

Migration in Zimbabwe

A COUNTRY PROFILE 2010–2016



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IOM is committed to the principle that humane and orderly migration benefits migrants and society. As an intergovernmental organization, IOM acts with its partners in the international community to: assist in meeting the operational challenges of migration; advance understanding of migration issues; encourage social and economic development through migration; and uphold the human dignity and well-being of migrants.

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Publisher: Zimbabwe National Statistics Agency (ZIMSTAT)
P.O. Box CY 342, Causeway, Harare, Zimbabwe
Telephone: +263 4 706681/ 8 and +263 4 703971/ 7
Fax: +263 4 728529 or +263 4 708854
E-mail: dg@zimstat.co.zw
Website: www.zimstat.co.zw

International Organization for Migration (IOM)
4 Duthie Road, Alexandra Park, Harare, Zimbabwe
Email: iomharare@iom.int
Website: www.zimbabwe.iom.int
Telephone: +263 4 704285/88/90

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A COUNTRY PROFILE 2010–2016

Prepared for IOM by
Admire Chereni (All sections)
Paradzayi P. Bongo (Part D)



FOREWORD BY THE CHIEF OF MISSION


For nearly a decade now, the International Organization for Migration (IOM), as the leading intergovernmental organization on migration, has supported countries around the world in preparing their respective Migration Profiles. In order to remain as an effective information tool for policymaking, the Migration Profiles need to be updated regularly.

IOM would like to commend the Government of Zimbabwe on the compilation and production of the Zimbabwe Migration Profile 2010–2016. This Migration Profile is an important tool that compiles evidence necessary for informed and coherent migration policy development and cross-institutional cooperation on migration in Zimbabwe. The Zimbabwe Migration Profile 2010–2016 presents migration-related data, analyses of current migration trends (both immigration and emigration) and their impact on the labour market and remittance flows, and a discussion of the role of the diaspora in the development of the home country, among other related matters.

It is our hope that this Migration Profile will support the ongoing efforts of the Government of Zimbabwe to develop a comprehensive National Migration Policy for the country and further deepen the understanding of the growing importance of the diaspora and remittances to national development, as well as the impact of migration on Zimbabwe as a source, transit and destination country for migrants.

The participation of key national stakeholders in the production of the present profile demonstrates national ownership and gives us confidence in the sustainability and continuity of the Migration Profiles for Zimbabwe.

We would like to thank the European Union for their financial contribution, which made it possible to produce the Zimbabwe Migration Profile 2010–2016; the national consultant, Mr Admire Chereni, for preparing the draft of the document; and IOM staff in Zimbabwe, for reviewing and providing invaluable input. IOM further commends the Government of Zimbabwe for putting in place important institutional structures through the national statistical agency, ZIMSTAT, to continue the compilation and publication of future Migration Profiles.



Lily Sanya
Chief of Mission
IOM Zimbabwe
August 2018

FOREWORD BY THE ZIMSTAT DIRECTOR GENERAL

The Zimbabwe National Statistics Agency (ZIMSTAT) collects statistics from the Department of Immigration and Control on international migrants and tourist arrivals and departures; from the Zimbabwe Tourism Authority (ZTA) on bed occupancy; and from the Reserve Bank of Zimbabwe (RBZ) on receipts and expenditures. Internal migration statistics are collected through censuses and surveys. These statistics, however, contain gaps that necessitated the production of this third Zimbabwe Migration Profile, which covers the period 2010 to 2016.

A Migration Profile is a country-owned tool prepared in consultation with a broad range of stakeholders – including those in government – who can use it to enhance policy coherence, evidence-based policymaking and the mainstreaming of migration into national development plans. In addition, the Zimbabwe Migration Profile also provides indicators used in monitoring the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) and Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs).

The profile covers the following areas of migration in Zimbabwe: population changes and their socioeconomic contexts; institutional, policy and legal frameworks for migration, immigration, emigration, irregular migration and migration governance; and remittances and their development impact.

ZIMSTAT would like to acknowledge the financial and technical assistance provided by the International Organization for Migration (IOM). The Agency would also like to give credit to the consultant, Mr Admire Chereni, whose technical expertise was instrumental in building capacity among the technical staff of the Population Census and Surveys Division.

ZIMSTAT also extends its acknowledgement and gratitude to all stakeholders who gave their invaluable contributions during the Migration Profile Technical Committee meetings held in 2017. Any comments to help improve future versions of the profile would be highly appreciated.



Mutasa Dzino
Director General
Zimbabwe National Statistics Agency
August 2018

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THE TECHNICAL COMMITTEE

The Technical Committee responsible for producing *Migration in Zimbabwe: A Country Profile 2010–2016* consisted of the following members:

- Godfrey Matsinde, of the Zimbabwe National Statistics Authority (ZIMSTAT)
- Aluwisio Mukavhi, of the Zimbabwe National Statistics Authority (ZIMSTAT)
- Nyaradzai Ngonyamo, of the Zimbabwe National Statistics Authority (ZIMSTAT)
- Langton Chikeya, of the Zimbabwe National Statistics Authority (ZIMSTAT)
- Grace Chaora, of the Zimbabwe National Statistics Authority (ZIMSTAT)
- Tracy Chiyanike, of Zimbabwe's Ministry of Macro-Economic Planning and Investment Promotion
- Gladys Chinyerere, of Zimbabwe's Ministry of Tourism and Hospitality Industry
- Margareth Ruzive, of Zimbabwe's Department of Social Welfare
- Melody S. Gava, of Zimbabwe's Department of Immigration
- Henry Mushayi, of the Reserve Bank of Zimbabwe
- Tawanda Mabvuma, of the Reserve Bank of Zimbabwe
- Giyani Sibanda, of the Zimbabwe Tourism Authority
- Percy Jumbe, of the Zimbabwe Tourism Authority
- Peter H. Dhlula, of Zimbabwe Parks
- Tendai Bindura, of Homelink Pvt Ltd
- Gideon Madera, of the International Organization for Migration
- Knowledge Mareyanadzo, of the International Organization for Migration
- Rangarirayi Tigere, of the International Organization for Migration
- Daniel Sam, of the International Organization for Migration

ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

AfDB	African Development Bank
AIDS	acquired immunodeficiency syndrome
GDP	gross domestic product
HIV	human immunodeficiency virus
IDP(s)	internally displaced person(s)
ILO	International Labour Organization
IMCM	Inter-Ministerial Committee on Migration
IOM	International Organization for Migration
LFCLS	Labour Force and Child Labour Survey (Zimbabwe)
MDG(s)	Millennium Development Goal(s)
MMR	maternal mortality rate
MPSLSW	Ministry of Public Service, Labour and Social Welfare (Zimbabwe)
OECD	Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development
RBZ	Reserve Bank of Zimbabwe
SADC	Southern African Development Community
TFR	total fertility rate
TiP	trafficking in persons
UN DESA	United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
ZIMSTAT	Zimbabwe National Statistics Agency

GLOSSARY

Age–sex structure. The composition of a population according to the number or proportion of males and females in each age group or category. The age–sex structure results from the combined effects of past trends in fertility, mortality and migration. It is typically presented in the form of a population pyramid.

Antiretroviral therapy (ART). Treatment of people infected with the human immunodeficiency virus (HIV) using anti-HIV drugs.

Asylum seeker. A person who seeks refuge from persecution or serious threat in a country other than his/her own and is awaiting the outcome of his/her application for refugee status under relevant national and/or international instruments.

Balance of payments. A system of accounting that tracks transactions between one country and the rest of the world.

Balance of trade. Part of the balance-of-payments system, it is the difference between exports of goods and services and imports of the same.

Birth rate (or crude birth rate). The number of live births per 1,000 population in a given year. (This term is not to be confused with **population growth rate**.)

Border management. Facilitation of authorized movements of persons, including migrants, refugees and those travelling for business and tourism, across a border. Border management also entails the detection and prevention of the irregular entry of foreigners into a given country.

Brain drain. Emigration of trained and skilled individuals from their country of origin to another country, leading to a reduction in skills resources in the former.

Brain gain. Immigration of trained and skilled individuals into a receiving country.

Capacity-building. Developing and strengthening governments, civil society and other institutions by increasing their knowledge and enhancing their skills.

Circular migration. The temporary and usually repetitive movement of a labour migrant (also, “migrant worker”) between his/her home and host countries, typically for the purposes of employment.

Conditionality. The use or attachment of conditions to emergency loans that multilateral and bilateral lenders grant to developing countries experiencing economic and financial crises.

Consumption. The process by which goods and services are utilized for their ultimate end purpose, meeting certain human needs and/or desires.

Country of origin. A country that is a source of migratory movements, whether regular or irregular.

Death rate (or crude death rate). The number of deaths per 1,000 population in a given year.

Debt. The total amount yet to be paid to people and organizations from whom a government has borrowed.

Deficit. The amount by which government spending within a period exceeds the amounts raised through taxes and other government revenue streams. A deficit is addressed through government borrowing.

Deflation. A reduction in the overall average level of prices. Deflation is the opposite of inflation.

Demographic transition. The historical change in the birth and death rates of a population from a high to a low level. A reduction in mortality usually precedes a decline in fertility, thus resulting in rapid population growth during the transition period.

Dependency ratio. The ratio of the economically dependent proportion of the population to the productive part. The dependency ratio is arbitrarily specified as the ratio of the elderly (ages 65 and older) plus the young (under the age of 15) population, to the population in the working age (i.e. 15–64).

Economic growth. An expansion in the total output of an economy over any given period (e.g. one year), as measured in terms of GDP.

Emigration. The act of leaving or departing from one country with a goal of settling in another.

Exchange rate. The price at which one currency can be bought or sold for another.

Export. A good or service that is produced for sale in a foreign country/market.

Fertility rate. The number of live births occurring in a population. The general fertility rate is the number of live births per 1,000 women of child-bearing age (usually, 15–49) in a given year.

Forced migration. A migratory movement in which an aspect of coercion exists, including threats to life and livelihood. Such threats may arise from natural or man-made causes.

Foreign direct investment (FDI). Occurs when a company registered in one country does business in another, and includes real, physical capital assets such as buildings, machinery and equipment.

Gross domestic product (GDP). A measure of the value of goods and services produced in a country within a given period (usually one year).

Immigration. A process by which non-nationals move into a country for the purpose of settlement.

Import. The sale of a good or service from a foreign country by a purchaser in the domestic market.

Infant mortality rate. The number of deaths of infants under the age of 1 per 1,000 live births in a given year.

Inflation. A rise in the overall price level.

Internally displaced person(s) (IDP(s)). IOM defines IDPs as “persons or groups of persons who have been forced or obliged to flee or to leave their homes or places of habitual residence, particularly as a result of or in order to avoid the effects of armed conflict, situations of generalized violence, violations of human rights or natural or human-made disasters, and who have not crossed an internationally recognized State border.”

Investment. The process of using produced goods and services to expand future production. The term also refers to goods or services used for such purpose.

Irregular migration. IOM defines irregular migration as “movement that takes place outside the regulatory norms of the sending, transit and receiving countries.”

Labour migrant. According to the International Labour Organization (ILO), labour migrants are “international migrants who are currently employed or unemployed and seeking employment in their present country of residence.” The United Nations Statistical Division provides a statistical definition: “Foreigners admitted by the receiving State for the specific purpose of exercising an economic activity remunerated from within the receiving country. Their length of stay is usually restricted as is the type of employment they can hold. Their dependents, if admitted, are also included in this category.” A widely used synonymous term is migrant worker.

Life expectancy. The average number of additional years a person could expect to live if current mortality trends were to continue for the rest of that person’s life. This indicator is generally termed life expectancy at birth.

Migrant. According to IOM, a migrant is “any person who is moving or has moved across an international border or within a State, away from his/her habitual place of residence, regardless of: (a) the person’s legal status; (b) whether the movement is voluntary or involuntary; (c) what the causes for the movement are; or (d) what the length of the stay is.”

Migrant worker. See **labour migrant** above.

Migration. IOM defines migration as “the movement of a person or a group of persons, either across an international border or within a State. It is a population movement, encompassing any kind of movement of people, whatever its length, composition and causes; it includes migration of refugees, displaced persons, economic migrants and persons moving for other purposes, including family reunification.”

Migration management. A term used to cover numerous governmental functions within a national system for the orderly and humane management of cross-border migration, and involves, in particular, managing the entry and presence of foreigners within the borders of the State and the protection of refugees and others in need of protection. It also refers to a planned approach to the development of policy, legislative and administrative responses to key migration issues.

Mortality. Refers to deaths as a component of population change.

Net migration. Defined by IOM as “the net effect of immigration and emigration on an area’s population during a given period, expressed as an increase or decrease.”

Net migration rate. The net effect of immigration and emigration on the population of an area, expressed as an increase or decrease per 1,000 population of the area in a given year.

Orderly migration. Defined by IOM as “the movement of a person from his or her usual place of residence to a new place of residence, in keeping with the laws and regulations governing exit [from] the country of origin and travel [to], transit [through] and entry into the destination or host country.”

Population growth rate. The number of people added to (or subtracted from) a population in a year due to natural increase and net migration. Population growth rate is expressed as a percentage of the population at the beginning of the period.

Production. The process by which human labour (or “work”) is applied, usually with the help of tools and other forms of capital, to produce useful goods or services.

Recession. A condition in which the total real GDP of an economy declines (usually, for at least two consecutive quarters).

Refugee. IOM defines a refugee as a person who, “owing to a well-founded fear of persecution for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group, or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality and is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself/herself of the protection of that country.”

Regular migration. Migration that occurs through recognized, authorized channels.

Remittances. Monies and goods earned or acquired by non-nationals that are transferred back to their country of origin.

Total fertility rate (TFR). The average number of children that would be born alive to a woman (or group of women) during her lifetime if she were to pass through her childbearing years conforming to the age-specific fertility rates of a given year.

Unemployment. The state of being unemployed. Individuals who wish to be employed, and are actively seeking work but cannot find a job, are considered “officially” unemployed. Individuals who are not working, but are not actively looking for work, are considered to be outside of the labour force, and hence do not count as “officially” unemployed.

