to accidents, while those who work in the streets are exposed to dangers like discrimination, attacks and robberies. However, it has to be noted that regardless of these dangers immigrants continue to face, they continue to work thereby putting aside challenges and try to overcome them. This supports the resilience theory utilized for this study. This is so as for at the core of the resilience approach is "the assumption that the immigrant street trader is being motivated by the pressing need for survival in a harsh and aggressive environment". That is, the environment is not passive but active in its actions and reactions to deter the entrepreneurial drive of the immigrant street trader. Thus, the onus lies with the immigrant street trader to take actions to tackle the barriers and challenges and establish an optimal system of performance for their business which is evident in these as Zimbabwean immigrants chose to focus on their jobs rather than the environment and challenges they face in Durban.

In addition, considering the number of immigrants and the kind of jobs immigrants are doing in Durban, findings of this study show that, if they are to leave the economy of Durban will be greatly affected. This is attributed to the number of immigrants who are working in Durban as some now occupy high office jobs, which are vital for the survival of the economy. This means the immigrants' contribution to the economy of Durban. Immigrants are working in health sectors caring and looking after cancer patients while some are looking after old aged people, bathing and making sure, they have eaten and are dressed properly.

Though mixed feelings were seen on government officials' protection to immigrants and their properties. However, a higher number of Zimbabwean immigrants reported that government officials are providing enough protection to them and they feel safe. In line with the protection by Government officials to immigrants, results also show that the police do not discriminate based on nationality and respond to reports fairly. In addition, findings show that government officials are against fighting, xenophobia and attacks on immigrants' properties thereby marking their concern on immigrants' matters. Furthermore, findings of this study show that police cars are always patrolling in areas which are dominated by immigrants monitoring if there no criminal activities which are happening.

More so, it has to be noted that experiences which one has faced before in the hands of government officials are the ones which determines immigrants view on whether they are giving much protection to immigrants as they are supposed to. However, regardless of all the challenges, Zimbabwean immigrants in Durban reported to be living better and their lives are now better in comparison to what they were in Zimbabwe. Some had to find their first jobs here in Durban, and some are now owning properties. This resonates with Weeks' (2008) findings, who notes that "people migrate from less developed regions to more economically developed regions in search of greener pastures or better opportunities in life". This is so as Zimbabwean immigrants interviewed for this study has proven it to be true since nearly all of them reported that they are now living better in Durban.

5.3. CHALLENGES IMMIGRANTS ARE FACING IN DURBAN

Findings of this study show that Immigrants are discriminated through limited access to service delivery and financial aid, which is not given to them based on being an immigrant. This is so as the process to get a loan from the bank was said to be frustrating for an immigrant and sometimes it is rarely given to an immigrant. Above all, results of this study

indicate that it is difficult for an immigrant to register a company in South Africa as they are denied registering on the basis of being immigrant as they reported that a lot of documentation is needed. Results of this study further show that a business permit is always needed in most cases, which is also very expensive to get thereby making it more it more difficult for immigrants to freely do business in South Africa. Name-calling is also another form of abusive and discriminatory way; which immigrants are facing in Durban. This so as immigrants are referred to as *Makwerekwere* a discriminatory and derogatory name which is given to someone who is a foreigner not belonging to that area.

Findings of the study further show that difficulty in finding employment is also a challenge, which Zimbabwean immigrants are facing in Durban. Results show that when it comes to employment preference is given to locals and immigrants are only considered as a replacement if a local is not found for the advertised job. This, as a result, has made it difficult for immigrants to easily find formal jobs in Durban.

The language problem is also one of the problems reported by all respondents. This has been attributed to the fact that, most of them do not speak the local language. As a result, this makes it difficult for immigrants to communicate well when shopping or even to communicate well with locals. Language problem further has also been reported to be making it difficult for some Zimbabwean immigrants to move freely in Durban town, as it is difficult for them to inquire freely of some things when they meet people who are not willing to speak English most of the time.

 In an attempt to assess if it is easy for immigrants to find employment in Durban, it is interesting to note that finding a job for immigrants is also not easy as it is to locals as they are facing same challenges through these challenges are less on locals. This is attributed to the fact that priority is given to locals when employing people in Durban and connections are always needed when it comes to the employability of people. Meaning a foreigner is only considered if a local is not found for that position, which in most cases it is rare. In so doing, this makes it difficult for immigrants to be employed in Durban. However, those with, skills which are said to be critical skills, it is easy for them to find employment as they in already in demand. This supports the findings of Shah (2008) and Fakir (2009). Shah (2008) notes that it is generally believed that those immigrants who have had the courage to leave their country and move to another are often enterprising and innovative. Echoing same sentiments, Fakir (2009) also found out that people migrate with skills, which may not be in high demand in

their places of origin. UNFPA (2009), in support further notes, that "immigrants solve the problem of labour shortages in the receiving country".

The relationship between immigrants and government officials has always been labelled to be the one leading to the influx of immigrants in South Africa. Findings of this study show that immigrants have mixed feelings towards their relationship with government officials. The relationship between immigrants and government officials (Police and Home affairs) was found to be good but on condition that you produce permit or asylum when asked to. More so results show that immigrants are as well open to police raids, which might be conducted anytime. This outcome supports the findings of Ncube and Hougaard, (2010) who noted: that the way and manner which the police has conducted immigration raids has also been a challenge to foreigners and has also led to a perception by locals that they are assisting in getting rid of foreigners in South Africa. Chigeza (2011) also found similar patens and noted that "immigrants suffer in silence as they do not retaliate to the insults given to them and they do that so that they may focus on their purpose in South Africa, which is to work and get money to support their families back home".

However, it must be noted that Zimbabwean immigrants expressed their dissatisfaction with government officials, as they reported that some do want bribes most of the times, especially if they realize that you are a foreigner. However, it has been attributed to the fact that immigrants are always in fear of being deported, as a result even though they are right they always think bribing the officials is the way to go. Findings of this study show that most immigrants interviewed for this study have never been harassed openly for no reason by government officials. This, however, opposes findings of Dumba and Chirisa (2010) who noted that immigrants are always exploited and harassed by government officials based on being an immigrant.

5.4. CONCLUSION
The study on the investigation of the economic and social interactions of immigrants with the local population: A case study of Zimbabweans working in Durban CBD. Sought to investigate the socio-economic interactions of Zimbabwean immigrants with the local population to the navigation of the Durban economy. Basing on the responses given by Zimbabweans, results discussed above indicates that jobs Zimbabwean immigrants are doing in Durban cover a wide spectrum and include Caregiving, Driving, Graphic Designing, Hairdressing, Lecturing, Pastoring, Project Management, Security work, Teaching, Waiting,

Bartending and Vending as well as opening enterprises which are employing both locals and immigrants as workers. One point to note is the fact that networks which Zimbabwean immigrants create with both immigrants and locals determine the extent which immigrants integrate themselves with fellow immigrants and locals in doing business. As a result, immigrants from same countries help each other adapt and connect them with locals for employment and business opportunities. However, results have discussed above indicates that, Zimbabwean immigrants are facing quite several challenges in Durban and main challenges, includes discrimination, name-calling (*Makwerekwere*), difficulty in opening bank accounts, limited access to financial aid and service delivery, social violence (xenophobia), difficulties in finding formal employment and language problems as well as failing to walk freely in town.

DATA PRESENTATION AND INTERPRETATION:

SOUTH AFRICANS WORKING WITH ZIMBABWEAN IMMIGRANTS IN
DURBAN CBD RESPONSES ONLY

6.0 INTRODUCTION

This chapter presents and interprets data of the study basing on the responses given by South Africans (only) who are working with Zimbabwean immigrants in Durban CBD. This discussion present data collected on the field, while providing an interpretation. Findings of this study are weighed against the research aim and objectives to identify differences and similarities. The results further answer to the research question, to compare with relevant literature. This chapter is therefore divided into 2 sections which present, interprets and discuss the study findings. The first section presents interpret and discuss the demographic profile of South Africans who are working with Zimbabwean immigrants in Durban CBD while the second section presents, interprets and discuss the perceived contribution of immigrants to the Durban economy by locals.

6.1. SECTION 1. DEMOGRAPHIC PROFILE OF NATIVE SOUTH AFRICANS

Table 2. Sample Characteristics of Participants of In-depth Interviews (South Africans)

Sample Characteristic	Frequency	Percentage
Age		
20- 29 years	9	45
30-39 years	10	50
40-49 years	0	0
50-60 years	1	5
Sex		
Male	11	55
Female	9	45
Marital status		
Married	8	40
Single	10	50
Separated	2	10
Educational attainment		
Primary	0	0
Matric	7	35
Advanced/Tertiary level	13	65
Employment status		
Employed	14	70
Self employed	6	30
Mean number of years working with immigrants		
Less than a year	2	10
1 year	5	25
2-4years	6	30
More than 4 years	7	35
Religious affiliation		

Christian	20	100
Traditional	0	0
Monthly Income		
R1000-3000		
R3000-5000	1	5
R5000-7000	3	15
More than 7000	16	80
Language spoken		
Zulu	18	90
Xhosa	2	10

The demographic characteristics of respondents presented and analysed in this section, includes, age, sex, marital status, religious affiliations, employment status, monthly income if the respondent has ever partnered in business with Zimbabweans, the period he has worked with Zimbabweans, residential area, language was spoken and family size.

6.1.1. Sex respondents

Out of twenty South Africans interviewed for this study, eleven were female while nine were male. Some of the women indicated that they are married to immigrants while most male immigrants have never dated or even attempted to approach a foreign woman for a relationship.

6.1.2. Age of respondents

To determine the dominant age group of locals who are working with immigrants in Durban, the age of respondents was asked. All respondents interviewed for the study were between the age ranges of 20—60 years. This indicates and depicts an age group which is still economically active thereby showing why they are working with immigrants who also come to South Africa with the intention to find work.

6.1.3. Marital Status of respondents and family size

Half of the South African respondents interviewed for this study were single, while eight were married and only two had separated. All of them reported being having a family size of 2 members going up. However, it is of interest to note that all local women who reported to be single had children, which they gave birth outside marriage setting.

6.1.4. Level of education and religious affiliation

Slightly above half of the participants (13) reached tertiary level while seven reached matric level and they still wish to upgrade so that they may qualify for university entrance. Findings of this study show some similarities between locals and immigrants than those with less formal education are the ones who are working in the informal sector, while those who have reached tertiary level are working in better-paying jobs. All South Africans interviewed were Christians.

6.1.5. Duration working with immigrants and collaboration in doing business

Probing duration, one has worked with immigrants and if they have collaborated in doing business was meant to determine the extent locals have benefitted from the presence of immigrants. This was also meant to find out changes which have happened to the life of locals during the period he/she has been working with immigrants in Durban. Out of twenty respondents, seven of them said they have been working with Zimbabwean immigrants for about four years and more. Only six said they have been working with Zimbabweans for at least two years, while five said for one year and only two participants said less than a year. Most of the respondents reported that their association with Zimbabwean immigrants is good, as some reported that they live and work like a family with Zimbabweans they work with.

6.1.6. Employment status of locals, working and partnering in Business with immigrants

To assess whether local respondents in this study are self-employed or employed and to reveal business relationship which locals have with immigrants' employment status was investigated. Out of twenty, fourteen local respondents were employed while six are self-

employed. However, it should be noted' that those who own business are partners with immigrants, and they have employed both locals and foreigners in their enterprises.

