Undocumented Immigration in Zambia:

A case study of Lusaka City

by

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DECLARATION

I, Judy Chinyemba, do declare that this dissertation represents my own work, and it has not previously been submitted for a degree at this or any other University. All the work of other persons and literature used in this dissertation have been duly acknowledged.

SIGNATURE

24 September 2017

To

my father Mr Luka Custom Chinyemba

and

my mother, Mrs Itemo Mervis Kaiva Chinyemba

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ABSTRACT

Human migration in the world is an old and on-going phenomenon. Humans move from place to place across local and international boundaries for various reasons. International migration requires documentation such as visas, passports, resident and work permits that are required for one to legally migrate to, and settle in an area. However, there are people who enter countries without documentation, and such people are referred to as undocumented migrants.

This research investigates undocumented immigration in Zambia, with reference to Lusaka City. The theoretical framework that underpinned the research comprised four theories of international migration. These were the neoclassical economics theory of migration, new economics of labour migration theory, dual labour market theory of migration, and Kunz's refugee migration theory.

This researcher adopted the intensive research design and used the case study method, where Lusaka City (Zambia) constituted the case study area. The researcher gathered primary data from the Lusaka City Council, the Zambian immigration department headquarters, and from the informal settlements of Chibolya, Mandevu and Matero. Questionnaires were administered to the sampled immigration officers and Lusaka City Council officers, and interviews were conducted with Zambians and undocumented immigrants in the informal settlements.

The research findings showed that undocumented immigrant interviewees came from the Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA) region. The

undocumented immigrant interviewees entered Zambia due to the peace and economic opportunities found in the country, as well as joining their relatives, spouses and friends who were already in Zambia. Once in Zambia, the undocumented immigrant interviewees migrated to Lusaka City mainly for economic reasons. The major economic activity that undocumented immigrant interviewees were engaged in, was trade. Others were employed in the informal sector. Cooperation and complaints (challenges) characterised the co-existence between the interviewed Zambians and undocumented immigrants. Furthermore, undocumented immigrants in the case study areas brought about socio-economic and cultural benefits to the Zambians. Undocumented immigrants also contributed to socio-economic and environmental challenges in the case study areas. The Zambian government worked towards addressing the challenges of undocumented immigration in Lusaka City and above all, reducing the phenomenon.

Much literature and research on undocumented immigration focussed on the phenomenon at the national level, and not the local urban spatial scales. The research therefore aimed at investigating undocumented immigration in Zambia with specific reference to the urban locality of Lusaka City.

Key terms of the dissertation

Migration; International migration; Undocumented immigration; Undocumented immigrants; Informal settlements; Lusaka City; Lusaka City Council; Immigration department; Immigration officers and Zambia Police.

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LIST OF ACRONYMS

AAH	Action African Help
AIRINC	Associates for International Research Incorporated
BSAC	British South African Company
CBD	Central Business District
CDO	Community Development Officer
COMESA	Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa
CSO	Central Statistical Office
DEC	Drug Enforcement Commission
DRC	Democratic Republic of Congo
GRZ	Government of the Republic of Zambia
LCC	Lusaka City Council
LWSC	Lusaka Water and Sewerage Company
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs)
NRC	National Registration Card
RSD	Refugee Status Determination
SGBV	Sexual and Gender Based Violence

TAZARA	Tanzania-Zambia Railway
UN	United Nations
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
UNITA	Uniao Nacional para a Independicia Total de Angola
UNZA	University of Zambia
USA	United States of America
UTH	University Teaching Hospital
ZAF	Zambia Air Force
ZESCO	Zambia Electricity Supply Cooperation
ZNBC	Zambia National Broadcasting Cooperation

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

This chapter introduces the research. It includes information on the theoretical framework, literature review, the research aim and objectives, the problem statement and definition, the research methodology, the research location, the feasibility of the research and the significance of the research.

Background to migration

Through time, humans proved to be quite mobile. They moved from place to place for many reasons. According to Hanlon and Thomas (2014), humans moved as hunters, gatherers and nomads in search of food and shelter. They also fled famine, natural disasters and potential aggression from other humans, making them seek new territories. Hanlon & Thomas (2014, p.1) contend, 'Migration has been central to population dispersal across the world'.

In Africa, the greatest human migrations ever recorded were the Bantu migrations. Vansina (1985) noted that the Bantu originated from the Benua Plateau in Cameroon and then migrated across various parts of Africa and became the different tribes and peoples in the region in the twenty first century. According to Robertson & Bradley (2000), the Bantu migrations were due to different reasons and their effects were felt both at the places of origin and destination. According to Das Gupta (1990), Africa had also seen the immigration of Europeans, for instance, Jan van Riebeeck and other members of the United Dutch East Indian Company who settled in South

Africa. Another example is Cecil John Rhodes, who with persons attached to the British South African Company (BSAC), left Europe, settled in South Africa and later migrated to various parts of Southern Africa.

People of pre-colonial African societies moved freely without any restrictions. During the pre-colonial period, Africa did not have formal national boundaries. MacKenzie (1983) pointed out that with colonisation and the Berlin Conference of 1884, there was the 'Scramble for Africa' – where Africa was partitioned through borders into different territories (countries). In South Africa, pass laws were promulgated in 1952 to control and restrict the movement of natives in South Africa during the colonial era (Hamilton, 1987). Hamilton contended that all natives aged 16 years and above were mandated to carry pass books when outside their homelands.

The documentation for migration only applies when one crosses international borders. When migrating within a country, one does not require any legal documentation. However, when crossing international borders, one requires legal and valid documentation to be recognised as a documented migrant. If one does not possess the required documentation and crosses international borders, his/her movement is deemed illegal and he/she is prone to punishment.

Immigration into Zambia increased over time due to its central location in Southern Africa and its relative political stability. People from different countries from the sub-region (Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa – COMESA) and the rest of the world entered Zambia either with or without documentation for several reasons. This impacted different sectors and places in the country. To this effect, research is vital to investigate undocumented immigration in Zambia. This research seeks to examine undocumented immigration into Zambia with reference to Lusaka City.

The investigation is geographical because the subject of geography looks at the relationship between man and the earth. The numbers, distribution and socio-economic activities of man have an impact on the natural environment. Since undocumented immigration increases the numbers of people and alters the population distribution of the affected countries, the socio-economic activities and the natural environment are affected. Man does not exist without socio-economic activities and such activities have an impact on the natural environment. The relationships are intertwined.

Theoretical framework

There are several theories of international migration that scholars of international migration use. These are the dual labour market migration theory, the world systems approach, the relative deprivation theory, the social capital theory, the new economics of labour migration theory and the neoclassical economics of migration theory. In this research, the neoclassical economics theory, the new economics of labour migration theory, the dual labour market theory and Kunz's migration theory were applicable.

The neoclassical economics theory of migration is the oldest theory of migration and highlights that migration, whether local or international, is economically motivated and that migrants move from areas (countries) where the economy is unfavourable to places (countries) where they can earn a living (Samers, 2010). The neoclassical theory highlights that wage differentials across markets and countries trigger migration (Kurekova, 2011). The migrants thus target areas or countries where wages are higher.

The new economics of labour migration theory is more a ‘top-up’ to the neoclassical economics theory. Both the neoclassical economics and the new economics of labour migration theories are economically motivated. According to Massey, Arango, Hugo, Kouaouci, Pellegrino & Taylor (1993), the new economics of labour migration theory points out that households or families decide who migrates to new areas (whether within the country or outside the country) due to poor living conditions in their homes. The poor living conditions may result from natural disasters like droughts, and other issues such as sudden unemployment (King, 2012).

The dual labour market theory of migration is mainly concerned with employment and migration (Massey, et al., 1993). The theory focuses on immigration as ‘a natural consequence of economic globalization and market penetration across boundaries’ (Massey, et al., 1993, p. 432). According to the dual labour market theory, migration emanates from the labour demands of modern civilization (Massey, et al.). Thus, people tend to migrate to other areas (countries) in search of employment. Migrants, especially undocumented ones, usually take up low and unskilled jobs – whether blue collar jobs where they work as manual labourers (e.g., bricklaying), white collar jobs where they would work as office clerks or in the service industry where they may work as waiters (Fussel, 2012). According to Fussel, the characteristics of low and unskilled jobs include low wages, temporariness and low returns to education and or experience. Low and unskilled jobs relate to the ability and willingness to do the job. Fussel argued that the dual labour market theory also stresses that the early immigrants in a country who manage to get employment either as self-entrepreneurs or even in organizations tend to establish ‘ethnic businesses’ where they employ fellow immigrants or even invite their fellow nationals to join them in their new destinations.

Regarding refugee migration, Kunz (1981) divided the refugees into three groups depending on the causes of their migration: the majority identified refugees, events related refugees and self-alienated refugees. In Zambia, the majority identified refugees are the prominent ones and their migration is involuntary. According to Collins (1996), the majority identified refugees are groups of refugees who leave their home countries due to political and social conflicts. Kunz argues that the majority identified refugees' status is a concern of everyone (in countries of origin, destination and even international organisations).

Figure 1 illustrates a summary of the theoretical framework of the research.

The different theories of migration highlighted the causes of migration and way of life of migrants in their new area (in this case, a country). Having discussed the theoretical framework that underpins this research, the next section focuses on a literature review of migration (including undocumented migration). After identifying the gaps in the literature, the research will be directed towards addressing some of the identified missing elements in this field of research. This chapter now turns to the section on the literature review.

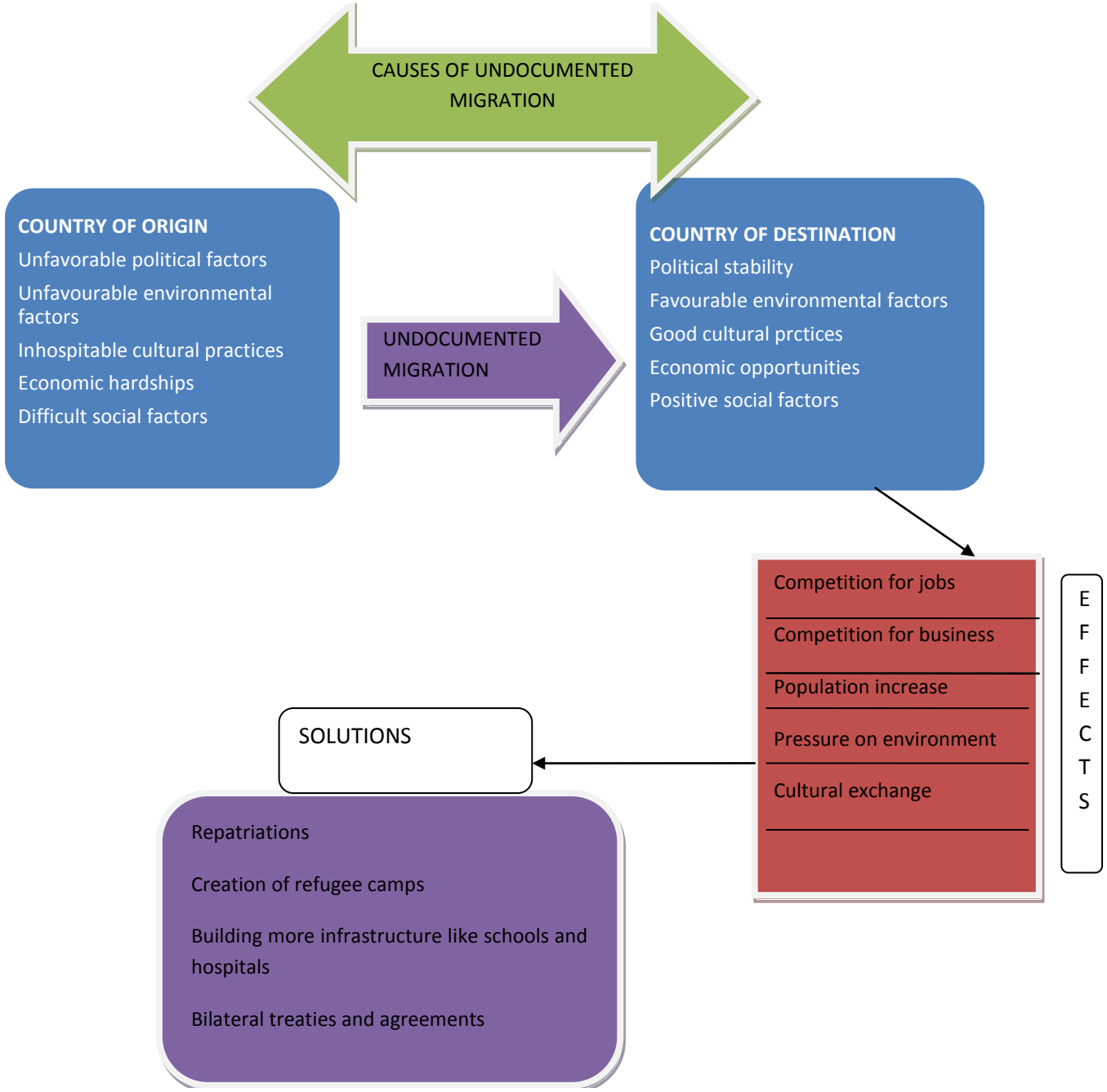

Figure 1. Summary of the framework of research on undocumented immigration

Literature review

The literature review begins with a focus on international migration. In so doing, key concepts are defined and an overview of migration will follow. Thereafter, the

causes and effects of undocumented migration are discussed. Given that undocumented migration has negative effects, it is necessary to identify solutions to the problems associated with migration and examine ways to reduce undocumented migration.

There are a many terms used in this research that need to be defined. Kok (1999, p.20) defined human migration as 'the crossing of a spatial boundary by one or more persons involved in a change of residence'. Hanlon & Thomas (2014) pointed out that there are two types of migration: local migration and international migration. For this research, the term international migration, which is the movement of individuals or groups of individuals across international borders (Hanlon & Thomas), was prominent. The United Nations (2012, p.1) defines an international migrant as 'a person who changes his or her country of residence'. International migration incorporates immigration and emigration. According to Paolina & Perrin (2001), immigration refers to entering a country while emigration refers to leaving a country. Therefore, an immigrant is a person entering a country, while an emigrant is a person leaving a country.

International migration requires documentation, and hence international migrants are either documented or undocumented. According to Hanlon & Thomas (2014), undocumented migration is the unpermitted departure of people from, or entry into, a country. It can be in the form of fraud (using false documents, out-dated documents or no documents at all), or human smuggling or trafficking (which can be by free will, force or deception). Undocumented migration can also be in the form of asylum seeking, for instance refugees.

Undocumented migration has several causes. Undocumented migrants move from one country to another for many reasons. The reasons relate to conditions that are found in both the countries of origin and destination of the migrants.

Causes of undocumented migration

There are many people in the world who live in a country other than their own due to a number of factors. The factors causing undocumented migration are political, social, economic, cultural or environmental.

Political causes of undocumented migration

Political factors cause people to cross international borders. Usually, people leave war torn countries and target peaceful and democratic countries. For instance, Simuchoba (2014) pointed out that from 1964, when Zambia attained political independence, there was an influx of refugees into Zambia from countries like Angola, The Democratic Republic of Congo, Rwanda and Burundi. These refugees escaped political instability such as civil war, rebel attacks and genocide in their countries. Congolese people fled into Zambia from the periodic upheavals in their country, Rwandese also entered Zambia to flee the genocide in their country, and Angolans fled into Zambia from the 'Uniao Nacional para a Independicia Total de Angola'- (UNITA) attacks. UNITA, in English, is translated as 'National Union for the Total Independence of Angola'.

The Year 2015 saw a mass exodus of sub-Saharan Africans and Middle Eastern undocumented migrants into Europe, via the Mediterranean Sea. According to Hammond (2015), conflicts in countries like Sudan, Somalia, Afghanistan and Syria

victimised the civilians who opted to flee into Europe. Hammond argued that some of them died at sea in a series of shipwreck disasters.

Beside political causes of undocumented migration, social factors also contribute to the movement of people across international borders. Migrants also go to countries where social factors befit them.

Social causes of undocumented migration

People leave their home countries for other countries for a better quality of life in the destination country. Piesse (2014) argued that such people migrate based on social factors such as religion, sex, race, education and health. People enter countries to unite with their spouses, families and friends. People migrate into a country where their religion is more prominent, or where there is a greater tolerance towards people who are affiliated to different religions. Some people also enter countries to improve their quality of life in terms of health and education. Usually, people from developing countries enter developed countries to search for better health and educational services.

Economic factors also contribute to the movement of people from one country to another. Better economic opportunities attract people into a country.

Economic causes of undocumented migration

To earn a living, people enter other countries where the possibilities of better economic opportunities are apparently available. Usually, people from developing countries migrate into developed countries to search for employment and earn a better living. Rezouni (2010) pointed out that many Mexicans were forced out of agriculture and were living in poverty in their country. Some of these persons

crossed the Mexican border to enter the USA to support their families. Besides employment, other people move across international borders to set up businesses in the new countries. For example, there was an influx of Masai men from Tanzania and Kenya to Zambia during the decade from 2005 to 2015 (Spooner, 2015). Kanduza & Coulibaly (2016) pointed out that Masai men from Tanzania and Kenya targeted bustling cities like Kitwe, Lusaka and Ndola where they set up hair dressing businesses.

In addition to economic causes, cultural factors also contribute to undocumented migration. The cultures of different countries have either attracted or repelled people.

Cultural causes of undocumented migration

Undocumented migrants escape cultural practices that they are not comfortable with or are life threatening. Rezouni (2010) noted that many Yugoslavians fled ethnic cleansing from the Serbo-Bosnian forces, and tried to cross European Union boundaries in 1998 without documentation.

Environmental factors may also cause people to cross international borders. Adverse environmental conditions in a country make people migrate to other countries where the environmental conditions are better.

Environmental causes of undocumented migration

Sometimes, the natural environment can either attract or repel people. People escape natural disasters such as earthquakes, hurricanes, tsunamis, tornadoes and droughts. According to the Tanzanian Ministerial Taskforce (2008), Ethiopians and Somalians fled the droughts and famine from their countries and migrated to

countries such as Zambia, Kenya, Tanzania and Malawi where the climatic conditions were more favourable, and food was available. Apart from natural disasters, people enter new countries to take advantage of the favourable environmental factors found in those countries.

People move across international borders due to the reasons discussed. When people leave their home countries and migrate into other countries, positive and negative effects of their entry are felt in the countries of destination.

Effects of undocumented migration

Undocumented migration brings about both positive and negative political, economic, social, cultural and environmental effects in the destination countries. The migrants themselves also experience the effects.

Positive impacts of undocumented migration

International migration is beneficial to the countries of destination. The benefits are political, economic, social, cultural and environmental.

Economic benefits of undocumented migration

Undocumented migrants who find employment in their destination countries contribute fiscal benefits to the sectors that absorb their labour. According to Davidson (2013), undocumented immigrants usually take up even the lowest paying jobs, which the local people are often not willing to accept, in their destination countries. The local people usually demand more money and better working services. Firms that employ undocumented immigrants offer them lower wages, thereby benefitting fiscally.

The benefits of undocumented migration are also felt in the political sector of the destination countries.

Political benefits of undocumented migration

Undocumented migration creates and strengthens relationships between countries of origin and destination of the migrants. For example, countries that host refugees generally bond well with the countries of origin of the refugees. According to 'Angola and Zambia' (2014), Zambia and Angola, on 22 May 2014, signed a memorandum on political consultations. The memorandum enabled the two countries to work hand in hand to consider the plight of the refugees, for instance, their repatriation. Furthermore, the friendship between the governments of Angola and Zambia developed close relations even on issues such as trade ('Angola and Zambia').

Undocumented migration also has social benefits. The undocumented migrants, and to some extent the local people of the destination countries of undocumented immigrants, also enjoy social benefits.

Social benefits of undocumented migration

Borjas (2013) pointed out that the undocumented immigrants in the United States of America (USA) bought goods and services that USA citizens produced. According to Davidson (2013), undocumented immigrants spent most of their income on paying rent and buying food from the USA citizens. Therefore, the USA citizens who were engaged in businesses and offered services like accommodation benefitted from the undocumented immigrants.

Undocumented migration also brings about cultural benefits. The next section highlights the cultural benefits of undocumented migration.

Cultural benefits of undocumented migration

Host countries of undocumented migrants are enriched with cultural diversity (Lucci & Martins, 2015). Lucci & Martins argued that local people of receiving countries of undocumented immigrants can emulate the positive cultural elements of the undocumented immigrants (e.g., food, dress, music and architecture) and use them to their advantage. Dear & Flusty (2002) state that immigrants contribute to a city's diversity, ethnic pluralism and hetero-architecture that give rise to complexities of emerging cultural forms. In addition, Dear & Flusty (2002, p.227) point out that:

> The socio-cultural collisions and intermeshings … created by … immigration serves to produce memetic contagion. This is the process by which cultural elements of one individual or group exert crossover influences upon the culture of another, previously unexposed individual/group.

Besides being beneficial, undocumented migration also has adverse effects on the undocumented migrants and their destination. The adverse effects are social, economic, political, cultural and environmental.

Negative effects of undocumented migration

Undocumented migration is beneficial, but it also has negative impacts. The local people and undocumented immigrants in the receiving countries experience the negative impacts of international migration.

Social disadvantages of undocumented migration

Some undocumented immigrants secure low paying jobs which the locals in the host countries may want. This brings about competition between the local people of the

host countries and the immigrants. According to Campbell (2006, p.7), 'Illegal immigrants are mostly poorly educated and therefore compete for jobs with the lower classes of the host country's population'.