Urbanization. Expansion in the proportion of the population living in urban areas.

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

A Migration Profile is a country-owned tool, prepared in consultation with a broad range of stakeholders, which government and other stakeholders can use to enhance policy coherence, evidence-based policymaking and the mainstreaming of migration into development plans. This Migration Profile is a product of the Promotion Migration Governance in Zimbabwe (PMGZ) Project that the International Organization for Migration (IOM) is implementing with funding from the European Union. The PMGZ Project seeks to support the establishment of a migration governance framework (policy, institutional and legislative) in Zimbabwe. The need to strengthen State actors to manage migration – in concert with non-State actors – in a safe, orderly, migrant-centred, gender-sensitive, rights-based and development-oriented manner, provides the rationale for a comprehensive migration governance framework. The 2016 Migration Profile supports the Government of Zimbabwe by providing migration statistics for evidence-informed migration policy development and programming.

While it builds on the 2009 Migration Profile, the 2016 Migration Profile has a reference period that spans the years 2010 to 2016. Both primary and secondary research was carried out to generate relevant statistics and other data for this reference period. A systematic search for electronic and printed literature on migration, population and the economy was conducted, and relevant information was extracted, analysed and synthesized according to themes. This process exposed multiple knowledge gaps, and primary administrative data from the Department of Immigration Control filled some of these gaps. Additional primary data was also collected from the section responsible for refugees in the Ministry of Public Service, Labour and Social Welfare (MPSLSW) and the Reserve Bank of Zimbabwe.

The 2016 Migration Profile uses data that was accessible during its preparation. However, as emigration primary data in destination countries proved cumbersome to access, and due to the limited period within which the 2016 Migration Profile was prepared, this route was not pursued further. Based on the analysis of available primary and secondary data, the 2016 Migration Profile provides: (a) a detailed description of population changes and their socioeconomic contexts, (b) migration trends between 2010 and 2016 and (c) the governance framework for migration in Zimbabwe. Additionally, it gives insights into the potential and actual impacts of migration and remittances on development in Zimbabwe.

In 2012, the total population of Zimbabwe was 13,061,239, comprising 6,280,539 males and 6,780,700 females. The total population of Zimbabwe is projected to grow at an annual growth rate of 2 per cent between 2012 and 2032 – faster than the 1.2 per cent annual growth rate observed between 2002 and 2012. The total population is projected to pass the 19 million mark in 2032. Experts expect that a steadily improving life expectancy at birth, a considerable decline in AIDS-related deaths, rising educational levels, increasing incomes and stronger public health systems will give rise to a higher average annual population growth rate. Alongside a higher growth rate, other attributes of the population are expected to change. While the population pyramid for the projected 2032 population retains the broad base characteristic of the age–sex structure of the population in the 1982, 2002 and 2012 censuses, the population under 15 years of age will diminish from 41 per cent in 2012 to 32 per cent in 2032. At the same time, the working age population (15 to 64 years) is predicted to expand from 55 per cent in 2012 to 64 per cent in 2032. These changes signal the initial stages of a demographic transition. If Zimbabwe responds to such changes with appropriate policies, the country could potentially reap the benefits of a demographic dividend. At any rate, the realization of the potential benefits of this demographic dividend depends on a mix of social and economic development policies and the broader economic environment. At present, many challenges, including child marriages, unemployment and a shrinking manufacturing sector threaten the possibility of a demographic transition.

In 2017, the year during which the 2016 Migration Profile was prepared, a negative balance of trade, a multi-year debt overhang, dwindling reserves, year-on-year deflation during the first two or three quarters and rapid inflation in the last quarter marked the Zimbabwean economy. The GDP growth rate declined from 11.9 per cent in 2011 to under 1 per cent in 2015, signalling a multi-year economic recession. Economic indicators that had demonstrated a strong showing in 2010 weakened substantially after 2011. Various sectors which contribute to the total GDP did not experience significant expansion after 2011. Furthermore, continuously high government expenditure, notwithstanding sluggish economic growth, tended to crowd the fiscal space. Consequently, funding for social and physical infrastructure significantly deteriorated.

Liquidity constraints, which resurfaced in late 2015, became even more severe in 2017. Cash shortages contributed to long queues at financial institutions, sparking the kind of financial instability that gripped the financial markets prior to 2009. In response, the Reserve Bank of Zimbabwe instituted controls on the flows of foreign currency. Likewise, the Ministry of Industry and Commerce also imposed import controls in 2016, but upturned them a year or so later.

Zimbabwean migration and mobility unfold within this socioeconomic context. Throughout the period under review, Zimbabwe was a net emigration country. Whereas a foreign-born population of approximately 626,821 lived in Zimbabwe in 1990, experts estimate that the size of Zimbabwe's international migrant stock in 2014 was a significantly lower 207,000. Overall, more than a third of international migrants in Zimbabwe were engaged in some form of employment, although the majority operated in the informal sector. International labour migrants characteristically possessed very low levels of skills and education. Those in the formal sector were more likely to be working in elementary jobs. A significant portion of migrants worked in low-paying domestic work. At least in theory, this helped to unlock some time for women to do other things. However, GDP permutations often exclude their economic contribution. Furthermore, given the skills profile of the majority of migrant labourers, current immigration may not adequately replace the critical skills lost through emigration.

International migrants were typically male and African – originating mainly from countries of the Southern African Development Community (SADC) – although the share of women was not insignificant. Apart from immigration for temporary employment, Africans dominated all categories of temporary regular and irregular migration. The Chinese were, by far, the largest group of temporary employment permit holders from a single country, accounting for 71 per cent of temporary employment permits issued between 2010 and 2016. China was certainly not the only Asian country to be a source of temporary migrant workers: India ranked among the top five main source countries. Combined, citizens from countries in Asia were the largest group in the regular temporary employment category.

During the reference period, the total population of refugees and asylum seekers peaked in 2010 to approximately 15,425. What is most striking is that a significantly large proportion of the total population of refugees and asylum seekers consisted of children under 17 years old, with children outnumbering adults in the years 2012 to 2014. In the involuntary immigration category, citizens from the Democratic Republic of the Congo were the single-largest group from a single country, contributing over 90 per cent of “forced migrants” each year between 2010 and 2015. Combined, citizens of the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Rwanda and Burundi made up over 95 per cent of refugees and asylum seekers each year between 2010 and 2015. To a larger degree than other causes, conflicts in the Great Lakes region have contributed to the observed changes in the total refugee population of the country.

Statistics on regular emigration are hard to come by. This situation results largely from the absence of sound administrative data systems that capture the number of departures from the country. Furthermore, country-representative surveys of migrant-sending households that coincide with the reference period are few. At any rate, existing studies show that the broader goal for migrating – for both individual migrants and entire households – is to construct secure livelihoods now and in the future.

South Africa was, by far, the single largest destination country for both voluntary and involuntary migration from Zimbabwe. The United Kingdom is also a popular receiving country, although it seems to have attracted more educated and skilled migrants – largely asylum seekers – who had worked in various professions prior to departure. In the SADC region, Malawi, Mozambique and Zambia were hosts to significant numbers of Zimbabweans.

PART A: THE SOCIOECONOMIC CONTEXT OF MIGRATION

Six of the years covered by this Migration Profile coincided with the era of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), which spanned the years 2000 to 2015. The last year of the period under review marked the beginning of the post-2015 Sustainable Development Agenda. Therefore, a brief examination of the progress towards achieving the MDG targets, as well as the nature of outstanding MDG-related targets, provides an insight into the socioeconomic context of Zimbabwean migration since 2009.

The MDGs era overlapped with arguably the most challenging period in Zimbabwe's economic history, which was characterized mostly by a decline in economic performance. Two trends describe the economic environment between 2010 and 2016. While there was a strong showing of economic indicators in 2010, the upward trend gave way to an economic downturn beginning 2011, as evidenced by the sub-par performance of most economic indicators. For the greater part of the period under review, the economy contracted. World Bank data shows that the GDP growth rate declined from 11.9 per cent in 2011 to under 1 per cent in 2015.¹ Furthermore, trade deficits expanded to unsustainable levels during the period under review. According to the Reserve Bank of Zimbabwe (RBZ), the trade deficit soured from moderate levels of approximately USD 400 million from 2004 to 2006 to USD 2.5 billion between 2011 and 2015 (RBZ, 2016a).

Apart from declining GDP and trade deficits, cash shortages characterized the financial landscape between late 2015 and 2017. Long queues for withdrawals in banking halls and at automated teller machines (ATMs) became a less impermanent feature of the banking experience.² By May 2016, the RBZ had introduced bond coins and notes to ease the cash shortages. The liquidity crisis signified a “dysfunctional multi-currency system”, dominated by a strong US dollar (USD),³ which has substituted all other currencies in the Zimbabwe's multi-currency basket, making Zimbabwe a high-cost producing country and an expensive tourist destination.⁴

¹ World Bank, “GDP growth (annual %): Zimbabwe”, webpage (World Bank, Washington, D.C., 2018). Available from <https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/NY.GDP.MKTP.KD.ZG?locations=ZW>, accessed July 2017.

² Reserve Bank of Zimbabwe (RBZ), Quarterly Economic Review, June issue (RBZ, Harare, 2016a). Available from www.rbz.co.zw/assets/quarterly-economic-review-june-2016-.pdf

³ Ibid., p. 5.

⁴ Ibid.

Domestic production levels remained low throughout the period covered by this review. Meanwhile, the demand for foreign exchange used to import consumer goods grew tremendously. In 2016, the RBZ cited a negative balance of payments as the chief contributor to the liquidity crisis. Additionally, low usage of plastic money in the country and the demand for cash in small-scale tobacco and gold production negatively affected the liquidity situation.⁵ This economic outlook mirrors the economic situation between 2000 and 2008, as captured in the 2009 Migration Profile. GDP diminished by 46 per cent between 2000 and 2007,⁶ and while the downward spiral of the economy was briefly reversed between 2009 and 2011, the economy afterwards resumed the downward trend characteristic of the pre-2009 era.

Despite a gradual and continuous weak showing of economic indicators, especially after 2011, there is a common agreement that Zimbabwe has shown notable resilience. The country has made considerable progress in some areas of the MDGs, although there is still much work to do. The areas where Zimbabwe made progress include the reductions in HIV prevalence and in the number of new HIV cases. The HIV prevalence rate declined from an all-time high of 29.6 per cent in 1998 to 16.9 per cent in 2014. According to the Government of Zimbabwe and the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), the incidence of HIV among adults fell from 2.64 in 2000 to 0.9 per cent in 2014.⁷

Other areas where Zimbabwe made significant gains and achieved targets include universal primary education, gender parity in primary and secondary school enrolment, provision of textbooks, literacy levels and establishment of an “Early Childhood Learning Centre” at every primary school. Although many targets remain out of reach, the country made good progress in addressing under-five mortality, maternal mortality and coverage for essential medicines. Zimbabwe managed to reduce under-five mortality from 102 per 1,000 live births in 1999 to 75 per 1,000 live births in 2014, although this remains much higher than the target. Likewise, the maternal mortality rate – the proportion of mothers who die due to pregnancy-related complications during and immediately after giving birth – improved to 525 deaths per 100,000 live births. This figure, however, remains a far cry from the target of 174 deaths per 100,000 live births.⁸

Overall, whereas Zimbabwe made significant progress in some areas, many targets remained out of reach by the end of the MDGs era. The remainder of Section A provides a detailed description of the demographic changes and the economic environment during the period under review.

A.1. Demographic changes

The 2012 census – the fourth since Zimbabwe gained independence – provides the most recent benchmark data to describe the current population and future projections. In 2012, Zimbabwe's population stood at 13,061,239, nearly double the size at the first census in 1982 (7.5 million). Between 2002 and 2012, the population registered an annual growth rate of 1.2 per cent – a marginal increase from the 1.1 per cent achieved between 1992 and 2002.

The Zimbabwe National Statistics Agency (ZIMSTAT) projects that from 2012 to 2032, the Zimbabwean population will grow at a higher average annual growth rate (2.0%). The projected average annual growth rate is higher for rural areas (2.2%) than urban areas (2.0%). ZIMSTAT attributes the higher average annual growth rate during the projected period (2012–2032) to steadily improving life expectancy at birth, a significant decline in AIDS-related deaths, rising educational levels, increasing incomes and stronger public health systems at birth (ZIMSTAT, 2015).⁹

The 2012 population comprised 6,280,539 males and 6,780,700 females. Therefore, the proportion of males to females was 48 and 52 per cent, respectively, and the sex ratio at birth was 100:108, with females outnumbering males. The 2012 census also established that the Zimbabwean population is predominantly rural, with 67 per cent residing in non-urban settings. However, urbanization is becoming a significant determinant that will shape population characteristics during the projected period.¹⁰

In 2012, the population density was 33 persons for every square kilometer, compared to 29 as per the 2002 census, and this is in keeping with the increase in the total population.