6.1.7. Average monthly income of locals working with Zimbabwean immigrants in Durban

Investigating monthly income of locals working with Zimbabwean immigrants was meant to find out the average money they are receiving per month, and compare if they are earning than what immigrants are getting per month. For this study, four categories of R1000—R3000, R3000—R5000, R5000—R7000 and more than R7000 were formed. Similarly, with immigrants, those with formal education and working, reported to be having an average monthly income of more than R7000 rand but most of them are staying in Urban Periphery, unlike immigrants who most they are staying in Durban CBD. Out of twenty respondents, sixteen said they have an average monthly income of more than R7000 rand, very few (3) said their average monthly income is between R5000---R7000. Only one respondent had monthly of between R3000-5000.

6.1.8. Language spoken

Out of twenty, eighteen respondents were Zulu speaking and very few (2) were Xhosa speaking. Since the majority (18) were Zulu speaking, this can be attributed to the fact that, the study was conducted in Durban, a city in KwaZulu Natal province, which is dominated by Zulu speaking.

6.2. SECTION. 2. PERCEPTIONS OF DURBAN COMMUNITY TOWARDS IMMIGRANTS

6.2.1. Locals perceptions on immigrants coming to Durban

Out of twenty South Africans interviewed, seven perceive the coming of immigrants into Durban as both good and bad, while six said the coming of immigrants into Durban is good. Only seven reported the coming of immigrants into Durban is bad. Those who said coming of immigrants is good said they bring in skill and cultural diversity to Durban and impart knowledge to local students. It is through the impartation of knowledge, in the education

sector which immigrants were said to be more beneficial to locals. One respondent had to say this:

> *I work with a number of them here and most of them are under my supervision. They work so well and I think they are providing labour for us at the company, we do not have any complaints against them. Some of them I assign them to teach new recruits. (Manager, male, aged 58)*

Another respondent on immigrants as both good and bad said:

> *It is good depending on what they are coming to do. For those with money their coming is good, but those coming to look for jobs, their coming is not good, because we also in need of jobs too (vendor, male, aged 29)*

Another one also said:

> *Their coming is 2 sided good and bad. We do business together, teaching our children, but we cannot rule out the fact that they are too many now and their involvement in crime we always hear on the news (Teacher, female, aged 30)*

According to seven respondents who reported that the coming of immigrants into Durban is bad, most of them indicated that immigrants are overpopulating the city thereby increasing crime rate in Durban as well as increasing competition for jobs and service delivery. One respondent said:

> *Personally, I think to a lesser extent they are contributing but, I feel they are increasing unemployment rate for locals in South Africa. I am a teacher I work with immigrants too, at the same time I have friends who are looking for teaching jobs, do you not think they are supposed to be considered first (teacher, male, aged 29)*

Another respondent said:

> *What we see on the news tells it all, most of them are involved in crime. Here in Durban they have taken over "Point" (place in Durban) and made it theirs. They are so many in Durban (vendor, female, aged 29)*

6.2.2. Immigrants contribution to the development of Durban

Figure 4, below shows local respondents' views on the contribution of immigrants to the development of Durban.

Figure 4. Immigrants' contribution to the development of Durban
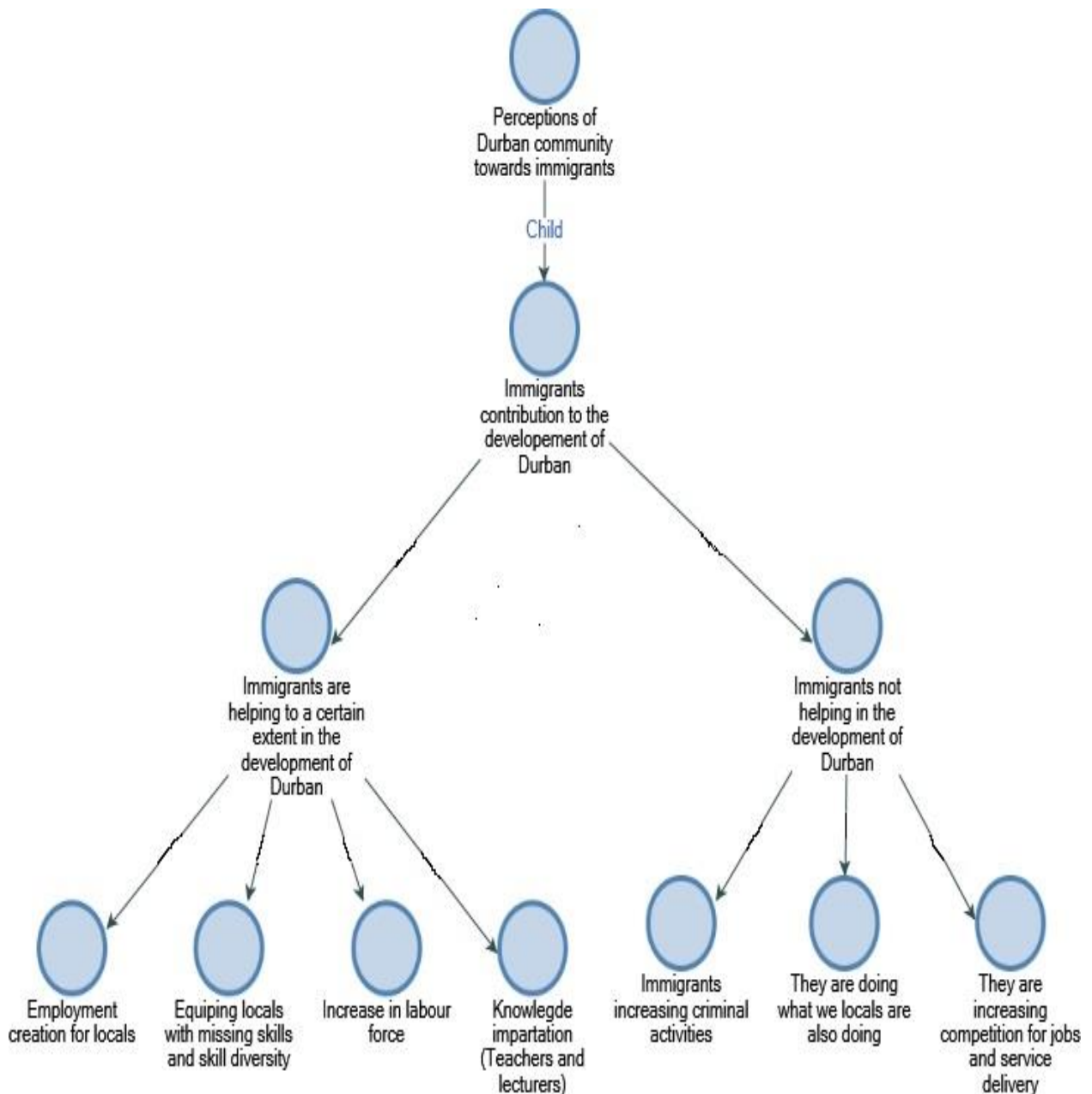
Figure 4, above shows local respondents' views on the contribution of immigrants to the development of Durban. Mixed feelings were shown towards immigrants' contribution to the development of Durban. Only three respondents said immigrants are not contributing to the development of Durban, while seventeen had mixed perceptions on immigrants' contribution

to the development of Durban. Most of them were of the view that immigrants are doing jobs which locals can do by themselves, thereby increasing Durban's unemployment rate. One respondent had this to say.

> *Immigrants who are coming to South Africa obviously they come for jobs, which we locals are also looking for, so we cannot say they are contributing to the development of Durban (vendor, female, aged 28)*

Another respondent said:

> *All that they are coming to do in Durban we locals can do that ourselves. So, I feel they are disadvantaging us locals. I work with them and we are doing same, working and receiving the same salary, so others like me can do also (teacher, female, aged 30)*

On the positive contribution of immigrants to the development of Durban, some local respondents said Immigrants are increasing labour force thereby equipping locals with missing skills in the South African economy, thus marking the introduction of skill diversity in the Durban economy. One of the respondents had this to say:

> *Though they are many, we cannot say they only doing bad things, obviously, they have good things. We have a lot of locals who are working with them, and they work so well. Also in schools, we now have more immigrants as teachers. That is also a sign that they are contributing to the development of Durban (Teacher, male, aged 34)*

Another respondent said:

> *Yes, those who have invested their money in South Africa are contributing because they have opened companies and organisations which are employing locals, but not the ones we see in the streets, not at all (manager, male, aged 58)*

Another respondent echoed same sentiments:

> *Yes, they are contributing to the development of Durban but not too much. Most of them are doing same things locals are doing, only those in teaching*

field are helping and contributing more to the development of Durban by imparting Knowledge to locals. (Teacher, female, aged 30)

6.2.3. Government to allow more immigrants to come to Durban

All respondents for this study said Immigrants in Durban are so many already, thus there is no need for the government to allow more immigrants to come. Some of the respondents were of the view that social violence and xenophobia are a result of the increased number of immigrants in South Africa, so there is no need to allow more immigrants, to come to South Africa. One of the respondents said:

Now no, there is already a stretching of resources, for instance, accommodation, water and electricity. More influx will cause more shortage (Teacher, female, aged 37)

Another respondent said

These people are so many here in Durban already, there is no need for the government to allow more to come, look every corner here in town. (Extruder, male, aged 28)

Some also indicated that there is a need for the reduction in the +number of immigrants in Durban. Only immigrants with specific skills, which South Africa is lacking, are only allowed to come to South Africa. Another respondent said:

Durban now looks like it belongs to foreigners; they are everywhere and at every corner, you find a foreigner. I do not even know why they left their countries because here in South Africa we also got a lot of problems. That tells you they are many already, so we cannot allow more to come (Teacher, Male, aged 31)

6.2.4. Locals' perceptions on Immigration laws in controlling the influx of immigrants

Figure 5 below, NVivo derived model showing locals perceptions on whether immigration laws of South Africa are helping to control the influx of immigrants into Durban.