Some undocumented immigrants fail to find jobs in their destination countries and so resort to crime, thereby threatening the security in selected areas of the host countries. Rezouni (2010, p.16) argued, 'Examining security first, illegal immigration is broadly considered as a main threat due to its connection with terrorist networks, organised crime, drug smuggling and human trafficking'. Other undocumented immigrants who fail to find employment set up small businesses which results in competition with the local people engaged in similar ventures. The competition for jobs and businesses brings about tension and friction which if ignored, may lead to xenophobia.

The economic sector is not spared from the adverse effects of international migration. The economies of the countries of origin of the migrants and their destination suffer the consequences of international migration.

Economic disadvantages of undocumented migration

Borjas (2013) argued that one of the most contentious issues on the debate about migration policy in the United States and the world is the question of what would happen to native born workers when immigrants enter the country. Undocumented immigrants would lower the wages of competing workers and increase the wages of complementary workers (who are the immigrants) at least in the short run (Borjas). Given that undocumented immigration contributes to the increase in the population of host countries, governments also have to look for additional funding to build more

infrastructure like schools and hospitals to meet the demands of the increased population.

Besides the adverse economic impacts of undocumented migration, there are also adverse environmental effects of undocumented migration.

Environmental disadvantages of undocumented migration

Undocumented migration contributes to population increase in destination countries. Once the population increases, pressure on the natural environment equally increases. Increased human population in turn increases demand for resources like land and fuel and this may lead to deforestation for settlement, agriculture and fuel supplies. McIntyre & Weeks (2002) noted that in countries such as Mozambique, Zimbabwe, Zambia, Malawi and Ethiopia, international refugees and internally displaced groups were forced - due to their desperate situations - to remove trees for energy and shelter. Also, undocumented immigrants may be responsible for causing environmental problems, for instance, as in the case of the bush fires in the Cleveland National Forest in California where Mexican undocumented immigrants left behind wilderness camp fires which later sprung into huge bush fires that destroyed property worth millions of dollars (McIntyre & Weeks).

The cultural aspect has equally not been spared from the adverse effects of international migration.

Cultural disadvantages of undocumented migration

Undocumented migration also brings about disadvantages in as far as culture is concerned. Tracinski (2015) contended that undocumented immigrants from ‘wrong’ countries had a negative impact on the culture of the United States of America.

Tracinski argued that Hispanic immigrants (most of whom were undocumented) were corrupt. This supposedly negatively affected the culture of the USA.

Undocumented migration if not addressed can to lead cultural, environmental, economic and political problems. It is therefore vital that the negative effects of international migration be addressed.

Ways of addressing the negative effects of undocumented migration

Undocumented migration has negative effects which need to be addressed. The governments and local people of host countries of undocumented migrants need to work together in addressing the problems that undocumented migrants may cause.

Undocumented immigrants can also be removed or deported from the destination countries. The government and the local people can help in identifying such people. Zambians were advised to report any suspected undocumented immigrants to the immigration authorities who would consider deporting or removing them (‘Stop harbouring illegal,’ 2013). Deportation and removal of undocumented immigrants may reduce the negative effects of undocumented immigration.

Besides addressing the problems arising from international migration, it is also vital to reduce and control international migration. Therefore, measures have been put in place to reduce or control international migration.

Ways of reducing or controlling undocumented migration

Undocumented migration is inevitable and on-going. It cannot be eliminated, but it can be reduced to curb some of its adverse effects, especially in the receiving countries of undocumented migrants. To reduce undocumented international migration, interventions are required in both the countries of origin of undocumented immigrants and the destination countries.

The receiving countries of undocumented migrants can introduce strict measures to monitor who comes into the country, including the possession of proper and legal travel documentation. If foreign nationals do not possess the necessary documentation, they face deportation. For example, about 301 Malawians were deported from South Africa in 2014 (‘301 Malawians deported’, 2014). Furthermore, Mwale (2015) reported that 26 undocumented immigrants in Lusaka City were deported over the weekend of 27 to 28 September 2015. Officers are stationed at the border posts as those are the major entry points of undocumented immigrants. Also, intelligence officials identify suspected undocumented immigrants who can be deported. As reported in ‘136 Somalis arrested’ (2014), immigration officers patrolled Chaisa, Emmasdale and Matero to identify undocumented immigrants.

Tightening of border security has been another way of reducing undocumented immigration. The border posts are properly manned so that those wanting to enter a country without proper documentation are arrested. As Alden (2012) pointed out, the United States government worked towards tightening its country’s borders against undocumented migration. According to Kampo (2014), a combined team of security wings had intensified border patrols to curb undocumented immigration into Zambia.

Much literature on undocumented migration has addressed the causes, effects and ways of reducing undocumented immigration. However, there are many gaps that the researcher identified in the literature.

Identified research gaps in the literature on undocumented migration

There are several issues about undocumented migration that have not been addressed in the literature. The literature on undocumented migration has discussed the causes and effects of undocumented migration at country level but has not narrowed them (causes and effects) to different geographical locations or lower spatial scales of countries. For example, Simuchoba (2014) discussed why Zambia was the continent's leader in refugee migration, but did not discuss why the refugees or other immigrants prefer cities like Lusaka to settle in. Rezouni (2010) also discussed the causes and effects of illegal immigration but did not discuss these aspects of illegal immigration at a city scale. Therefore, the research hopes to address the gaps that were identified in the literature.

Problem statement

There are various causes of undocumented migration. From the theories of international migration that have been discussed earlier in this research, people move from their home countries due to conditions such as war, unemployment, economic strife, hunger and drought, and enter new countries where physical, political and socio-economic conditions are better.

Different sectors of the country are affected differently due to the influx of undocumented immigrants. The socio-economic, political, cultural and

environmental sectors experience change. Undocumented immigration is very diverse in its characteristics; its causes and effects may vary from place to place in various parts of the world. Thus, it is important to investigate the causes and effects of undocumented immigration in Zambia and more importantly, at the more localized scale of Lusaka City. Some of the effects are adverse and it is therefore vital to suggest ways of addressing the problems that undocumented immigration causes in Lusaka City. Given that immigration is an on–going process, it is important to suggest ways of addressing the problems associated with it at specific locations.

Aim and objectives

The main aim of this research was to investigate undocumented immigration in Zambia with specific attention to Lusaka City.

The following were the objectives of the research:

i. To identify the countries of origin of the undocumented immigrants in Lusaka City, and explore the reasons why they entered Zambia.

ii. To explain why undocumented immigrants in Zambia chose to go to Lusaka City.

iii. To explain how the undocumented immigrants in Lusaka City make a living.

iv. To discuss how Zambians and undocumented immigrants related to one another in places of residence, work and in business areas.

v. To establish and explain the positive and negative effects of undocumented immigration on Lusaka City.

vi. To assess government efforts aimed at addressing the negative effects of undocumented immigration in Lusaka City, and in reducing undocumented immigration.

Having outlined the research aim and objectives, the next section highlights the research methodology.

Research methodology

This section highlights the research design and the research methods and techniques that were used to carry out the research.

Sayer (1992) contends that there are two research designs: extensive research design and the intensive research design. This study adopted the intensive research design and used the case study method, with Lusaka City (Zambia) constituting the case study area. According to Sayer, the case study method limits the research findings to the area under study. Since the literature review discussed undocumented migration at country level but not at the city scale, a case study of Lusaka City, Zambia, was necessary to fill the gap.

Qualitative research techniques were used in this study. This helped to compile a comprehensive understanding and interpretation of undocumented immigration in Zambia with a specific focus on Lusaka City. The research methodology adopted for the study is explained as follows: research design, target population, sampling procedure, data collection instruments, data collection procedure, and data analysis and presentation.

Research design

A case study was used to investigate undocumented immigration in Lusaka City, Zambia, in line with the objectives of the research. Kombo & Tromp (2006) state that a case study seeks to describe a unit in detail, in context and holistically. It is a way of organizing data and studying it. This study allowed for an in-depth investigation of the problem of undocumented immigration in Zambia with reference to Lusaka City. However, it was not the whole of Lusaka City that was used as a study area but the areas where many undocumented immigrants were found. Therefore, an embedded case study was used to investigate undocumented immigration in Lusaka City. According to Yin (2003), an embedded case study contains more than one unit of analysis. Yin contended that using sub-units in research allows for a more detailed level of inquiry. Yin argued that the embedded case study method is appropriate for studies that aim at describing and explaining the features, context and processes of a phenomenon, in this case undocumented migration. In this study, three informal settlements were selected as the sub-units: Chibolya, Matero and Mandevu. The areas were selected because they were known to have a high number of undocumented immigrants.

The study used qualitative techniques**.** The researcher used qualitative methodology because according to Leedy & Ormrod (2005, p.94), the methodology is 'typically used to answer questions about the complex nature of phenomena, often with the purpose of describing, understanding and explaining the phenomena from the participants' point of view'. The researcher used interviews and open-ended questions in the questionnaires to elicit the participants' point of view. Case studies aim at answering 'how' and 'why' questions (Myers, 2009), which were the objectives of this study. It is for this reason that qualitative techniques - which are descriptive

and explanatory - (Mouton, 2001) were used. Furthermore, Pacho (2015) argues that qualitative analysis is appropriate in studies where participants were purposefully sampled, which in this study was the case. Qualitative research also seeks to arrive at a theory that conforms to the findings (Bendasolli, 2013).

Atieno (2002, p.16) argued that ‘qualitative analysis is good at simplifying and managing data without destroying complexity and context’. According to Pacho (2015), qualitative research allows for new pieces to be added to the research puzzle. The open-ended questions in qualitative research can bring about new knowledge (and even objectives) that can be applicable to the research. Pacho further pointed out that qualitative research is flexible and as such, permits the researcher to follow leads that may emerge.

Qualitative data, however, do not show the frequencies of the linguistic features of the research findings (Atieno, 2002). ‘Rare phenomena receive the same amount of attention as the more frequent phenomena' (Atieno, 2002, p. 17). Furthermore, qualitative findings cannot be generalized to wider populations but are only applicable to the case study. Qualitative findings can only be compared or contrasted to other studies, and qualitative research can be time consuming and tedious (Pacho, 2015). The researcher has to conduct interviews and thereafter, read, categorize and code the findings of the interviews and open-ended questions (from questionnaires).

Data collection

Both secondary and primary sources were used in data collection.

When using secondary sources, the researcher collected relevant literature applicable to immigration in Zambia, with Lusaka as a case study. This included books, newspapers, articles and journals from the National Archives, the Zambian immigration department, the Lusaka City Council, the Zambian Central Statistical Office, the Drug Enforcement Commission (DEC) and the police department. More written material on undocumented immigration was collected from libraries and the Internet.

The researcher's interaction with selected residents in the informal settlements of Lusaka City in April 2016 helped source some primary information regarding undocumented immigration relevant to this study. Field surveys and observations were carried during the first week of April in the City of Lusaka in the informal settlements of Chibolya, Mandevu and Matero to identify undocumented immigrants. It was also important to explore how undocumented immigrants interacted with Zambians (the local people) as they competed for various resources in residential areas, places of work and in the business areas. Interviews were conducted with 24 undocumented immigrants to establish why they entered Zambia, and subsequently Lusaka City. Interviews were also conducted with 24 Zambians in Lusaka City. The interviews were used to ascertain the socio-economic status of both Zambians and the undocumented immigrants. The interviews sought to establish how Zambians and undocumented immigrants related with one another in residential areas, places of work and business areas. Questionnaires were administered to five officials from the immigration department in Lusaka City and five officers from the Lusaka City Council to source information regarding undocumented immigration in terms of causes, effects, ways of addressing the negative effects, and ways of reducing undocumented immigration.

The target population of this study comprised officers at the immigration department and the Lusaka City Council, undocumented immigrants and local people (Zambians) in Lusaka City.

Sample size and sampling procedure

Purposeful sampling was used to select the respondents in this study. The respondents were selected from informal settlements of Lusaka City, officers from the immigration department in Lusaka City, and officers from the Lusaka City Council. Undocumented immigrants in Lusaka City were clustered in the informal settlements such as Kanyama, Chibolya, Ng'ombe, Kaunda Square, Makeni, Mandevu, Chawama and Matero in Lusaka City. For this study, three informal settlements were selected: Mandevu, Matero and Chibolya. Respondents from these three selected informal settlements were purposefully sampled. These respondents included undocumented immigrants, and Zambians who were directly and indirectly in contact with the undocumented immigrants. The researcher used direct observation and the help of local people to select undocumented immigrants, and Zambians who had contact with the immigrants. A total of eight undocumented immigrants, each from the eight countries surrounding Zambia, and eight Zambians who were in direct or indirect contact with undocumented immigrants were selected from each of the three sampled informal settlements. This means that each informal settlement provided sixteen (16) respondents – eight undocumented immigrants and eight Zambians. Therefore, a total of forty-eight (48) respondents from the selected informal settlements were used in the study.

Purposeful sampling was used to select respondents from the immigration department in Lusaka City, and from the Lusaka City Council. From the immigration

department in Lusaka City, five respondents were purposefully sampled. The five respondents included officers holding different positions and roles in the department. The officers included the chief immigration officer who was the overall supervisor, one senior immigration officer, one immigration officer, one assistant immigration officer and one immigration assistant. From the Lusaka City Council, five respondents holding different positions and roles in the Council were purposefully sampled. The five respondents from the Lusaka City Council included the town clerk who was the overall supervisor, one town planner and three Community Development Officers [CDOs] (one responsible for each of the informal settlements of Chibolya, Matero and Mandevu). Therefore, a total of fifty-eight respondents were used in the study selected from the informal settlements, immigration department in Lusaka City and the Lusaka City Council. All the respondents were aged 18 years and above.

To minimize the weaknesses of using one research technique for the collection of data in the research, the researcher used various instruments. Questionnaires were used with immigration officers and Lusaka City Council officers (see Appendix Two and Three). Interview guides were used for the local people (Zambians) and undocumented immigrants (see Appendix Four and Five). Observations played an important role in noting how undocumented immigrants and local people conducted themselves and related with one another, for example, in business areas where the researcher observed the prices of goods that Zambians and undocumented immigrants sold.

Data collection procedures

The researcher collected all the required data. Questionnaires were distributed in person on 25 and 26 April 2016 to the purposefully sampled Lusaka City Council officers and immigration officers, respectively. The researcher collected the questionnaires from the Lusaka City Council officers on 4 May 2016 and from the immigration officers on 6 May 2016. This period enabled the respondents to answer questionnaires at their convenience.

Interviews were held with the sampled undocumented immigrants and Zambians who were in contact with the undocumented immigrants. The interviews were conducted with the 24 purposefully sampled undocumented immigrants to find out why they left their countries of origin and settled in Zambia, and subsequently Lusaka City, their socio-economic activities in their new location (Lusaka City), and how they related with the locals (Zambians). Also, interviews were held with 24 purposefully sampled Zambians to find out how long they stayed in the study area (Lusaka City), their socio-economic profile, and how they related with the undocumented immigrants. The interviews were conducted within the locality of the respondents who were picked purposefully and the researcher took into consideration ethical issues such as getting informed consent before carrying out the interviews, using appropriate language (formal language) and carrying out the interviews in an appropriate and conducive environment. An observation checklist further helped the researcher to observe activities that were related to the study during the research, e.g., differences in the prices of goods in Zambians' and undocumented immigrants' businesses.

Data analysis

The information that the researcher collected was analyzed qualitatively. The researcher used the raw data collected from the field to provide explanations, understanding and interpretation of the phenomena - and questions under study. Therefore, the researcher used the data that were acquired via observations, interview schedules and questionnaires to explain, understand and interpret selected elements of undocumented immigration in Zambia with reference to Lusaka City, and in line with the research objectives. Formal systems for the analysis of qualitative data were developed to help the researcher assess the data more easily. According to Ryan & Bernard (2000), formal systems involved in qualitative analysis include: coding techniques for finding and establishing the underlying ideas in the data; grouping similar kinds of information together in categories, and relating different ideas and themes to one another. The researcher coded and categorized similar kinds of information, and related different ideas and themes to one another, in line with the objectives of the research. From the interpretation, conclusions regarding undocumented immigration in Zambia with reference to Lusaka City were made. Also, the interpretation enabled the researcher to advance recommendations regarding certain issues of the topic under study, for example, how to address problems arising from undocumented immigration, and propose ways of reducing and controlling the phenomenon of undocumented immigration.

Data presentation

The data were organized and presented in line with the objectives to answer the research questions. The discussion of data followed the presentation of data and was linked to the objectives. This was because the gathered data addressed the

research questions, helped to provide conclusions, and used to contribute to recommendations in line with the study.

Research location

The study was limited to Lusaka City and findings from the study may not be generalized to other towns or cities. Lusaka City was a researchable area and was chosen as a centre because international migrants (both documented and undocumented) in Zambia were attracted to it. The major highways that radiated from Lusaka City facilitated the movement of migrants (both documented and undocumented) from other parts of Zambia to the City.

Lusaka City (the study area), is the capital city of Zambia, a landlocked country. Zambia is located in South Central Africa and surrounded by eight countries namely Zimbabwe, Namibia, Botswana, Mozambique, Malawi, Tanzania, The Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) and Angola (Figure 2). It covers an area of 290,584 square kilometres and a total land boundary of 5,664 kilometres (Zambia Development Agency, [ZDA], 2011). Zambia is partitioned into ten provinces namely Lusaka, Southern, Western, North Western, Copperbelt, Central, Eastern, Northern, Muchinga and Luapula (Masumbu & Mahrt, 2014).

Undocumented immigrants entered Zambia due to its political stability and central location relative to the SADC region. The undocumented immigrants entered Zambia from different points but most of them made their way to the highly urbanised areas such as Lusaka City where they clustered in the informal settlements. Therefore, the research was carried out in Lusaka City in the informal settlements of Chibolya, Mandevu and Matero (figure 3).

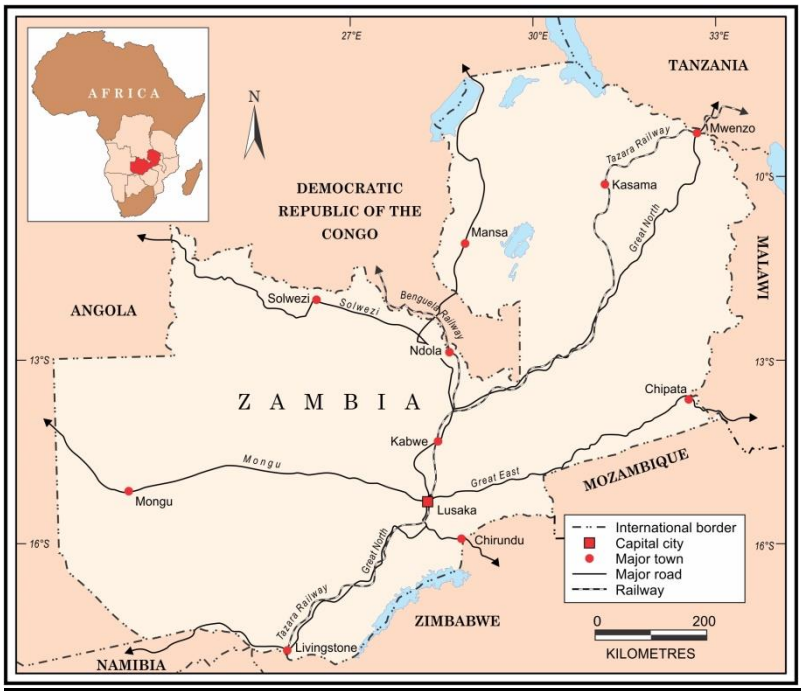

Figure 2. Zambia's location relative to neighboring countries, including the major highways (2017)

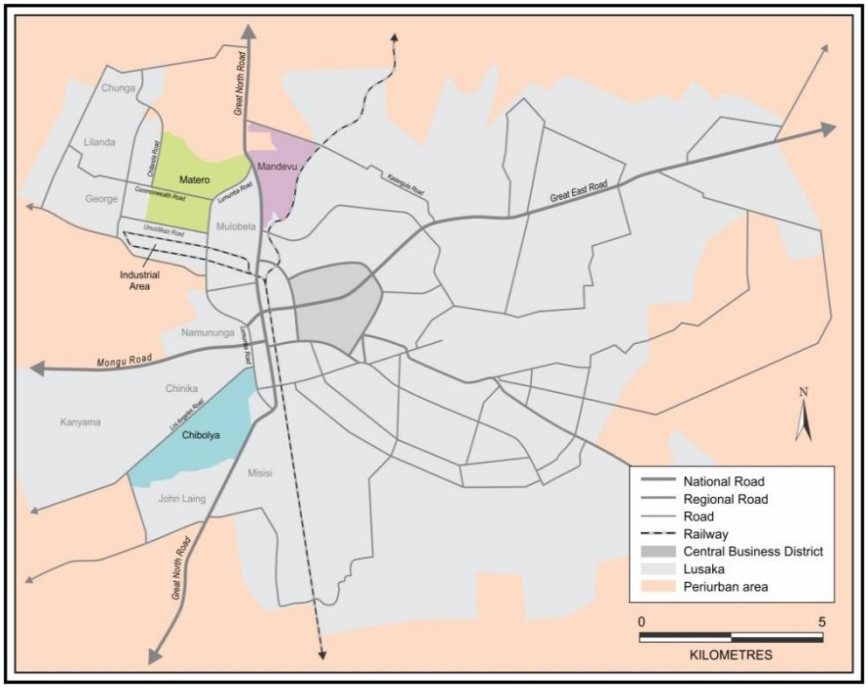

Figure 3. Lusaka City and the embedded case study areas of Chibolya, Mandevu and Matero (2017)

Feasibility of the study

It was possible to carry out this study for several reasons. The information gathered from the various publications helped make the research feasible. This information included reference materials such as articles and journals that identified and discussed settlements in Lusaka City where undocumented immigrants were found, the deportation of undocumented immigrants, the effects of undocumented immigration, measures aimed at reducing undocumented immigration and the ways of reducing the immigration of undocumented persons.