A.1.1. Age-sex structure

The population pyramid for the 2012 census (see Figure 1a; see also Annex IV for the complete, tabulated statistics corresponding to all figures appearing in this report) was broad-based with a narrow top. This broad-based pyramid demonstrates the existence of a large proportion of young people in the Zimbabwean population, which is largely the result of a high fertility rate. In

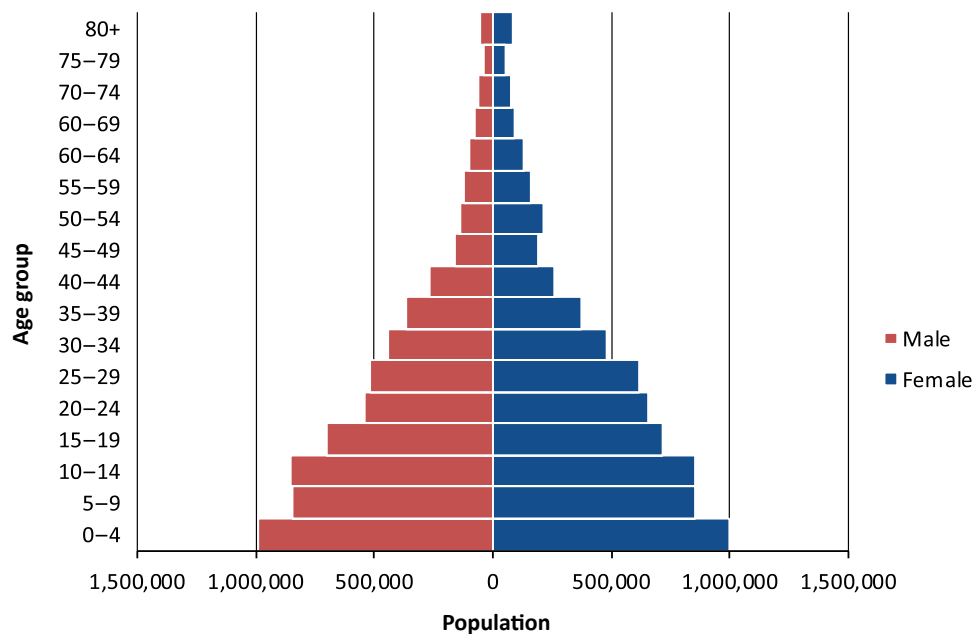
⁹ Zimbabwe National Statistics Agency (ZIMSTAT), Census 2012: Population Projections Thematic Report (ZIMSTAT, Harare, 2015). Available from https://zimbabwe.unfpa.org/sites/default/files/pub-pdf/population_projection_1.pdf

¹⁰ Ibid.

2012, 47.9 per cent and 50 per cent of the population were aged 0 to 17 years and 20 years and older, respectively.¹¹

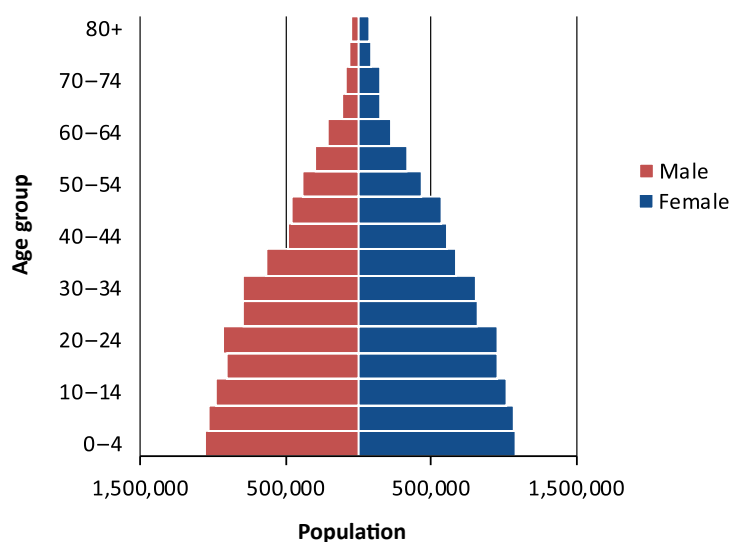
Figure 1: Population age–sex pyramids, 2012 (actual) and 2032 (projected)

a) Population pyramid, 2012



¹¹ ZIMSTAT, “Zimbabwe Population Census 2012: Women and men profile: Summary report” (ZIMSTAT, Harare, 2016a). Available from www.zimstat.co.zw/sites/default/files/img/publications/Census/Women_and_Men_Summary_Report_2012.pdf

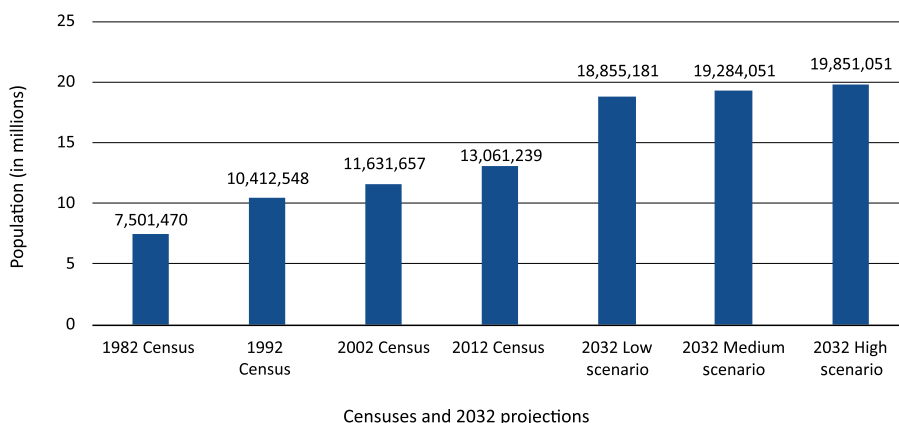
b) Medium-variant national projections by five-year age groups, 2032



Source: ZIMSTAT, "Zimbabwe Population Census 2012: Women and men profile: Summary report".

Children under 15 years of age constituted 41 per cent of the population at the time of the 2012 census. This is a small change from the 1992 proportion of 45 per cent. The narrow top of the pyramid for 2012 and prior censuses is typical of populations characterized by high male mortality in the 65-and-above age group.

Figure 2: Total population at previous censuses and population projections for 2032



Source: ZIMSTAT, "Census 2012: Population projections thematic report, August 2015".

Figure 2 presents the total population of Zimbabwe during the four previous censuses. It also presents population projections for 2032 according to three scenarios. ZIMSTAT projects a broad-based age–sex structure in 2032,¹² although the proportion of persons below 15 years will significantly decline from 41 per cent to 32 per cent (see Figures 1 and 3). Furthermore, the working age (15–64) population will see a significant increase from 55 per cent in 2012 to 64 per cent in 2032.

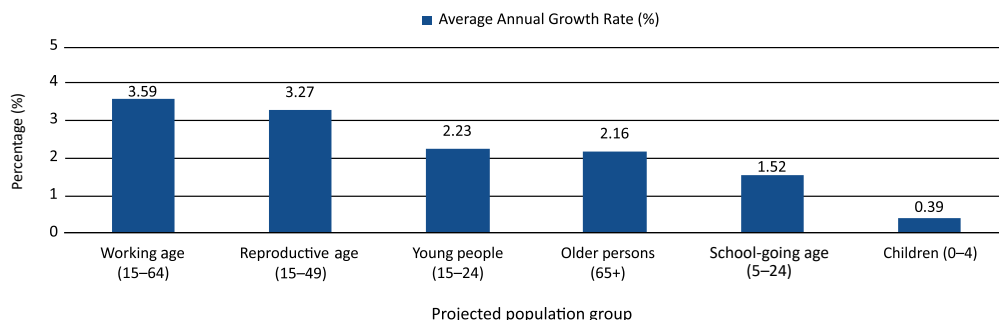
Effective education and health policies in the previous decades have helped to create favourable conditions for the demographic transition. However, ZIMSTAT observes that Zimbabwe “runs the risk of losing the demographic dividend in the absence of leadership to manage its demographic transition.”¹³ Currently, Zimbabwe confronts huge challenges that could preclude the demographic dividend:

Many young girls are married before the legal age of 18 years, while the rate of teenage pregnancy remains high. A larger proportion of young persons drop out of school at the secondary level. In urban areas, there are few employment opportunities for young persons.¹⁴

Zanamwe and Devillard (2009) cite the lack of career opportunities in the formal sector as one of the main factors driving skilled migration.

Figure 3 shows that the working age group (15–64) represents a higher proportion of the population in comparison to the school-going age group (5–24).

Figure 3: Projected average population growth rate (2012–2032) by age group

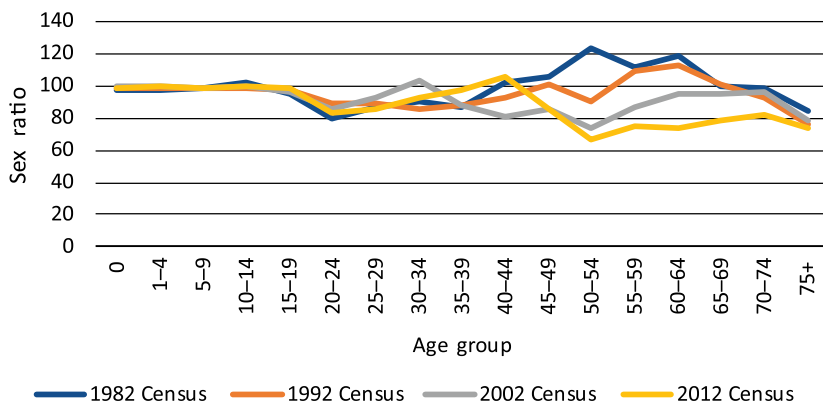


Source: ZIMSTAT, “Census 2012: Population projections thematic report, August 2015”.

On the contrary, the proportion of older persons (65 years and above) is not expected to change from the current 4 per cent throughout the projection

period. As a result of these changes, the dependency ratio will drop from 83 to 57 dependents per 100 working age population.

Figure 4: Sex ratio by age group at the 1982, 1992, 2002 and 2012 censuses



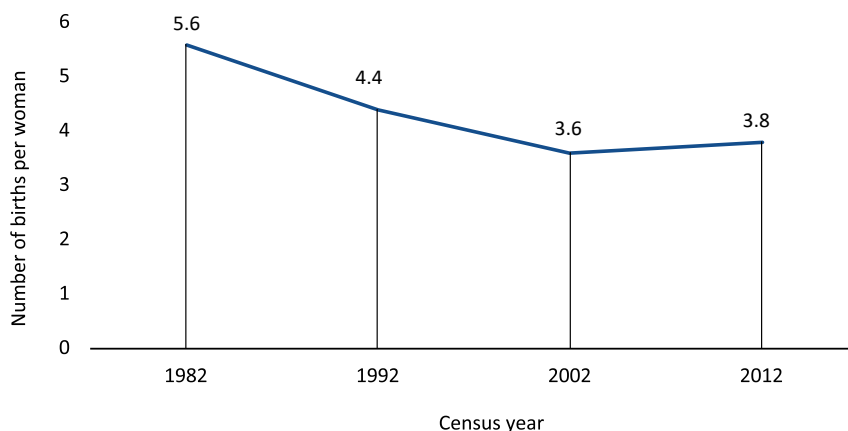
Source: ZIMSTAT, "Census 2012: Population projections thematic report, August 2015".

An observed trend is that females outnumber males in every age group. Unlike the first two censuses, the most two recent censuses (2002 and 2012) showed sex ratios that favoured women (see Figure 4). In 2012, there were 93 males for every 100 females. Population projections for 2032 demonstrate that this trend will continue during the intervening years. In contrast, the 1982 and 1992 censuses indicated a numerical advantage of females over males beyond the ages of 40 and 50, respectively, after which males dominated until the age of 69.

A.1.2. Fertility

During the three decades between 1982 and 2012, fertility notably declined by approximately 1.8 births. As shown in Figure 5, this trend towards decline was slightly reversed in 2012, and the total fertility rate (TFR) increased from 3.6 in 2002 to 3.8 in 2012.

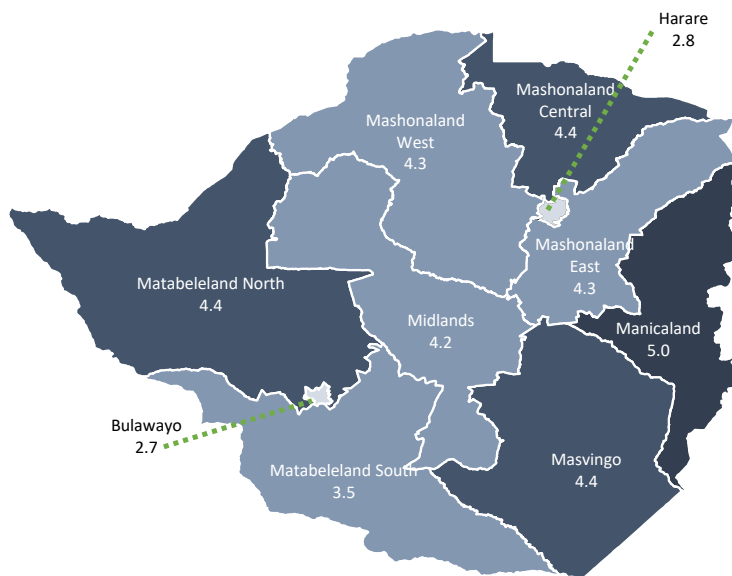
Figure 5: Total fertility rate at the 1982, 1992, 2002 and 2012 censuses



Source: ZIMSTAT and ICF International, *Zimbabwe Demographic and Health Survey 2015: Final Report*.

The most notable fertility differential relates to geography. According to ZIMSTAT and ICF International,¹⁵ the TFR in the three years prior to the 2015 Zimbabwe Demographic and Health Survey (ZDHS) was 4 children per woman, with rural women having 1.7 children more than their urban counterparts did. Likewise, the predominantly urban provinces of Harare and Bulawayo had relatively lower TFRs, below 3 children per woman, while other provinces scored above 4 children per woman. The exception was Matabeleland South Province, with a TFR of 3.5 children per woman. Figure 6 shows the TFR in each province prior to the 2015 ZDHS.