Figure 5: perceptions on immigration laws help to control the influx of immigrants
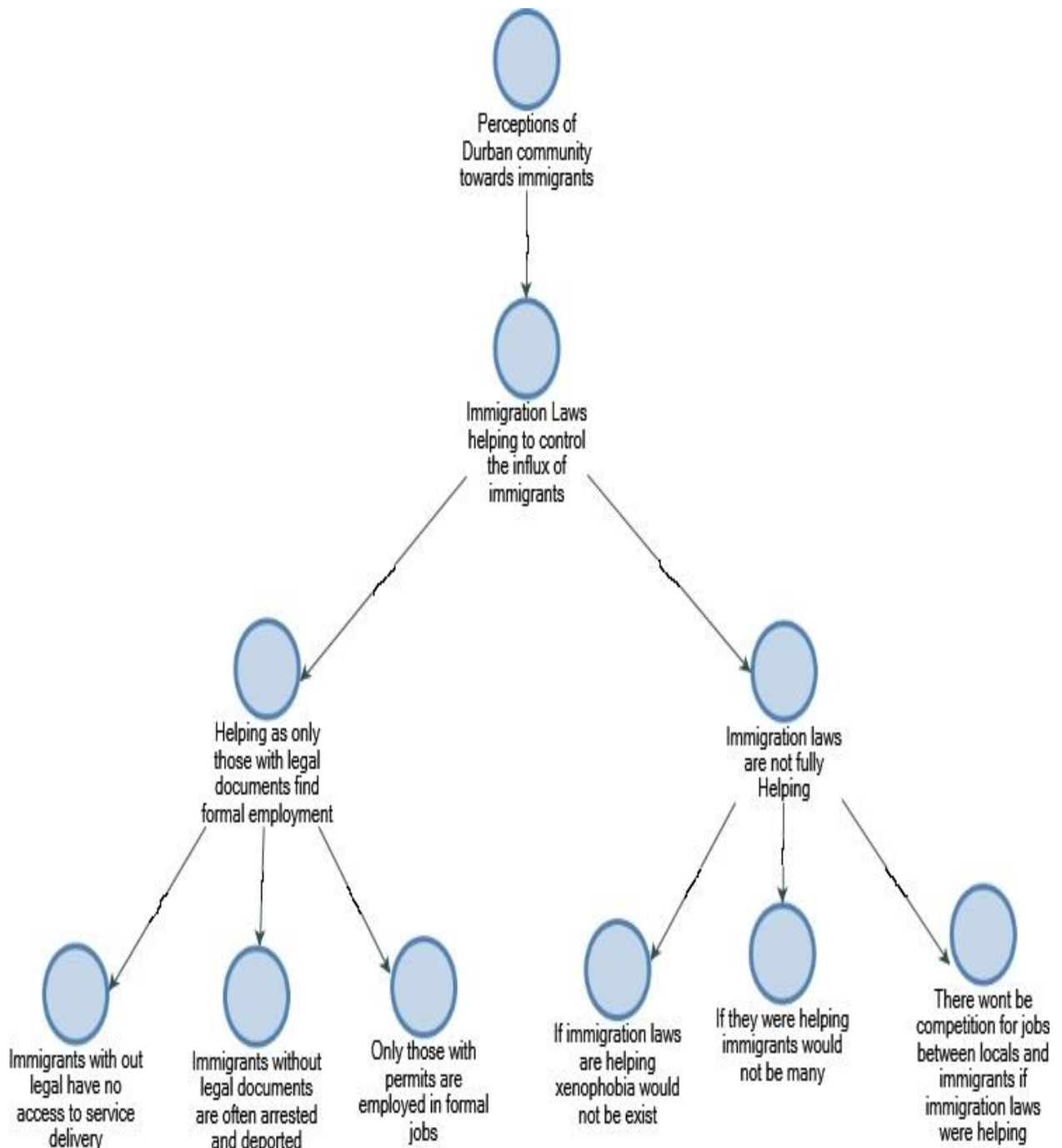
Figure 5 above, is the NVivo derived model showing results locals perceptions on whether immigration laws of South Africa are helping to control the influx of immigrants into Durban. Out of twenty, sixteen respondents were of the view that South African immigration

laws are not fully helping in controlling the influx of immigrants in South Africa. Some said if immigration laws are helping, immigrants were not going to be so many. Others said competition for jobs between locals and immigrants would not be there if immigration laws were helping. Some of them had knowledge of illegal immigrants' deportation and police but still maintained that immigration laws of South Africa are not fully helping in regulating the influx of immigrants in South Africa. One respondent had this to say:

> *I cannot really say the laws are fully controlling because we have illegal immigrants in the city (Teacher, Female, aged 37)*

Another respondent said:

> *The laws are not fully helping, as immigrants are everywhere in South Africa and most of them seem to be illegal immigrants and we are not even sure if all of them have proper documentation. (Teacher, Male, aged 31)*

Only two respondents were not sure of whether immigration laws are controlling the influx of immigrants or not, but they had knowledge of illegal immigrants' deportation. However, out of the twenty respondents, two said immigration laws are controlling the influx of immigrants into Durban: one of the respondents said:

> *More often we hear immigrants being deported for not having legal documents, also it is difficult for immigrants to find formal employment if they do not have work permits. Knowledge I have through working with immigrants, they always say organisations are not allowed to employ immigrants who do not have work permits, that tells immigration laws are helping to control the influx of immigrants (Teacher, female, aged 30)*

6.2.5. Survival of the economy without presence of immigrants

Slightly above half (12) said the economy will be affected greatly if immigrants are to leave Durban, while eight were of the view that the economy of Durban can survive without the presence of immigrants. Those who said the economy can survive without immigrants said that the kind of jobs immigrants are doing locals can also do. One respondent said:

The economy can survive because before they flooded into the country, the economy was surviving, so even if they leave, the economy will survive also locals also can do what immigrants are doing (Teacher, Male, aged 34)

Another respondent also echoed same sentiments:

Yes, it can survive, because most of the immigrants what they are doing we locals can do also (Extruder, Female, aged 30)

Respondents who indicated that Durban the economy will be affected greatly if immigrants are to leave said, absent of immigrants will result in loss of skills and skill diversity in the labour market. Some said that immigrants now hold and work in positions, which are vital for the economy so if they are to leave the economy will be shaken. One respondent had this to say:

The economy will stumble as most of them now hold strategic positions which are so vital for the survival of the economy, especially management positions. (Extruder/Machine operator, Male, aged 28)

Another respondent said:

Some have opened companies which have employed locals, and those with skills which are short in South Africa are adding value greatly as some are creating employment. However, they are also creating competition for jobs (Hairdresser, female aged 31)

6.2.7 Immigrants as main contributors of crime in Durban

All local respondents for this study said immigrants are not main contributors of crime in Durban, however, they indicated that immigrants have a part in criminal activities in Durban. They pointed out that immigrants are involved in crimes like fraud and drugs. Some of the locals said some immigrants have a fake identity and some of them are in Durban illegally. One of the respondents had this to say:

I have been working with immigrants for a long time now and I am still working with them, some of them do not have permits especially the ones we see in the streets. Do you think the government can give someone a work permits to come and sell things in the streets? This should tell that most of them do not have legal documents. But all they have are fake permits, fake

asylum documents, some evenly use fake South African IDs (Manager, male, aged 58)

Another respondent said

No immigrants are not main contributors, but they are also contributing as they are reports of them being involved in drugs and hijacking (Waiter, female, aged 24).

6.2.8 Preferred immigrants to work with by locals

Figure. 6. Below presents NVivo derived Model showing results of preferred immigrants to work with by locals.

Figure 6: Preferred immigrants to work with by locals
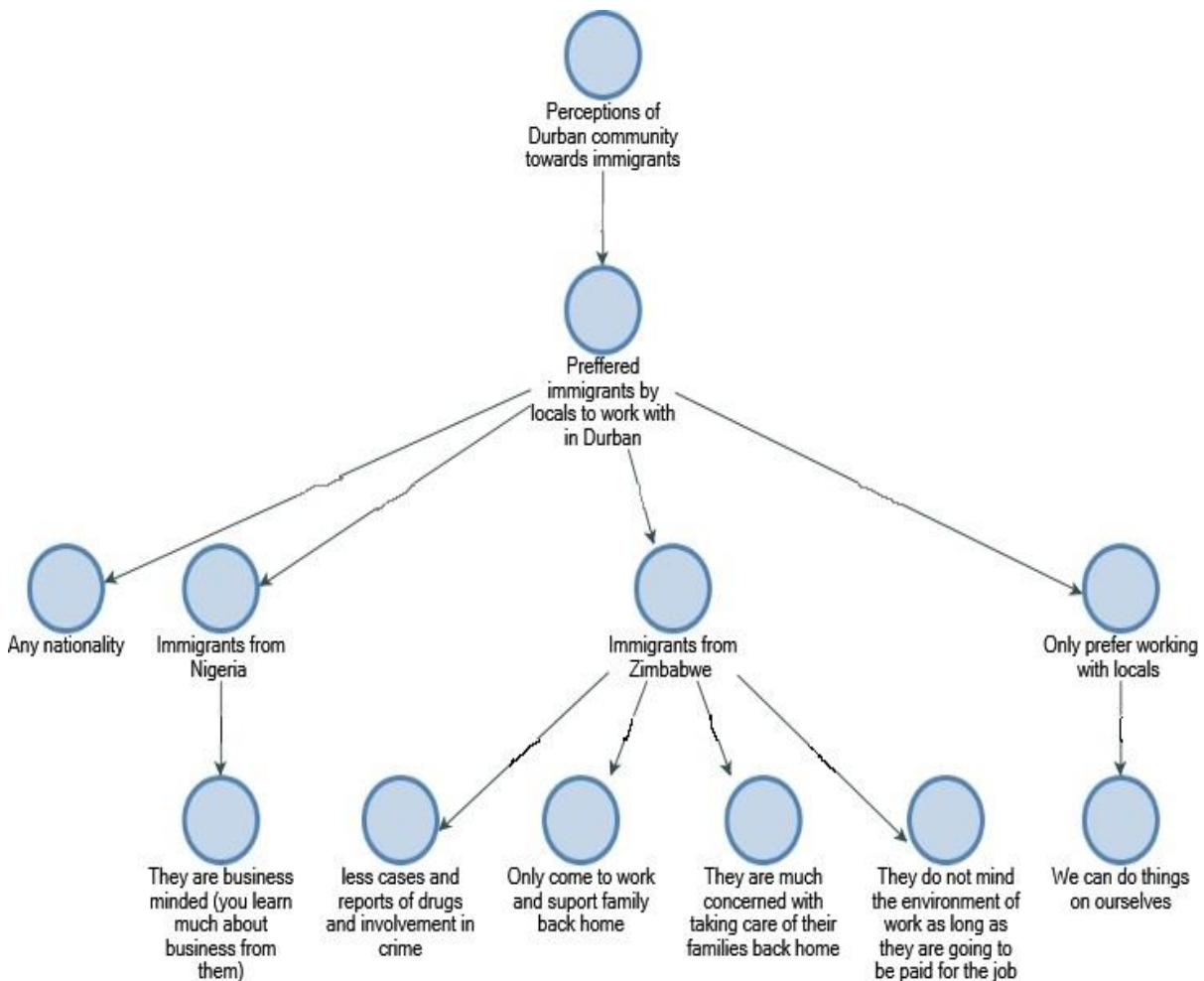
Figure 6, above shows results of immigrants which locals prefer to work in Durban. Out of twenty South African participants, thirteen of them said prefer they prefer to work with Zimbabweans more than other immigrants in South Africa. They pointed out that there are

fewer cases and reports of drugs and involvement in crime against Zimbabweans. More so, Zimbabweans were said to be trustworthy and do not mind the environment of work if they are going to be paid for the job done. One of the respondents said:

> *When it comes to foreign nationals, I think I prefer to work with Zimbabweans' and Zambians. Unlike other nationalities these two we rarely hear of them being involved in Crime (Vendor, female, aged 28)*

Another respondent said:

> *These Zimbabweans are something else my brother, I have been working with them for years now all they think of is their families back home, you always hear them say my child back home needs school fees, so I must work. If there is payment after that, they work anyhow. That is why I want to work with them always, you will learn to respect the money you get. (Hairdresser, female, aged 31)*

Some respondents further pointed out that Zimbabweans are much concerned with taking care of their families back home. However, three out of twenty reported that they prefer working with Nigerians because they are business minded thus you learn much about business from them: One respondent said:

> *I got no preference but maybe I would consider Nigerians because most them come and start a business and they are my customers. (Manager, male, aged 58)*

Only two indicated that they only prefer working with locals only because locals can do jobs which immigrants are doing, as a result, mixing with immigrants, it is because they have no choice. One respondent had this to say:

> *Only that I am working at an organisation which not mine, so I am forced to work with foreigners. If I was to have my own company, I do not think I was going to employ any foreign national. If I could do that, it will be a disappointment to my community because they too also want jobs, so why would I employ a foreigner (Extruder, male, 30)*

Only two respondents said they prefer working with any nationality. This reported that they are not racist, so they prefer anyone if they go along. They both said they do not discriminate and would prefer to work with any nationality.