The researcher's preliminary fieldwork interaction with some local people in the informal settlements of Kanyama, Chibolya, Ng'ombe, Kaunda Square, Makeni, Mandevu, Matero and Chawama also yielded much information related to undocumented immigration. The local people provided some preliminary information on the problems they faced related to the influx of undocumented immigrants, especially from the SADC and Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA) region. The researcher's familiarity with the Nyanja language of Lusaka City helped facilitate the preliminary meetings with the locals who did not understand English. Access to secondary data and the positive outcomes from preliminary field research helped make the research feasible.

Significance of the research

The research on undocumented immigration in Zambia with reference to Lusaka City was of significance for several reasons. Most importantly, undocumented immigration is an on-going phenomenon that needs attention. It was important to explore the countries of origin of undocumented immigrants and the reasons why they entered Zambia. Once in Zambia, the undocumented immigrants chose to

enter Lusaka City and the reasons for this migration to the capital city was explored. It was also relevant to explore how undocumented immigrants made a living in their new location (Lusaka City). The arrival of undocumented immigrants in Lusaka City affected the local people, and so, the relationship between the local people and undocumented immigrants was explored. It was also vital to assess and explain the positive and negative effects that undocumented immigration had on Lusaka City. Furthermore, it was necessary to assess government efforts aimed at addressing the negative effects of undocumented immigration on Lusaka City and its attempts at reducing the phenomenon.

This research was therefore important so that the identified gaps in the literature review were filled. The significance of the research was to apply the neoclassical economics theory, the new economics of labour migration theory, the dual labour market theory of migration and Kunz's refugee theory to the situation of undocumented immigration in Zambia with specific reference to Lusaka City. The theories identified the reasons for international migration (both documented and undocumented) and the economic activities of undocumented immigrants in their new locations (in Lusaka City). The research therefore helps to understand undocumented immigration at the city scale.

Ethical considerations

Furrow (2004, p.43) defined ethics as, 'a morality or a position of doing what is right both morally and legally'. Approval to conduct this research was obtained from the Research Ethics Committee of the College of Agricultural and Environmental Science of the University of South Africa. The researcher applied to the immigration department in Lusaka City and the Lusaka City Council to seek permission to carry

out the research (interviewing the officers). Interviewees were informed about the nature and purpose of the study, and informed consent was sought before interviewing them. Furthermore, the researcher ensured that the participants' consent to be interviewed or respond to questionnaires was voluntary, and they had the right to refuse or withdraw their participation without any penalty. They were further assured of confidentiality and anonymity. According to Crow & Wiles (2008), the primary method that researchers use to ensure confidentiality and anonymity of participants is the use of pseudonyms. Interviewees from the informal settlements were thus identified using pseudonyms.

The dissertation is outlined into Chapters I, II, III, IV, V and VI. Chapter I discussed the introduction of the dissertation. The second chapter outlines the contextual description of Lusaka City and the embedded case study areas. Chapter III discusses the Zambian migration policy and procedures. The fourth chapter outlined the findings of the research (based on the interviews and questionnaires). The fifth chapter discusses the findings of the research. The discussion is in line with the objectives, literature review and theoretical framework. Lastly, Chapter VI concludes the study. In the conclusion, recommendations are also made and the limitations/ challenges that the researcher faced during the study are also outlined. The next section concludes Chapter I.

Conclusion

This chapter introduced the research. It comprised information on the theoretical framework and literature review, the research aim and objectives, the problem statement and definition. The research methodology, the research location, the

feasibility of the research, the significance of the research and the ethical considerations were also discussed in the introduction.

The literature review discussed undocumented immigration in terms of causes, positive and negative effects, ways of addressing the negative effects and ways of reducing the phenomenon. Undocumented migrants move from their home countries and enter new countries to better their lives, socially, economically, culturally and politically. However, their presence in the new countries brings about negative impacts which the governments of their host countries need to address. Furthermore, different countries instate measures to reduce undocumented immigration.

The literature on undocumented migration was discussed at a general scale (country level). A gap in the literature review was identified (discussion of undocumented immigration at city scale) and this research hoped to fill this gap. Consequently, the research aim and objectives were derived. For this research, undocumented migration was discussed specifically at the city scale, with reference to Lusaka City in Zambia. The next chapter describes the study area and the embedded case study locations.

CHAPTER II

CONTEXTUAL: STUDY AREA

In this study of undocumented immigration into Lusaka City, it is important to present a contextual description of the study area (Lusaka City) with a focus on its social, demographic, economic, political, environmental, cultural and physical dynamics. This contextual underpinning of Lusaka City as the study area provides an understanding of the specific dynamics and contingencies regarding undocumented migration into the City. Lusaka is the capital and most populated city in Zambia. It is the chief administrative, financial and commercial centre of the Country. Located in the south-central part of the Country, Lusaka City is sprawling and is surrounded with productive farming areas such as Chisamba, Chongwe, Mumbwa and Chilanga.

History of Lusaka City

According to the 'Lusaka City to' (2013), before Lusaka became a city - it was the site of a village named after its headman, Lusaaka. The original inhabitants at the time were the Soli people. Lusaaka Village was originally located at Manda Hill, which at present houses the National Assembly and the huge Manda Hill shopping mall. According to Chileshe (2003), Lusaka as a modern settlement started as a railway siding in 1905 when a railway line was constructed primarily to transport copper from Katanga Province in the present day Democratic Republic of Congo to the seaports of South Africa. Later, Lusaka attracted white farmers particularly of Afrikaner origin from South Africa. With time, the British South African Company

(BSAC) which was the administrator of Lusaka and other areas in Northern Rhodesia (present day Zambia) obtained permission from the British Government to give land ownership rights to the growing white population around Lusaka.

Chileshe (2003, p.2) pointed out that, 'The rapid growth of Lusaka, however, began in earnest in 1931, when it was designated as the new capital or principal administrative centre of Northern Rhodesia, as Zambia was then called'. Before then, Livingstone was the capital city of Northern Rhodesia. The selection of Lusaka as the new capital was due to its central location on the main north-south axis of the railway line and it (Lusaka) was expected to become the centre of development. Chileshe further noted that the central location of Lusaka was also evident from being at the intersection of the main roads to the North and South, and East and West. Lusaka was also within easy reach of the Copperbelt, the Country's economic heartland. In addition to its central location, Lusaka was chosen as the capital because of the substantial underground water resources in its limestone/dolomite aquifers, which provided the City with adequate water throughout the year. Lusaka is in many aspects a planned city and at independence in 1964, it was retained as the capital city of Zambia.

From 1964, when Zambia became independent, Lusaka City experienced considerable infrastructure development and became a popular urban settlement for Zambians from different parts of the Country, and for tourists and foreigners from different nationalities. The foreign residents in Lusaka City included diplomats, representatives of religious organizations and business persons. In consequence, the population of Lusaka increased considerably. For example, the population of Lusaka City in 1964 was 123, 146 people (Chileshe, 2003) and it rose to about 1.7 million people in 2010 (Republic of Zambia Central Statistical Office [CSO], 2011).

The embedded case study areas of Mandevu, Chibolya and Matero mainly developed because of increased migration of people from the rural areas into Lusaka City from the pre-independence to independence eras (1964), searching for employment. Mostly, it was the young men who migrated during the 1940s in search of employment.

Mandevu and Matero are neighbouring settlements. Matero is located to the South West of Mandevu and the Great North Road is the boundary of the two settlements. To the South of Matero is the industrial area (which houses manufacturing industries such as Parmalat and breweries) and adjacent to the industrial area is the Central Business District (CBD). Chibolya is located to the West of the CBD.

According to Kaluba (2011), Mandevu means 'beards' in Nyanja, the local language spoken mostly in Lusaka City. Zimbabweans entered Lusaka City especially during the 1960s to 1970s after Zambia gained independence and settled in the area (Mandevu). These Zimbabweans shaved their heads bald and left only their beards ('ndevu') - hence the name of the area. The Zimbabweans continued to live in Mandevu and invited their relatives. According to Katebe (2010), Matero means 'slope' and the settlement adopted that name due to its location on a hill slope. Chibolya, according to Saluseki (2015), means an 'abandoned place' in the Bemba language. The area housed government workers such as office messengers during the colonial era, and it was later abandoned when Zambia attained political independence, hence the term 'Chibolya'. Saluseki contended that after the colonial civil servants deserted the area (Chibolya), Zambians settled in the area and made it one of the most notorious settlements where drug and alcohol abuse became the order of the day, and crime became rampant.

This section indicated that Lusaka City and the embedded case study areas developed because of in-migration from other parts of the Zambia. In addition to a description of the history of Lusaka City, it is also vital that the population of the area is described. The demography of Lusaka City is described in the next section. The population of Lusaka City has increased over the years and the population density varies according to the residential area (either peri-urban or slum).

Demography of Lusaka City

Lusaka City is densely populated. Many people from different parts of Zambia preferred to live in Lusaka City as it offered them opportunities such as employment and business services. The Republic of Zambia CSO (2011) reported that population density of Lusaka City according to 2010 census data stood at 4, 853 persons per square kilometre. According to the Republic of Zambia CSO (2011), the 2010 census data revealed that the population of Lusaka City stood at 1, 747, 152 people where 860, 424 were male and 886, 728 were female. Furthermore, the number of households in Lusaka City stood at 358, 871 (Republic of Zambia CSO, 2011). According to the Republic of Zambia CSO (2013), the population of Lusaka City in 2016 was estimated at 2.33 million - because of natural increase and immigration from within the Country and from other neighbouring countries.

The population of Mandevu according to the 2010 census was 40, 473, where 19, 963 were female while 8, 898 were male (Republic of Zambia CSO, 2011). According to the Republic of Zambia CSO, Matero had a population of 55, 629, with a female population of 28, 129 and male population of 27, 500. The 2010 census of population and housing revealed that Chibolya had a population of 167, 542, of whom 84, 330 were female and 83, 212 were male. The number of households in

Mandevu was 8, 898, while Matero had 12, 032 households and Chibolya had 40, 466 households (Republic of Zambia CSO, 2011).

The population density in the City differed from place to place depending on residential areas. Suburbs such as Avondale, Kabulonga, Olympia and Kalundu had relatively lower population density. Slums (informal settlements) such as Ng'ombe, Matero, Chibolya, Mandevu and Misisi had a relatively higher population density. Chibolya, Matero and Mandevu were the study areas for the research.

Lusaka City was a densely populated area which had different settlements such as informal settlements and suburbs. The settlements in Lusaka City had different infrastructure facilities and economic activities. The next section highlights the human attributes and characteristics of Lusaka City with focus on the settlements, employment, government and administration, infrastructure, transport and culture.

Socio-economic description of Lusaka City

This discussion includes the settlements, economic activities of the people (formal and informal employment), social infrastructure (e.g., roads, hospitals, schools, tertiary educational institutions, hotels, shopping complexes and recreation facilities). Lusaka City is an urban settlement but exhibits differences in terms of population size and density, quality of houses, roads and infrastructure across its various areas.

Settlements in Lusaka City

Lusaka is predominantly an urban settlement. According to Nchito (2006), settlements in Lusaka were both planned and unplanned, and were subdivided into high, medium and low-density residential areas. High density residential areas were usually unplanned settlements in the informal areas. Such settlements had no

proper road network, water and sanitation facilities. Examples of high-density residential areas in Lusaka City include Chibolya, Matero, Mandevu, Kanyama, Misisi and Chawama. According to Mwansa (2016), the cost of living in such areas was low. Mwansa argued that medium-density (or moderate) residential areas are planned settlements. Such settlements have tarred roads (streets) and piped water. Examples of medium-density residential areas are Kabwata, Chilenje, Chelston and Kaunda Square Stage Two. Furthermore, Mwansa pointed out that low-density residential areas are planned settlements with big houses and a low population density. These areas had tarred roads and streets with good water and sanitation facilities. Examples of these settlements are Kabulonga, Olympia, Chudleigh, Kalundu, Roma and Avondale. These were expensive rental areas, and residents paid for piped water, electricity, garbage collection and other services. Plates 1, 2 and 3 show houses in the high, medium and low density residential areas, respectively, of Lusaka City.

Plate 1. Houses Mandevu, in a high-density residential area of Lusaka City (Source: Author, 2016)

Plate 2. Houses in Kaunda Square, a medium-density residential area of Lusaka City (Source: Author, 2016)

Plate 3. Houses in Chudleigh, a low-density residential area of Lusaka City (Source: Author, 2016)

The next section highlights the infrastructure such as accommodation, recreation facilities, markets, schools, hospitals and shopping centres in the settlements and residential areas in Lusaka City.

Infrastructure and social services in Lusaka City

The City of Lusaka had different infrastructure and social services such as schools, hospitals, clinics, transport, markets and shopping areas, police posts and stations, accommodation, and recreational facilities, electricity supply, water supply and garbage collection. Social services such as education and health in the embedded case study areas were available but not sufficient to meet the populations of the areas**.** The schools and hospitals found in these areas were mainly government owned. Private schools and clinics were available but not everyone could afford them as they charged higher fees than government schools and clinics. For example, from the researcher's observations and interactions, government secondary schools charged school fees ranging from ZMW[1]500 to ZMW1, 000 per year, while private schools charged fees ranging from ZMW1000 to ZMW10, 000 per year. Access to government health services was free while education was free from Grades One to Seven. This explains why government schools and clinics in the case study areas and nearby areas were usually overcrowded.

Mandevu did not have a secondary school. Secondary school-going children depended on the nearby Matero Boys', Matero Girls', Roma Girls', Olympia Park, and Highland secondary schools. Mandevu had only one primary school – Mandevu basic school (Republic of Zambia CSO, 2011). Primary education was accessed from schools in the neighbouring settlements such as Chaisa basic, Emmasdale basic and Roma Girls primary school. There was also a tertiary education centre called Mandevu Youth's Skills Training Centre which taught skills such as carpentry, bricklaying and mechanics (Nkana & Chishimba, 2015). Dzitandizeni Skills Training

[1] ZMW is the Zambian currency (the Kwacha). On average, $1 was equal to ZMW10 as at April and May 2016, when the research was conducted.

centre in the nearby Garden settlement serviced residents of Mandevu. In Chibolya, there was no secondary school but the children depended on the nearest Chinika secondary school and other secondary schools in the vicinity such as Kamwala high School. At times, children travelled long distances either on foot or used public transport (buses) to access secondary education in schools such as Lusaka high school. Chibolya primary school which the Zambian colonial government established in 1961 (Chileshe, 2003) was the oldest and only government school in the area (Republic of Zambia CSO, 2011). In Matero, the two major government schools were Matero Boys' and Matero Girls' secondary schools (Republic of Zambia CSO, 2011).

According to Monu, Kopakopa, & Tajanovic (2012), Lusaka City had primary **s**chools, secondary schools and tertiary education institutions (the largest being the University of Zambia). Monu, et al. (2012) contended that for health infrastructure, the City had clinics and hospitals and the largest was the University Teaching Hospital (UTH) of the University of Zambia. Clinics were the health care providers in the embedded case study areas. Complicated medical cases were referred to the UTH or the Levy Mwanawasa hospital in the City. In Matero, the main health care provider was the Matero clinic. As 'Two clinics turn' (2016) reported, Matero clinic was being upgraded to become a district hospital and the upgrading was near completion in 2016. This was going to greatly benefit the people of Matero and the surrounding areas. The residents of Chibolya accessed health care from Kanyama clinic. According to Nkana & Chishimba (2015), Mandevu Paediatric Health Centre with a catchment population of 93,535 served Chaisa, Mandevu and Marapodi. The clinic had only 16 bed spaces which were not enough to accommodate the catchment population of 93, 535.

According to Mwansa (2016), there were recreational facilities in Lusaka City which were more readily provided in the low-density residential areas of the City and were mainly located there. According to the Lusaka City Council (LCC, 2016), examples of recreation facilities included cinema halls like Ster Kinekor, zoos and botanic gardens such as Kalimba farm, sports complexes and lodges. Informal settlements such as the case study areas (Chibolya, Matero and Mandevu) lacked such recreational facilities.

In informal settlements such Mandevu, Matero and Chibolya, bars were the major recreation centres where people (mostly men) drank beer and played games such as pool. The bars – some of which were located close to households, schools, clinics and churches generated noise pollution as loud music was always played there. In certain areas, bars were located very close to one another. Shebeens (household drinking places) were also a social gathering place especially for those who did not frequent the bars. According to 'Kachasu shebeens a' (2013), a local brew commonly known as 'Kachasu' was illegally brewed at the shebeens. The bars and shebeens lacked proper sanitation facilities such as toilets and their customers just relieved themselves on the roadsides or boundary walls, making such areas unhygienic.

In terms of accommodation, the City had lodges, guest houses and hotels. The LCC (2016) pointed out that the prominent accommodation facilities were the Taj Pamodzi Hotel, Hotel InterContinental, Protea Hotel and Radisson Blu Hotel. These hotels offered accommodation of international standard.

Houses in the embedded case study areas were mainly built using concrete blocks, sand and cement, and roofed using asbestos or iron sheets (see Plate 4). The

residents – including the undocumented immigrants in the embedded case study areas - either rented the houses or owned them. Some of the undocumented immigrants bought land and built houses on the basis of their Zambian spouses who had the right to buy land and own a house, or from Zambian residents who resold their fixed property. Furthermore, the undocumented immigrants sometimes bought a part of the land/plot that a Zambian owned and thus evaded producing documentation on land ownership as the Zambian owner had the needed documentation. Undocumented immigrants also more easily accessed land and housing as they were usually willing to buy it at a higher price than Zambians.

Plate 4. A house in Mandevu, Lusaka City

(Source: Author, 2016)

The City of Lusaka also had shopping malls such as Arcades, Levy Junction, Manda Hill, Makeni mall and East Park. The shopping malls were however located in the

areas that were most accessible to the high and middle class residential areas. Plate 5 shows East Park, one of the shopping malls in Lusaka City.

Plate 5. East Park shopping mall in Lusaka City

(Source: Author, 2016)

The prominent markets in Lusaka City were Lusaka City market in the CBD, Soweto market in the CBD, Buseko market in Matero and Kabwata market in Kabwata (Nchito, 2006). In the areas under study (Chibolya, Matero and Mandevu), shopping was undertaken at markets, shops and in the CBD. The markets in the embedded case study areas were either under council control or were community markets. According to Berling, Palm & Sahlin (2012), the Lusaka City Council ran the Matero and Chibolya markets, while the Mandevu market was a community market. In Matero, the shopping areas found there included Matero market, Melissa supermarket, Buseko market, Shoprite, and informal shopping spaces at houses. Also, residents of Mandevu bought their groceries and other provisions from Melissa

supermarket and Shoprite in Matero. In Chibolya, shopping was undertaken at stores, Chibolya market and mainly in the Lusaka City CBD, (especially the Soweto and City market) because it is very close to the area. The shops in the embedded case study areas had Zambian and non-Zambian owners. However, undocumented immigrants owned most of the larger shops and attracted more customers than Zambians because they sold their groceries and other goods (e.g., clothing) at lower prices than Zambian store owners. The xenophobic attacks in May 2016 against the Rwandese in Lusaka City's informal settlements such as Matero, Mandevu, George and Zingalume revealed that 62 big shops belonging to Rwandese were looted (Mukuka, 2016).

The main transport system in Lusaka City was road transport. According to Blond (2015), the four main highways of Zambia radiated from Lusaka City. Blond pointed out that these roads were the Great North Road, the Great East Road, the Livingstone Road[2] and the Mongu Road. The main highways not only connected Lusaka City to other parts of Zambia but to other countries as well (see figure 2, page 29). The Great North Road connected Lusaka City to Tanzania and the Great East Road leads to Malawi. The Livingstone Road connected Zambia to Zimbabwe, Botswana and Namibia. The Chirundu Road connected Zambia to Zimbabwe (Chiwala & Saili, 2014). The main highways to Lusaka were used to transport passengers, goods and services. The Great East, Great North, Livingstone and Chirundu Roads were also used to export commodities such as copper and agricultural produce to the neighbouring countries and to the sea ports. These main highways were the routes that the undocumented immigrants used to reach Lusaka City from the various entry points of Zambia.

[2] Is referred to as Great North Road when considering the stretch from Livingstone to Nakonde, and Livingstone Road when considering the stretch from Livingstone to Lusaka.

In addition to the four main highways, the Lusaka City CBD had many roads and streets. According to LCC (2016), the major roads in the CBD were Lumumba, Cairo, Freedom Way and Chachacha Road. These roads connected the CBD to the four main highways. In the settlement areas of Lusaka City, tarred roads and streets were found in the medium and low density residential areas. The informal settlements, however, lacked such streets and roads. Movement in the informal settlements such as the ones under study (Chibolya, Mandevu and Matero) was haphazard and unregulated. People just followed footpaths and across the doorsteps of houses.

Apart from roads, Lusaka City enjoyed rail and air transport. For air transport, Lusaka City had the Kenneth Kaunda International Airport and the City Airport. According to the Associates for International Research Incorporated [AIRINC] (2014), the Kenneth Kaunda International Airport offered air transport to travellers leaving and entering the Country, and also for those moving within the Country as the airport connected Lusaka City to other areas within Zambia. The City Airport in Longacres offered air transport to Zambia Air Force (ZAF) and other small aircrafts within the country. Air transport was used to move passengers and light goods like mail. According to LCC (2016), there were two railway networks that crossed the City. The Tanzania-Zambia Railway line (TAZARA) linked the City to Tanzania in the North, and Zimbabwe and South Africa in the South (see figure 2, page 29). The Zambia Railways crossed the City and connected it to the Copperbelt and Democratic Republic of Congo. The railway line was used to transport people and goods within the Country and to neighbouring countries like Tanzania and Zimbabwe. Copper, the Country's major export commodity, was transported via the railways to the sea ports in South Africa and Tanzania.