Figure 6: Births per woman by province for the three-year period prior to the 2015 ZDHS



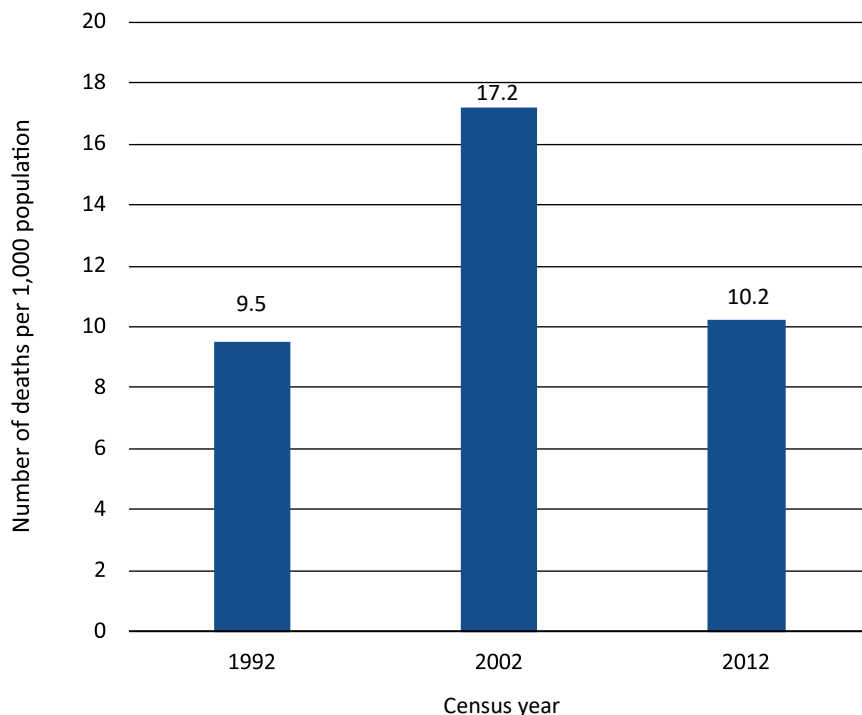
Source: ZIMSTAT and ICF International, *Zimbabwe Demographic and Health Survey 2015: Final Report*.

Overall, 2015 ZDHS data also shows that fertility has been fairly stable since 1999. Still, it is fair to emphasize that the TFR is lower than the average number of children ever born to the cohort of women aged 45 to 49, suggesting that fertility has been declining overall in the last three decades. Although the overall picture is that of declining fertility, the TFR is still high, considering that Zimbabwe is doing relatively well in the region in terms of contraceptive use and education levels. Generally, women still desire much more children, and this equally applies to younger women and women older than 35 years. It is possible that attitudes and value systems that shape the perception of children as a means of economic security in old age still exert great influence on the number of children born to a woman. Significant to mention as well is the increase in adolescent fertility, which contribute to the rise in the TFR.

A.1.3. Mortality

During the two-decade intercensal period between 1992 and 2012, the crude death rate peaked in 2002 and sharply dropped thereafter. Correspondingly, life expectancy dropped to a low 43 years in 2002 from 57 in 1992. After 2002, life expectancy steadily increased to 60 years in 2012 (64 years for females and 57 years for males).

Figure 7: Crude death rates at the 1992, 2002 and 2012 censuses



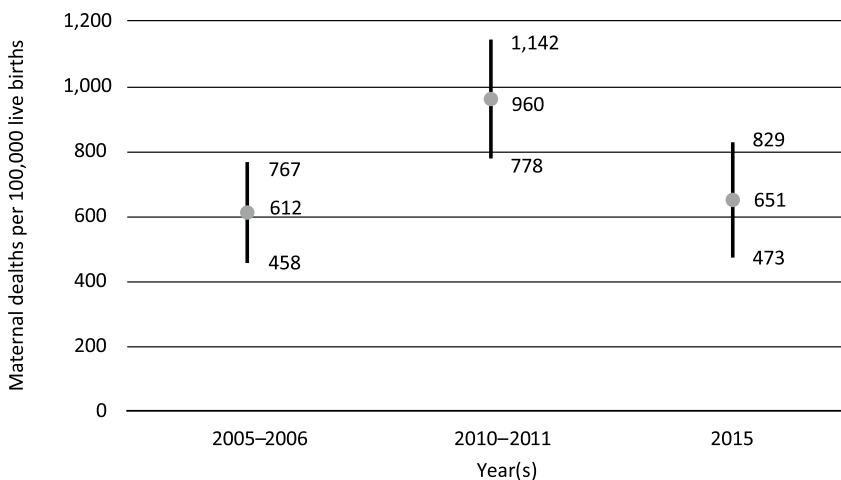
Source: ZIMSTAT and ICF International, *Zimbabwe Demographic and Health Survey 2015: Final Report*.

To a larger extent, HIV/AIDS prevalence and incidence, and the subsequent societal responses to the HIV/AIDS situation, have hugely shaped the trends in the crude death rate and life expectancy. Since 2002, the roll-out and steady expansion in the use of antiretroviral therapy improved survival chances of HIV/AIDS patients. After 2002, the HIV/AIDS prevalence rate significantly diminished. Strong negative attitudes towards HIV and AIDS, especially the stigma on HIV/AIDS patients, may as well have significantly improved after 2002 due to social programmes that targeted attitudes that encourage discrimination based on HIV status. Questions have been raised as to whether the sharp increase in life expectancy (or the sharp decline in crude death rate) can be sustained, or even improved, in future. During the projected period, however, more longevity is expected for HIV/AIDS patients.

A.1.3.1. Maternal mortality

The maternal mortality ratio (MMR) – the number of maternal deaths per 100,000 live birth – is a key indicator of maternal mortality. However, MMR measurements are prone to sampling error. Therefore, the MMR is better expressed as a range instead of an exact value. For example, Figure 8 shows that, according to the 2011–2012 ZDHS, the MMR was anything from 778 to 1,142 maternal deaths per 100,000 live births. Additionally, according to ZDHS data (see, for example, ZIMSTAT and ICF International, 2016), there has been a downward trend in maternal mortality.

Figure 8: Maternal mortality ratio, 2005–2006, 2010–2011 and 2015



Source: ZIMSTAT and ICF International, *Zimbabwe Demographic and Health Survey 2015: Final Report*.

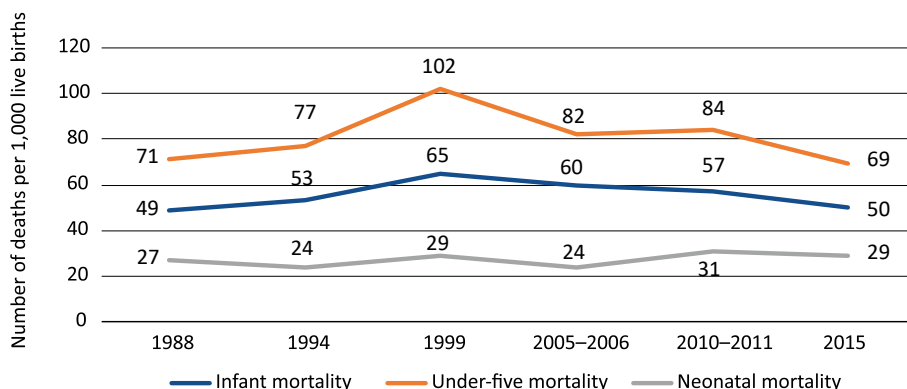
Reports based on census data assert a high confidence in the downward trend in the MMR. Based on the 2012 census, ZIMSTAT found that the MMR diminished from 1,069 per 100,000 live births in 2002 to 525 per 100,000 in 2012.¹⁶ It is apparent, therefore, that confidence levels regarding estimates and movements of the MMR vary. Where there is agreement on, however, is the notion that mothers at most risk of dying while giving birth or immediately after giving birth are those that are either very young (15–49) or much older (those above the age of 35).

¹⁶ ZIMSTAT and ICF International, *Zimbabwe Demographic and Health Survey 2015: Final Report* (ZIMSTAT and ICF International, Rockville, Maryland, 2016). Available from <https://dhsprogram.com/publications/publication-fr322-dhs-final-reports.cfm>

A.1.3.2. Child mortality

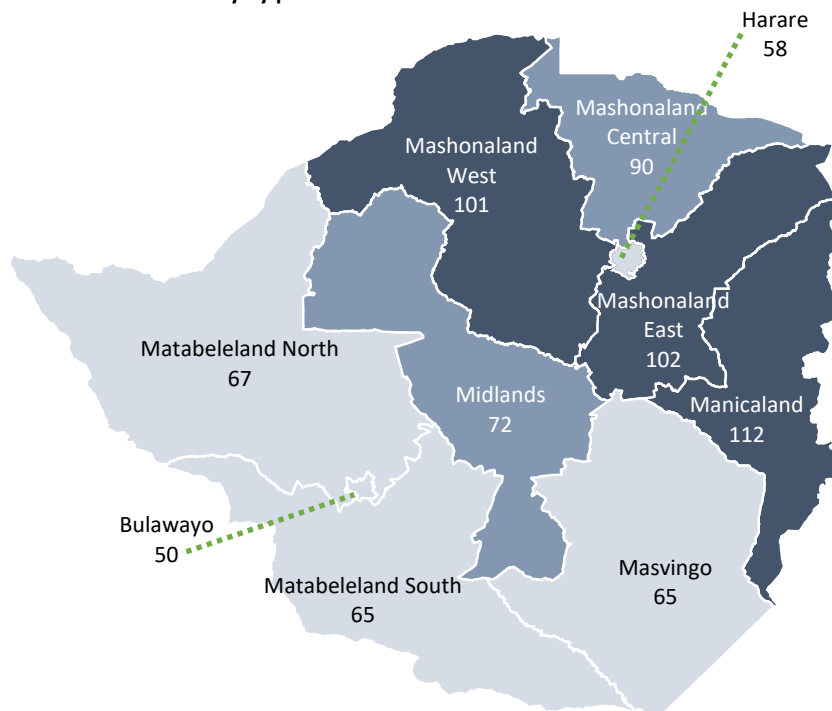
While under-five mortality (death of children under five years of age) is considered a strong indicator of mortality during childhood – since it is largely insensitive to general mortality trends – estimates vary greatly. Findings of Zimbabwe Demographic and Health Surveys (see Figure 9) from the mid-1990s show that child mortality indicators performed poorly during this period, peaking in 1999. With the roll-out of the Antiretroviral Therapy (ART) Programme and the expansion of the Prevention of Mother-to-Child Transmission of HIV Programme beginning in the early 2000s, mortality indicators had steadily improved by the time of the 2005–2006 ZDHS (82 deaths per 1,000 live births). Thereafter, this downward trend in under-five mortality was temporarily reversed to 84 deaths per 1,000 live births during the 2010–2011 ZDHS.

Figure 9: Child mortality rates prior to the 2015 ZDHS



Source: ZIMSTAT and ICF International, *Zimbabwe Demographic and Health Survey 2015: Final Report*.

Figure 10: Under-five mortality by province



Source: ZIMSTAT and ICF International, *Zimbabwe Demographic and Health Survey 2015: Final Report*.

Note: Numbers are per 1,000 live births.

As shown in Figure 10, the more urbanized provinces of Harare and Bulawayo had better under-five mortality rates compared to the more rural provinces. Among the more rural provinces, Masvingo, Matabeleland South and Matabeleland North had the lowest under-five mortality rates of 65, 65 and 67 deaths per 1,000 live births, respectively.

A.2. Economic environment

As highlighted earlier in the opening paragraphs of Part A, two trends characterized the economic environment between 2010 and 2016. First, a strong showing in various economic indicators gave rise to a higher economic growth rate after 2009. Beginning 2011, however, many of these same economic indicators began showing a downward trend. One of the economic indicators that continued to underperform throughout the period under review was the balance of trade. Figure 12 shows that total imports far outweighed exports between 2012 and 2016, with imports coming mainly from South Africa, Zimbabwe's biggest trading partner. In 2016, imports from South Africa accounted for approximately

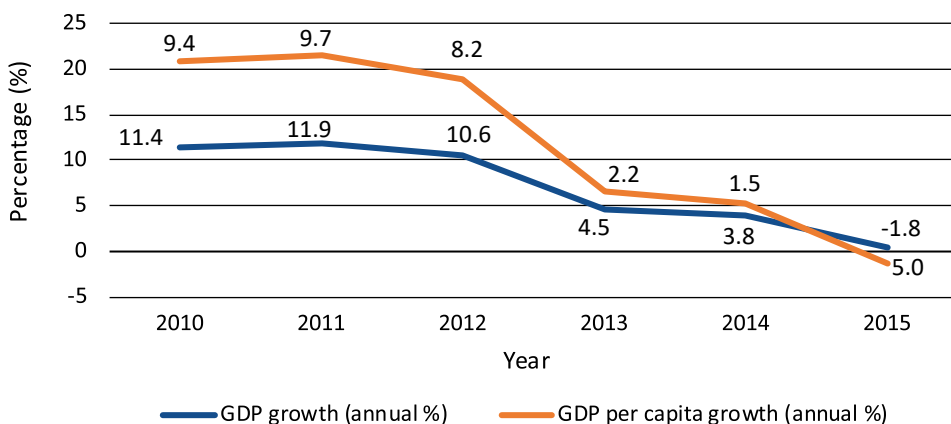
41 per cent of total imports (ZIMSTAT, 2017). Because foreign currencies were used to import goods, the trade deficit continued to drain the limited foreign exchange resources throughout the period under review.

At the same time, the predominance of the US dollar in the multi-currency basket made Zimbabwe a very expensive economy for both producers and tourists. Most small-scale producers, including tobacco growers and small-scale gold miners, used the US dollar when transacting, thereby putting more pressure on the limited available foreign exchange. Subsequently, cash shortages had become widespread by late 2015. This led to long queues at banks, ATMs and points of sale. In response, the Government imposed imports and exchange controls ostensibly to make the use of foreign currencies more efficient.

Local production continued to diminish on the back of a strong US dollar, compromising the economy's ability to meet the changing demands for tradable goods and services in a highly competitive international market. To compound the problem, policy inconsistencies, such as those evident in import controls, may have confused potential investors.¹⁷ Despite import controls, however, Zimbabwe's critical capacity to mobilize diversified exports remained undeniably low.