6.2.9. Immigrants and local culture adoption

On whether immigrants should adopt local culture or not, all respondents said immigrants should not adopt local culture, but they can do so if one chooses to. However, some of them were also of the view that immigrants should adopt local culture for their own safety and be accepted by locals. This is what one of the respondents had to say:

> *No immigrants should stick to their own culture, but if they chose to adopt ours, they are free to. (Machine operator, aged 28)*

Another respondent said:

> *Not really, life is colourful and interesting. When we celebrate our diversity if it is within legally acceptable standards (Teacher, Female, aged 37)*

Another respondent also said:

> *No immigrants should stick to their own culture, but I also think it is good for them to adopt our culture, they will not be recognized and that would save them from being attacked. I work with them here, so they always complain of discrimination and fear of xenophobia. (Hair Dresser, female, aged 30)*

6.2.10 Locals and adoption of immigrants' culture

All twenty South African respondents said locals should not adopt immigrants' culture, but they should stick to their own culture. Some of the respondents pointed out that, Immigrants are the ones who must adopt local culture since they are the ones who came into the country. However, all the respondents further said, South Africa is a democratic country, so if one chooses to adopt immigrants' culture, he is free to adopt.

> *No locals must not adopt immigrants' culture, locals should stick to our own culture, but if ones choose to adopt it is his choice, In South Africa we can do what we want, remember we are a democratic country (Vendor, female, aged 28)*

Another respondent echoed same sentiments:

> *No locals should not adopt immigrants' culture, locals should stick to our own culture, but learning other cultures is not bad (Machine operator, male, aged 28)*

Another respondent:

> *Locals we must stick to our own culture, but South Africa is a democratic country, so if one chooses to, there is nothing wrong, worse with these intermarriages, obviously, some locals will be forced to adopt immigrants culture (Teacher, female, aged 37)*

6.2.11 Reasons why immigrants come to Durban

All the respondents of this study said job opportunities, markets, good environment and better living conditions are the main reasons why immigrants come to Durban. Ports, functioning industries and good environment which is formed by the sea which surrounds Durban attract more immigrants to come and stay in the city. One respondent had to say this:

> *Obviously, my brother, immigrants are here for jobs, also the city being close to the sea, immigrants come because of the beaches and the environment they form. Also, South Africa is a democratic country, so immigrants prefer to come here because they will safe than in their countries. (Teacher, female, aged 30)*

Another respondent said:

> *The city is big and attractive to immigrants as they come looking for Jobs. Also, beaches and good environment attract immigrants to come to Durban. (Extruder, male, aged 28)*

Another one also said:

> *Better living standards, Job opportunities and good environment attracts immigrants to come to Durban (Teacher, male, aged 34)*

Another respondent said:

> *I think it is the strong South African economy and the strong rand which makes them to come to South Africa (Teacher, female, aged 30)*

6.2.12. Locals association with immigrants.

Immigrants association with locals reported being good though some reported not to fully trust immigrants in Durban. All respondents reported that their association with immigrants is good. Some said they share accommodation with immigrants and work well at their workplaces. Others said they attend church together while others said they are partners and collaborate well in business with immigrants. One respondent had this to say:

> *Yes, we associate well here, we spend the whole week together in this salon sometimes help each other do customers hair if one of us has no customer. Sometimes we evenly borrow each other money, so we support each other financially. (Hairdresser, female, aged 31)*

Another responded said:

> *I do not have any problems with them if we treat each other with respect (Teacher, female, aged 37)*

Another female respondent said:

> *Yes, I do associate well with these Zimbabweans, we work together here, I as well share apartment with some who I respect because they are so prayerful, I was happy to meet them (Hairdresser, female aged 31)*

6.2.13. Sources of conflict between immigrants and locals

All respondents of this study were of the view that competition for jobs and reports of immigrants' involvement in crime are the main sources of conflict between locals and immigrants. Those who are in business reported that competition for customers is also another source of conflict between immigrants. Others said that immigrants accepting less payment for high paying jobs is also another source of conflict. Competition for accommodation is also another source of conflict between immigrants and locals. This is what one respondent said about immigrants accepting less payment. One respondent said:

> *Employment opportunities, accommodation, girlfriends and boyfriends, lack of respect and tolerance for each other to me are sources of conflict between immigrants and locals (Waiter, female, aged 24)*

Another respondent said:

> *Sometimes it hurts my brother, these Zimbabwean guys I work compromise too much. Sometimes they just do hair even if a person has less money way far below the agreed price. What they just want is just money whether small or big. So, it is a disadvantage to us because we cannot comprise to lower our prizes like they do. So now you see there is a challenge already because they end up taking all customers. (Hairdresser, female, aged 38)*

Another female respondent also said:

> *Jobs obviously is the main issue. They come here looking for what locals are also looking for. (Vendor, female, 29)*

6.2.14 Challenges immigrants are facing in Durban

Out of twenty respondents, seventeen of them were quick to point social violence (Xenophobia) as the main challenge immigrants are facing. Some said difficulties in finding employment is also another challenge immigrants are facing. Delay in processing permits to stay legally in the country was also reported to be the main challenge immigrants are facing in Durban, however, three respondents said they do not know challenges immigrants are facing in Durban: One respondent had to say:

> *My brother, I have been working with immigrants for a long time. Some of the time they complain about their permits and documents being delayed when applying for work permits. (Manager, male, aged 58)*

Another respondent said

> *I think these guys feel we do not fully accept them. But I think it is because of language and fear to offend locals. Yes, we do associate well but their simple things which they just admit to which are not necessary (Teacher, female respondent, aged 30)*

6.3. CONCLUSION

This chapter presented and interpreted results of the study using the preliminary theme as subheadings to arrange the data in a logical way. Very rich information was obtained under each theme and this helped to address the research question. The chapter is divided into two sections, and the results discussed and interpreted are from the information given by South Africans who are working with Zimbabwean immigrants in Durban CBD only. The first section contains demographic characteristics of South Africans who are working with Zimbabwean immigrants. The second section focused on the perceptions of locals on the contribution of immigrants to the development of Durban. These results are further discussed in detail in the next chapter which presents the discussion of results for South Africans only

CHAPTER SEVEN

DISCUSSION OF RESULTS (SOUTH AFRICANS ONLY)

7.0. INTRODUCTION

This chapter presents the discussion of findings and the findings discussed in this chapter are based on the perceptions of locals towards immigrants. Discussion of findings seeks to investigate, by reasoning, the data collected on the field while giving reasons why the collected data is as it is (Bless *et al*, 2006). Resultantly, findings of this study are weighed against the research aim, and objectives to identify differences and similarities. The results further answer to research question to compare with relevant literature.

7.1. PERCEPTIONS OF DURBAN COMMUNITY TOWARDS IMMIGRANTS

South Africans in Durban perceive the coming of immigrants into Durban as both beneficial and not beneficial to a certain extent. Immigrants were reported to be bringing skill diversity, as they are also teaching and equipping locals with foreign skills. In addition, immigrants are said to be creating employment for both themselves and locals. This was attributed to the fact that immigrants open shops, companies and organisations which employ any nationality in Durban. However, the influx of immigrants into Durban was also perceived to be bad and not beneficial. Findings of this study reveal that locals perceive immigrants to be overpopulating the city thereby increasing the crime rate, competition for jobs and service delivery. As a result, this increased competition results according to locals results in them fighting immigrants for taking their jobs. These findings relate to Crush's (2006) assessment, who noted that "immigrants have been a common topic of discussion over the media and within communities as perpetrators of crime as they have been accused of dwelling on alleged criminal activity. With such fallacies, local people blame foreigners as responsible for the high crime rate and unemployment".

In addition, findings of this study show that locals further perceive immigrants as not contributing to the development of Durban. It was revealed that immigrants are doing jobs, which locals can do by themselves, in so doing, they are doing jobs, which are meant locals. As a result, this indicates that immigrants are increasing unemployment rate to locals in Durban, thereby, marking that they are not contributing to the development of Durban. However, though immigrants are said not to be contributing to the development of Durban, results of this study also show that some local South Africans perceive Immigrants as increasing labour force thereby equipping locals with missing skills in the South African

economy, thus marking the introduction of skill diversity in the Durban economy. This further finding supports the findings of Eaton (1998) articulates how immigrant highly skilled labour in South Africa has promoted huge economic output and as a result leading to high economic growth rate.

On whether the government should allow more immigrants to come to South Africa. Findings of this study show South Africans are of the view that the government should not allow more immigrants to come to South Africa. This was attributed to the fact that immigrants are already many in South Africa, as such this has resulted in locals to fight immigrants for taking their jobs since they are many. As a result, it was reported that there is a need for a reduction of immigrants in Durban since they are so many. However only those with special skills which are only lacking in South Africa may be allowed to come to South Africa.

In addition, results of this study show that locals perceive immigration laws of South Africa not fully helping to control the influx of immigrants into South Africa. This was attributed to the fact that locals perceive that most of the immigrants in the streets do not have legal documents to stay in South Africa. Most locals noted that Xenophobia in Durban was a result of the uncontrolled influx of immigrants who just come to South Africa. Above all, findings of the study in line with the perceptions of locals, it seems not every immigrant is legally staying in South Africa. Thus, this tells immigration laws are not fully helping. However, to a lesser extent immigration laws were reported to be controlling the influx of immigrants into South Africa. Reasons being that immigrants without legal documents are often arrested or deported, and they do not have access to financial aid or formal service delivery. More so they cannot be employed to work in a legally registered company or organisation.

Mixed feelings on the survival of the economy without the presence of immigrants were also seen as some locals were of the view that the economy can survive while others said it will be greatly be affected. This was attributed to the perception by locals that jobs immigrants are doing, locals can also do the same way. More so, it was reported that before immigrants came to Durban, the economy was surviving, so it can still survive without immigrants just like before. However, this was also attributed to the misconceptions, which other locals have towards immigrants.

However, inline, with those who said the economy will be affected greatly. Findings of the study indicate that, if immigrants are to leave Durban, it will result in loss of skills and skill diversity in the labour market to fully support the economy. More so, it was reported that

immigrants now hold and work in positions, which are vital for the economy, in so doing if they are to leave the economy will be shaken greatly. Therefore, this further supports the findings of Shah (2008) who notes, "It is generally believed that those immigrants who have had the courage to leave their country and move to another are often enterprising and innovative. In line with these findings, Fakir (2009) further notes that "people migrate with skills, which may not be in high demand in their places of origin".

Immigrants value addition to the economy of Durban further show mixed feelings of locals towards immigrants. This is so as some local respondents were of the view that immigrants are adding value to the economy of Durban while others were of the opposite saying immigrants are not adding any value. In line with the value which immigrants are adding to the economy of Durban, study findings show that immigrants are increasing labour force as well as equipping locals with missing skills in South Africa thereby marking skill diversity in Durban. This supports the findings of Eaton (1998) who notes that skilled immigrants add to the economic growth of the host country. This outlines how immigrant workers increase demand by providing new goods and services, overall production rises and help industries to expand as evidenced by findings of this study.

However, some of the respondents were of the view that immigrants are not adding any value to the economy of Durban. This was attributed to the fact that immigrants are doing jobs, which locals can do by themselves, marking that immigrants are doing jobs, which are meant for locals. As a result, locals perceive immigrants to be actually increasing unemployment rate to locals in Durban, thereby, marking that they are not contributing to the development of Durban since they are taking jobs from locals.

On issues pertaining immigrants as main contributors of Crime in Durban. Findings of this study show that immigrants are not main contributors of crime in Durban, but they have a part in criminal activities which are happening in Durban. However, immigrants are reported to be also involved in crimes like fraud, drugs, hijacking and fake identification and as well as murder and robberies. More so it was said that some immigrants could not be traced if need be as most them have a fake identity and some have no identity or a legal document in such a case if something is to happen they cannot be traced. These findings support findings of Hussein (2000), who notes that crimes which immigrants commit vary from armed robberies; drug trafficking, prostitution, rape and money laundering among others. Hussein (2000) further indicates "immigrants are also involved in fake telegraphic transfers of funds

and withdrawal credits, selling counterfeit identity documents to fellow foreigners as well as buying properties using fake identity documents". In line with this Landau and Segatti (2009) noted that "South Africans are obsessed with immigrants as activities of being perpetrators of crime and they are distracting police from where they are needed attending to their issues".