Roads in the embedded case study areas were not good as most of them had potholes, and were unpaved. The roads in the embedded case study areas connected to a main road that connected to the City's CBD. For example, in Mandevu, there were unpaved, potholed and dusty roads that connected to the Great North Road which led to the City's CBD. In Matero, there were also dusty and unpaved roads leading to the Great North, and then Lumumba Road leading to the CBD. Chibolya was near the CBD with Kanyama Road the major road in this area, leading to the CBD. Most of the people in the embedded case study areas travelled to the CBD and their work places using public buses and taxis. A few who owned cars drove themselves to work and the CBD. In Matero and Mandevu, those who worked in the industrial area nearby just walked to work, though others boarded buses. The residents of Chibolya also found it easy to walk to the CBD (commonly known as 'town') as it was nearby. Movement within the embedded case study areas was simple as people walked, and others used bicycles.

The Zambia Police[3] provided security services to Lusaka City. The Lusaka Central police station was the largest police station in Lusaka City and handled police cases that were too complex or complicated for other police stations to handle such as armed robbery and murder.

Chibolya police post[4] provided security services to the residents of Chibolya. The police post was not enough to handle the criminal cases in the area with a population of 167,542. For example, on 13 May 2014, 13 dangerous criminals escaped from police custody (Manchinshi, 2014). According to LCC (2016), the Matero police

[3] The Zambia Police is a department in the Zambian Ministry of Home Affairs.
[4] A police post is the lowest level of operation in police divisions and operates from morning to evening daily.

station[5] handled cases in Matero and in the surrounding areas such as George and Lilanda. 'Don't throw garbage' in 2015, reported that Mandevu police post which was under construction in 2015 was set to offer services to Mandevu and other informal settlements in the Mandevu constituency such as Chaisa, Chipata and Marrapodi.

The major power utility firm, Zambia Electricity Supply Cooperation (ZESCO), was the chief supplier of hydro-electric power in Zambia and managed to electrify households in urban Zambia and in some rural areas. However, from 2015 to 2016, the Country experienced a problem of load shedding and households had to depend on wood fuel and charcoal as sources of energy ('Electricity shortage and', 2016). This obviously impacted negatively on the vegetation as trees were felled for charcoal production and wood fuel.

The Lusaka Water and Sewerage Company (LWSC) was the main water service provider in Lusaka City. Water supply in the embedded case study areas was poor. While some households had running water in their homes, the major sources of water in the informal settlements of Lusaka City - including the embedded case study areas - were boreholes, water kiosks and wells which were mainly communal. Residents also purchased water at kiosks and boreholes, but water from wells was usually free. The Maiteneke water and sanitation project which the LWSC undertook aimed at benefiting 600 households in Matero constituency ('Matero constituency acquires', 2013). Mandevu also had households that drilled boreholes and installed running water in their homes; others have piped water coming from the LWSC while the majority depended on communal water kiosks and boreholes (which they paid for), as well as water wells that were dug at the houses. Water supply in Chibolya

[5] A police station is the highest level of operation in police divisions and operates for 24 hours daily.

was not very good. Water was acquired from the LWSC pipes, communal water kiosks and boreholes, as well as shallow wells that were dug at households.

Water from the LWSC, water kiosks and boreholes was safe as it was chlorinated, but the water collected from wells was usually unsafe, making its quality a source of concern. This was because the water from the shallow wells was contaminated with faecal matter from pit latrines and run-off coming from garbage heaps during the rainy season. In February 2016, the LWSC suspended the selling of water from communal taps in Chibolya and appealed to residents to desist from using water from shallow wells following a cholera outbreak in Kanyama, a neighbouring settlement ('LWSC suspends selling', 2016). The LWSC further pointed out that the water it supplied was safe, and advised the residents to connect to the LWSC water grid.

Sanitation in many of Lusaka's informal settlements was poor. While a few households had waterborne toilets, most of the houses had pit latrines as they lacked running water. Matero benefitted from the 20 mobile toilets that the area Member of Parliament handed over to the community in 2013 ('Matero constituency acquires', 2013). According to 'Modernisation of Chibolya (2014), the LWSC noted that some households that did not have toilets in Chibolya depended on toilets at bars and used 'flying toilets' such as empty opaque beer packs and plastic bags. 'Modernisation of Chibolya' contended that pit latrines in Chibolya were usually near shallow water wells and the faecal matter contaminated the water - adding to the risks of diseases.

Garbage collection in Lusaka City and the embedded case study areas was the responsibility of the Lusaka City Council but it was not doing much, as was observed

from the heaps of garbage that were found in areas such as the market places, and drainages were even blocked. Plate 6 shows garbage while Plate 7 shows blocked drainage due to garbage accumulation in Mandevu.

Plate 6. Lusaka City - garbage at Mandevu market (Source: Author, 2016)

Plate 7. Blocked drainage at Mandevu market in Lusaka City

(Source: Author, 2016)

The residents of Lusaka City were engaged in various economic activities to earn a living. The economic activities of Lusaka City are highlighted in the next section.

Economic activities in Lusaka City

There were various economic activities in which the inhabitants of Lusaka City were involved. According to Mwansa (2015), these included trading, manufacturing, hospitality and tourism. Robinson (2013) pointed out that residents of Lusaka City were formally employed in government (e.g., in schools, hospitals, clinics and other government enterprises) and in the private sectors while others were self-employed. Persons engaged in formal employment usually earned a salary every month.

In Lusaka City, people were self-employed in various businesses such as tailoring, street vending, shoe repairing, street vending, sand and stone quarrying, selling of second-hand clothes, hair plaiting and grocery shops. The businesses were common in the CBD, and in the informal settlements such as Mandevu, Matero and Chibolya which constituted the study areas. The undocumented immigrants engaged in informal small businesses, because they did not have official documentation to be employed in the formal sector. Plate 8 shows people selling second-hand clothes (‘salaula’) at the Soweto market in Lusaka City CBD. Undocumented immigrants were also employed in small ventures such as shop assistants where they earned a monthly salary. It was in this informal employment sector that Zambians and undocumented immigrants co-operated, and at times competed.

Plate 8. Selling of second-hand clothes ('salaula') at Soweto market in Lusaka City CBD

(Source: www.goaafrica.co/2012/08/31/the-luminous-city-of-Lusaka/)

Mandevu was well known for businesses involving selling second-hand clothes and furniture (e.g., beds, wardrobes and sofas) at Mandevu market which attracted people from other parts of Lusaka City. Zimbabweans mainly specialised in sofa making. Chibolya in Lusaka was well known for the slaughtering and selling of goat meat and pork, with the youth mainly involved in this activity. The meat was sold to bars (where it was roasted for clients) and to business persons in the Lusaka CBD, especially at the City market and Soweto market ('Lusaka City Council', 2015). The Lusaka City Council condemned the business because of the unhygienic conditions in which the livestock were slaughtered ('Lusaka City Council'). Chibolya was also notorious for drug trafficking as a source of income. 'Chibolya township now' (2015) reported that sanity was at least restored in Chibolya when a team from the Drug

Enforcement Commission (DEC) and Zambia Police joined efforts in 'raiding' Chibolya to arrest drug dealers.

Matero was well known for forging documents (e.g., school certificates) and making counterfeit products such as drinks. According to Moonga (2014), the DEC, through its Anti-Money Laundering Investigations Unit unearthed a scam in September 2014 in which two residents of Matero forged Zambian National Registration Cards (NRCs) and drivers' licences. The raid recovered three scanners, five computer monitors and one camera which were used in the forgery of the documents. Undocumented immigrants managed to acquire documents such as Zambian National Registration Cards (NRCs) and even posed as Zambians. Another resident of Matero was arrested in February 2014 for being in possession of counterfeit notes amounting to $700 (Adamu, 2014).

This section highlighted the different infrastructure, social services and economic activities (both legal and illegal) of Lusaka City and the embedded case study areas. The informal settlements and CBD were hubs of various activities. The population of Lusaka City was characterised with different cultures as it hosted people from different ethnic groups and nationalities. Thus, it is important to refer to these cultures.

Lusaka City - cultural elements

According to Monu et al. (2012), Lusaka City is home to people from different ethnic groups, nationalities and religions. Being the capital city of Zambia, people from different parts of the Country were attracted to the City because of the opportunities that were available. According to 'Lusaka City to' (2013), Lusaka City was primarily an area of the Soli ethnic group. However, different people from different parts of the

Country with different cultures entered the City and diluted the Soli culture, especially during the post 1964 (independence) years. Lusaka City ceased to be a Soli ethnic group area and became a home for the different ethnic groups. In terms of language, English is the official language of Zambia and was spoken in Lusaka City. As for the indigenous languages, Mwakikagile (2010) pointed out that the Nyanja language was predominantly spoken due to the immigration of people from the Eastern Province of Zambia, where the Nyanja language was spoken. Second to Nyanja was the Bemba language which was widely spoken in the City. This was also due to the movement of people from the Northern, Luapula, Copperbelt and Central Provinces where the Bemba language, or at least its dialect, were spoken.

In terms of religion, Christianity was the major religion in Zambia with people belonging to different denominations. The same applied to Lusaka City. There was also a considerable increase in the number of Muslims in Lusaka City due to immigration of people who belonged to this faith (Kyambalesa, 2015). Zambians also joined Islam due to their close relationships with non-Zambians of such religions. In addition to Christianity and Islam, Hinduism was also practised and there were adherents of African traditional religion.

Lusaka City's culture showed that the inhabitants were from different areas, ethnic groups and religions. The inhabitants of Lusaka City were not only the original Soli people but also other people from different parts of the Country and from other countries who migrated to the area. Lusaka City is an area of different cultures.

Lusaka City was divided into various political units. The next section highlights the government and administration of Lusaka City.

Government and administration of Lusaka City

The LCC (2016) pointed out that as the capital city of Zambia, Lusaka City was the seat of the legislative, executive and judicial branches of government. Lusaka City housed the State House, Supreme Court, High Court and the National Assembly. Politically, Lusaka City was divided into constituencies which were subdivided into wards. Members of Parliament (MPs) headed the constituencies and ward councillors headed the wards. It was from the ward councillors that the Lusaka mayor was elected, and he or she oversaw the affairs of the City such as water and sanitation, roads, electricity supply and general hygiene. The mayor worked closely with the Lusaka City Council which was under the Ministry of Local Government and Housing. The Lusaka mayor, members of parliament and ward councillors were elected every five years. The embedded case study areas were part of different constituencies and wards. Matero belonged to Matero constituency, Chibolya belonged to Kanyama constituency and Mandevu belonged to Mandevu constituency.

The LCC (2016) noted that Lusaka City housed the national headquarters of different government ministries such as the Ministry of Education, Finance, Health, Local Government and Agriculture. Lusaka City was also the national headquarters of different departments of government ministries, for example, the immigration department and police department of the Ministry of Home Affairs.

The different political leaders responsible for political units of Lusaka City and the embedded case study areas had different roles to play to ensure the smooth running of the affairs in the communities. The national headquarters of different government

departments and ministries were also responsible for considering the affairs of Zambia.

The next section provides a conclusion to the chapter.

Conclusion

This chapter described Lusaka City as well as the embedded case study areas where Zambians and undocumented immigrants lived. Lusaka City, just like any capital city, was densely populated due - in part - to the migration of people from different parts of the Country who were looking for opportunities such as business and employment; and among such people were undocumented immigrants. The informal settlements of Lusaka City such as Mandevu, Chibolya and Matero were densely populated because the cost of living in such areas was low, even for people who had little income, and undocumented immigrants were among such people. Planned settlements, on the other hand, such as Olympia were not densely populated and the cost of living in such areas was high. Social infrastructure such as schools and hospitals were not sufficient to cater for the population of the informal settlements under study. While roads in low-density residential areas were tarred, the roads in the embedded case study areas were not of good quality. The residents of the case study areas (including undocumented immigrants) were engaged in different economic activities (both legal and illegal) - mostly in the informal sector.

The chapter also revealed that Lusaka City was divided into different political units to which the embedded case study areas belonged. The state in the embedded case study areas, such as garbage heaps and blocked drainages, water crises, shortage of schools, hospitals and police services was an indication that a lot needed to be done to improve the areas.

After describing the study area, it is important that the legislation and policies, as well as administration and bureaucratic structures that interface with immigrants and immigration (documented and undocumented) be examined. The government and international policies as well as government, international and private sectors that relate to immigration and immigrants are discussed. The next chapter (chapter III) highlights these.

CHAPTER III

ZAMBIAN MIGRATION LEGISLATION, POLICIES AND PROCEDURES

This chapter includes thematic information that informs the study on migration in Zambia, such as the legislation and policies, and the administration and bureaucratic structures that interfaced with immigrants (both documented and undocumented) within the study area (Lusaka City). The legislation and policies generally protected the immigrants (both documented and undocumented), considered their plight and determined their fate in Lusaka and Zambia. The immigrants had to abide with the policies and laws to stay in Zambia. The administrative and bureaucratic structures included the government departments and Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) that assisted immigrants, reduced and/or controlled immigration (especially that of undocumented migrants) and addressed problems related to immigration, including those affecting undocumented migrants. The government departments and NGOs worked to ensure that laws and policies governing immigration in Zambia were followed.

Legislation and policies on migration in Zambia

There were many laws and policies on migration in Zambia. These laws were promulgated to protect, govern and address the plight and fate of migrants in Zambia. It was through the laws and policies that documentation such as visas and work permits were issued to identify and protect migrants and visitors. The most

important legislation and policy governing migration in Zambia at the time of the research (April to May 2016) was the Government of the Republic of Zambia's (GRZ's) Immigration and Deportation Act No. 18 of 2010 (GRZ, 2010).

To enter Zambia, one had to possess the necessary documentation. In terms of the GRZ's Immigration and Deportation Act No.18 of 2010, people entering Zambia had to possess a visa following an application under Section 25 of the Act (GRZ, 2010). The visa also stipulated how long one had to stay within the Country. Any immigrant not possessing a visa was considered an illegal/undocumented immigrant.

Some immigrants entered Zambia for employment. For example, the University Teaching Hospital (UTH) and University of Zambia had expatriate doctors and lecturers, respectively. Also, some engineers engaged in road construction in Zambia were not Zambian. All these expatriates needed to possess a work permit to work in Zambia. The GRZ (2010) stipulated that work permits fell under section 28 of the Immigration and Deportation Act No.18 of 2010. Temporary employment permits (popularly known as travel documents in Zambia) were issued to business people intending to stay in Zambia for a period not exceeding 30 days. Section 28 of the Immigration and Deportation Act No.18 of 2010 provided for the issue of temporary employment permits.

According to Mwenya (2016), the Constitution of Zambia Act No.1 of 2016 stipulated that Zambians and those in the diaspora were free to apply for dual citizenship. The same Act, according to 'Government decentralises issuance' (2016), stipulated that foreigners in Zambia could apply for dual citizenship in Zambia. The foreigners referred to here were the documented immigrants. Mwenya contended that The Act pleased many foreigners in Zambia and Zambians in the diaspora.

Among the immigrants in Zambia were the asylum seekers, particularly refugees. According to Chitipula (2010), Zambia was part of the 1951 United Nations (UN) Refugee Convention and its 1967 Protocol that granted refugees the right to education, health, movement, integration and acquisition of travel documents. Apart from this international legislation and framework, Zambia also had its own legislation and framework that dealt with refugees. In fact, for one to be considered a refugee in Zambia, Chitipula pointed out that he or she had to be subjected to Refugee Status Determination (RSD) procedures which the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) handled until 1993 when the Ministry of Home Affairs took over. Refugees were screened and admitted to refugee camps or settlements. 'The Zambian Refugees Control Act of 1970 stipulates that refugees should reside in refugee settlements and camps' (Chitipula, 2010, p. 6). This contradicted the freedom of movement of refugees as stated in the 1967 protocol of the UN Refugee Convention. According to GRZ (2010), the Immigration and Deportation Act of 2010 stated that asylum seekers should be granted temporary permission to reside in Zambia and this was to be renewed after it expired. Furthermore, the Act stipulated that it was an offence to reside outside a refugee camp or settlement, without permission. Chitipula (2010, p.9) however argued that according to the RSD procedures,

> refugees may live in urban areas and outside the refugee camp if they have employment, are investors, have family living in urban areas or suffer from health problems that are not treatable in the districts or are at risk of serious harm in the camps

Such refugees were to be given permission in the form of electronic refugee cards that expired, and had to be renewed after three years. The UNHCR worked with the

Zambian government and other stakeholders to ensure that refugees access services like education as well as the right to employment.

The Zambian immigration laws and policies needed to be adhered to, and as such, different administrative and bureaucratic structures were put in place to ensure enforcement and compliance. The different structures include government, and local and international NGOs.

Administrative and bureaucratic structures of migration in Zambia

In addition to the legislation and policies dealing with immigration in Zambia, several administrative and bureaucratic structures were established to deal with matters affecting the immigrants, in the government and NGO sectors. The government organisations were under different ministries and departments. The government departments and NGOs played different roles in the plight and fate of immigrants in Zambia.

The Zambian immigration department

The immigration department fell under the Ministry of Home Affairs in Zambia. The department was formed through an Act of Parliament in 1965 when it was moved from the police department to form the immigration and passport department (Impala Publications, 2015). In 1976, the immigration and passport department was further divided into the national registration, passport and citizenship office, and the current department of immigration. Despite the division, the new departments still worked hand in hand on immigration and emigration matters.

In the Impala Documents (2015), it was noted that the department of immigration had its headquarters in Lusaka City, the study area. The department also had provincial headquarters and regional offices in the ten provinces of the Country. Immigration offices were found at entry and exit points of the country such as the airports and border posts to monitor movements into and out of Zambia. The immigration department undertook many responsibilities aimed at immigration, emigration and also the plight of immigrants (documented and undocumented) in Zambia. According to Impala Documents (2015), the immigration department was responsible for facilitating and regulating the movement of people entering and leaving the Country, and controlling the stay of immigrants and visitors in Zambia.

The department was responsible for issuing documentation to immigrants and dealing with undocumented immigrants in Zambia. According to GRZ (2010), the immigration department issued documentation to immigrants in accordance with the provisions of the Immigration and Deportation Act No.18 of 2010. The immigration department issued work permits, temporary work permits, and visas.

The other duty of the immigration department was to deal with undocumented immigrants as well as overstaying visitors in the Country. Occasionally, the immigration officers carried out patrols in residential areas to identify undocumented immigrants; and they worked with the police to arrest, detain and prosecute them.

In Lusaka City, the immigration officers carried out patrols especially in the informal settlements where undocumented immigrants sought refuge. According to Siame (2015), the immigration department carried out a patrol and clean up exercise in March 2015 in Mutendere, Kalingalinga and Garden (informal settlements), where 19 undocumented immigrants were arrested. Simengwa (2014) pointed out that the

immigration officers in conjunction with the police and Registrar of Societies arrested about 200 undocumented immigrants in Lusaka City - mainly from Burundi and Rwanda in 2014. The immigration department in January 2016 also arrested undocumented immigrants in Lusaka City after an alert from a local person (Phiri, 2016). According to Phiri, immigration and police officers found 67 Ethiopian nationals in a house in Kabangwe, Lusaka City, where 19 had Ethiopian passports without Zambian visas, while 48 had no documentation at all. Also, visitors who overstayed in Zambia were arrested.

At the borders, the immigration officers searched vehicles entering the Country as well as the documentation of persons intending to enter or leave the Country. The immigration officers also mounted road blocks on some roads - especially the four main highways - to check vehicles and passengers' documentation. For example, 16 Ethiopians were intercepted and arrested at Kafue Bridge checkpoint in January 2016 as they were headed to Chirundu, a Zambia-Zimbabwe border town (Sichikwenkwe, 2016). According to Phiri (2016), the immigration department intercepted a vehicle and arrested 15 Ethiopians who failed to produce the necessary travel documentation at a checkpoint in Nakonde, a Zambia-Tanzania-Malawi border over the weekend of 24 to 25 January 2016. Given that undocumented immigrants still managed to enter the Country, it was essential that the immigration department conducted patrols.

The immigration department worked hand in hand with the Zambia Police when it came to the arrest and detention of undocumented and overstaying immigrants. Therefore, the Zambia Police was one of the important administrative and bureaucratic structures dealing with immigration and immigrants in Zambia. The

next section discusses the role of the Zambia Police and its operations regarding immigration in Zambia.

The Zambia Police

The Zambia Police was one of the departments under the Ministry of Home Affairs (Zambia Police, 2014). The Zambia Police were committed to providing high quality service through applying the law fairly and firmly to everyone in the community. The national headquarters of the Zambia Police were found in Lusaka City, and provincial headquarters were found in all the ten provinces of Zambia. Furthermore, each district had a district police station, and police stations and posts were found in the settlement areas.

The Zambia Police assisted the immigration department in arresting and detaining undocumented immigrants. Once undocumented immigrants were identified, the Zambia Police came in to arrest, detain and prosecute them. The outcome of the prosecution led to removal or deportation, or even a jail sentence.