The abovementioned phenomena were some of the signs of an economic downturn. The declining GDP growth rate signified that Zimbabwe's economy was decelerating towards a recession. The annual GDP growth rate slowed down from 11.9 per cent in 2011 to under 1 per cent in 2015, as shown in Figure 11. A lower GDP annual growth rate was expected in 2017 (3.4%) through to 2019 (3.4%). Various indicators, including GDP annual growth rate, GDP per capita, inflation rate and the balance of payments, performed poorly year on year between 2010 and 2015. The exception to this trend was during 2010 to 2011, when the economy expanded at a faster pace, from 11.4 per cent to 11.9 per cent.

Figure 11: Annual GDP and GDP per capita growth rates, 2010–2015



Source: World Bank Open Data (database). Available from <http://data.worldbank.org>, accessed June 2017.

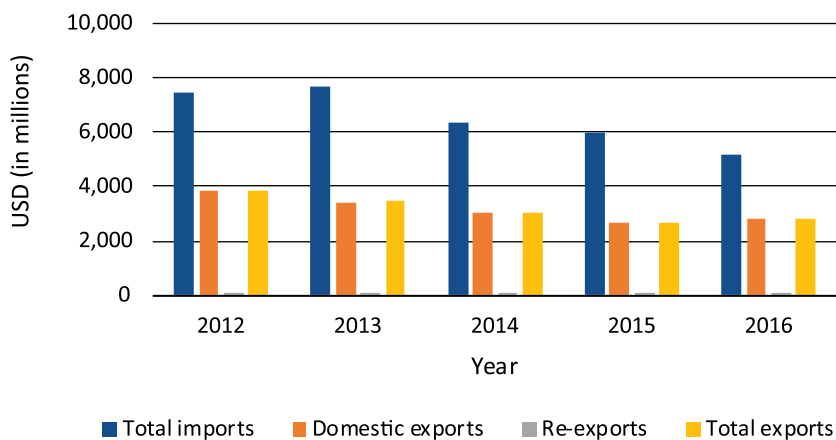
Table 1: Gross domestic product by industry at constant (2009) prices (in USD millions), 2009–2015

Industry	Year						
	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015
Distribution (retail), hotels and restaurants	1,207	1,314	1,370	1,429	1,485	1,522	1,580
Agriculture, hunting, fishing and forestry	1,038	1,113	1,129	1,217	1,186	1,459	1,383
Transport and communication	1,080	1,131	1,131	1,207	1,291	1,306	1,370
Manufacturing	1,066	1,087	1,238	1,304	1,296	1,230	1,233
Education	301	626	912	1,214	1,381	1,454	1,372
Mining and quarrying	561	770	958	1,034	1,156	1,116	1,121
Public administration	324	450	823	1,150	1,157	1,262	1,278
Finance and insurance	572	619	670	857	954	796	805
Other services	343	393	437	391	372	360	343
Electricity and water	279	333	354	355	373	393	371
Construction	137	156	258	318	331	353	367
Health	69	130	205	274	300	333	372
Real estate	110	116	172	274	276	289	321
Domestic services	35	39	39	38	40	41	42

Source: ZIMSTAT, *Quarterly Digest of Statistics*, 4th Quarter 2016.

Although the introduction of the multi-currency system ushered in considerable stability in the financial sector, the industries that accounted for the larger portion of GDP did not register significant expansion during the period under review. As shown in Table 1, the contribution of the agriculture, hunting, fishing and forestry sector remained fairly stable between 2010 and 2015, faring better in the last two years of this period.

Figure 12: Summary of external trade (in USD millions), 2012–2016



Source: ZIMSTAT, *Quarterly Digest of Statistics*, 4th Quarter 2016.

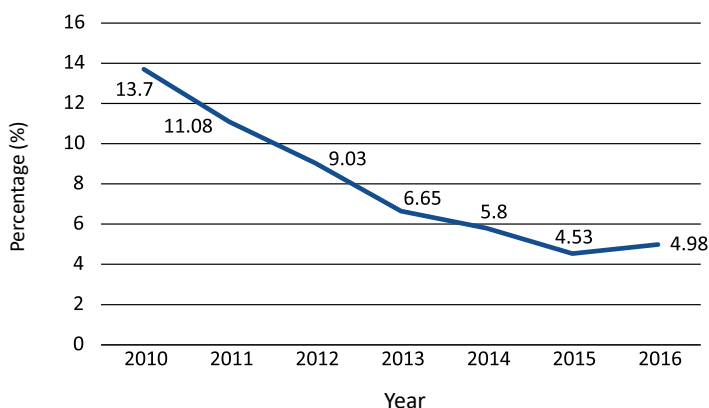
The lack of competitiveness of Zimbabwe's exports can be attributed to the country's ageing infrastructure, which tends to stifle innovation. For example, the road and rail networks, electric grids, and water and sewer lines certainly require improvements. Despite the par performance of government revenue, the Government's current expenditure remains high, with the lion's share of revenue (90%) channelled towards government wages and salaries.¹⁸ Consequently, meaningful investment in infrastructure, social services and other key social development areas, such housing, health and education, is less likely to happen in the near future.

Apart from a restricted fiscal space, the country is inextricably implicated in high levels of public debt and diminishing total reserves. Reserves are external assets that the Government controls and its monetary authority can mobilize these to settle imbalances, in order to achieve exchange-related and other desirable interventions. The ratio of total reserves to total external debt is a

¹⁸ Reserve Bank of Zimbabwe (RBZ), "2016 mid-term monetary policy statement", report (RBZ, Harare, 2016b). Available from www.veritaszim.net/node/1837

measure of reserve adequacy and provides an indication of potential crisis for countries with uncertain access to the international capital market.¹⁹ Figure 13 shows that the ratio of total reserves to external debt diminished from 13.7 per cent in 2010 to just under 5 per cent in 2016. This signifies that for the period under review, the vulnerability of both Zimbabwe's financial sector and its liquidity position to changes in the international capital markets increased significantly between 2010 and 2015.

Figure 13: Total reserves as a percentage of total external debt, 2010–2016

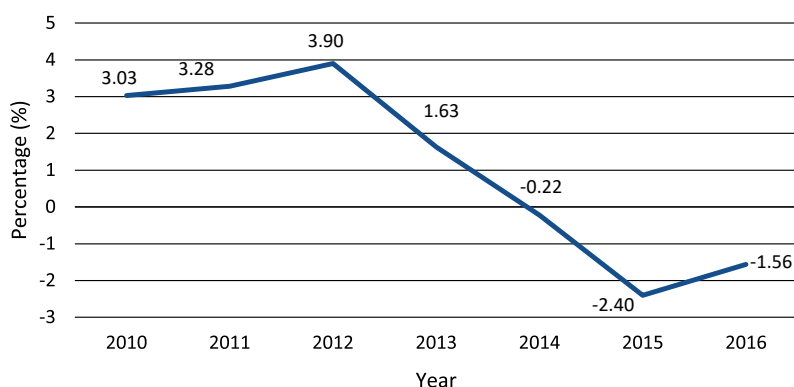


Source: World Bank Open Data (database). Available from <http://data.worldbank.org>, accessed June 2017.

Whereas the Government viewed hyperinflation as a problem for economic planning prior to 2010, deflation ironically created new problems for economic growth from 2012 onwards. Deflation manifests as a continuous decline in an aggregate measure of prices such as the consumer price index. As shown in Figure 14, the economy experienced a sustained decline in prices between 2012 and 2015, into the negative zone. Rapid weakening of domestic demand and low economic output, which resulted in sub-par economic growth, accounted for the enduring fall in prices in Zimbabwe.

¹⁹ International Monetary Fund (IMF), "Assessing reserve adequacy", policy paper (IMF, Washington, D.C., 2011). Available from www.imf.org/external/np/pp/eng/2011/021411b.pdf

Figure 14: Annual inflation rate as measured from consumer prices, 2010–2016



Source: World Bank Open Data (database). Available from <http://data.worldbank.org>, accessed June 2017.

In line with the sub-par performance of other economic indicators, the unemployment rate – that is, the number of people actively looking for a job as a percentage of the labour force – increased from 10.7 per cent in 2011 to 11.3 per cent in 2014.²⁰ However, this indicator conceals more than it reveals about the number of people who gave up job-hunting to eke out a living in the informal sector. There have been indications that informality significantly flourished in the absence of strong economic growth and sustained expansion of the formal sector.²¹

Overall, while some key development indicators improved during the period under review, Zimbabwe remains in the “low human development” category. In 2015, Zimbabwe’s Human Development Index (HDI) score was 0.51, occupying the 154th position out of 188 countries and territories in the world – a rank it shares with Papua New Guinea.

Given the enduring trade deficit, deflation and slower GDP growth rate, a grim economic outlook is projected for Zimbabwe. The country has been going through a cyclical downturn; it saw diminished foreign direct investment (FDI) during the period under review and will continue to do so through to 2019. The picture becomes rather pessimistic when one considers the liquidity crisis that started in late 2015 and is reminiscent of the pre-2009 hyperinflationary environment. Heightened economic intervention by the Government through import and foreign currency controls contributed to policy instability, which has been cited as the second biggest problematic factor for doing business in Zimbabwe.²²

²⁰ ZIMSTAT, *2014 Labour Force Survey* (ZIMSTAT, Harare, 2015). Available from www.zimstat.co.zw/sites/default/files/img/Labour_2014.pdf

²¹ MEPIP and UNDP, *Zimbabwe Millennium Development Goals: 2000–2015 Final Progress Report*.

²² African Development Bank (AfDB) Group, “Zimbabwe Country Brief: 2013–2015”, report (AfDB Group, Abidjan, 2013). Available from www.afdb.org/fileadmin/uploads/afdb/Documents/Project-and-Operations/2013-2015_-_Zimbabwe_-_Country_Brief.pdf

PART B: MIGRATION TRENDS AND MIGRATION CHARACTERISTICS

B.1. Key driving factors of migration and general cross-border mobility

The 2009 Migration Profile provides a detailed review of the drivers of emigration prior to 2009. Most studies that explain why Zimbabweans decide to leave the country and live abroad were conducted during the period covered by the 2009 Migration Profile; very little empirical research was conducted during the period under review, that is, prior to 2010. For example, while empirical work conducted by Sachikonye and Bracking (2010), Tevera, Crush and Chikanda (2010) and Maphosa (2007) provide a compelling account of the push and pull factors of emigration from Zimbabwe, they tend to draw on fieldwork carried out before 2008. These studies tend to overemphasize macroeconomic push and pull factors such as the socioeconomic crisis (e.g. unprecedented inflation, liquidity constraints, dual foreign exchange rates, a shrinking formal sector and widespread shortages of food and other basic commodities), and better economic prospects in destination countries.

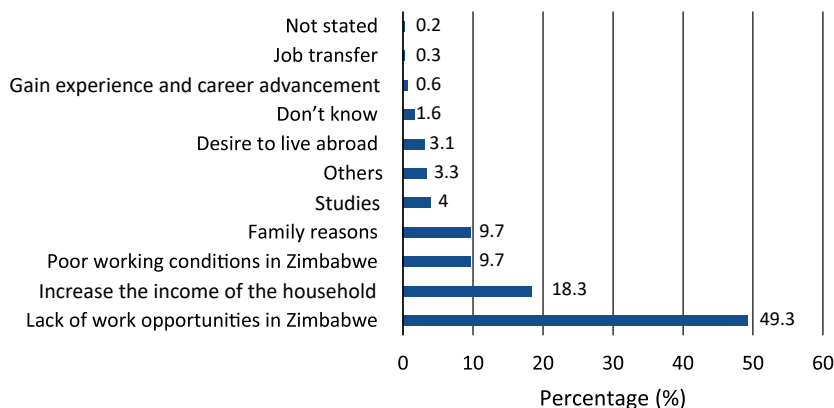
The 2009 Migration Profile succinctly captures these explanations, asserting that the “the economic crisis that Zimbabwe is facing has been and continues to be, a major factor that fuels the emigration of highly skilled nationals.”²³ The 2009 Migration Profile observes that while Zimbabwe plays the roles of destination, transit and sending country all at once, it is predominantly a source country. Based on the analysis of available information, this observation applies to the period under review. Whereas research conducted prior to 2010 highlights some of the personal motivations for migration (e.g. Zanamwe and Devillard, 2009), studies carried out during the period under review reveal very little about microlevel push factors. It would appear that either: (a) studies conducted during the period under review did not focus on drivers of migration or (b) that they overemphasized macrolevel push factors of emigration at the expense of microlevel explanations.

One finds very little information to demonstrate why migrants decided to leave after 2009 and not before. Apart from macroeconomic level factors, many existing works do not appear to shed more light on the personal motivations of

²³ L. Zanamwe and A. Devillard, *Migration in Zimbabwe: A Country Profile 2009*.

migrants themselves and the livelihood goals pursued by households. Among studies conducted after 2009, the Labour Force and Child Labour Survey (LFCLS) are an exception. Conducted in 2013 and 2014 by ZIMSTAT, the 2014 LFCLS included households with migrants who departed after June 2009. Figure 15 presents the distribution of emigrants by reason for migrating, according to the 2014 LFCLS.

Figure 15: Percentage distribution of Zimbabwean emigrants by reason for migrating



Source: ZIMSTAT, "2014 Labour Force and Child Labour Survey", in: *2014 Labour Force Survey*.

The top four reasons for emigration, led by lack of work opportunities, appear to reinforce the notion that migration is essentially a household strategy to address current and future risk. According to IOM, this supports the idea that "migration is inevitable, necessary and desirable." For those who left after 2009, economic factors were the dominant push factors. Dwindling opportunities for productive employment and career advancement, as well as unequal employer–employee relations in the local labour market, tended to influence decisions to emigrate after 2009. It appears, then, migration is a way of overcoming the limitations imposed upon households by local economic conditions on development.²⁴ Indeed, migration represents the agency of migrants and households to construct secure livelihoods outside of the restrictive local economic environment.