On issues pertaining immigrants which locals prefer to work within South Africa. Findings of this study show that most locals prefer to work with Zimbabweans more than other immigrants in South Africa. This was attributed to the fact that, there are fewer cases and reports of drugs and involvement in crime against Zimbabweans. More so, Zimbabweans were said not to mind the environment of work if they are going to be paid for the job done. With such local business people prefer to employ them since they know wage bill will be reduced.

In addition, Zimbabweans are also said to be much concerned with taking care of their families back home. However, all these good things said on Zimbabweans and why most respondents interviewed for the study said they prefer to work with Zimbabweans can be attributed to the fact that, locals interviewed for this study are only those who are working with Zimbabweans. However, some locals reported that they prefer working with Nigerians because they are business minded thus you learn much about business from them. In addition, some indicated that they only prefer working with locals only, because locals can do jobs which immigrants are doing, as a result mixing with immigrants it is because they have no choice. Very few of the respondents said they prefer working with any nationality. This was due to the fact that they reported not to be racist, so they prefer anyone as long as they go along.

On issues of whether immigrants or locals should adopt each other's culture, results of this study indicate that neither immigrants nor locals should not adopt each other's culture. However, it was reported that either side is free to adopt any culture if one chooses to. This has been attributed to the fact that South Africa is a democratic country, so anyone who lives in South Africa has every right to choose which culture he/she wants to adopt.

Some of the locals reported that immigrants should adopt local culture since they are the ones who came to South Africa, therefore they must adopt local culture. This was attributed to be a benefit to immigrants, as it would help them suit neatly into the local community and be accepted by locals, thereby reducing discrimination.

On reasons why immigrants come to Durban, Job opportunities market good environment and better living conditions are the main reasons why immigrants come to Durban. This has been attributed to industries, which are heavily functioning, which therefore attracts immigrants to come looking for jobs. More so Immigrants are said to be coming to Durban looking for better living conditions, better life and good environment which is formed by the sea which surrounds the city. This supports findings of Weeks (2008) who found out that people migrate from less developed regions to more economically developed regions in search of greener pastures or better opportunities in life.

Competition for jobs and service delivery are the main sources of conflict between immigrants and locals. Findings of this study indicate that immigrants come to South Africa looking for jobs, which locals are also in need of. In such a way, locals would feel threatened especially those who are not working that maybe the job, which an immigrant is doing, a local is supposed to be doing it. Competition for customers in doing is also another source of conflict between immigrants and locals. This is so as locals who are in the same business with immigrants said that immigrants because they would want money immediately they can sacrifice to do the job with a less price, something which would affect others who are doing the same business who charge normal prices. This supports the findings of Solomon (2000:6) who found out that unskilled immigrants increase the supply of labour in the market resulting in the fall in wages. Native workers feel the influx of foreign workers lead to a decline in host country's working conditions as immigrants do not complain about it. More so in line Borjas, (2004) found similar patens as he noted that low skilled migrants who come into the country compete with low skilled natives in the receiving country's labour market. The influx of immigrants in large numbers with little education slows wages growth of natives. Competition for accommodation, fighting for places to stay is also another source of conflict between immigrants and locals.

On issues pertaining challenges, immigrants are facing in Durban, findings of this study show that social violence (Xenophobia) is the main challenge immigrants are facing in Durban. Reference was given to attacks against immigrants, which happened in Durban 2015. In so doing, it was reported that immigrants are never free in Durban as up to now they are still afraid that those attacks might start again anytime. Some said difficulties in finding employment is another challenge immigrants are facing in Durban. This was attributed to the fact that when it comes to employment priority is given to locals first thereby making it difficult for immigrants to get jobs in Durban. Delay in processing permits to stay legally in

the country was also reported to be the main challenge immigrants are facing in Durban. This is as locals who are working with locals reported that some immigrants had to wait and some are still waiting for their documents to be processed to get legal documents, which allows them to access certain basic needs. These support findings of, Idemudia et al (2013) who found out that immigrants find it difficult to be employed since they are many and most of them do not have proper documentation which permits them to be formal employed.

7.2. CONCLUSION

Findings discussed in this stage are complimentary with the hypotheses of the study and other previous studies relating to locals' perceptions towards immigrants. Categorically, there are mixed feelings towards immigrants in Durban. South Africans in Durban perceive the coming of immigrants into Durban as both beneficial and not beneficial to a certain extent. Immigrants are said to be accepting less payment on jobs which are supposed to be high paying, thus they do not consider working conditions, and consider jobs which locals are reluctant to do. A high number of local respondents indicated that immigrants are overpopulating the city thereby increasing the crime rate, competition for jobs and service delivery. As a result, this increased competition results in locals fighting immigrants for taking their jobs. Competition for jobs and service delivery are the main sources of conflict between immigrants and locals. On reasons why immigrants come to Durban, Job opportunities market good environment and better living conditions are the main reasons why immigrants come to Durban. On issues pertaining challenges, immigrants are facing in Durban, findings of this study show that social violence (Xenophobia) is the main challenge immigrants are facing in Durban. Reference was given to attacks against immigrants, which happened in Durban 2015

CHAPTER EIGHT

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

8.0 INTRODUCTION

This chapter is divided into three sections that present the conclusions and recommendations of the study. The first section presents similarities with the existing theories adopted for this study. The second section presents the conclusions, which is the summary of the study, and the third part presents the recommendations.

8.1. JUXTAPOSING THEORY AND THE FINDINGS

In the proposed analytical framework, this study was traced and based on three theories, namely resilience theory, dual labour market theory and social network theory. It also has to be noted that findings of this study confirm and lends validation to all the three theories adopted as a guideline for this study.

This research provides observed confirmation of the resilience theory which addresses the strengths that people and systems demonstrate, which enable them to rise above adversity. This is so as for at the core of the resilience approach is the assumption that an immigrant is being motivated by the pressing need for survival in a harsh and aggressive environment. That is, the environment is not passive but active in its actions and reactions to deter the entrepreneurial drive of the immigrant. Thus, the onus lies with the immigrant to take actions to tackle the barriers and challenges and establish an optimal system of performance for their business. This is evident and confirmed by the results of this study, as immigrants are facing challenges, which includes discrimination, name-calling (*Makwerekwere*), difficulty in opening bank accounts, limited access to financial aid and service delivery, harassment, social violence (xenophobia) and language problems, difficulties in finding formal employment as well as failing to walk freely in town. However, regardless of these challenges, they all reported being living better lives here in Durban than they were in their home countries. Some had to find their first jobs here in Durban which they could not find in their home countries. Above all during all the challenges they reported to be facing, some now own properties and have opened and started companies which are now employing others.

Furthermore, resilience theory denotes that immigrants arrive in a state of vulnerability and poverty. This is confirmed by findings of this study as most of the respondents indicated that when they first come to South Africa they had no money with them, and they were forced to

do any job available regardless of the qualification one has. Also, this study notes that for survival some immigrants were accommodated by a fellow countryman who could stay with them till they find employment, to mark that they could not afford to feed themselves on arrival in Durban marking the state of poverty on arrival. The resilience theory further notes that the immigrant relies on ties, skills or structural opportunities that can be leveraged for economic gains. That is, the immigrant is admitted into an existing network based on ethnic affiliations and thus, can appropriate existing benefits for material gains, which is also evident upon immigrants in Durban.

Findings of this study further support and confirm the social network theory which notes that social networks operate on many levels, from families up to the level of nations, and play a critical role in determining the way problems are solved, organizations are run, and the degree to which individuals succeed in achieving their goals. This is so as most Zimbabwean immigrants reported to have connected and formed networks with a fellow countryman in Durban who would then connect them to local business people, for trade or for employment. The shape of the social network helps determine a network's usefulness to its individuals. In this case, it is how immigrants have created useful networks with the locals which would help them adapt and succeed in Durban. In so doing with the inclusion of immigrants in the network, it would help bring in new international ideas, there marking why this theory was adopted as a guide.

The research lends validation to the dual labour theory, as results of this study show immigrants are as well doing jobs which locals are reluctant to do. In line with this, the theory argues that migration is driven by conditions of labour demand rather than supply: the character of the economy in advanced countries creates a demand for low-skilled jobs which domestic workers refuse to take up due to status. Also, jobs which immigrants are doing in Durban confirms the aspects of the dual labour theory. This is so as jobs they are doing covers both areas of the skilled and the unskilled. In line with the dual labour theory, "duality unfolds along the lines of two types of organization in the economy, namely capital-intensive where both skilled and unskilled labour is utilized, and labour intensive where unskilled labour prevails".

8. 2. CONCLUSIONS

It can be concluded that jobs/occupations which Zimbabwean immigrants are doing in Durban cover a wide spectrum and include Caregiving, Driving, Graphics Designing, Hairdressing, Lecturing, Pastoring, Project Management, Security work, Teaching, Waiting, Bartending and Vending as well as opening enterprises which are employing both locals and immigrants as workers. Teaching is the dominating job Zimbabweans are doing in Durban, above all, some have opened private colleges which are as well enrolling local students. This means that Zimbabwean immigrants are boosting the education sector of Durban.

It can also be concluded that by opening enterprises which are employing locals as workers though not on a large margin reflects the employment generation capacity of Zimbabwean immigrants and impacts in reducing unemployment. This marks how Immigrants who come to South Africa create employment for both immigrants and South Africans. As a result, immigrants in Durban provide a means through which both immigrants and South Africans who lack education and technical skills can escape poverty. However, it has to be noted that most Zimbabwean immigrant entrepreneurs who are in Durban are mainly in the Small Medium and Micro Enterprises (SMMEs) sector.

Small Medium and Micro Enterprises (SMMEs) owned by Zimbabwean immigrants in Durban are concentrated in small family businesses especially in the retail sectors (such as electronic shops and furniture shops) and service sector such as restaurants and salons which they employ both immigrants and locals to provide labour for them thereby reducing unemployment.

A majority of the respondents, however, reported that they are employed on a contract basis, as the duration of the contract was dependent on expiry of the immigrant's permit. Only those who own the enterprise/business or company and those who are in managerial positions are employed on a permanent basis. In so doing most of the immigrants are working eight hours per day, as stipulated and agreed upon on their contracts.

From above it can be concluded that: Migrants in managerial positions and owning their enterprises are in a stable employment situation than those who are on contract and often working long hours and thus placing them in a precarious situation. Thus, contract work brings with it uncertainty and long hours resulting in the precariousness of employment.

More so, it can be concluded that immigrants on their first coming to South Africa, they do not come with money. However, they come with the hope of making money when they are in Durban. As a result, a high number of immigrants had to do menial jobs, some becoming waiters, housemaids to make money and survive before finding formal employment in Durban.

It can further be concluded that most Zimbabwean immigrants hold Zimbabwe special permits (ZSP) which allows Zimbabweans holding this special permit to reside, work, and conduct business and study in South Africa. It is clear that not having a work permit deprive immigrants of so many opportunities, like failure to find a formal job, failure to open bank accounts, deportation or failure to walk freely in town as well as registering at a tertiary college in Durban.