Mulendema (2015) reported that the Zambia Police officers in November 2015 intercepted a truck carrying 38 illegal/undocumented immigrants, 35 of Ethiopian origin and three of Somalian origin, crammed into a container. Also, Mouahidi (2016) reported that police in Lusaka City arrested 77 Ethiopians for illegal stay in Zambia in January 2016. In Chibolya, the Zambia Police combined efforts with the Drug Enforcement Commission (DEC) on 21 January 2014 in ‘combing’ out drug dealers, and in their endeavour they managed to arrest six undocumented immigrants (‘Six Chibolya foreigners’, 2014). The Zambia Police’s major role in immigration was therefore arresting and detaining undocumented immigrants. For example, in September 2016, the Zambia Police arrested 67 Ethiopians at Kapiri

Mposhi weighbridge in the Central Province of Zambia ('Stop wave of', 2014). According to Mushota and Zulu (2014), the Zambia Police joined efforts with the immigration department and arrested about 136 illegal immigrants, mostly Somalis from Lusaka's Emmasdale, Chaisa (neighbouring settlement to Mandevu) and Matero in August 2014. 'Zambia arrests Tanzanian' (2015) reported that immigration officers joined forces with the police and arrested undocumented immigrants at COMESA market, a busy flea-market in the Lusaka City CBD.

The Zambia Police also showed efforts in protecting non-Zambians in Lusaka City. This was noticed when the Zambia police officers were recruited to calm the riots that broke out from 19 to 21 April 2016 in Lusaka City's informal settlements such as George, Matero, Mandevu and Zingalume, where foreigners' shops were looted following a rumour that foreigners, particularly Rwandese, were involved in the ritual murders that swept through the informal settlements. The officers helped calm the situation, and the police posts and stations hosted the immigrants who sought protection to escape the riots (Mukuka, 2016). The Zambia Police also closely guarded the St. Ignatius Parish in Lusaka City where some immigrants sought refuge.

Apart from the Zambia Police, the Drug Enforcement Commission (DEC) also interfaced with immigrants and targeted those persons involved in smuggling drugs into and out of Zambia, money laundering and document forgery.

The Drug Enforcement Commission (DEC)

The DEC was another organisation that dealt with immigrants in Zambia. The Commission was established in 1989 under the statutory instrument No.87 of 1989. Usually, the DEC's concern was drug trafficking and money laundering. Drugs were

sold within the Zambia and smuggled into and out of the Country. The local people and immigrants (both documented and undocumented) were engaged in selling of drugs. '23 foreigners nabbed' (2014) reported that the DEC on 25 September 2014 'raided' Lusaka's Chibolya informal settlement and arrested 42 people for dealing in drugs, 23 of whom were non-Zambians.

The DEC worked hand in hand with the immigration department, local people and Zambia Police in identifying the people in possession of drugs, fake documentation, laundered money and obscene material such as pornography materials. For example, the immigration department and Zambia Police on 4 March 2015 arrested 19 non-Zambians and those found in possession of drugs were handed to the DEC (Siame, 2015). One of the arrested undocumented immigrants was a Namibian national who concealed cannabis in artefacts that he sold at a market in Lusaka's Garden informal settlement.

Zambian citizens aged 16 years and above were required to possess an NRC. Immigrants who were granted Zambian citizenship also require an NRC. The national registration, passport and citizenship department dealt with issues of registration, the granting of citizenship and issuing of passports.

The national registration, passport and citizenship department

The department's national headquarters were in Lusaka City and it was subdivided into two: the national registration division, and the passport and citizenship division. The national registration division issued NRCs to Zambians so that they were identified as citizens. Non-Zambians/immigrants were granted NRCs once they

were issued citizenship. To enhance its functioning, the department decentralised the issuance of NRCs from districts to sub-district offices ('Government decentralises issuance', 2014). The passport and citizenship division granted citizenship to non-Zambians/immigrants who wished to settle permanently in Zambia. Foreign nationals applied for, and acquired, citizenship and permanent stay in Zambia from the passport and citizenship division.

In addition to the government organisations, there were NGOs that dealt with immigration and immigrants (both documented and undocumented) in Zambia. Such organisations were both local (Zambian) and international. International organisations include the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) that focused on the plight of immigrants and refugees in different countries.

The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR)

Some of the undocumented immigrants in Zambia were refugees from different countries. According to Darwin (2005), the UNHCR was one organisation that was highly concerned with the plight of refugees in Zambia, and in other countries. The UNHCR's role was to assist the Zambian Government in considering the plight of refugees and asylum seekers. This was done in conjunction with NGOs within Zambia, such as the Zambia Red Cross, and other international organisations such as the World Food Programme. The UNHCR played a supervisory role in working towards ensuring that the asylum seekers and refugees were treated in accordance with established international standards. The UNHCR supervised and worked closely with its partners in providing material and legal assistance to asylum seekers and refugees in need, in Zambia. The UNHCR in Zambia focussed on the plight of

rural and urban refugees in ensuring safe stay in the country, and proper repatriation as the need arose. According to Ngoboka (2015), Rwanda and Zambia, under the supervision of the UNHCR, worked towards the repatriation of Rwandese refugees from Zambia and ensured their safe stay.

According to UNHCR (2000), the major objective of the UNHCR was to advance local integration of refugees in Lusaka City and in the other urban centres in Zambia. Refugee integration aimed at reducing refugee dependence on host governments and NGOs. For example, 'UNHCR strategizes refugee' (2013) reported that the UNHCR worked on strategies for screening of refugees in conjunction with the Zambian Government through the Ministry of Home Affairs to ensure successful implementation of refugee integration. Apart from integration, the UNHCR also ensured that refugees were properly repatriated. For example, 'UNHCR strategizes refugee' pointed out that the UNHCR mobilised resources for the repatriation of over 3,000 Angolan refugees from Zambian refugee camps in 2013.

The UNHCR in Zambia also aimed at ensuring that refugees and asylum seekers had access to, and received primary health care, in the refugee settlements and camps. For example, Mushitu (2016) reported that the UNHCR handed over a refurbished clinic at Makeni Refugee Centre in Lusaka City to the Zambian government. This clinic benefitted not only the refugees but Zambians as well, including those who were employed as health workers and those in the vicinity who also accessed this health care facility.

The UNHCR also supported programmes that aimed at helping and empowering refugees in Zambia. For example, the UNHCR worked hand in hand with Action African Help (AAH) International that established the Lusaka urban refugee project in

the Year 2011 in Lusaka City (AAH, 2015). The project provided social, health and psychological services to the vulnerable urban refugees such as the chronically ill, the disabled, old, and unaccompanied and separated children in four outreach centres, namely, Chawama, George, Kanyama, Mandevu and to 407 asylum seekers accommodated at Makeni Transit Centre in Lusaka City in 2015. Urban refugees were offered psychiatric services in HIV/AIDS testing and counselling, and Sexual and Gender Based Violence (SGBV). According to AAH International, 10 survivors of SGBV and 13 unaccompanied children had been counselled and offered support, while 20 of the refugees had been given start-up capital to initiate their own businesses such as poultry and gardening. The AHH pointed out that the refugees were also taught skills such as tailoring, carpentry and mechanics. For example, the refugees were taught mechanical skills where they repaired and serviced vehicles such as the Mercedes Benz trucks that belong to the UNHCR. These vehicles played a vital role in the distribution of food items and medical supplies at the Makeni refugee transit centre. This showed that the refugees were able to help themselves.

Apart from international NGOs, local NGOs such as the Faith Based Organisations (FBOs) were active in the plight of immigrants, especially refugees. Different churches such as the Catholic Church played a vital role in ensuring that refugees had a safe stay in Zambia.

Faith Based Organisations (FBOs)

Faith Based Organisations (FBOs), specifically churches, were mainly concerned with the vulnerable in society and concentrated their humanitarian work with migrants and refugees. Churches, especially the Catholic and Anglican churches, made donations in the form of clothes and food to the refugees in the refugee camps

in Zambia. Also, the churches in Zambia protected refugees and hosted them when the need arose. For instance, Gamble (2016) reported that hundreds of Rwandan refugees in April 2016 sought refuge in the Roman Catholic Church at St Ignatius in Lusaka following the attacks on them when they were accused of ritual killings that swept through the City of Lusaka between March and April 2016.

Apart from accommodating and providing for refugees, the churches also empowered the refugees through teaching them skills such as tailoring, gardening and carpentry. The skills enabled refugees to be self-sufficient once integrated in society.

The above legislation, policies and bureaucratic structures in Lusaka City, and Zambia, were responsible for the affairs of immigrants (both documented and undocumented) in Lusaka City. Also, undocumented immigration and problems generated from undocumented immigration were addressed.

The next section concludes this chapter.

Conclusion

The chapter discussed the legislation and bureaucratic structures in Lusaka City and Zambia that interfaced with immigration and immigrants (both documented and undocumented). The legislation governing immigration and immigrants highlighted the conditions required for one to be considered a documented immigrant, and failure to meet such conditions meant one was an undocumented immigrant. Undocumented immigration was punishable. The bureaucratic structures ensured that the laws and policies governing immigration and immigrants (both documented and undocumented) were enforced. Failure to abide by the laws and policies was

punishable. Structures like NGOs, the FBOs and the African Action Help International assisted refugees and ensured that they accessed the necessities of life. The UNHCR, on the other hand, played a supervisory role in looking after the plight of refugees. The next chapter focuses on the presentation and analysis of the data on undocumented immigration in Lusaka City that the researcher collected from the embedded case study areas.

CHAPTER IV

DATA ANALYSIS

The principal field research for this dissertation was carried out in Lusaka City from 25 April to 6 May 2016. The informal settlements of Chibolya, Matero and Mandevu constituted the embedded case study areas. The primary data were collected using questionnaires and interviews from the immigration office (at the Lusaka National Headquarters), Lusaka City Council, 24 undocumented immigrants and 24 Zambians from the embedded case study areas. Interviews were conducted with the 24 undocumented immigrants and 24 Zambians from the embedded case study areas, while questionnaires were administered to the Lusaka City Council officers and immigration officers.

The 24 undocumented immigrants from Tanzania, Mozambique, Malawi, Botswana, Namibia, Zimbabwe, Angola and the Democratic Republic of Congo were purposefully sampled. Eight undocumented immigrants from each of the mentioned nationalities were thus selected from each of the informal settlements under study. The ethical consideration of the research was anonymity of the respondents, particularly, the interviewees and so they were identified in this research using codes. The undocumented immigrants were identified using letters derived from the names of their countries of origin. A, B, DRC, Ml, Mz, N, Tz and Z represented Angola, Botswana, Democratic Republic of Congo, Malawi, Mozambique, Namibia, Tanzania and Zimbabwe, respectively. A number was added to the letters to

represent the residential area of the undocumented immigrants. The numbers 1, 2 and 3 represented Mandevu, Matero and Chibolya, respectively.

The table below shows the personal information about the undocumented immigrant interviewees. In the table, the letters M (Male) and F (Female) are written with numbers to represent the gender and age of the respondents, for instance, F58 represents a female aged 58.

Table 1. Identity codes of interviewed undocumented immigrants in Lusaka City, Zambia, by country of origin, gender and age

(Source: Author, 2016)

NATIONALITY	IDENTITY CODE	GENDER AND AGE
Angola	A-1, A-2 and A-3.	F58, M36 and M39, respectively.
Botswana	B-1, B-2 and B-3.	F30, F29 and M35, respectively.
Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC)	DRC-1, DRC-2 and DRC3.	F20, M40 and M25, respectively.
Malawi	Ml-1, Ml-2 and Ml-3.	M37, M30 and M25, respectively.
Mozambique	Mz-1, Mz-2 and Mz-3.	M44, F32 and M36, respectively.
Namibia	N-1, N-2 and N-3	F30, F52 and M18, respectively.
Tanzania	Tz-1, Tz-2 and Tz-3.	M32, M26 and M35, respectively.
Zimbabwe	Z-1, Z-2 and Z3.	M41, F26 and M35, respectively.

The 24 local people from the embedded case study areas were purposefully sampled with eight selected from each of the informal settlements. The Zambian respondents, just like the undocumented immigrants, were regarded as anonymous for the purpose of this study, and were identified using codes. The letters C, Md and Mt represented Chibolya, Mandevu and Matero, respectively. Numbers were added at the end of the letters. From Chibolya, there were four male respondents aged 22, 30, 35 and 49 years, who were coded C-1, C-2, C-3 and C4, respectively, and four female respondents aged 28, 39, 41 and 50 years, who were coded C-5, C-6, C-7 and C-8, respectively. In Mandevu, there were five male respondents aged 22, 30, 39, 49 and 75 years, (coded Md-1, Md-2, Md-3, Md-4 and Md-5) while the female respondents were aged 28, 39, and 45 years (coded Md-6, Md-7 and Md-8). From Matero, there were four male respondents aged 20, 23, 30 and 36 years, who were coded Mt-1, Mt-2, Mt-3 and Mt-4, respectively, while the four female respondents were aged 19, 29, 34 and 58 years, were coded Mt-5, Mt-6, Mt-7 and Mt-8, respectively.

The five immigration officers in descending order of rank constituted the chief immigration officer, the senior immigration officer, one immigration officer, one assistant immigration officer and one immigration assistant. The five immigration officers to whom questionnaires were administered were male. From the Lusaka City Council, the five officers who responded to questionnaires were the Lusaka town clerk (female), one town planner (male) and three Community Development Officers (CDOs, all female) of the informal settlements under study. Questionnaires were distributed to the Lusaka City Council (Civic Centre) and immigration department headquarters on 25 April 2016, and 26 April 2016, respectively. The researcher then entered the informal settlements of Chibolya, Matero and Mandevu

to conduct interviews with the purposefully sampled undocumented immigrants and Zambians. The questionnaires were collected on 4 May 2016 from the Lusaka City Council and on 6 May 2016 from the immigration department headquarters.

The primary data were coded thematically on the basis of the responses from the questionnaires and interviews, objectives of the research and within the context of the theoretical framework of the research. The researcher's observations in the case study areas and the information gathered from secondary sources were also used in the data analysis.

The main aim of the research was to investigate undocumented immigration in Zambia with reference to Lusaka City. Regarding the specific objectives, the first was to identify the countries of origin of undocumented immigrants in Lusaka and explore the reasons why they entered Zambia. Therefore, the next section highlights the countries of origin of undocumented immigrants in Lusaka, and why they entered Zambia.

Nationalities of undocumented immigrants and reasons for entering Zambia

Undocumented immigrants in the case study areas were of different nationalities and had different reasons for entering Zambia. The undocumented immigrants from whom data were sourced for the research comprised persons coming from the eight countries surrounding Zambia: Angola, The Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), Tanzania, Malawi, Mozambique, Zimbabwe, Botswana and Namibia see Figure 2, page 29). Twenty-four interviews were held with undocumented immigrants from

these countries, three each from the eight nationalities from Chibolya, Mandevu and Matero.

Questionnaire responses from the immigration department and Lusaka City Council indicated that in addition to the purposefully sampled undocumented immigrants in Lusaka City from Zambia's eight neighbouring countries, other undocumented immigrants in the City came from countries such as Ethiopia, Somalia, Rwanda and Burundi (Immigration officers and Lusaka City Council Officers, personal communications, 4 and 6 May 2016, respectively). The undocumented immigrants in Lusaka City entered Zambia via different borders such as Nakonde (Zambia - Tanzania border), Kasumbalesa (Zambia-Congo-border), Chirundu (Zambia-Zimbabwe border), Luangwa (Zambia-Mozambique), Mwami (Zambia-Malawi border), Kuzungula (Zambia-Zimbabwe, Botswana border) and Katima Mulilo (Zambia-Namibia border). Others avoided official entry points and used undesignated routes through bushes.

The undocumented immigrants from different countries entered Zambia for several reasons. All the five immigration office questionnaire respondents indicated peace in Zambia as one of the reasons for undocumented immigrants' entry into Zambia (Immigration officers, personal communications, 6 May 2016). The town clerk, the planning officer and three community development officers from the Lusaka City Council also indicated that peace was one reason for the entry of undocumented immigrants into Zambia (Lusaka City Council Officers, personal communications, 4 May 2016).

From the interviews, the three Congolese and three Angolans who were interviewed escaped war from their countries, (the Democratic Republic of Congo and Angola)

and entered Zambia because of the peace found in Zambia. The three Tanzanians and one Zimbabwean said they entered Zambia because of the peace in the Country (T-1 and Z-1, T-2, and T-3, personal communications, 25, 27 and 29 April 2016, respectively). Zambian interviewees also cited peace as a reason for undocumented immigrants' entry into Zambia. From the interviewee responses, all Zambians mentioned peace as one of the reasons for the entry of undocumented immigrants in Zambia (Md-1 to Md-8, Mt-1 to Mt-8, and C-1 to C-8, personal communications, 26 and 28 April, and 2 May 2016). A Zambian female interviewee and a Zambian male interviewee, both from Chibolya, mentioned that Zambia had since its independence in 1964 been known for its political stability and this is what attracted immigrants from neighbouring countries (C-2 and C-6, personal communications, 2 May 2016).

A Congolese woman of Mandevu (DRC-1) entered Zambia as a refugee in 2012. She escaped with the sister from the Banyamulenge rebel attacks from the Democratic Republic of Congo in 2012. They escaped to Zambia on foot but during the long journey, DRC-1 lost track of her sister. DRC-1 was taken in as a refugee at Meheba refugee camp in Solwezi, North Western Province of Zambia, after undergoing RSD procedures. At Meheba, she married a fellow Congolese refugee. However, DRC-1 and her husband did not like life at the refugee camp and decided to go to Lusaka City, and they settled in Mandevu in 2015. They started a grocery shop as their source of income.

According to the CDO responsible for Chibolya and the immigration assistant, Zambia attracted undocumented immigrants due to business opportunities (CDO Chibolya, and assistant immigration officer, personal communications, 4 May 2016 and 6 May 2016, respectively). Three undocumented immigrant interviewees said

they entered Zambia for business opportunities (Z-1, Mz-1 and B-2, personal communications, 25 and 27 April 2016, respectively).

The research findings indicated that Ml-1, Mz-1 and Z-3 escaped economic hardships from their home countries and entered Zambia (Ml-1 and Mz-1, and Z-3, personal communications, 25 and 29 April 2016, respectively). The chief immigration officer, the immigration assistant and the CDO responsible for Mandevu indicated that Ethiopians and Somalians migrated due to droughts and hunger in their countries and settled in countries such as Zambia where there was food security (CDO Mandevu, chief immigration officer and immigration assistant, personal communications, 4 and 6 May 2016, respectively).

Employment opportunities also attracted some of the undocumented migrant interviewees into Zambia. Four undocumented immigrants (two Mozambiquean and two Tanzanians) said they entered Zambia for employment (Mz-1and Tz-1, and Mz-2 and Tz-2, personal communications, 25 and 27 April 2016, respectively). According to four Zambian respondents, undocumented immigrants entered Zambia in search of employment (Md-1 and Md-3, and C-1 and C-7, personal communications, 26 April and 2 May 2016, respectively).

According to the assistant immigration officer and the immigration officer, undocumented immigrants from the Horn of Africa used Zambia as a transit point to South Africa, where they hoped to find a better life (Assistant immigration officer and immigration assistant, personal communications, 4 May 2016). The assistant immigration officer contended that the central location of Zambia made it a transit point to South Africa which had better economic and employment opportunities than

other countries in the COMESA region (Assistant immigration officer, personal communication, 4 May 2016).

This research also highlighted that some of the undocumented immigrants entered Zambia because of invitations from family members, friends and spouses. Mz-2 and N-3 entered Zambia because of invitations from the sister and brother, respectively (Mz-2 and N-3, personal communications, 27 and 29 April 2016, respectively). N-2 and Ml-3 followed their husbands into Zambia (N-2 and Ml-3, personal communications, 27 and 29 April 2016, respectively). Another Tanzanian man from Mandevu entered Zambia because his friend invited him to help in running a grocery shop (Tz-1, personal communication, 25 April 2016).

The chief immigration officer, senior immigration officer and assistant immigration officer contended that undocumented immigrants crossed Zambian borders because they were not heavily secured (Chief immigration officer, senior immigration officer and assistant immigration officer, personal communication, 6 May 2016). The chief immigration officer lamented the low human resources in the department, and contended that the borders were therefore not heavily secured (Chief immigration officer, personal communication, 6 May 2016). Also, one Zambian woman in Mandevu said, 'the immigration officers, I think are not sufficient in number to man the borders' (Md-5, personal communication, 26 April 2016). A Congolese woman from Mandevu and a Tanzanian man of Mandevu, said they entered Zambia concealed in trucks (DRC-1and Tz-1, personal communications, 25 April 2016). The chief immigration officer also indicated that the border posts were few, and so undocumented immigrants avoided the border posts and used undesignated entry points to enter the Country. For example, an Angolan woman from Mandevu said she entered Zambia on foot through a bush in Mwinilunga, a border town in North

Western Zambia (A-1, personal communication, 25 April 2016), thereby confirming the views of the immigration officer.

The section highlighted that undocumented immigrants in the case study areas of Lusaka City were from different nationalities and entered Zambia for different reasons such as peace, business opportunities, employment, and joining relatives and spouses. The porous borders made it easy for undocumented immigrants to enter the country. Once in Zambia, they entered Lusaka City due to many reasons. The next section highlights the reasons why undocumented immigrants chose Lusaka City as their destination.

Reasons for undocumented immigrants' choice of Lusaka City as their destination

Undocumented immigrants from various countries entered Zambia and they later opted to enter the capital city. There were various reasons why undocumented immigrants chose to settle in the informal settlements of Lusaka City, after entering Zambia.

A Congolese woman interviewee said, 'My husband and I left Meheba refugee camp in Solwezi because of the poor living conditions and came to Lusaka City in Mandevu where we started a grocery business' (DRC-1, personal communication, 25 April 2016). An immigration officer indicated that being a capital city, Lusaka was attractive to undocumented immigrants because of social amenities such as schools and hospitals that were located there (Immigration officer, personal communication, 6 May 2016).