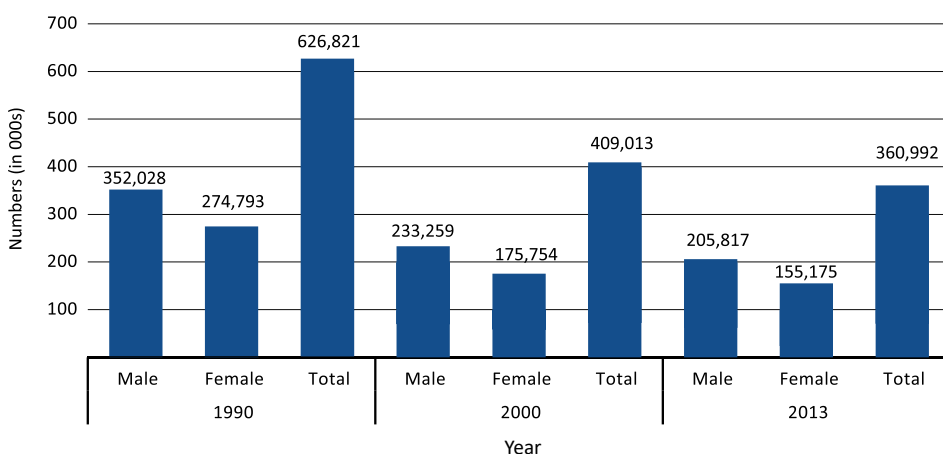
²⁴ H. De Haas, "Remittances, migration and social development: A conceptual review of the literature", social policy and development programme paper (United Nations Research Institute for Social Development, Geneva, 2007). Available from www.unrisd.org/80256B3C005BCCF9/search/8B7D005E37FFC77EC12573A600439846

B.2. Immigration

B.2.1. Foreign-born population and immigration

Non-citizens made up just under 1 per cent of the total population of Zimbabwe in 2012.²⁵ However, the Population Division of the United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs (UN DESA) Population Division and UNICEF estimated a much higher percentage (slightly above 2.7%) of the foreign-born in 2013.²⁶ Figure 16 presents total population estimates of the stock of international migrants in the country. A total of 360,992 migrants were in the country in 2013, down from 626,821 and 409,013 in 1990 and 2000, respectively; therefore, the stock of international migrants in the country²⁷ has steadily declined since 1990.

Figure 16: Total international migrant stock in Zimbabwe by gender, 1990, 2000 and 2013



Source: UN DESA – Population Division and UNICEF, *Migration Profiles: Zimbabwe*. Available from <https://esa.un.org/migmgprofiles/indicators/files/Zimbabwe.pdf>, accessed June 2017.

Approximately 87 per cent of international migrants in Zimbabwe hailed from five countries, as shown in Table 2. In addition to the United Kingdom, this lion's share of international migrants originated from Zimbabwe's neighbours in the region, mainly, Mozambique and Malawi. These patterns were expected due to the geographic proximity and historical ties between countries in the

²⁵ ZIMSTAT, Census 2012 National Report (ZIMSTAT, Harare, 2013). Available from www.zimstat.co.zw/sites/default/files/img/National_Report.pdf

²⁶ UN DESA – Population Division and UNICEF, "Migration Profile: Zimbabwe" (UN DESA and UNICEF, New York, 2014). Available from <https://esa.un.org/migmgprofiles/indicators/files/Zimbabwe.pdf>

²⁷ The figure includes the number of refugees.

region, which date back to colonial times. The fact that the United Kingdom was among the five most popular countries of origin despite being very far away can be attributed to prior colonial relations between the United Kingdom and Zimbabwe.

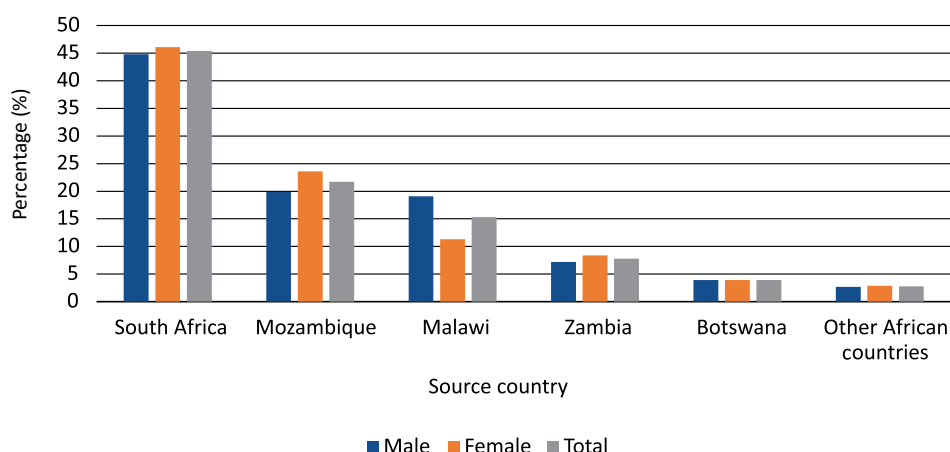
Table 2: Top five countries of origin of international migrants in Zimbabwe, 2013

Top 5 countries or areas of origin	Total
Mozambique	160,006
Malawi	98,384
Zambia	26,909
United Kingdom	15,561
South Africa	11,571
Total	312,431

Source: UN DESA – Population Division and UNICEF, *Migration Profiles: Zimbabwe*. Available from <https://esa.un.org/migmgprofiles/indicators/files/Zimbabwe.pdf>, last accessed July 2017.

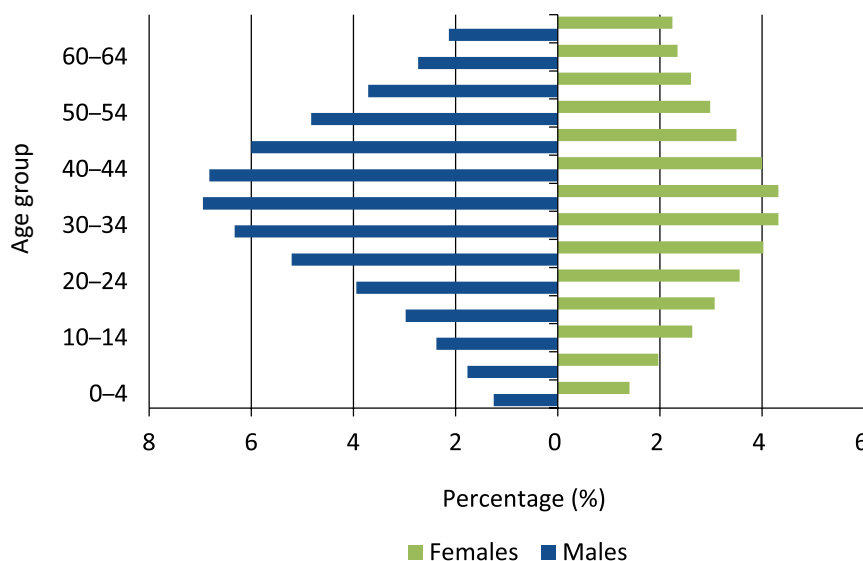
The 2014 LFCLS found slightly different results, however. Figure 17 shows that in 2013 and 2014, Zimbabwe's neighbours were the most common source countries of migrants, with the majority coming from South Africa. If well founded, this observation refutes the popular perception, which suggests that an insignificant number of South Africans, if at all, emigrate to Zimbabwe.

Figure 17: Percentage distribution of international migrants in Zimbabwe by country of origin and sex, 2013



Source: ZIMSTAT, "2014 Labour Force and Child Labour Survey", in: *2014 Labour Force Survey*.

Figure 18: Percentage distribution of international migrants in Zimbabwe by age and sex, 2013



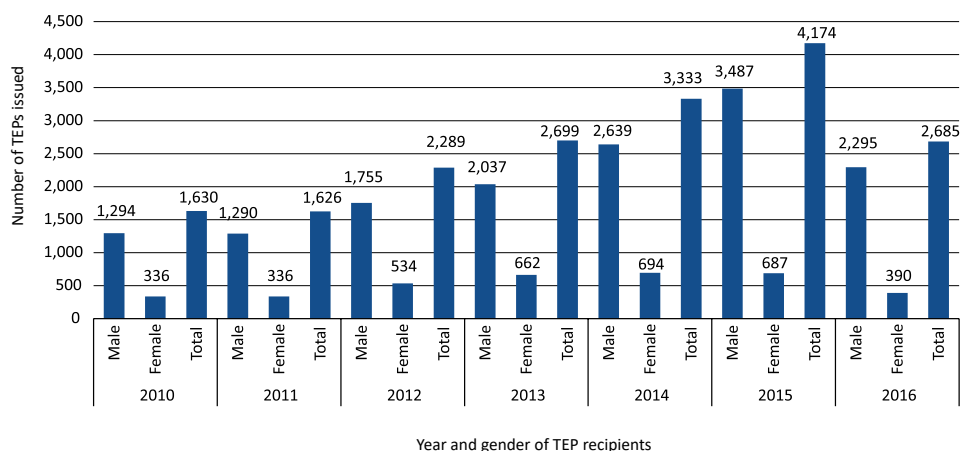
Source: UN DESA – Population Division and UNICEF, *Migration Profiles: Zimbabwe*. Available from <https://esa.un.org/migmgprofiles/indicators/files/Zimbabwe.pdf>, accessed July 2017.

Figure 18 shows that male migrants outnumbered female migrants across all age groups in 2013, and the numeric superiority of male migrants was particularly pronounced among the working age population. Given that migration in Southern Africa has traditionally been a male-dominated phenomenon, the asymmetric gender distribution of international migrants in the country was expected.

B.2.2. Immigration for employment

Administrative data from the Department of Immigration Control can shed light on the number of temporary employment permits (TEPs) issued to foreign nationals. Figure 19 presents the number of TEPs, as reported by the department, issued annually during the period under review. Between 2010 and 2016, the Government of Zimbabwe issued 18,436 TEPs to nationals from 74 countries. The number of TEPs issued per year steadily increased from 1,630 in 2010 to 4,174 in 2015. However, this upward trend was reversed in 2016, during which only 2,685 permits were issued. Males far dominated the temporary employment permits category during the period under review.

Figure 19: Distribution of temporary employment permit holders by gender, 2010–2016



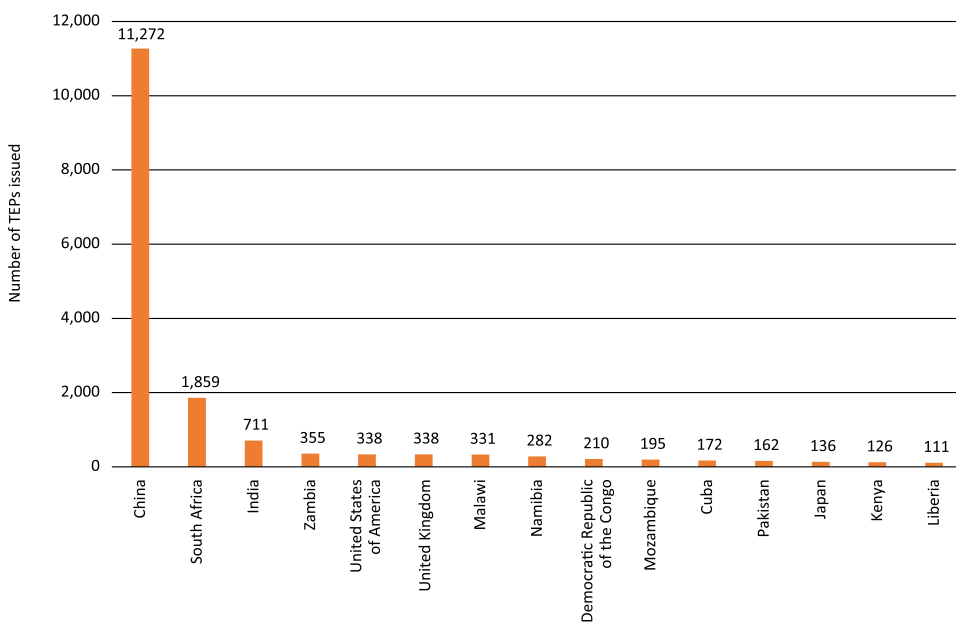
Source: Department of Immigration Control Zimbabwe, "Administrative data", email to consultant, September 2017.

Readers should interpret the figures presented with caution. It would be incorrect to assume that the numbers presented in Figure 19 accurately show the magnitude of labour participation by foreigners. Some migrants may eventually decide to engage in employment even if they entered Zimbabwe under a visa category other than the TEP. Conversely, some migrants may fail to take up employment after acquiring a permit, for one reason or another. Therefore, readers should not interpret these figures to suggest that all holders of TEPs are working in the formal local labour market, and avoid equating the number of TEP holders with the number of labour migrants in Zimbabwe during the period under review. It is highly likely that estimates of labour migrants in the country include both bona fide TEP holders and non-TEP holders. Similarly, it is possible that the number of labour migrants in the country estimated through surveys, modelling and other methods include a significant portion of irregular labour migrants. It suffices to say that the number of TEP holders nonetheless provides a more adequate picture of skilled immigration in Zimbabwe.

Where do TEP holders come from? Figure 20 addresses this question by presenting the 15 most common source countries for TEP holders. Chinese nationals constitute the largest group of TEP holders, receiving 11,272 (approximately 71%) of the 18,436 permits issued between 2010 and 2016. South Africa, Zimbabwe's neighbour and main trade partner, is the second-largest source country for TEP holders, accounting for 1,859 permits issued during the same period. India is the second-largest Asian source country for TEP holders, with 711 permits issued to Indian nationals between 2010 and 2016.

South Africa and Zambia (355 TEPs) are the only SADC countries that are among the top six source countries for TEP holders. The United States and the United Kingdom, each with 338 TEP holders, round up the top six.

Figure 20: Top 15 source countries for temporary employment permit holders



Source: Department of Immigration Control Zimbabwe, "Administrative data", email to consultant, September 2017.

While they provide a more accurate picture of formal, skilled migration, available data do not sufficiently reveal the various demographic attributes (such as age, level of education, skill set, among others) of temporary labour migrants in Zimbabwe. This makes it difficult to evaluate the impact of immigration on Zimbabwe's labour market and economic performance. An official of the Department of Immigration Control believes that the lion's share of TEPs were issued for skilled employment in the construction and tourism sectors.