In line with economic and social networks which immigrants create with locals to the navigation of Durban economy, it can be concluded that business, work, social and religious connections with locals are very important for immigrants for survival and suit neatly into the South African society. Social networks and the use of cell phone has been found to be serving as an anchor to move from one place to another by Zimbabwean immigrants. For Zimbabwean immigrants' networks determine the extent they integrate themselves with fellow immigrants and locals in doing business. As a result, immigrants from same countries help each other adapt and connect them with locals for employment and business opportunities. As a result, this has helped most Zimbabwean immigrants to find employment in less time. The relationship between Zimbabwean immigrants and local business people seem to be strengthening in doing business. This is so as Zimbabwean immigrants, do buy and resell goods from local business people, especially cross-border traders who buy in bulk from local industries thus increasing production in local industries. Also, some are partners in business and they work together in their workplaces.

In addition, Zimbabwean Immigrants are doing jobs locals are reluctant to do which are vital for the survival of the economy. Furthermore, Zimbabwean immigrants are found to be an addition to the labour force and this marks the infusion of skill diversity to the Durban economy thus marking immigrant contribution into the economy. More so Zimbabwean

immigrants are imparting knowledge as most of them are teachers in high schools and lecturers in tertiary colleges.

It can also be concluded that Zimbabwean immigrants have both social and religious connections with locals as they attend church together and stay in the same neighbourhood. This lessens social exclusion, thereby enriching immigrants desire to be accepted, creating stable-lasting connections with locals in all sectors.

However, it can also be concluded that the relationship between locals and immigrants is strained to a certain extent. This is so as locals feel that immigrants are taking jobs from them and do not trust each other. As a result, immigrants are always afraid and in fear that social violence (xenophobia) might start anytime. However regardless of the blame on immigrants' results of this study show that Zimbabwean immigrants are living better here in South Africa than they were back in their home country. This is so as some got their first jobs here in Durban which they could not find in Zimbabwe, some now own properties and living in decent houses.

On issues pertaining challenges which Zimbabwean immigrants are facing in Durban. Main challenges, Zimbabwean immigrants are facing includes discrimination, name-calling (*Makwerekwere)*, difficulty in opening bank accounts, limited access to financial aid and service delivery, social violence (xenophobia), difficulties in finding formal employment and language problems as well as failing to walk freely in town.

The relationship between immigrants and government officials (Police and Home affairs) has been reported to be good but on condition that you produce valid permit or asylum when asked to. The relationship was further reported to be good since government officials are always willing to help and they always respond to calls when called for any incident. However, it must be noted that some, government officials always want bribes most of the time.

More so results of the study show that immigrants are as well open to police raids, which might be conducted anytime which immigrants reported having been harassed by government officials especially if you are suspected that you do not have legal documents. It can further

be concluded that the relationship between locals and immigrants is good to a certain extent. This is so as results of this study indicate that, locals and immigrants do borrow each other money in times of need as well as defend each other when need be, while some are dating Zulu girls and do attend church together. However, the relationship between locals and immigrants is also strained. This is due to cultural differences between locals and immigrants as well as the lost trust between the two groups and fear of social violence, which may start anytime. Also, blame on immigrants as depriving locals of some of the services, which are meant for locals.

Basing on the perceptions of the Durban community towards immigrants, the coming of immigrants to Durban can be labelled to be both good and bad. Immigrants are more beneficial to the education sector and increasing the labour force as well as an infusion of skills which results in skill diversity in the economy of Durban. However, immigrants are also increasing and creating competition for jobs and service delivery in Durban. This is so as the study shows that Zimbabwean immigrants accept less payment on jobs which are supposed to be high paying and they do not consider working conditions thereby considering jobs which locals are reluctant to do. They then compete with low skilled South Africans for jobs and depress wages, leaving South Africans with little disposable income. It can also be concluded that immigrants are perceived to be overpopulating the city thereby increasing crime rate in Durban. As a result, this increased competition results in locals fighting immigrants for taking their jobs. With such fallacies, local people blame foreigners as responsible for the high crime rate and unemployment.

In terms of culture, this study concludes that immigrants have to stick to their own culture when they are in Durban, same as with locals to stick to theirs too. However, results indicate that if one chooses to adopt either of the cultures he is free since South Africa is a democratic country. In addition, locals suggested immigrants should adopt local culture for them to easily integrate and relate to a South African way of living. Also, this study concludes that immigrants are not main contributors of crime in Durban, but they have a part in criminal activities in Durban. However, immigrants are reported to be also involved in crimes like fraud, drugs, hijacking and fake identification.

Competition for jobs and service delivery are the main sources of conflict between immigrants and locals. This is so as job opportunities, markets, better living conditions, better life and a good environment are the main reasons why immigrants come to Durban. However, regardless of that locals prefer working with Zimbabweans more than other African immigrants in South Africa. This is because there are fewer cases and reports of drugs and involvement in crime against Zimbabweans. Mixed feelings on the survival of the economy without the presence of immigrants was also seen. This is so as some said the economy of Durban can survive without the presence of Durban while others said the economy would be affected greatly.

8.3. RECOMMENDATIONS AND POLICY SUGGESTIONS

Based on the findings of the study, the following recommendations are made

By opening enterprises which are employing locals as workers which reflects the employment generation capacity of immigrants and impacts on reducing unemployment, it is recommended that laws that govern the participation of migrants in productive employment should be enabling and user-friendly so that they can create more jobs to benefit society.

For those immigrants on contract and often working long hours and thus placing them in a precarious situation, it is recommended that labour laws that protect employment conditions should be enforced/observed.

Findings of the study show that only immigrants who are coming to invest and those with skills which are termed critical skills are welcome to come to Durban. Therefore, the researcher recommends that there is need to create welcoming atmosphere and laws/policies which attracts investors and people with critical skills to come to Durban.

Since some Zimbabwean immigrants have been reported to have started and opened companies which are employing both locals and immigrants. There is a need for further research to be carried out to understand challenges and opportunities they face, their role as well what they can to add more value to the South African labour market.

The study findings further outlined that immigrants to a certain extent are creating employment as well as adding numbers to the labour force. Therefore, the researcher recommends that there is a need for the government to put in place policies which protect foreign-owned enterprises since it has been reported that more often they are being attacked.

Migrant entrepreneurs are potential sources of employment even for South African locals. It would be in the interest of the South African government to support these activities with capital and other resources rather than ignoring them.

From the findings of the study, it has been shown that immigrants are victims of social violence (xenophobia) and discrimination. Therefore, the researcher recommends that there is a need for the government as well as community leaders to have more awareness campaigns fighting against xenophobia.

South Africa must come up with proper integration mechanisms for migrants since migrants are there to stay. The covert support that politicians render to locals in their bid to force Zimbabweans to 'go back home' will not solve the Zimbabwean issue. These actions will only have the negative effect of hardening Zimbabweans and driving them even further underground where they may even engage in bad behaviours in order to survive.

Also, the government through its departments should try to value diversity. This is done by enlightening its citizens on embracing foreigners and different cultures. This enables less discrimination against immigrants and also can contribute to the reduction of attacks on immigrants.

Since competition for jobs and service delivery are the main sources of conflict between immigrants and locals. The researcher recommends there is a need for the government to be stricter with organisations which first employ foreigners in place of locals, taking advantages of the vulnerability of foreigners.

8.4. SUMMARY

The study on the investigation of the economic and social interactions of immigrants with the local population: A case study of Zimbabweans working in Durban CBD. Sought to investigate the socio-economic interactions of Zimbabwean immigrants with the local population to the navigation of the Durban economy. The objective for this study sought to achieve objectives pertaining the types of jobs/employment which Zimbabwean immigrants are doing in Durban, investigating the economic and social networks which Zimbabwean immigrants create with locals to help navigate the economy of Durban, finding out challenges Zimbabwean immigrants are facing in Durban and to find out the perceptions of the Durban community towards immigrants' contribution to the economy. It was found out that jobs Zimbabwean immigrants are doing in Durban cover a wide spectrum and include Caregiving, Driving, Graphic Designing, Hairdressing, Lecturing, Pastoring, Project Management, Security work, Teaching, Waiting, Bartending and Vending as well as opening enterprises which are employing both locals and immigrants as workers. Teaching was found to be the dominating job Zimbabweans are doing in Durban.

More so networks which immigrants create with both immigrants and locals determine the extent which immigrants integrate themselves with fellow immigrants and locals in doing business. As a result, immigrants from same countries help each other adapt and connect them with locals for employment and business opportunities. The relationship between immigrants and local business people seem to be strengthening in doing business. This is so as Zimbabwean immigrants, do buy and resell goods from local business people, especially cross-border traders who buy in bulk from local industries thus increasing production in local industries. However, immigrants reported to be facing challenges in Durban and main challenges, which Zimbabwean immigrants are facing in Durban, includes discrimination, name-calling (*Makwerekwere*), difficulty in opening bank accounts, limited access to financial aid and service delivery, social violence (xenophobia), difficulties in finding formal employment and language problems as well as failing to walk freely in town. In Durban, it can be reported that immigrants are increasing and creating competition for jobs and service delivery. They have been found to be accepting less payment on jobs which are supposed to be high paying, thus they do not consider working conditions, and consider jobs which locals are reluctant to do. They then compete with low skilled South Africans for jobs and depress wages, leaving South Africans with little disposable income. Also, immigrants are also perceived to be overpopulating the city thereby increasing crime rate in Durban. As a result, this increased competition results in locals fighting immigrants for taking their jobs.

Appendix 1. Informed consent resource template (English)

Information Sheet and Consent to Participate in Research

Date: 16 December 2016

Dear Sir/Madam

My name is **Rowan Madzamba** a Master of Population Studies student at the University of KwaZulu Natal, Howard campus, from the School of Built Environment and Development Studies. My Student Number is 216070410, my phone numbers are 0833 712 076 / 078 624 7022 and my email addresses are rowanmadzamba@gmail.com or 216070410@stu.ukzn.ac.za

You are being invited to consider participating in a study that involves research on **economic and social interactions of immigrants with the local population: A case study of Zimbabweans working Durban CBD:** The aim and purpose of this research is to investigate the socio-economic interactions of Zimbabwean immigrants with the local population to the navigation of Durban economy. The study is expected to enrol 40 respondents, 20 of them will be Zimbabweans working in Durban CBD and the other 20 will be local South Africans who are working with Zimbabwean immigrants in Durban CBD. The duration of your participation, if you choose to enrol and remain in the study, is expected to be 30 minutes or less. The study is funded by the University of KwaZulu Natal and is for academic purpose.

Your participation will also involve writing down of your verbal and non-verbal responses. The information you provide will only be used for the purpose of this study and will be treated anonymously and confidentially. If you should agree to participate in in-depth interviews, you will be requested to maintain confidentiality of what is discussed. Your participation is voluntary, and you are free to withdraw at any stage for any reason. The decision not to participate will not result in any form of disadvantage to you and will not incur penalty

This study has been ethically reviewed and approved by the UKZN Humanities and Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee (approval number_____).

In the event of any problems or concerns/questions you may contact the researcher on 083 371 2076 or email him on rowanmadzamba@gmail.com or 216070410@stu.ukzn.ac.za or the UKZN Humanities & Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee, contact details as follows:

HUMANITIES & SOCIAL SCIENCES RESEARCH ETHICS ADMINISTRATION

Research Office, Westville Campus

Govan Mbeki Building

Private Bag X 54001

Durban

4000

KwaZulu-Natal, SOUTH AFRICA

Tel: 27 31 2604557- Fax: 27 31 2604609

Email: HSSREC@ukzn.ac.za

If you agree to participate in this project, you will be required to do either one or some of the following; -

❖ Respond to questions asked around the topic as outlined above.