Some of the undocumented immigrant interviewees were business persons. 12 undocumented immigrant interviewees confirmed that they came to Lusaka because of business opportunities (B-1, Z-1, and A-2, B-2, DRC-2, Mz-2, and A-3, B-3, DRC-3, Mz-3, Tz-3 and Z-3, personal communications, 25, 27 and 29 April, respectively**)**. One Malawian man (a tailor) and one Tanzanian man (a grocery shop owner) argued that Lusaka City was good for business because there were a lot of people to buy their merchandise (Ml-2 and Tz-3, personal communications, 27 and 29 April 2016, respectively).

Zambian interviewees also cited business opportunities in Lusaka City as an attracting factor for undocumented immigrants. From the 24 Zambian interviewees, 22 mentioned that business opportunities attracted undocumented immigrants to Lusaka City. All the five Lusaka City Council officers and five immigration officers also mentioned that Lusaka City was attractive for business, and as such, undocumented immigrants were attracted to the City (Lusaka City Council officers, and immigration officers, personal communications, 4 and 6 May 2016, respectively).

According to the assistant immigration officer, immigration officer and immigration assistant, Lusaka City's informal settlements provided a 'hiding place' for the undocumented immigrants (Assistant immigration officer, immigration officer and Immigration assistant, personal communications, 4 May 2016). The assistant immigration officer indicated that the informal settlements were highly populated and as such, it was difficult for law enforcement officers to control such areas (Assistant immigration officer, personal communication, 6 May 2016).

Another factor that attracted the undocumented immigrant interviewees to Lusaka City was the employment opportunities that were found there. A Mozambiquean, an

Angolan and a Tanzanian were employed as a bricklayer, maid and shopkeeper, respectively (Mz-1, A-1 and Tz-2, personal communications, 25 and 27 April 2016).

Three undocumented immigrants (one Tanzanian, one Mozambiquean and one Namibian) stated that their relatives who had come to Zambia, and settled and established themselves in Lusaka City some time ago invited them (Tz-1 and Mz-1, and N-3, personal communications, 25 and 29 April 2016, respectively). A Tanzanian man from Matero said he came to Lusaka to work as a shopkeeper in his friend's shop (Tz-2, personal communication, 27 April 2016). Two undocumented immigrant women advised that they followed their spouses into Zambia, and then Lusaka City (N-2 and Ml-3, personal communications, 27 and 29 April 2016, respectively).

The research findings indicated that most of the undocumented immigrants who participated in this research entered Lusaka City with economic motives. Once in the City, the undocumented immigrant interviewees engaged in different economic activities, both in the formal and informal workforce. The next section reports on the economic activities in which the undocumented immigrants in Lusaka City were involved.

Economic activities of undocumented immigrants in Lusaka City

The interviewed undocumented immigrants from the case study areas in Lusaka City engaged in several economic activities in the informal sector. The major economic activity that undocumented immigrant interviewees were engaged in was small scale business (trade) activities, such as selling groceries in the informal settlements of

Chibolya, Matero and Mandevu. Undocumented immigrants either rented or owned the shops from where they sold groceries. All the Malawian and Tanzanian undocumented immigrant interviewees sold groceries as a means of earning money (Ml-1 and Tz-1, Ml-2 and Tz-2, and Ml-3 and Tz-3, personal communications, 25, 27 and 29 April 2016, respectively). Plate 9 shows shelved goods in an undocumented immigrant's grocery shop.

Plate 9. Goods in an undocumented immigrant's grocery shop in Mandevu, Lusaka City, Zambia (Source: Author, 2016)

An Angolan man from Chibolya owned a make-shift[6] shop (locally known as 'ntemba') at his home where he sold sweets, corn snacks and bubble-gum. He also bought items like sugar, salt and cooking oil from other retail shops which he re-packed into smaller quantities and sold at his 'ntemba' (A-3, personal communication, 29 April 2016). He also sold coloured and sweetened ice blocks from his home. Plate 10 shows a make-shift shop. Another Angolan man from Matero was a shoe and bicycle repairer who operated from his home (A-2, personal communication, 27 April 2016).

Plate 10. An undocumented immigrant's makeshift shop ('ntemba') outside a house in Chibolya, Lusaka City (Source: Author, 2016)

[6] A makeshift shop is a structure made of wood or plastic. Merchandise is brought out from the owners' homes and sold from the structure during the day and taken back home at night.

A Motswana and Namibian (both women) said they earned income through selling second-hand clothes (B-1 and N-2, personal communications, 27 April 2016). Plate 11 shows a selection of some second-hand clothes from a Motswana woman's home in Mandevu. 'I open an average of four bales of clothes per month. I do my business in town (the CBD)', said the Motswana woman (B-2, personal communication, 27 April 2016). A Zambian female interviewee from Matero said she knew Malawians who were engaged in selling second-hand shoes (Mt-6, personal communication, 28 April 2016).

Plate 11. Some second-hand clothes sold at a home of an undocumented immigrant in Matero, Lusaka City

(Source: Author, 2016)

A Zimbabwean woman and Mozambiquean man - both undocumented immigrants from Matero - were engaged in street vending as a way of earning money for their daily needs. At times they sold their merchandise at their homes in their residential areas when they did not have transport to go to the CBD (Z-2 and Mz-2, personal communications, 27 April 2016).

A Congolese woman from Mandevu said in addition to a grocery shop, she also braided hair as another means of income generation (DRC-1, personal communication, 25 April 2016). The three Lusaka City Council CDOs who worked in peri-urban areas indicated that hair dressing was an economic activity that undocumented immigrants such as Masai men from Tanzanian, Congo and Kenya were engaged in (CDOs, personal communications, 4 May 2016).

One Mozambiquean man and one Malawian man were engaged in bricklaying as an economic activity (Mz-1, Ml-2, personal communications, 25 and 27 April 2016). An Angolan woman said she was employed as a maid for a Zambian (A-1, personal communication, 25 April 2016). Among the Zambians that were interviewed, one man from Chibolya said, 'We prefer to hire Malawians to build houses because they don't charge a lot of money and build better houses than Zambian bricklayers' (C-3, personal communication, 2 May 2016).

A Mozambiquean man (Mz-1) entered Zambia in 2009 because of economic hardships back in his Country. He came to Zambia and eventually Lusaka City, with two of his friends in search of employment and to undertake business. 'A man of 99 jobs' as Mz-1 referred to himself, he owned a grocery shop and at the same time was a bricklayer. He was married to a Zambian woman who was a business woman selling second-hand clothes at Mandevu market.

One Malawian man said he owned a grocery shop and that he was also a tailor. He tailored school uniforms and chitenge[7] attires (Ml-1, personal communication, 25 April 2016). Two Zimbabweans (one from Mandevu and one from Chibolya) were self-employed as knitters. The Zimbabweans knitted school sweaters and sweater vests (Z-1 and Z-3, personal communications, 25 and 29 April 2016, respectively). Plate 12 shows a selection of their knitted school sweater vests.

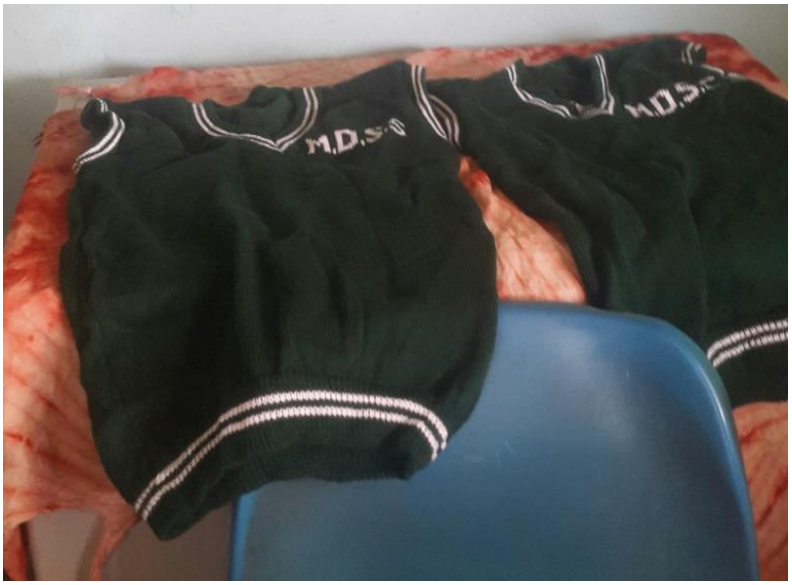

Plate 12. A selection of knitted school sweater vests from Zimbabwean knitters in Lusaka, Zambia (Source: Author, 2016)

The immigration officer indicated that undocumented immigrants in informal settlements of Lusaka City also engaged in illegal activities such as prostitution, theft and drug trafficking as a means of income generation (Immigration officer, personal

[7] Chitenge is a fabric made from cotton, and is of different prints. It can be worn as a wrapper or can be used to tailor clothes.

communication, 6 May 2016). One Zambian woman from Chibolya contended, 'these foreign women especially from Malawi and Zimbabwe are prostitutes found in bars and they sleep with our husbands' (C-7, personal communication, 2 May 2016). Another Zambian man from Chibolya contended that theft and drug dealing were common among the Congolese (C-1, personal communication, 2 May 2016).

This section highlighted that the major economic activity that undocumented immigrant interviewees in the case study areas of the research in Lusaka City was business. The undocumented immigrants who were interviewed were engaged in business and sold various goods. Others, on the other hand, were employed. Zambians and undocumented immigrants in Lusaka City co-existed and hence it is vital to explain the way they related to one another. The Zambians and undocumented immigrants met at residential areas, work places and even in business areas. The next section highlights how undocumented immigrants and Zambians in Lusaka related to another.

Co-existence between Zambians and undocumented immigrants in Lusaka City

Undocumented immigrants who participated in this research co-existed with the local people in Lusaka City in the residential areas, business places and at work. Thus, this section highlights the co-existence that was there.

A Namibian woman of Matero said she co-existed well with her Zambian neighbours who even engaged her in social activities such as weddings (N-2, personal communication, 27 April 2016). A Mozambiquean man and an Angolan said Zambians in their residential area (Mandevu) were warm-hearted (M-1 and A-1,

personal communications, 25 April 2016). The Mozambiquean man contended that the friendly nature of Zambians was a reason he even married a Zambian woman (Mz-1, personal communication, 25 April 2016). A Congolese woman of Mandevu said despite her neighbours calling her a 'foreigner', she still felt at home (DRC-1, personal communication, 25 April 2016). A Motswana woman of Mandevu said Zambians in her residential area were friendly and supportive (B-1, personal communication, 25 April 2016).

A Zambian female interviewee from Chibolya said she enjoyed the friendship she had with her Congolese tenant (C-8, personal communication, 2 May 2016). A Zambian male interviewee from Matero said he obtained groceries on credit from his Rwandese neighbour, who owned a grocery shop (Mt- 3, personal communication, 26 April 2016). A Zambian male interviewee from Mandevu said he had a good relationship with his Zimbabwean friend, with whom he co-owned a carpentry business (Md-1, personal communication, 26 April 2016).

The three undocumented immigrant interviewees who were employed said they co-existed well with Zambians at their work places. The Angolan woman, for example, who worked as a housekeeper for more than 10 years for a Zambian family, said her employers were actually almost her second family (A-1, personal communication, 25 April 2016). The Mozambiquean man also said the relationship between him and the Zambian bricklayers he was working with as well as his Zambian employers was good (Mz-1, personal communication, 25 April 2016).

Three Zambian interviewees contended that their employers were good people (Md-8, Mt-1 and Mt-3, personal communication, 26 April and 28 April 2016). A Zambian male interviewee of Matero, who worked for a Congolese said, 'the relationship

between me and my Congolese boss is like that of a son and a father. This man (the boss) is like my second father' (Mt-3, personal communication, 28 April 2016).

There were Zambians and undocumented immigrants who were engaged in businesses dealing with the sale of unique goods, and hence did not compete for customers. For example, a Zambian interviewee from Mandevu said, 'As for me, I cannot complain of competition in businesses with these foreigners like my fellow Zambians because my business (selling electronics like televisions, radios and cell phones) is different from that of foreigners who usually sell groceries' (Md-2, personal communication, 26 April 2016).

Undocumented immigrants who participated in this research complained of challenges in their co-existence with Zambians. The major complaint that came from the undocumented immigrant interviewees was that they did not like Zambians calling them 'foreigners'. A Tanzanian man from Mandevu complained, 'One time I had a challenge where I could not report a Zambian to the police because he threatened that he would also report me as an undocumented immigrant' (Tz-1, personal communication, 25 April 2016).

Some of the interviewed Zambians had their own complaints and problems in their co-existence with undocumented immigrants. One Zambian woman from Mandevu and one Zambian man from Matero complained that undocumented immigrants were usually given first priority when buying land because they (the undocumented immigrants) were willing to buy land at prices above the normal market price (Md-6 and Mt-2, personal communications, 26 and 28 April 2016, respectively). Three Zambian interviewees said undocumented immigrants brought about competition in business (Md-4, Mt- 1 and C-5, personal communications, 26 and 28 April, and 2

May 2016, respectively). A Zambian woman of Chibolya complained of Congolese hair dressers being quicker than her and hence she was 'robbed' of her customers (C-5, personal communication, 2 May 2016). One Zambian man who worked as a shopkeeper for a Rwandese in Matero complained of delayed salaries from his employer (Mt-1, personal communication, 28 April 2016).

The co-existence between Zambians and undocumented immigrants in the case study areas (Mandevu, Matero and Chibolya) was characterized with cooperation and complaints. Whereas some of the interviewed Zambians and undocumented immigrants said they co-existed well among themselves, others had complaints.

The entrance of undocumented immigrants in Lusaka City impacted the socio-economic, cultural, political and environmental parameters of the City. The next section presents the effects of undocumented immigration in Lusaka City.

Effects of undocumented immigration on Lusaka City

This section aims at presenting the positive and negative impacts of undocumented immigration in the selected case study areas of Lusaka City. Undocumented immigration in selected case study areas of Lusaka City had benefits. The benefits if properly harnessed would contribute effectively to the development of the case study areas. The next section therefore presents the positive effects of undocumented immigration in the case study areas of Lusaka City.

Positive impacts of undocumented immigration on Lusaka City

The research revealed that Zambians benefitted from their co-existence with undocumented immigrants. Zambian interviewees such as a man from Mandevu, a

woman and a man from Matero said they learnt skills like carpentry (from Zimbabweans), hair braiding (from a Congolese friend) and bricklaying (from a Malawian friend), respectively (Md-1, Mt-6 and Mt-4, personal communications, 26 and 28 April 2016, respectively). A Zambian woman interviewee from Matero contended that she learned to braid hair from her Congolese friend and eventually set up her own hair salon (Mt-6, personal communication, 28 April 2016).

Undocumented immigrants in the case study areas of Lusaka City employed Zambians in their businesses. In Mandevu, a Zambian man worked as taxi driver for a Tanzanian (Md-4, personal communication, 26 April 2016). A Zambian man of Matero said, 'Despite my boss delaying my salaries, I still appreciate the fact that he hired me to work for him' (Mt-1, personal communication, 28 April 2016). Another Zambian woman from Chibolya said, 'My daughter works for a Congolese in a hair salon' (C-8, personal communication, 2 May 2016).

Some of the Zambian interviewees said they learnt good cultural values from undocumented immigrants in their communities. Three Zambian interviewees stated that they learnt to be business-minded like the undocumented immigrants in their communities (Md-5, Mt-4 and C-4, personal communications, 26 and 28 April, and 2 May 2016). A Zambian male respondent from Mandevu also said he was prompted to start a business to sell second-hand clothes because he admired the way his Tanzanian neighbour was financially enabled through his business (Md-5, personal communication, 26 April 2016). A Zambian woman interviewee from Mandevu said that Rwandese shop owners opened their stores as early as 05:00 hours and closed their shops at 23:00, something that Zambians didn't do (Md-5, personal communication, 26 April 2016). The woman contended that in the long run, due to the business competition, Zambians also emulated such a culture. In Chibolya, one

Zambian woman interviewee said, ‘the foreigners in our neighbourhood are very cooperative among themselves, especially in business, and we Zambians are also learning to be cooperative like them’ (C-6, personal communication, 2 May 2016).

Undocumented immigrants from the case study areas of Lusaka City brought about positive cultural, economic and social effects. At the same time, undocumented immigration into Lusaka City also had negative impacts. The negative impacts of undocumented immigration in Lusaka City brought about problems that affected the local people and the environment.

Negative impacts of undocumented immigration on Lusaka City

Undocumented immigration into Lusaka City also had negative impacts. Due to influx of undocumented immigrants into the City, socio-economic and environmental problems arose. According to three CDOs (responsible for Mandevu, Chibolya and Matero) of the Lusaka City Council, undocumented immigrants who settled in the informal settlements of Lusaka City (such as Mandevu, Matero and Chibolya) contributed to the increased population of the informal settlements. The CDOs contended that the population increase due to the influx of undocumented immigrants put pressure on social services such as education and health in the informal settlements at Chibolya, Matero and Mandevu (CDOs, personal communications, 4 May 2016). A Zambian male respondent from Mandevu said undocumented immigrants added to the population of the already overcrowded informal settlements in Lusaka City (Md-4, personal communication, 26 April 2016).

According to a CDO responsible for Mandevu, litter from shops (of both Zambians and undocumented immigrants) piled up, and in the long run caused environmental despoliation [land degradation] (Mandevu CDO, personal communication, 4 May 2016). Street vendors (both Zambians and undocumented immigrants) contributed to littering in the Lusaka CBD and the case study areas (Lusaka City planning officer, personal communication, 4 May 2016). A CDO responsible for Matero indicated that some of the undocumented immigrants were engaged in sand quarrying which had a negative environmental impact (Matero CDO, personal communication, 4 May 2016).

Tax evasion was another negative impact of undocumented immigration in Lusaka City (Senior immigration officer, personal communication, 6 May 2016). Also, one Zambian male interviewee who was a shopkeeper from Chibolya said,

> It is not fair that some of these foreigners get our customers yet they do not pay for trading licences. They have a tendency of closing their shops when the representatives from the council come to check for trading licences (C-3, personal communication, 2 May 2016)

Another negative impact of undocumented immigration in Lusaka City was the competition for employment between Zambians and undocumented immigrants. One Zambian woman interviewee of Mandevu said, 'the foreigners are after jobs which we are interested in and so there is competition for jobs' (Md-5, personal communication, 26 April 2016).

Two Zambian interviewees (both from Chibolya) contended that some of undocumented immigrants in their area were criminals who contributed to the crime rates in the community (C-2 and C-7, personal communications, 2 May 2016). The responses from the five Lusaka City Council officers and the five immigration officers

from Lusaka national headquarters also mentioned crimes such as drug dealing, theft and prostitution in informal settlements as a negative impact of undocumented immigration in Lusaka City (Lusaka City Council officers and immigration officers, personal communications, 4 and 6 May 2016, respectively).

The undocumented immigrants in Mandevu, Chibolya and Matero had positive and negative impacts on the community. The government of Zambia put in efforts to address problems arising from undocumented immigration in Lusaka City, and reduce undocumented immigration. The next section focuses on the government efforts that aimed at addressing the problems arising from undocumented immigration, as well as ways of reducing the phenomenon.

Government's initiatives to address and reduce undocumented immigration in Lusaka City

Undocumented immigration in Lusaka City caused problems that needed to be addressed. The government of Zambia put in place measures that aimed at addressing the problems that were experienced in Lusaka City due to undocumented immigration.

The negative impacts of undocumented immigration in Lusaka City affected everyone in the City. Therefore, the government made efforts to address and reduce the problems associated with undocumented immigration in Lusaka City. The responses from the Lusaka City Council officers stressed the removal of street vendors – be it Zambian or undocumented immigrants (Lusaka City planning officer, Lusaka town clerk and CDOs responsible for Mandevu, Matero and Chibolya, personal communications, 4 May 2016).

The five immigration officers stated that the immigration department conducted patrols as one way of identifying undocumented or overstaying immigrants in Lusaka City (Immigration officers, personal communications, 6 May 2016). The chief immigration officer noted that patrols were carried out based on government funding, so there was no specific number of patrols conducted over time (Chief immigration officer, personal communication, 6 May 2016). Apart from funding, the immigration officer stated that impromptu patrols were conducted when members of the public tipped the immigration office on the presence of undocumented immigrants in the city (immigration officer, personal communication, 6 May 2016). In their patrols, immigration officers moved through different parts of the City - sometimes in disguise - to identify the undocumented and overstaying immigrants. The informal settlements were the major target areas when it came to patrols because this was where the undocumented immigrants preferred to stay.

The assistant immigration officer, immigration assistant and senior immigration officer indicated that once the undocumented immigrants were identified, they were - with the help of the police - detained and prosecuted (Assistant immigration officer, immigration assistant and senior immigration officer, personal communications, 4 May 2016). The prosecuted undocumented immigrants, according to the senior immigration officer, were kept in detention until the Minister of Home Affairs signed a deportation order (Senior immigration officer, personal communication, 4 May 2016). The immigration department recommended the deportation[8] of undocumented immigrants who were a threat to peace in the Country. Other undocumented immigrants were removed[9] from the Country. The arrests, prosecutions, deportations

[8] A deportee is not allowed to return to a country once he is sent out.
[9] A removed undocumented immigrant can return to a country after being removed.

and removals were measures minimizing the number of undocumented immigrants in Lusaka City, and reducing problems associated with undocumented immigration.