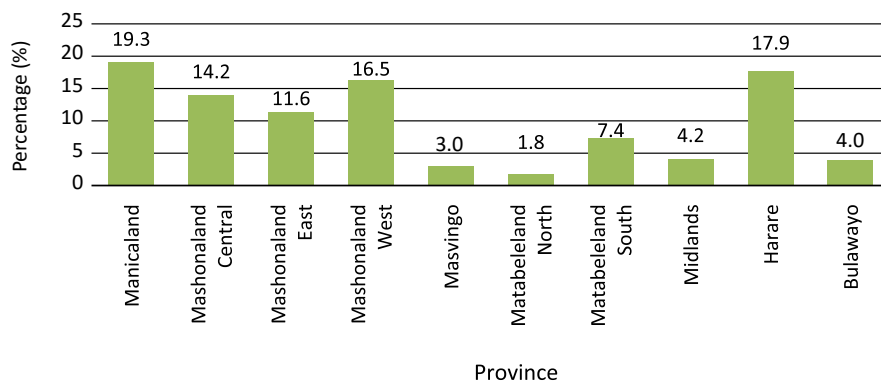
A first-of-its-kind survey in Southern Africa, the Labour Force and Child Labour Survey (LFCLS), conducted in 2013 and 2014, provides additional information that further sheds light on the nature and characteristics of labour migration to Zimbabwe. The survey estimates that 78,000 (37.9%) out of 207,130 foreigners were engaged in some kind of occupation in 2014. As expected, male labour migrants (41.7%) outnumbered female labour migrants (see Table 3). However, the proportion of female labour migrants is also significant (33.7%).

Table 3: Labour migrants as a proportion of all international migrants in Zimbabwe

Sex	Labour migrants	Non-labour migrants	Child migrants	Total	
				Percentage	Number
Male	41.7	14.1	44.2	100	107,357
Female	33.7	16.6	49.6	100	99,773
Total	37.9	15.3	46.8	100	207,130

Source: ZIMSTAT, "2014 Labour Force and Child Labour Survey", in: *2014 Labour Force Survey*.

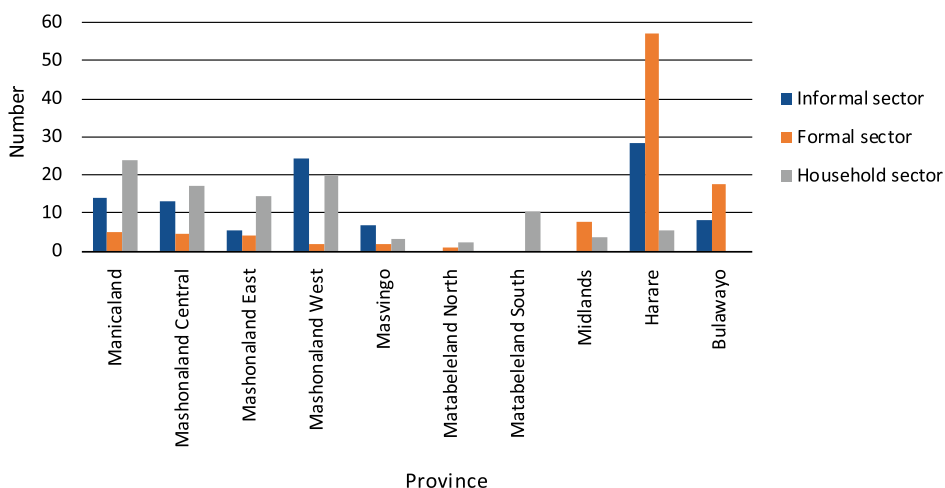
Figures 19 and 20 present the number of skilled migrants to whom the Department of Immigration Control issued TEPs annually between 2010 and 2016. Table 3 and Figures 21 and 22 present an analysis of the estimates of the labour migrant population in Zimbabwe generated through the 2014 LFCLS. Estimates from the 2014 LFCLS included low-skilled migrants and irregular labour migrants in the country at the time of the survey. Figure 21 presents the distribution of labour migrants across the provinces, and shows that Manicaland Province was the most popular destination for labour migrants, followed by Harare and Mashonaland West Provinces. It is worth noting that the bulk of labour migrants in Manicaland Province were largely absorbed in the "private household" (consisting of domestic workers and communal farmers) and other informal sectors of employment.

Figure 21: Percentage distribution of international labour migrants by province

Source: ZIMSTAT, "2014 Labour Force and Child Labour Survey", in: *2014 Labour Force Survey*.

The 2014 LFCLS also found that the majority of labour migrants (95%) were not operating in the formal sector. Of these labour migrants, a large proportion worked in the private household sector.

Figure 22: Percentage distribution of migrants by work sector and province



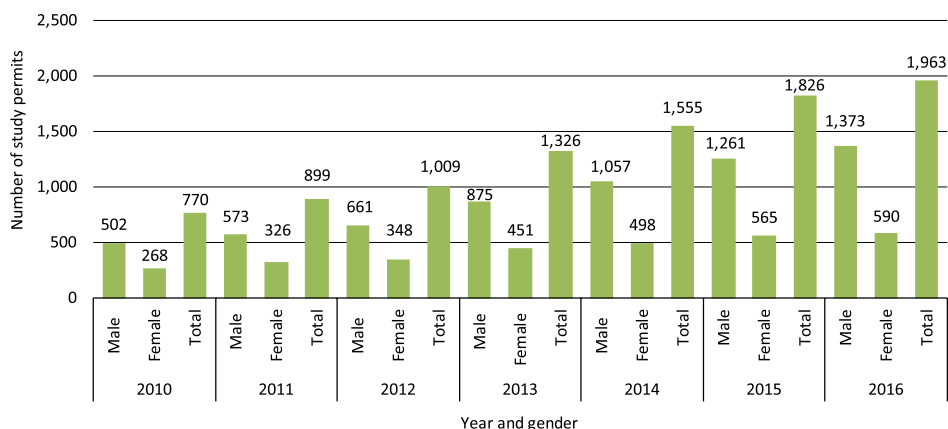
Source: ZIMSTAT, "2014 Labour Force and Child Labour Survey", in: 2014 Labour Force Survey.

Whereas Harare was home to the lion's share of labour migrants in the formal sector, Manicaland Province had the largest number of migrants working in the private household sector. A majority of these migrants came from Mozambique, again demonstrating the strength of historical ties and geographic proximity.

B.2.3. Immigration for study purposes

The Department of Immigration and Control provided official data on immigration for this Migration Profile. These data were analysed and presented in Figures 23 and 24. Between 2000 and 2016, a total of 9,348 study permits were issued to potential students from 57 countries, representing all continents and major world regions. Majority of these study permit holders were citizens of SADC countries. As shown in Figure 24, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Zambia, Mozambique, Namibia and South Africa were the top five source countries (in that order) for holders of study permits. Among non-African source countries, the United Kingdom topped the list, supplying more students than Angola and Lesotho during the period under review.

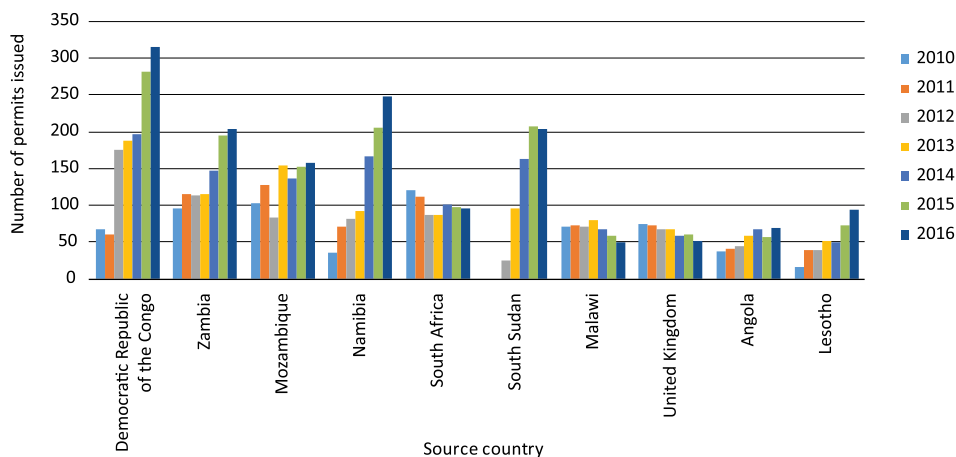
Figure 23: Percentage distribution of study permit holders by gender, 2010–2016



Source: Department of Immigration Control Zimbabwe, "Administrative data", email to consultant, September 2017.

In contrast to the number of TEPs, which diminished between 2015 and 2016, the number of student permits issued steadily increased from 770 in 2010 to 1,963 in 2016. In keeping with the general pattern of male dominance in official migration statistics, male study permit holders outnumbered their female counterparts throughout the period under review.

Figure 24: Top 10 source countries for study permit holders, 2010–2016



Source: Department of Immigration Control Zimbabwe, "Administrative data", email to consultant, September 2017.

According to the Department of Immigration Control, most holders of study permits were enrolled in the fields of information and communication technology, engineering, medicine, geology and theology. While available administrative data shed light on student migration, including gender and country of origin, some important policy-relevant information is missing. For example, more accurate information and details on academic disciplines, professions and levels of study that potential students intended to pursue after arrival, as well as on the length of the intended study period, could potentially benefit policy decisions aimed at internationalizing tertiary education. Similarly, policymakers could use information about the age distribution of student permit holders to design sound policies, including skills development policies.

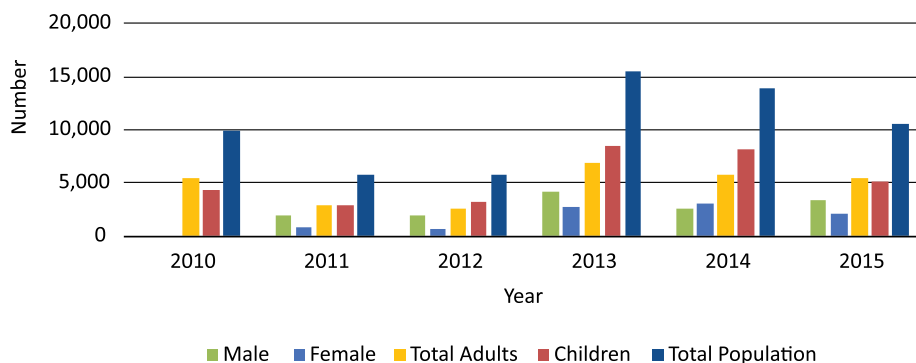
B.2.4. Forced immigration

Zimbabwe remains an attractive transit and destination country to those seeking asylum. Zimbabwe follows the camp model of managing refugees, and most refugees reside at Tongogara Camp in Manicaland Province. Some refugees – ranging between 12 and 16 per cent of the refugee population at any point in time – live and work in urban centres.²⁸

The Ministry of Public Service, Labour and Social Welfare (MPSLSW) provided data on forced immigration, which demonstrated that the total population of refugees and asylum seekers shrunk from 9,935 in 2010 to 5,749 in 2011 – the lowest during the period under review. The decline was reversed in 2012, when the number of refugees in the country increased to 5,828. As shown in Figure 25, the population of refugees and asylum seekers increased sharply from 5,828 in 2012 to 15,425 by the end of 2013, the largest number recorded during the period covered by this review. The population of refugees and asylum seekers steadily declined to 10,589 in 2015. Figure 25 depicts these population changes. No gender categories are shown for 2010 since MPSLSW data for this year is not disaggregated by gender.

²⁸ Interview with an MPSLSW–Refugee Section official, Harare, 3 November 2017.

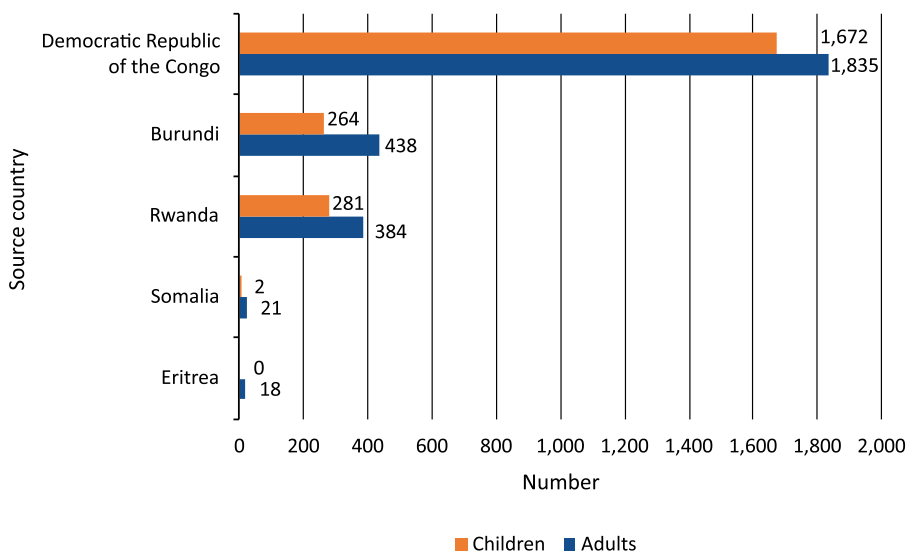
Figure 25: Number size of refugees and asylum seekers in Zimbabwe, 2011–2015



Source: Ministry of Public Service, Labour and Social Welfare, "Administrative data", hard copy of data extracts furnished to the consultant in June 2017.