❖ Participate in group discussions (in-depth interview) on issues as outlined above.

❖ Lastly, signing this declaration of consent to participate.

Twenty minutes of your time will be required for your participation. Your participation will also involve writing down of your verbal and non-verbal responses. The information you provide will only be used for the purpose of this study and will be treated anonymously and confidentially. If you should agree to participate in in-depth interviews, you will be requested to maintain the confidentiality of what is discussed. Your participation is voluntary, and you are free to withdraw at any stage for any reason. The decision not to participate will not result in any form of disadvantage to you. For further interest in the outcomes of this research, the findings on the data gathered will be made available in both the departmental and university libraries.

CONSENT

I (………………………) have been informed about the study entitled **Economic and social interactions of immigrants with the local population: A case study of Zimbabweans working Durban CBD by (Rowan Madzamba (Student 216070410).**

I understand the purpose and procedures of the study.

I have been given an opportunity to answer questions about the study and have had answers to my satisfaction.

I declare that my participation in this study is entirely voluntary and that I may withdraw at any time without affecting any of the benefits that I usually am entitled to.

I have been informed about any available compensation or medical treatment if an injury occurs to me as a result of study-related procedures.

If I have any further questions/concerns or queries related to the study I understand that I may contact the researcher on 083 371 2076 or email him on rowanmadzamba@gmail.com or 216070410@stu.ukzn.ac.za

If I have any questions or concerns about my rights as a study participant, or if I am concerned about an aspect of the study or the researchers then I may contact:

HUMANITIES & SOCIAL SCIENCES RESEARCH ETHICS ADMINISTRATION

Research Office, Westville Campus

Govan Mbeki Building

Private Bag X 54001

Durban

4000

KwaZulu-Natal, SOUTH AFRICA

Tel: 27 31 2604557 - Fax: 27 31 2604609

Email: HSSREC@ukzn.ac.za

Additional consent, where applicable

I hereby provide consent to:

Audio-record my interview / focus group discussion	YES / NO
Video-record my interview / focus group discussion	YES / NO
Use of my photographs for research purposes	YES / NO

_____   _____

Signature of Participant   **Date**

_____   _____

Signature of Witness   **Date**

(Where applicable)

_____   _____

Signature of Translator   **Date**

(Where applicable)

Appendix 2. Informed Consent In Local language (isiZulu)

Emvume unolwazi resource template

Ulwazi sheet futhi isiqinisekiso ayehlanganyela research

Usuku: 16 December 2016

Dear Sir / Madam

Igama lami ngingu **Rowan Madzamba**, umfundi we Master kwiPopulation Studies isitshudeni sase-Nyuvesi yakwa KwaZulu Natal, eHoward campus, ngisuka kwi school of Build Environment and Development Studies. Inombolo yami yomfundi u-216070410, izinombolo zocingo ami akuwe 0833 712 076/078 624 7022 no-imeyili yami amakheli kukhona rowanmadzamba@gmail.com noma 216070410@stu.ukzn.ac.za

Uyamenywa ukuba ubambe iqhaza ocwaningweni oluthi kuhilela ucwaningo ekusebenzisaneni umnotho kanye nesakhiwonchanti sezenhlalo kwabokufika nabantu bendawo: *A Case Study of Zimbabweans working in Durban CBD*: Inhloso nenjongo yalolu cwaningo ukuphenya ukugxumana kwezimo zenhlalo yomphakathi nezomnotho phakathi kwabadabuki baseZimbabwe kanye nabantu bendawo, ekuhloleni umnotho weTheku. Lolu cwaningo kulindeleke ukuba lubhalise abaphendulile abawu 40, abawu-20 kwabo kuyoba izihambi zaseZimbabwe ezisebenza eThekwini CBD kanti omunye u-20 kuyoba abahlali base Ningizimu Afrika abasebenza nabadabuka eZimbabwean eThekwini CBD. Isikhathi sakho sokubamba iqhaza, uma ukhetha ukuba ubhalise futhi uhlale kulolu cwaningo kilindeleke ukuba libe imizuzu engu-30 noma ngaphansi. Lolu cwaningo luxhaswe iNyuvesi yakwaZulu Natal, futhi nenhlosoeyobuchwepheshe.

Ukuhlanganyela kwakho kuhilele ngokubhala phansi izimpendulo zakho lwamazwi noma kube imfihlo. Ulwazi ozolunikeza luzosetshenziselwa kuphela ngenjongo yalolu cwaningo futhi luzophathwa ngemfihlo. Uma uyavuma ukuba ubambe iqhaza kwi- interview, uzocelwa ukugcina imfihlo kulokho kuxoxwa. Uyazikhethela ukubamba iqhaza, futhi ukhululekile ukuba ukuhoxisa kunoma yisiphi isigaba nganoma yisiphi isizathu. Isinqumo sokungahlanganyeli ekugubheni ngeke sikuholele kunoma yiluphi uhlobo lwesimo futhi ngeke ujeziswe.

Lolu cwaningo iye ngobulungiswa sibuyekezwe futhi kugunyazwe yi-UKZN Humanities kanye neSocial Sciences Research Ethics Committee (number yokwamukela_____).

Esimweni sezinkinga noma ukukhathazeka / imibuzo ongase uhlangabezane nayo, ungathinta umcwaningi oku-083 371 2076 noma uthumele i-imeyili nayo kwi

rowanmadzamba@gmail.com noma 216070410@stu.ukzn.ac.za noma the UKZN

Humanities & Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee, contact details as follows:

HUMANITIES & SOCIAL SCIENCES RESEARCH ETHICS ADMINISTRATION

Research Office, Westville Campus

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Private Bag X 54001

Durban

4000

KwaZulu-Natal, SOUTH AFRICA

Tel: 27 31 2604557- Fax: 27 31 2604609

Email: HSSREC@ukzn.ac.za

Uma uvuma ukubamba iqhaza kulolu cwaningo, kuzodingeka ukuba wenze eyodwa noma ezinye kwalokhu okulandelayo; -

- Phendula imibuzo ebuzwa mayelana isihloko njengoba kuboniswe ngenhla.
- kumbamba lichaza etingcocweni temacembu (e-ukujula interview) ngeendaba eziqakathekileko ezenzeka esikhathini njengoba kuchaziwe ngenhla.
- Okokugcina, sayini lesi sitatimende semvume yokubamba iqhaza.

Imizuzu engamashumi amabili yesikhathi sakho kuyodingeka iqhaza lakho. Ukuhlanganyela kwakho kuhilele ngokubhala phansi izimpendulo zakho ngamazwi noma kungabi ngamazwi. Ulwazi ozonikeza luzosetshenziselwa kuphela ngenjongo yalolu cwaningo kanye izophathwa ngokungaziwa futhi ngemfihlo. Uma uyavumelana ukuba ubambe iqhaza kwi- interview, uzocelwa ukuba ukugcine imfihlo kulokho okuxoxwa. Ukubamba kwakho iqhaza ngokuzikhethela, futhi ukhululekile ukuba ukuhoxisa noma yisiphi isigaba nganoma yisiphi isizathu. Isinqumo sokungahlanganyeli ekugubheni ngeke kuholele kunoma yiluphi uhlobo kusimo kuwe.uma ufuna eminye imiphumela yaloluwaningo, idatha etholakele izotholakala kumtapo wolwazi wenyuvesi kanye nases'khundleni.

IMVUME

Mina (..........................)ngazisiwe mayelana nesifundo enesihloko esithi ekuxhumaneni wezoMnotho kanye nezeNhlalakahle kwabokufika nabantu bendawo: A Case Study eZimbabwe working Durban CBD ngu (Rowan Madzamba (umfundi 216070410).

Ngiyaqonda inhloso kanye nenqubo yesifundo.

Nginikiwe ithuba lokuphendula imibuzo mayelana nesifundo futhi kuye kwadingeka izimpendulo ezinganelisekisile.

Ngiyaqinisa ukuthi ukubamba kwami iqhaza kulolu cwaningo yokuzithandela ngokuphelele nokuthi mina ngingahoxisa noma nini ngaphandle kokuthinteka kwanoma yiziphi izinzuzo engivamise ukuzithola, ngokwe lungelo lami.

Bengilokhu nginolwazi nganoma yisiphi isinxephezelo etsiholakalayo noma indlela yokwelashwa uma kukhona ukulimala okwenzeka kimi ngenxa yezinqubo ezihlobene nocwaningo-.

Uma noma yimiphi imibuzo enginayo eminye / ukukhathazeka noma imibuzo ezihlobene nocwaningo ngiyaqonda ukuthi ngingaxhumana nomcwaningi 083 371 2076 noma uthumele i-imeyili ku- rowanmadzamba@gmail.com noma 216070410@stu.ukzn.ac.za

Uma noma yimiphi imibuzo enginayo noma ukukhathazeka mayelana namalungelo ami njengoba umhlanganyeli isifundo, noma uma ngiyakhathazeka ngesiqi ekutadisheni noma ngabacwaningi mina ngingaxhumana:

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Research Office, Westville Campus

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Durban

4000

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Tel: 27 31 2604557 - Fax: 27 31 2604609

Email: HSSREC@ukzn.ac.za

imvume engeziwe, lapho kusebenza khona

Ngiyaqinisekisa banikezele ngemvume:

Audio-irekhodi interview / ingqondo yami yengxoxo yeqembu YEBO / CHA

Isiqophi-irekhodi interview / ingqondo yami yegxoxo yeqembu YEBO / CHA

Ukusetshenziswa izithombe zami ngezinjongo zocwaningo YEBO / CHA

_____   _____

Isignesha lababambiqhaza   **Usuku**

_____   _____

Isignesha yafakazi

(Lapho kufanele)   **usuku**

_____   _____

Isignesha yomcacisi   **Usuku**

(Lapho kufanele)

Appendix 3. Interview guide for Zimbabweans only

1.0   Introduction

Socio-economic interactions of immigrants and the local population: A case study of Zimbabweans working in Durban CBD

Section 1: Demographic Characteristics

1. Code Name…………………………………………………………

2. Date………………………………………………………………

3. Place …………………………………………………………….

4. Gender: please mark(x)

Female	
Male	

5.Age………………………………………………………………………………….…

6. Marital status

Single	
Married	
Divorced	
Widowed	
Separated	

7. Level of education completed

No education	
Primary	
Secondary	
Matric	
Tertiary	

8. If you have never been to school why?

……………………………………………………………………………………………

……………………………………………………………………………………………

……………………………………………………………………………………………

9. Religious affiliations

Christian	
Muslim	
Traditional	
Atheist/pagan	
Hindu	
Other (specify)	

10. Employment status

Employed	
Self employed	
Unemployed	

11. If you are employed, do you work with native South Africans?

Yes	
No	

12. How long have you been working in South Africa?

Less than 1 year	
1 year	
2 years	
3 years	
4years and above	

13. Monthly income

R1000-3000	
R3000-5000	
R5000-7000	
R7000+	

14. If self-employed, have you ever partnered in business with natives?

Yes	
No	

15. Where do you reside?

Urban (Periphery) Durban CBD	
Semi urban	
Rural areas	
Other (specify)	

16. Language spoken

Shona	
Ndebele	
Other (specify)	

17. Family size

1-2	
3-4	
5+	

SECTION 2. KIND OF JOBS IMMIGRANTS ARE DOING IN DURBAN?