The immigration department also carried out sensitizations in the City (also dependent on available funding). In Mandevu, two female and two male interviewees stated that immigration officers once came to the area and sensitized them to report suspected undocumented immigrants to the police and immigration department (Md-3, Md-5, Md-6 and Md-8, personal communications, 26 April 2016). All the five immigration officers highlighted that sensitizations were carried out especially in the informal settlements of Lusaka City (Immigration officers, personal communications, 6 May 2016).

Some Zambian interviewees lamented that government had not done much to address the problems arising from undocumented immigration in Lusaka City. For example, a woman respondent of Mandevu said, 'I don't remember when last I saw immigration officers carrying out sensitizations because it has been long since they came here (Mandevu)' (Md-7, personal communication, 26 April 2016). A Zambian woman of Mandevu declared, 'The last time I saw immigration and police officers patrolling Mandevu and neighbouring areas was one year ago (2015), yet undocumented immigrants are still here' (Md-8, personal communication, 26 April 2016). Another Zambian male interviewee from Matero said he had never seen any immigration officers carrying out patrols or sensitizations, but only heard of such operations on television and from residents (Mt-2, personal communication, 28 April 2016).

This research indicated that the immigration department addressed the negative impacts of undocumented immigration in the case study areas of Lusaka City

through patrols, sensitizations and arrests of undocumented immigrants, while the Lusaka City Council was concerned with the environmental well-being of the case study areas.

When addressing the problems associated with undocumented immigration, there was also the need to reduce the phenomenon of undocumented immigration. The negative effects of undocumented immigration in Lusaka City called for a reduction of the entry of undocumented immigrants. The immigration department and the Zambia Police worked towards reducing undocumented immigration in Zambia, and the entry of undocumented immigrants in Lusaka City.

The immigration officer and senior immigration officer emphasised that there were immigration officers who manned the border posts in Zambia, and every vehicle that passed through the borders was searched for passengers' documentation as well as for any hidden passengers (Immigration officer and senior immigration officer, personal communications, 6 May 2016). Those who were found without the required documentation were detained.

The chief immigration officer and assistant immigration officer indicated that road blocks were held (especially along the major highways) to reduce the entry of undocumented immigrants into the Country (Chief immigration officer and assistant immigration officer, personal communications, 6 May 2016). At the road blocks, immigration and police officers requested documentation such as Zambian NRCs, visas and passports of passengers of the vehicles. Passengers who were found without the relevant documentation were detained for further investigation.

The immigration officer and the senior immigration officer indicated that border patrols were carried out in border areas (Immigration officer and senior immigration

officer, personal communications, 6 May 2016). The border patrols were carried out to prevent the entry of undocumented immigrants using undesignated routes such as bushes around the borders areas, instead of the official entry points. Also, the border patrols were carried out to prevent the entry and exit of non-Zambians and Zambians who lived in the border areas.

The government, through the immigration department and Zambia Police, addressed the problems that undocumented immigrants in Lusaka generated. Patrols were conducted to identify, prosecute, remove and even deport undocumented immigrants, and as such reduce the problems that emanated from undocumented immigration. In addressing the problems, the government also reduced undocumented immigration as a long-term measure.

The next section concludes the chapter.

Conclusion

This chapter analysed and presented the findings of the field research on undocumented immigration in Zambia with specific reference to Lusaka City and three selected informal settlements (Chibolya, Matero and Mandevu) in the City, in relation to the objectives. The research revealed that undocumented immigrants in Lusaka City came from different countries, mostly from the COMESA region. The reasons for the entry of undocumented immigrants in Zambia included the peace and business opportunities in the Country. Peace in Zambia stood out to be the major attraction for undocumented migration into Zambia. The undocumented immigrants also chose Lusaka City as their destination, for the reasons such as business and employment opportunities.

During their stay in Lusaka City, the undocumented immigrants were engaged in economic activities such as trade, as well as in skilled and semi-skilled employment. Undocumented immigrants in Lusaka City also co-existed with Zambians. In their co-existence, Zambians and undocumented immigrants in Chibolya, Mandevu and Matero co-operated, but experienced challenges. The research revealed that undocumented immigrants in Lusaka City had positive impacts such as competition in business, cultural exchanges, the employment of Zambians, and skills transfer. Undocumented immigration also generated negative impacts such as crime, and competition for jobs, land and business.

Government initiated efforts aimed at addressing the negative impacts of undocumented immigration. The local people also joined government efforts where they were sensitized not to harbour undocumented immigrants but report them instead. The research further revealed that the government was working towards reducing undocumented immigration in Zambia through different means.

After presenting and analysing the findings of the research, the next chapter discusses the findings of the research.

CHAPTER V

DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

This chapter discusses the research findings in relation to the study area, the thematic chapter (legislation policies, administration and bureaucracy on immigration), the literature review and the theoretical framework. The findings of the research are also discussed in line with the objectives of the research. The study's first objective was to identify the countries of origin of the undocumented immigrants in Lusaka and explore the reasons for the entry of undocumented immigrants into Zambia.

Nationalities of undocumented immigrants and reasons for entering Zambia

Undocumented immigrants from different countries entered Zambia due to political, social and economic reasons. Undocumented immigrants in Lusaka City from whom data were sourced in this study originated from Zambia's eight neighbouring countries: Mozambique, Malawi, Namibia, Botswana, Angola, Zimbabwe, The Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) and Tanzania.

The reports of arrests of undocumented immigrants (in Chapter II) in various parts of Lusaka City also revealed some other countries of origin of undocumented immigrants. The other countries of origin of undocumented immigrants, in addition to

the eight purposefully sampled in this study, included Ethiopia, Somalia, Rwanda and Burundi.

It is evident from the details presented in the above paragraph that most undocumented immigrants in Zambia came from countries in the COMESA region. Zambia's central location in the COMESA region was what made the Country easily accessible to undocumented immigrants. The main highways of Zambia that led to the surrounding countries provided a route for entry into Zambia on the part of undocumented immigrants. The nature of porous borders in Zambia also made the entry of undocumented immigrants into the country easy. The undocumented immigrants from different countries entered Zambia for different reasons.

The conditions of peace and stability in Zambia attracted undocumented immigrants into the Country. As at May 2016 (when the research was undertaken), Zambia had not experienced a civil war since independence in 1964. Simuchoba (2014) argued that the peace and stability that Zambia enjoyed since the attainment of independence in 1964 was a pull-factor for immigration. Out of the 24 undocumented immigrant interviewees, six of them (three Congolese and three Angolans) escaped wars from their home countries. The immigration of the Congolese and Angolans was in line with Kunz (1981) refugee theory where it was argued that the majority identified refugees escape political and social tension in their countries. The Angolans and Congolese escaped political tension and conflict.

The research also revealed that Zambia was a transit route for undocumented immigrants who wanted to enter South Africa. The routes that radiated from Lusaka and connected Zambia to other countries facilitated the passage of undocumented immigrants wishing to go to South Africa. Evidence existed in the arrests of

undocumented immigrants who tried to pass through Zambia en-route to South Africa (Chapter III). According to 'Stop wave of' (2014), 67 Ethiopians were arrested in the Central Province of Zambia as they tried to make their way to South Africa while concealed in containerized trucks. This case showed that Zambia's borders were porous given that these undocumented immigrants were found in the Central Province of Zambia, and illegally crossed some border into the Country.

From the research conducted in Lusaka City, it was found that accessibility to business opportunities in Zambia also attracted undocumented immigrants. Several undocumented immigrants who participated in this study entered Zambia to set up businesses. This supported Kanduza & Coulibaly (2016) who argued that the Masai men from Tanzania and Kenya entered Zambia to start businesses in hair dressing in Lusaka. The peace that Zambia enjoyed since independence in 1964 made the Zambian business environment stable and attractive.

Some of the interviewed undocumented immigrants (e.g., the two Mozambiqueans and two Tanzanians) entered the Country for employment. They entered Zambia to look for informal jobs such as shop keeping, bricklaying and tailoring. Such jobs did not necessarily require any formal educational training nor did it require documentation, but just the skill, ability and willingness to work, and as such, undocumented immigrants targeted such jobs. The two Mozambiqueans and two Tanzanians said they did not possess higher educational qualifications. Therefore, they sought informal, temporal jobs like bricklaying and shop keeping. Furthermore, undocumented immigrants - whether educated or not - could not engage in formal employment because they did not possess work permits as required in section 8 of the Immigration and Deportation Act No.18 of 2010 (GRZ, 2010). Thus, the dual labour market theory of international migration was applicable to the migration of

these Mozambiqueans and Tanzanians. The dual labour market theory argues that people migrate to new countries in search of employment, especially informal employment (King, 2012).

Some of the undocumented immigrant interviewees also entered Zambia to join their families, spouses and friends who were already settled in Zambia. The inviters had previously entered Zambia for reasons such as business, employment and peace. This migration - through invitations from relatives, friends and spouses - was in conformity to the dual labour market theory of migration. Fussel (2012) contended that according to the dual labour market theory of international migration, immigrants (both documented and undocumented) invite their relatives, spouses or even friends to join them in their new destinations once their businesses were established.

The porous borders of Zambia made it possible for the entry of undocumented immigrants into the Country. According to 'Stop harbouring illegal' (2013), the incumbent Minister of Home Affairs, Mr Edgar Lungu, attributed undocumented immigration into Zambia to the leaky borders in the Country. He cited low staffing levels in the immigration department as a factor contributing to the borders being porous. The complaint from the chief immigration officer citing low staffing levels in the immigration department was an indication that borders were porous because the few immigration officers were not able to adequately man the Zambian borders.

From the findings in this study, the major reasons for undocumented immigration into Zambia were for peace, business and employment. The porous borders contributed to the ease with which undocumented immigrants entered the Country. The other reasons that contributed to undocumented immigrants' entering Zambia included travel to be with family and friends.

There were different reasons for undocumented immigrants' entry in Zambia. Once in Zambia, the undocumented immigrants headed to Lusaka, the capital city for several reasons. The next section, therefore, discusses the reasons for undocumented immigrants' entry into Lusaka City.

Reasons for undocumented immigrants' choice of Lusaka City as their destination

Undocumented immigrants chose to live in Lusaka for different reasons. Being a capital city, Lusaka had many socio-economic opportunities that attracted people - immigrants (documented and undocumented) and local people. Undocumented immigrants in Lusaka City were usually destined for informal settlements where the cost of living was cheap.

Undocumented immigrant interviewees chose Lusaka City as their destination due to the business opportunities found there. Lusaka City was a large market for businesses due to its high population. The 2, 330, 000 people of Lusaka City in the year 2016 (Republic of Zambia CSO, 2013), comprised the potential buyers of the merchandise that undocumented immigrants were selling. Being an urban area, Lusaka City had business opportunities, and undocumented immigrant interviewees in this study who intended to engage in business opted to settle in the City. Spooner (2015) contended that Congolese traders and Masai hairdressers in Lusaka City's CBD confessed to having stayed in Lusaka City due to the business opportunities that were found in the City. However, the responses of the undocumented immigrant interviewees who cited that the people in Lusaka City were the buyers of their merchandise contrasted with Borjas' (2013) findings in that undocumented immigrants in the USA were the consumers of the USA citizens' merchandise.

Lusaka City had better health and educational facilities due to it being a capital city. For example, the UTH and the University of Zambia were located in Lusaka City. Other parts of the Country, such as the refugee camps, lacked such facilities. This accounted for the Congolese woman from Mandevu, for example, who left the refugee camp in Meheba and headed to Lusaka City to start a business. The Congolese woman's movement was a violation of the Zambian Refugee Control Act of 1970 which stipulated that refugees should reside in refugee camps unless permitted to live elsewhere (Chitipula, 2010).

The different economic activities in Lusaka (City as discussed in Chapter II) offered employment opportunities to persons, including undocumented immigrants. For example, grocery shops required shop assistants. Thus, some undocumented immigrant interviewees, such as one Tanzanian from Mandevu, entered Lusaka, Zambia to work as a shop assistant. Furthermore, Lusaka City was still growing and the building of infrastructure, like houses, was an important economic activity. This scenario also created employment opportunities for people with skills, like bricklaying. Thus, undocumented immigrant interviewees with such skills such as the Mozambiquean man of Mandevu and the Malawian man of Matero who were bricklayers came to Lusaka City to work in such ventures. The entry of undocumented immigrants into Lusaka City for informal employment was similar to Rezouni's (2010) that reported that undocumented Mexican migrants entered the USA in search of informal employment.

The movement of undocumented immigrants to Lusaka City was mainly economically motivated. Lusaka City even attracted Zambians because it was the capital city. The neoclassical economics (Kurekova, 2011), new economics of labour migration (Massey, et al., 1993) and the dual labour market (Fussel, 2012) theories

stressed that migration was economically oriented, and that migrants moved to new places to better their standards of living. Thus, the reasons for the migration into Lusaka City of undocumented immigrants who took part in this study were in accord with the three theories referred to above.

Undocumented immigrants in Lusaka City engaged in many economic activities to sustain their lives. Therefore, the next section discusses the economic activities of undocumented immigrants in Lusaka.

Economic activities of undocumented immigrants in Lusaka City

The undocumented immigrants from the case study areas of Lusaka City were engaged in informal economic activities to earn money for their sustainability. They were self-employed or were employed in the informal sector.

In this research, 16 out of the 24 undocumented immigrant interviewees from the case study areas in Lusaka City were engaged in business as a source of income. The opportunities in Lusaka City made the undocumented immigrants engage in various types of business such as selling groceries and second-hand clothes and street vending. The major business activity was the running of grocery shops. Sugar, cooking oil, salt, bread and other commodities which were consumed daily were the major merchandise in the undocumented immigrants' shops. Therefore, the undocumented immigrants who ran grocery shops had their goods bought daily. The undocumented immigrant interviewees from the embedded case study areas conducted their businesses in their residential areas (at homes or at the market areas) and in the CBD.

Hair dressing was also common among Masai men from Tanzania and Kenya who were in Lusaka City, where they dressed hair. Spooner (2015) contended that because business for them was profitable, they even invited their friends and family who were in their home countries to join their businesses. This conformed to the dual labour market theory of migration which argues that immigrants (documented and undocumented) tend to invite family members and friends once they get established in their new countries (Fussel, 2012).

Informal settlements such as Chibolya, where undocumented immigrants were found, were also the hub of criminal activities. There were reports of undocumented immigrants being arrested for criminal activities. For example, 'Zambia arrests Tanzanian' *(*2015) reported that some undocumented immigrants were arrested, (who were sex workers) and 'Six Chibolya foreigners' (2014) reported the arrest of three Congolese who were convicted of drug dealing. These arrests indicated that some undocumented immigrants in Lusaka City engaged in crime. The shebeens and beer halls in the informal settlements were a market for things such as drugs.

Undocumented immigrants were engaged in various economic activities, with business being the major one. They co-existed with the local people at residences, places of work and market areas. The next section discusses the coexistence between the Zambians and undocumented immigrants in Lusaka City.

Co-existence between Zambians and undocumented immigrants in Lusaka City

Undocumented immigrants and local people in the City of Lusaka related differently to one another. They co-operated, competed, and at times clashed. The

co-existence between the groups of people was at the residential, business and work areas. The responses from the interviewees indicated that the co-existence between Zambians and undocumented immigrants in the case study areas was co-operative, but times also challenging.

The friendly and easy-going nature of Zambians contributed to the undocumented immigrants' stay in Lusaka City. Kanduza & Coulibaly (2016) contended that Zambian women married Masai hair stylists. Co-operation between undocumented immigrants and Zambians in the case study areas was evident where a Zambian male interviewee of Matero and a Zimbabwean co-owned a carpentry business.

The word 'foreigner', that the Zambians used to address undocumented immigrants made the undocumented immigrant interviewees feel segregated. Furthermore, the complaint from the Tanzanian who could not take a Zambian to the police due to fear of being reported as an undocumented immigrant indicated that undocumented immigrants had no protection.

In April 2016, there was an uprising against foreign nationals in Lusaka City. From March to April 2016, killings swept through the informal settlements such as George, Lilanda and Zingalume in Lusaka City, where seven people were gruesomely murdered and had some body parts removed (Zimba, 2016). Zimba contended that the local people suspected the involvement of non-Zambians in the killings. Kaluba (2016) reported that a rumour circulated purporting the involvement of Rwandese in the killings, suspected for ritual purposes, in the attempt to boost their businesses. In consequence, violence erupted against non-Zambians, especially the Rwandese in Zingalume, an informal settlement of Lusaka City (Mukuka, 2016). Mukuka contended that the riots spread to informal settlements in Lusaka City, like Matero

and Mandevu (the embedded case study areas), George, Jack and Garden. During the riots, 62 shops were looted and property worth thousands of Kwacha was destroyed. This scenario helps explain the tension between Zambians and immigrants (including undocumented immigrants) in business activities.

Undocumented immigrants attracted customers because they sold their goods at lower prices than Zambians. The researcher also observed that merchandise in undocumented immigrants' shops was ZMW1 (10 cents) to ZMW10 (US$1) cheaper than in Zambian shops. The cheaper goods were a pull factor for customers who opted to buy goods from undocumented immigrants' shops. Thus, there was competition in business between undocumented immigrants and Zambians, where undocumented immigrants had an upper hand.

Zambians and undocumented immigrants also met, and interacted, at work places. Undocumented immigrants were employed and worked with Zambians. Also, undocumented immigrants employed Zambians, and vice versa. The relationship at places of work was co-operative, but at times challenging. For example, two Zambian interviewees said their undocumented immigrant employees were good. The undocumented immigrants' friendly disposition to their Zambian employees was probably a means to court the favour of Zambians so that they were not reported as undocumented immigrants to the relevant authorities. In this regard, 'Stop harbouring illegal' (2013) reported that Zambians harboured undocumented immigrants and entered into business deals with them. The Zambians only reported undocumented immigrants when the business deals failed.

The presence of undocumented immigrants in Lusaka City came with its own benefits and problems. In the next section, the positive and negative impacts of undocumented immigration in Lusaka City are discussed.

Effects of undocumented immigration on Lusaka City

The influx of undocumented migrants into Lusaka City had positive and negative impacts on the socio-economic, cultural, political and environmental realms. Undocumented immigrants in the City brought about positive and negative effects to the economy and the society.

Positive impacts of undocumented immigration on Lusaka City

Undocumented immigrants settled in Lusaka City where they brought about positive impacts. The local people benefitted from the influx of undocumented migrants in Lusaka City. The undocumented immigrants made a positive contribution to the social and economic welfare of the City.

One positive contribution of undocumented immigrants in Lusaka City was skills transfer. Thus, if more Zambians in Lusaka City were learning skills from undocumented immigrants and using the skills to start their own businesses (like a Zambian woman interviewee from Matero), entrepreneurship was encouraged and hence there was a source of income for some Zambians. The Zambians who learnt the skills from undocumented immigrants could also teach fellow Zambians, and further encourage entrepreneurship.

Undocumented immigrants in the case study areas also created employment for the local people. Three Zambian interviewees were employed as shopkeepers in undocumented immigrants' grocery shops. Thus, they earned an income to sustain their livelihoods. Therefore, the presence of undocumented immigrants in the case study areas had positive economic impacts. This is similar to Davidson's (2013) findings in that he noted that the local people in the USA enjoyed positive economic effects from undocumented immigrants.

Cultural exchange was also another benefit of undocumented immigration in the case study areas of Lusaka City. Some Zambian interviewees noted that they learned different cultural elements from the undocumented immigrants that they found beneficial. Zambians who were interviewed during the research agreed that undocumented immigrants had a culture of hard work that Zambians lacked. Through their interactions with the undocumented immigrants in Lusaka City, some Zambians also emulated the culture of hard work from undocumented immigrants and started their own businesses. For example, Burundian, Rwandese and Congolese-owned grocery shops in informal settlements of Lusaka City brought about positive competition with Zambians engaged in the same business. Zambians in Lusaka City learnt to work as hard as the undocumented immigrants to generate profits in their businesses. Lucci & Martins (2015) also argued that local people of receiving countries of undocumented immigrants can emulate the positive cultural elements of the undocumented immigrants.

The increase of undocumented immigrants in Lusaka City also generated its own problems. The negative effects of immigration in Lusaka City are discussed in the next section.

Negative effects of undocumented immigration on Lusaka City

The influx of undocumented immigrants in Lusaka City contributed to the increase in population. Population increase (partly due to undocumented immigration) caused problems in the city and these affected the local people, the environment, the immigrants and the government. Population increase (partly due to undocumented immigration) caused overcrowding in Lusaka City especially in the informal settlements where the undocumented immigrants settled.

The overcrowded informal settlements lacked adequate police posts and so it was difficult to track down criminals, whether undocumented immigrants or Zambians. Local people in Lusaka City were sometimes accomplices to the undocumented immigrants' criminal acts. For example, in Chapter II, there is reference to Moonga (2014) who reported that the DEC in September 2014 arrested two Matero residents who were found in possession of four forged Zambian NRCs. The forged NRCs were intended to aid undocumented immigrants to pose as Zambians.

The few social services that were in the case study areas were not sufficient to cater for the residents (both undocumented immigrants and local people). For example, one police station and one primary school in Chibolya were not sufficient to meet the needs of the population of 167, 542 (CSO, 2011) in the area. Undocumented immigrants also have the right to security, education and health. However, the few clinics and hospitals were not enough to cater for the already existing Zambian population, and the undocumented immigrants who came into the City just contributed to the increased demand on services. This pressurized the government

to identify additional funds to construct more schools and hospitals to provide for the increased demand.

The accumulation of litter and garbage from street vendors (some of whom were undocumented immigrants) led to environmental despoliation. To clean up the City, increased government spending was needed. Besides, the litter and garbage also came from the shops and businesses that the undocumented immigrants were engaged.

Some undocumented immigrants in Lusaka City also engaged in illegal activities to generate money. This was evident in the arrests of undocumented immigrants who engaged in illegal activities in informal settlements of Lusaka City. For example, in Chapter III, there is mention of a Namibian national who was arrested after he was found with cannabis concealed in artefacts that he was selling in Lusaka's Garden settlement (Siame, 2015). The involvement of undocumented immigrants (and even the local people) in criminal activities was due to the few police stations that were there to cater for the population in the case study areas. Therefore, it was difficult to monitor and maintain law and order. There is reference to Manchinshi (2014) in Chapter II where dangerous criminals escaped from Chibolya police post.

The findings in this study also indicated that undocumented immigrants from the case study areas in Lusaka City generated competition for land, employment and business. For example, from the responses of Zambian interviewees, one man from Chibolya and one woman from Mandevu, respectively, confirmed that Malawians were better bricklayers than Zambians and that undocumented immigrants were willing to work for lower wages. The Zambian woman's response was similar to

Davidson (2013) who argued that undocumented migrants (like Mexicans) were willing to work for lower wages in the USA.

Tax evasion was also revealed as a negative impact of undocumented immigration in Lusaka City. Undocumented immigrants were involved in business activities. To acquire trading licences, documentation like National Registration Cards (NRCs) were needed. Some undocumented immigrants who engaged in business were not able to pay for trading licences as NRCs were required to have payments processed. The undocumented immigrants' tax evasion had a negative impact on government revenue as trade took place without the government benefitting.

The immigration department carried patrols to identify and rid the City of undocumented immigrants. These patrols required funding, and as such, sums of money were put aside for such exercises. Funding was needed to meet the immigration officers' costs for the patrols. Also, the cost of removal and deportation of undocumented immigrants was a government expenditure item. This meant that government spent sums of money on addressing matters affecting undocumented immigration in Lusaka City. The same funds would otherwise have been used for other projects.

The government addressed the negative effects of undocumented immigration in Lusaka City, and undertook to reduce undocumented immigration. The next section discusses the government efforts that were aimed at addressing the problems arising from undocumented immigration, and ways of reducing it.

Government's initiatives to address and reduce undocumented immigration in Lusaka City

The negative effects of undocumented immigration in Lusaka City were dealt with. Efforts were introduced to avoid them recurring and to prevent new ones from emerging. The government of Zambia addressed the issues that arose because of undocumented immigration. The local people also helped where they could, in addressing the problems of undocumented immigration.

The undocumented immigrants were identified and arrested as the first step towards addressing the negative effects of undocumented immigration. To identify the undocumented immigrants, the immigration department combined efforts with the Zambia Police in which officers (both immigration and police), conducted patrols in Lusaka City. The patrols were both on foot, and motorized. The foot patrols enabled the officers to reach areas in informal settlements that were inaccessible to motor vehicles. The immigration and police officers at times carried out their patrols in disguise (without uniform) so that they could easily interact with the residents of informal settlements and collect relevant information from them. The arrests, removal, detention and deportation of undocumented immigrants reduced the number of undocumented immigrants in Lusaka City, and the problems that emanated from undocumented immigration.

The immigration department was responsible for sensitizing local people not to harbour undocumented immigrants, and to report their presence to the relevant authorities. The sensitization of local people was a strategy to help identify undocumented immigrants. It was easier for the local people who were in close contact with members of their community (rather than for immigration officers) to

notice the arrival of undocumented immigrants in their residential areas. There is reference to Phiri (2016) in Chapter III, who reported that a resident of Kabangwe in Lusaka City alerted the police about Ethiopian nationals in the area, and where to find them. The Ethiopian nationals were found in one house without legal documentation.

The Lusaka City Council also dealt with environmental problems that arose due to population increase which was partially because of undocumented immigration in Lusaka City. Street vendors (whether Zambian or undocumented immigrants) were removed from streets. Furthermore, the Council took the responsibility for collecting garbage from public areas like the markets, and placed garbage containers in specific locations for waste removal to dump sites. Generally, the Lusaka City Council was concerned with the environmental well-being of the City and dealt with environmental problems that the local citizens and the undocumented immigrants generated. In short, the Lusaka City Council tried to deal, and manage, the negative effects of undocumented immigration.

The government of Zambia not only addressed the problems arising from undocumented immigration in the City but also worked to reduce and limit undocumented immigration and its negative effects. The Zambian government through the immigration department and the police arrested undocumented immigrants at the borders, and those who entered the Country illegally.

The Zambian government, through the immigration department and police, closely guarded the borders to prevent entry of undocumented immigrants in Zambia. There were immigration and police posts at the Zambian border areas where immigration and police officers closely monitored those who entered and left the Country.

Vehicles entering and leaving the country were searched for undocumented immigrants and prohibited items like drugs. According to the Immigration and Deportation Act No.18 of 2010, an immigrant had to possess valid travel documents, including visas. The failure to produce such documentation at the borders meant an immigrant was undocumented. Undocumented immigrants were arrested and detained, and awaited deportation or removal, while prohibited materials were confiscated. The manning of the Zambian borders made it difficult for undocumented immigrants to enter the Country and arrive in the capital city (Lusaka).

Road blocks were mounted (especially along the main highways like the Great East, Great North, Livingstone, Mongu and Chirundu Roads) which were routes of entry of undocumented immigrants into Lusaka City and other parts of Zambia. Immigration and police officers at the road blocks searched the passengers for documentation such as NRCs, visas and passports. The national registration division of the Zambia national registration and passport department stipulated that Zambians, aged 16 years and above, had to possess an NRC to be identified as Zambian citizens. Thus, at the road blocks, Zambians were expected to produce NRCs while non-Zambians were expected to produce travel documents, such as visas and passports. Failure on the part of the foreigners to produce the required documentation rendered them liable to arrest and detention. For example, Sichikwenkwe (2016) and Phiri (2016) reported that Ethiopians were arrested at road blocks after they failed to produce the relevant documentation. The patrols, arrests and detentions that the immigration and police officers carried out helped to reduce entry of undocumented immigrants into Zambia, and Lusaka City.

The next section gives a conclusion of the discussion of the findings.

Conclusion

The research narrowed undocumented immigration to the city scale. The literature on documented migration highlighted the reasons for entry of undocumented immigrants in a country but did not highlight the reasons why they (the undocumented immigrants) entered larger cities, like Lusaka. The research explored the reasons for undocumented immigrants' entry in Lusaka City. Once in Lusaka City, undocumented immigrants engaged in different economic activities due to the economic opportunities found there. The research also highlighted the challenges that undocumented immigrants faced in their residences, work places (for those that were employed), and businesses.

It was found that undocumented immigrants targeted Lusaka City and specifically the informal settlements where the cost of living was affordable. The major reason for entering Lusaka City was to access opportunities such as business, employment, better health and educational facilities. Undocumented immigration was also seen to have had positive and negative effects on the cultural, social and economic domains. The Zambian government engaged in efforts to address the problems of undocumented immigration. These included patrols in Lusaka City and in the border areas, where undocumented immigrants were identified and prosecuted. Local people were also helpful in the identification of undocumented immigrants in Lusaka City. Furthermore, the government through the immigration department reduced the entry of undocumented immigrants into Zambia and Lusaka City through border patrols and road blocks.

The next chapter provides a conclusion to this research on undocumented immigration in Zambia – with reference to the embedded case study areas in Lusaka

City. The next chapter also presents recommendations that emanate from this research, and sets out the limitations and challenges that the researcher encountered in her research on undocumented immigration in Zambia with specific reference to Lusaka City.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION

This chapter concludes the research in relation to the objectives, and makes recommendations stemming from the findings in respect of undocumented migration. In this conclusion, future topics of research on undocumented migration are also suggested. Furthermore, the chapter will reflect some of the problems the researcher encountered during the research.

Based on the findings of this study, it is vital to record that the objectives of the research were achieved through the co-operation of the respondents. Undocumented immigrants who participated in this research were of various nationalities from the COMESA region. Some left their home countries due to war, for example, the Congolese and Angolans, while others left for economic reasons, for example, the Tanzanians, Zimbabweans and Malawians. Others entered Zambia to search for flexible employment (piecework), hence confirming the perspectives as set out in the dual labour market theory of migration. Also, some of the undocumented immigrant interviewees entered Zambia to join their spouses and family members. The reasons for entry of the undocumented immigrant interviewees into Zambia was in line with the theoretical framework which comprised the neoclassical, the new economics of labour migration, the dual labour market and the Kunz refugee migration theories.

Lusaka City was attractive to the interviewed undocumented immigrants because it was an urban area and capital city, and hence had business and employment opportunities as well as medical and educational facilities. The cheap accommodation in the informal settlements of Lusaka City attracted the undocumented immigrant interviewees. In Lusaka City, undocumented immigrant interviewees mostly engaged in businesses such as selling groceries, street vending, tailoring and hair dressing. The undocumented immigrants' businesses performed better than the Zambians, and this created tension as there was competition for customers.

The co-existence between undocumented immigrants and Zambians in Lusaka City was co-operative, but there was also tension. The co-existence was co-operative as undocumented immigrants employed Zambians, and Zambians employed undocumented immigrants. There was also intermarriage between undocumented immigrants and Zambians. The tension was seen where undocumented immigrant interviewees complained of being referred to as 'foreigners', while the main complaint from the Zambian interviewees was that undocumented immigrants were better in business.

The presence of undocumented immigrants in Lusaka City came with its own benefits and shortcomings. On a positive note, immigrants such as those in business provided the consumer goods, and because they were hard working in their businesses, Zambians emulated their work ethic. Undocumented immigrants also employed Zambians and this was a positive impact. However, undocumented immigration in Lusaka City contributed to the population increase, which in turn brought about negative socio-economic and environmental implications such as overcrowding and the accumulation of garbage. Undocumented immigrants in

Lusaka City, on the other hand, also engaged in illicit activities such as prostitution and drug dealing.

The negative effects of undocumented immigration into Lusaka City were addressed. Government entities such as the immigration department, Zambia Police and DEC managed to arrest, detain, remove and deport undocumented and problematic immigrants. In this way, the numbers of undocumented immigrants were reduced and thus the problems emanating from undocumented immigrants in Lusaka City were equally dealt with and reduced. The permanent solution to the reduction and addressing of problems emanating from undocumented immigration was to reduce undocumented immigration. The immigration department and Zambia Police patrolled and guarded borders as well as highways leading into and out of the Country to prohibit unauthorized entry. Local people in Lusaka City were also vigilant and reported suspected undocumented immigrants to the police and immigration officers who then acted.

In addressing the problems arising from undocumented immigration and reducing it in Lusaka City, not much was done and much needed to be done. This was because of the low staffing levels in the immigration department where officers were supposed to guard borders and patrol border areas which were the principal entry points of undocumented immigrants. The local people who harboured and aided undocumented immigrants also frustrated government efforts aimed at ridding Lusaka City of undocumented immigrants. For example, forgery of documents in Matero (embedded case study areas), ‘awarded citizenship’ to some non-Zambians.

In summary, migration (both local and international) is on-going and inevitable. Local migration goes on with few restrictions (if any), but international migration

needs close monitoring as documentation is required. There is need to restrict undocumented immigration and reduce the number of undocumented immigrants in Zambia, especially through patrols in residential areas like Lusaka City and also at border posts. Above all, border security needs to be tightened so that undocumented immigrants do not enter the Country and contribute to problems.

From the research and its findings, the researcher noted certain issues in the study areas and the immigration department that needed attention. Thus, suggestions to address the problems of undocumented immigration in Lusaka City, and reduce the entry of undocumented immigrants into Zambia and consequently Lusaka City are advanced. The next section therefore makes recommendations in relation to the findings of the research.

Recommendations

From the findings of the research on undocumented immigration in Zambia with reference to Lusaka City, the researcher noted that certain matters needed to be addressed. The following suggestions are made:

- Intensify patrols in settlement areas, especially in informal settlements, that tended to be the places where undocumented immigrants settled. The patrols can help identify undocumented immigrants.
- Intensify sensitization of local people not to harbour and aid undocumented immigrants and instead report them to the relevant authorities such as the immigration department or the Zambia police.
- The immigration department should sensitize undocumented immigrants on the procedures needed to acquire documentation and Zambian citizenship.

- The local people should embrace the undocumented immigrants' skills. This can improve entrepreneurship among Zambians and as such, competition for employment and business, and consequently xenophobia can be reduced.
- The Zambian government, the UNHCR and other organisations such as FBOs should improve the sanitation, health and living standards in refugee camps so that refugees do not escape and go to cities.
- Establish sub-district immigration offices especially in larger cities such as Lusaka, Kitwe and Ndola for close monitoring, so that undocumented immigrants can be identified.
- Government should increase its immigration department personnel to patrol the borders and border towns in Zambia and thus restrict entry of undocumented immigrants.
- Research on undocumented immigration should be carried out in other areas of Zambia especially in the rural areas, to compare the findings with those for Lusaka City.

The recommendations of the research need to be taken into consideration to reduce the problems associated with undocumented immigration in Lusaka City, and also to reduce the entry of undocumented immigrants into Zambia. During the research, the researcher encountered limitations. The next section highlights these.

Limitations of the research

The researcher encountered the following problems during the research.

- Problems related to the use of language were encountered with some undocumented immigrants who were not able to express themselves fluently in Nyanja or Bemba (the Zambian local languages that the researcher was

conversant with). On one occasion, the researcher used an interpreter because the interviewee (a Congolese) could only speak French and Kiswahili fluently. He could speak Nyanja and Bemba but was not proficient in these languages.

- Some undocumented immigrants shunned interviews because they thought the researcher was an immigration officer trying to identify and arrest them. The researcher assured the interviewees of anonymity.
- The research was conducted a week after the April 2016 riots against non-Zambians and so, some of the Zambian interviewees shunned the interviews because they thought the researcher was a reporter who could later implicate them as being involved in the riots. The interviewees were also assured of anonymity

Despite these limitations, the data for the research were collected, the data analysed and the research completed.

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1

Introductory letter

THE UNIVERSITY OF SOUTH AFRICA

Postgraduate Studies

College of Agriculture and Environmental Sciences

Department of Geography

Dear Respondent,

I am currently pursuing my Masters of Science Degree in Geography at the University of South Africa (Unisa). I am carrying out research on 'undocumented immigration in Zambia with specific reference to Lusaka City'. In order for me to achieve the objectives of my research, it is my kind request that you participate in this study by responding to this questionnaire. Kindly note that your responses to this questionnaire will make a valuable contribution to this research and also provide valuable information that can be used in coming up with recommendations regarding undocumented immigration in Zambia. Furthermore, your participation in this research is voluntary. You are free to withdraw your participation at any time, and your withdrawal will not attract any penalty.

The responses to this questionnaire will be held as highly confidential and will only be used for purposes of this particular study.

Thank you for your time and cooperation in responding to the questionnaire.

Yours faithfully,

Judy Chinyemba **(Researcher)**

Appendix 2

Questionnaire for Immigration officers

Background Information

1. What is your sex? (a) Male [ ] (b) Female [ ]

2. What is your age group?

(a) Below 20 years [ ]

(b) 21 to 40 years [ ]

(c) 41 to 60 years [ ]

(d) Above 60 years [ ]

3. What is your highest level of your education?

(a) Primary [ ] (b) Secondary [ ] (c) College [ ]

(d) University [ ] (e) Other [ ] (Specify).....

4. How long have you been working for the Immigration Department?

(a) Less than 5 years [ ] (b) 5 to 10 years [ ] (c) more than 10 years [ ]

5. What is your current position in the immigration department?

……

6. How long have you been serving in the position mentioned above?

a. Less than 5 years [ ] (b) 5 to 10 years [ ] (c) more than 10 years [ ]

7. Regarding undocumented immigration in Zambia, from which countries do most undocumented immigrants come from?

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8. Why do undocumented immigrants leave their home countries and choose to come to Zambia?

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9. . Why is there a high number of undocumented immigrants Lusaka City compared to other parts of Zambia?

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10. According to the information you have regarding undocumented immigrants in Lusaka City, what economic activities are most of these undocumented immigrants engaged in?

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    ……..

11. What are the positive effects of undocumented immigration on Lusaka City?

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12. What are the negative effects of undocumented immigration on Lusaka City?

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13. How would you rate the behaviour of most undocumented immigrants in Lusaka City? (a) Very good [ ] (b) good [ ] (c) troublesome [ ]

14. Give reasons as to why you chose that answer on Question 13 above.

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15. What does the immigration department do to help reduce the negative effects of undocumented immigration in Zambia?

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16. What measures does the government put in place to reduce the rate of undocumented immigration?

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17. As an officer in the immigration department, what would you recommend as to what should be done to reduce the problems emanating from immigration in Lusaka City?

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Thank you for responding to this questionnaire.

Appendix 3

Questionnaire for Lusaka City Council officers

Background Information

1. How long have you been working for the Lusaka City Council?

(a) Less than 5 years [ ] (b) 5 to 10 years [ ] (c) more than 10 years [ ]

2. What is your current position in the City Council?

……..

3. How long have you been serving in the position mentioned above?

Less than 5 years [ ] (b) 5 to 10 years [ ] (c) more than 10 years [ ]

4. From your interaction with the local people and/or undocumented immigrants, from which countries do most undocumented immigrants come from?

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5. Why do most immigrants choose to go to Lusaka City rather than other parts of the Country? ……

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6. Once in Lusaka, what economic activities have most undocumented immigrants engaged in?

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7. What are the positive effects of immigrants in Lusaka City?

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8. What are the positive effects of immigrants in Lusaka City?

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9. How would you rate the behaviour of most undocumented immigrants in Lusaka City?

(a) Very good [ ] (b) good [ ] (c) Troublesome [ ]

10. Justify your response in Question 9 above.

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11. What does the Lusaka City Council do to help reduce the negative effects of undocumented immigration in Zambia?

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12. What measures has the government put in place to reduce the rate of undocumented immigration?

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13. As an officer of the Lusaka City Council what suggestions would you make to address the problems arising from undocumented immigration in Lusaka City and ways of reducing immigration?

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Thank you for responding to this questionnaire.

Appendix 4

Interview Guide for non-Zambians

1. What is your age group?

   (a) Below 20 years [ ]

   (b) 21 - 40 years [ ]

   (c) 41 - 60 years [ ]

   (d) Above 60 years [ ]

2. What is your nationality (country of origin)?
3. If married, what is the nationality of your spouse?
4. What is your highest level of education?
5. When did you come to Zambia?
6. Did you come alone into Zambia or did you come with any your family members (wife and/or children)?
7. Why did you leave your country of origin?
8. Why did you choose to come to Zambia and not any other country?
9. How did you come to Zambia?
10. How long have you lived in Lusaka City?
11. Why did you choose to settle in Lusaka City and not any other part of Zambia?
12. Are you in any formal employment? If so, what kind of employment?
13. What is your monthly income?

    (a) Less than K1000 [ ] (b) K1000 to K5000 [ ] (c) Above K5000 [ ]

14. At your place of work, how do Zambians treat you and other foreigners (if any)?
15. Apart from your job, do you have any other income generating ventures?

16. If yes, specify.
17. In your other income generating ventures you mentioned above, what competition do you face with Zambians?
18. With the income that you make, do you remit some of it to your family members back home?
19. If yes to the Question above, how often and how do you send the remittances?
20. How long have you been staying in your residential area in Lusaka City?
21. How do you associate with Zambians in your residential area?
22. Do you wish to go back to your country of origin? (a) Yes [ ] (b) No [ ]
23. Give reasons to your answer to question 22 above.
24. How has the immigration department protected you in terms of safe stay?
25. What challenges do you face as an outsider (not Zambian) in Lusaka City?
26. What would you recommend the government of the Republic of Zambia to be doing to improve the welfare of the immigrants?

Thank you for your time.

Appendix 5

Interview Guide for Zambians

1. What is your age group?

   a) Below 20 years [ ]

   (b) 21to 40 years [ ]

   (c) 41to 60 years [ ]

   (d) Above 60 years [ ]

2. If married, what is the nationality of your spouse?
3. What is your highest level of education?
4. How long have you been staying in Lusaka City?
5. What made you settle in Lusaka City?
6. Are you in any formal employment?
7. If yes to the question above, what is your monthly income?

   (a) Less than K1000 [ ] (b) K1000 to K5000 [ ] (c) Above K5000 [ ]

8. Do you have any undocumented immigrants at your place of work?
9. If so, how do you associate with the undocumented immigrants at places of work?
10. Apart from your job, do you have any income generating ventures?
11. In your income generating ventures (especially small businesses), what competition do you face with undocumented immigrants to the City?
12. What is your residential area in Lusaka City?
13. How long have you been staying in your residential area in Lusaka City?
14. How do Zambians associate with undocumented immigrants in your residential area?

15. What reasons would you give for the high number of undocumented immigrants in Zambia?
16. What are the reasons why undocumented immigrants choose to settle in Lusaka City other than in other parts of the Country?
17. How would you rate the behaviour of most undocumented immigrants?
    (a) Very good [ ] (b) good [ ] (c) Troublesome
18. Give reasons for your response to the question above.
19. What are some of the benefits of undocumented immigration to Lusaka City?
20. What challenges do you face in relation to the increasing number of undocumented immigrants in your residential area?
21. Do you receive any assistance from the immigration department to help you deal with problems that the undocumented immigrants may cause?
22. If so, what kind of help do you receive from the immigration department?
23. What do you think should be done to reduce challenges of immigration in Lusaka City?
24. What recommendations would you suggest in order to arrest the challenge of undocumented immigration in Zambia?

Thank you for your time.