18. What kind of a job do you do?

…………………………………………………………………………………………

…………………………………………………………………………………………

19. What is your status of employment? Are you employed on a permanent basis, contract, permanent or part time

…………………………………………………………………………………………

…………………………………………………………………………………………

…………………………………………………………………………………………

20. At your work place what is your position and what are your day to day
    duties…………………………………………………………………………………
    …………………………………………………………………………………………
    ………………………………………………………………………………..……
    …………………………………………………………………………………………

21. How many hours do you work per day?
    …………………………………………………………………………………………
    …………………………………………………………………………………………
    …………….…………………………………………………………………………………

22. When you first came to SA did you have any money with you? If **NO** how then did
    manage to live before getting a job?
    …………………………………………………………………………………………
    …………………………………………………………………………………………
    …………………………………………………………………………………..……

23. What did you do to make money when you first came to Durban?
    …………………………………………………………………………………………
    …………………………………………………………………………………………
    …………………………………………………………………………………………

24. How long did it take you to find employment in Durban?
    …………………………………………………………………………………………
    …………………………………………………………………………………………
    ……………………………………………………………………….…………………

25. How long did it take you to get legal documents to work in South Africa?
    …………………………………………………………………………………………
    …………………………………………………………………………………………
    …………………………………………………………………………………………

26. Do you have any forms of identification and what type of identification is it? Please
    name them including permit
    …………………………………………………………………………………………
    …………………………………………………………………………………………
    …………………………………………………………………………………………

27. Have you ever paid someone other than a government official to help you to get any of these documents?

…………………………………………………………………………………………………

…………………………………………………………………………….…………………………

……

28. Apart from the normal fees, have you ever had to pay money to get your identity documents or visa in South Africa

……

……………………………………………………………………………………………………….

29. If you did not have identity documents, how would it affect your life in Durban?

……

……

SECTION 4. ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL NETWORKS IMMIGRANTS CREATE WITH LOCALS

30. When you first came to SA who helped to adapt to the social life in Durban, was it a fellow country man, or an immigrant from another country?
    How did they help? Please explain

……

……

……

31. How long did it take you to adapt to the social life of Durban and are there some practices which are done here which you have adopted?

……

……

……

32. Do u have any Relationship with the local business people? If yes what kind of relationship And how is your relationship with the locals

……

……

……

33. What forms of communication do you use to connect with local business people, and when?

……………………………………………………………………………………………………

……………………………………………………………………………………………………

……………………………………………………………………………………………………

34. How is your relationship with the locals in doing business/work place? Please explain your answer

……………………………………………………………………………………………………

………………………………………………………………………………………………….

……………………………………………………………………………………………………

35. What connections do you have with locals?

……………………………………………………………………………………………………

……………………………………………………………………………………………………

……………………………………………………………………………………………………

36. Since coming to South Africa, have you ever paid someone to do work for you? This could be at home or in your business.

……………………………………………………………………………………………………

……………………………………………………………………………………………………

……………………………………………………………………………………………………

37. Have your presence in Durban been beneficial to the locals? Please explain how it has been beneficial

……………………………………………………………………………………………………

……………………………………………………………………………………………………

…………………………………………………………………………………………………

38. What kind of dangers are u exposed to during work time?

……………………………………………………………………………………………………

……………………………………………………………………………………………………

……………………………………………………………………………………………………

39. Do you think the work that you are doing is greatly contributing to the economic development of Durban? If yes please explain how

………………………………………………………………………………………………

………………………………………………………………………………………………

40. What do you think will happen to the country if foreigners leave Durban?

……

……

……………………………………………………………………………………..……………………

……

41. Do you think that the government and the police protect your life and properties as they supposed to do? If **NO** or **YES** please explain

……

……

……

42. Before you came to South Africa, would you say you were better than what you are now? Please explain

……

……

……………………………………………………………………………………………..…………

SECTION 5. CHALLENGES IMMIGRANTS ARE FACING IN DURBAN

43. What kind of challenges are you facing in Durban?

……

……

……

44. Do you walk freely in town?

……

……

……

45. Is it easy for an immigrant to find employment in Durban? Explain your answer

……

……

……

46. How is the relationship between immigrants and government officials in Durban?

………………………………………………………………………………………………

……………………………………………………………………………………………

………………………………………………………………………………………………

47. Have you ever been harassed by a government official on the basis of being an immigrant? If yes what had happened?

………………………………………………………………………………………………

………………………………………………………………………………………………

………………………………………………………………………………………………

………………………………………………………………………………………………

48. Do you associate well with the local people in the community? Please explain how

………………………………………………………………………………………………

………………………………………………………………………………………………

………………………………………………………………………………………………

Appendix 4. Interview guide for native South Africans only

2.0   Introduction

Socio-economic interactions of immigrants and the local population: A case study of Zimbabweans working in Durban CBD

SECTION 1: DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS

1. Code Name…………………………………………………………………………………

2. Date……………………………………………………………………………

3. Place …………………………………………………………………….

4. Gender: please mark(x)

Female	
Male	

5.Age………………………………………………………………………………………......…

6. Marital status

Single	
Married	
Divorced	
Widowed	
Separated	

7. Level of education completed

No education	
Primary	
Secondary	
Matric	
Tertiary	

8. If you have never been to school why?

………………………………………………………………………………………………………

………………………………………………………………………………………………………

………………………………………..……………………………………………………………

9. Religious affiliations

Christian	
Muslim	
Traditional	
Atheist/pagan	
Hindu	
Other (specify)	

10. Employment status

Employed	
Self employed	
Unemployed	

11. If you are employed or self-employed, do you work with Zimbabweans?

Yes	
No	

12. How long have you been working with Zimbabweans?

Less than 1 year	
1 year	
2 years	
3 years	
4years and above	

13. Monthly income

R1000-3000	
R3000-5000	

R5000-7000	
R7000+	

14. If self-employed, have you ever partnered in business with Zimbabweans?

Yes	
No	

15. Where do you reside?

Urban (Periphery)	
Urban CBD	
Semi urban	
Rural areas	
Other (specify)	

16. Language spoken

IsiZulu	
IsiXhosa	
Ndebele	
Sotho	
English	
Afrikaans	
Northern Sotho	
Swazi	
Tsonga	
Tswana	
Venda	

17. Family size

1-2	
3-4	
5+	

SECTION 3. PERCEPTIONS OF DURBAN COMMUNITY TOWARDS IMMIGRANTS

18. In your own opinion is the coming of immigrants into Durban good or bad? Please explain to support your answer

    ………………………………………………………………………………………

    ………………………………………………………………………………………

    ………………………………………………………………………………………

19. In your own opinion are immigrants helping in the development of Durban? If yes how

    ………………………………………………………………………………………

    ………………………………………………………………………………………

    ………………………………………………………………………………………

20. Should the government allow more immigrants to come to Durban? if YES why and if NO explain

    ………………………………………………………………………………………

    ………………………………………………………………………………………

    ………………………………………………………………………………………

21. Are the immigration laws passed by the government helping to control the influx of immigrants into Durban? explain your answer

    …………………………………………………………………………………………

    …………………………………………………………………………………………

    …………………………………………………………………………………………

    ………………………………………………………………………………………

22. Do you think the economy of Durban can survive without the presents of immigrants? If YES or NO Please explain

....

....

....

23. Are immigrants adding value to the economy of Durban? If yes how if no why?

....

....

....

24. Are immigrants' main contributors of crime in Durban? if yes which kind of crime

....

....

....

....

25. Amongst the immigrants in Durban, immigrants from which country do you prefer working with and why?

....

....

....

....

26. Should immigrants adopt local culture when they are in Durban? Please explain

....

....

....

....

27. Should the locals adopt immigrants' culture? Please explain

....

....

....

28. What attracts immigrants to come to Durban?

....

....

29. Do you associate well with immigrants? If yes how, if no why?

....

....

....

30. What are the sources of conflicts between locals and immigrants?

....

....

....

....

31. What do you think are the challenges immigrants facing in Durban?

....

....

....

....

Appendix 5: Word cloud

Appendix 6: Word tree

Text Search Query – Results Preview
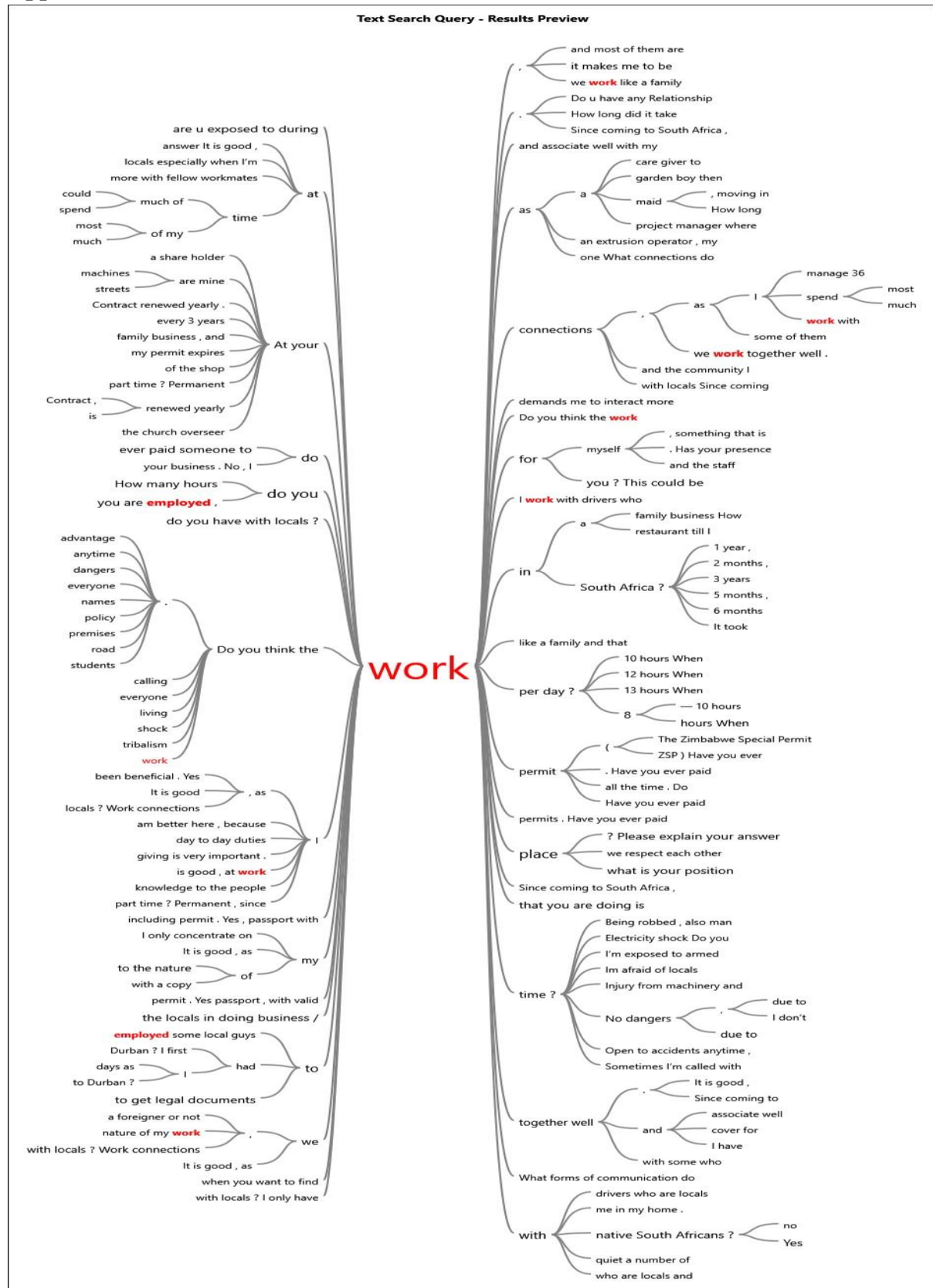
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