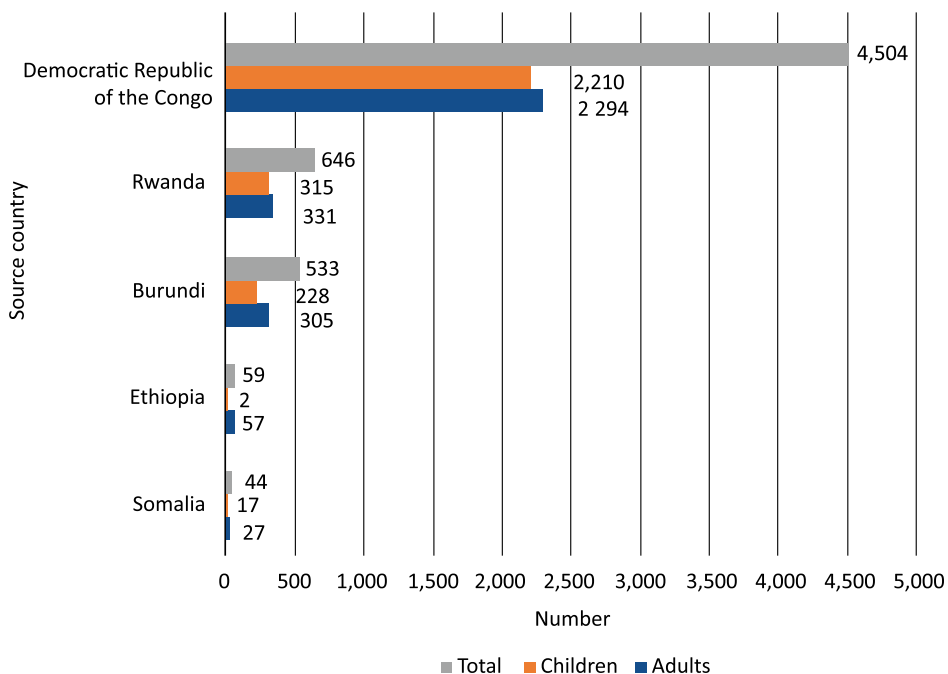
It appears that political conflict in the Great Lakes region influenced the characteristics (including, e.g. size and nationality) of the population of refugees and asylum seekers in the country during the period under review. When the refugee population reached its peak in 2013, citizens from the Democratic Republic of the Congo made up 75 per cent of all asylum seekers and refugees. Two other main source countries for refugees and asylum seekers were Rwanda and Burundi. Combined, nationals of countries of the Great Lakes region made up 96 per cent of refugees and asylum seekers. From 2013 onwards, the number of refugees and asylum seekers from the Great Lakes region steadily diminished but remained the largest group. Figures 26, 27, 28 and 29 present these population dynamics. As with other categories of migrants, adult male refugees and asylum seekers outnumbered their female counterparts.

Figure 26: Top five source countries for refugees in Zimbabwe, 2010



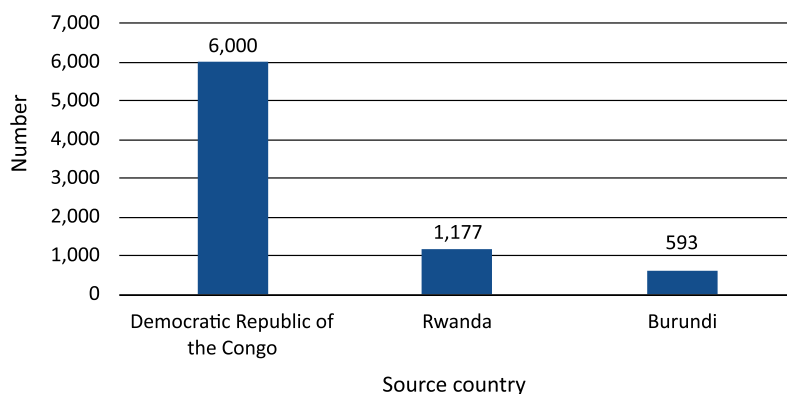
Source: Ministry of Public Service, Labour and Social Welfare, "Administrative data", hard copy of data extracts furnished to the consultant in June 2017.

Figure 27: Top five source countries for refugees in Zimbabwe, 2012



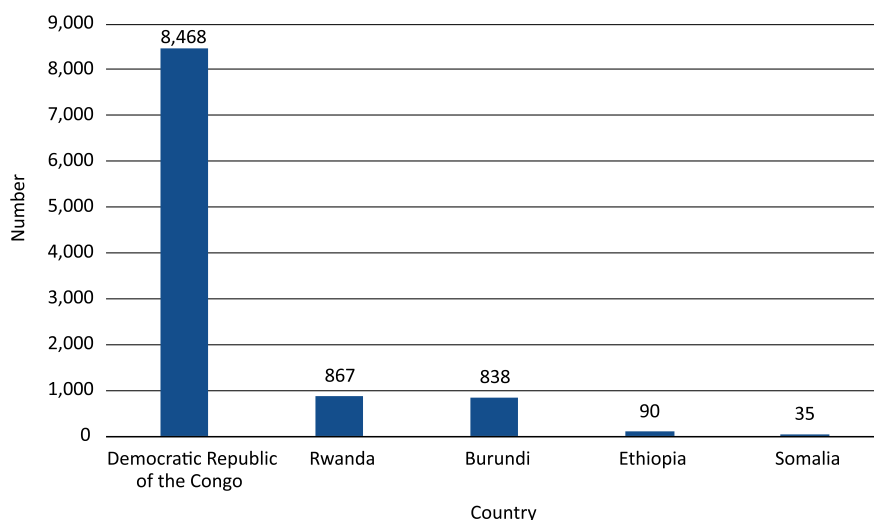
Source: Ministry of Public Service, Labour and Social Welfare, "Administrative data", hard copy of data extracts furnished to the consultant in June 2017.

Figure 28: Top three source countries for forced migrants in Zimbabwe, 2013



Source: Ministry of Public Service, Labour and Social Welfare, "Administrative data", hard copy of data extracts furnished to the consultant in June 2017.

Figure 29: Top five source countries for forced migrants in Zimbabwe, 2015



Source: Ministry of Public Service, Labour and Social Welfare, "Administrative data", hard copy of data extracts furnished to the consultant in June 2017.

Children constituted a significantly large group among refugees and asylum seekers. As Figure 25 shows, the population of children (i.e. those under 18 years of age) outweighed the total adult population in 2012, 2013 and 2014. Even when the sum of male and female adults surpassed the number of children (e.g. in 2015), the difference was considerably small. The numeric prominence

of children in the category of forced migrants may be all too surprising to the reader. Officials from the Refugee Section of the MPSLSW provided a plausible explanation for the number of children among the refugees and asylum seekers in the country. They observed that asylum seekers often leave as families of parents and children. Furthermore, in some cases families assume responsibility over children separated from their own families at departure and during flights. Such children, officials estimate, make up approximately 2 per cent of the total population of refugees and asylum seekers. After arrival in Zimbabwe, the families of asylum seekers and refugees often continue to have more children. Moreover, marriages in the camp after arrival.

B.3. Emigration

B.3.1. Citizens residing abroad and emigration

Fieldwork conducted in 2017 found no evidence of any mechanism to collect comprehensive migration-related data on departures and returns of Zimbabweans at designated ports of entry. Subsequently, it was difficult to obtain administrative data from the Department of Immigration Control. Estimates included in reports compiled in the destination country typically vary. The United Nations estimates that there were 571,970 Zimbabweans living in the top five countries of destination – that is, South Africa, the United Kingdom, Malawi, Australia and Botswana – numbered 571,970 in 2013, as shown in Table 4.

Table 4: Top five destination countries for Zimbabwean migrants, 2013

Country	Total
South Africa	358,109
United Kingdom	115,708
Malawi	35,287
Australia	34,034
Botswana	28,832
Total	571,970

Source: UN DESA – Population Division and UNICEF, *Migration Profiles: Zimbabwe*.

Another, more credible, estimate comes from Statistics South Africa (STATS SA). Drawing on the 2016 Community Survey, STATS SA estimates that there were 574,047 Zimbabweans in South Africa.²⁹ This represents a

²⁹ Statistics South Africa (STATS SA), *Community Survey 2016: Statistical release*.

considerable decline from the 672,308 known to live in South Africa in 2011. Obviously, these numbers exclude a believed-to-be-large proportion of irregular-status Zimbabweans in the country. Therefore, it would not be correct to attribute this five-year decline entirely to either return migration or movement to a third country. Furthermore, since some migrants shift between categories, it is possible to attribute the changes in these estimates to shifts in migrant status, that is, from regular to irregular and vice versa.

Ratha, Mohapatra and Silwal (2009) provided another estimate of Zimbabweans abroad. These authors estimated that Zimbabwean emigrants numbered 1,253,100, constituting 9.9 per cent of the population. The gaps between the estimates of the number of Zimbabweans abroad provided by UN DESA and UNICEF (2014), STATS SA (2016) and Ratha, Mohapatra and Silwal, and those occasionally circulating in the media, purporting that over 3 million Zimbabweans live in South Africa alone, are huge.

B.3.2. Emigration for employment

It is undeniable that the need to construct secure livelihoods through gainful employment abroad constitutes an important driver of Zimbabwean emigration. Still a record of the number of nationals in formal employment abroad was not available at destination. It is possible that the governments of popular destination countries for Zimbabweans, such as South Africa, the United Kingdom and Australia, keep such records. However, the records of Zimbabweans who were formally employed abroad could not be accessed due to logistical and procedural issues. Even when they are available, statistics maintained by foreign institutions hardly paints a full picture of Zimbabweans involved in any form of income-generating occupation abroad. This is because migrants typically operate on the margins of the labour market in the destination country; majority work in the informal sector, if not in unregulated and “informalized” sections of the formal sector.

B.3.3. Emigration for study purposes

Access to administrative data for emigration for educational purposes is complicated by the same problems that affect the availability of statistics on the Zimbabwean migrant stock abroad. South Africa is by far the most popular destination for Zimbabwean student migrants; in 2013, a total of 23,273 were studying at South African educational institutions.

Table 5: Top five countries of destination for Zimbabwean tertiary students, 2013

Country	Total
South Africa	23,273
United Kingdom	1,201
United States of America	1,113
Australia	891
Germany	87
Total	26,565

Source: UN DESA and UNICEF, *Migration Profiles: Zimbabwe*.

After South Africa, the United Kingdom and the United States were the most popular destinations for study. Despite the proximity of the United Kingdom to Germany (both countries being in Europe), the latter was home to far fewer Zimbabwean students in 2013. Zimbabwe's prior colonial, cultural and linguistic ties with the United Kingdom may explain this difference.

B.3.4. Forced emigration

Involuntary Zimbabwean emigrants are part of the country's migrant stock and are difficult to track. The two main destinations for Zimbabwean asylum seekers are South Africa and the United Kingdom. In 2013, there were 12,155 refugees abroad. This figure excludes Zimbabweans seeking asylum and those with asylum seeker permits.

B.4. Irregular migration

Irregular migration is "movement that takes place outside the regulatory norms of the origin, transit and destination countries."³⁰ According to IOM, no clear and universally accepted definition of irregular migration exists. From the viewpoint of destination countries, one becomes an irregular migrant when he/she enters a country without satisfying the immigration laws of that country. From the perspective of countries of origin, crossing borders with inadequate travel documents or leaving a country without satisfying the administrative requirements of that country indicates irregularity of the movement.³¹ In practice, however, the term "irregular migration" typically applies to migrants who do not satisfy the requirements of applicable immigration laws while entering, working and residing in transit and destination countries.

³⁰ IOM, *World Migration Report: Migrant Well-being and Development* (IOM, Geneva, 2013), p. 211.

³¹ IOM, "Key Migration Terms", webpage (IOM, Geneva, 2018). Available from www.iom.int/key-migration-terms

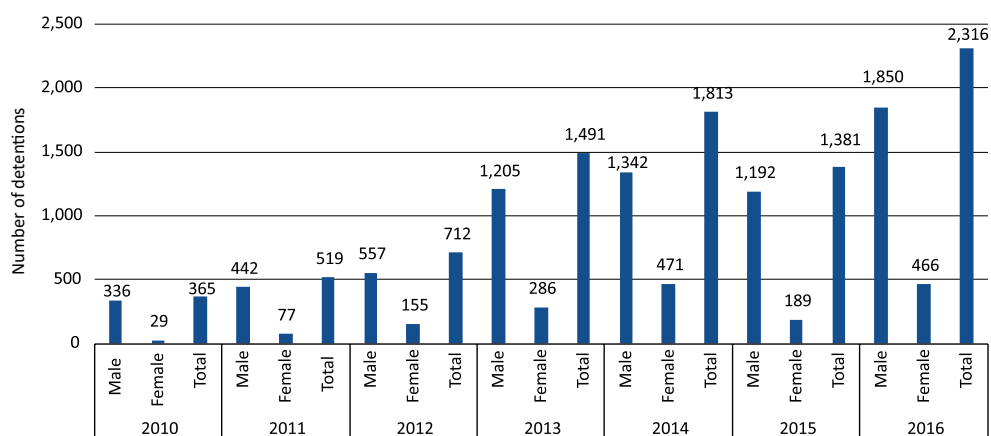
Additionally, this notion of irregular migration implies that irregular migrants also include persons who entered and resided in a country for some time in accordance with immigration laws, but became irregular due to any of various circumstances. For example, migrants who overstay their welcome in the destination country automatically become irregular migrants. Thinking of irregular migration in this manner helps to see that migration categories are fluid rather than rigid, and that the challenge of irregular migration is nearly inevitable in any country.

Irregular immigration is not uncommon in Zimbabwe. During the period under review, the Government of Zimbabwe detained, prosecuted and deported foreigners for immigration-related offences. As expected, males far outnumbered females in all subcategories of irregular immigration, that is, detentions, prosecutions and deportations from Zimbabwe.

B.4.1. Detentions

There were immigration-related detentions recorded for the period under review. The number of immigration-related detentions steadily increased from 365 in 2010 to 1,813 in 2014 (Figure 30). This pattern was reversed in 2015 when total detention dropped to 1,381. In 2016, the number of immigration-related detentions sharply increased to 2,316, the biggest figure during the period under review. According to an official from the Department of Immigration Control, the length of detention ranges from 72 hours to five months.

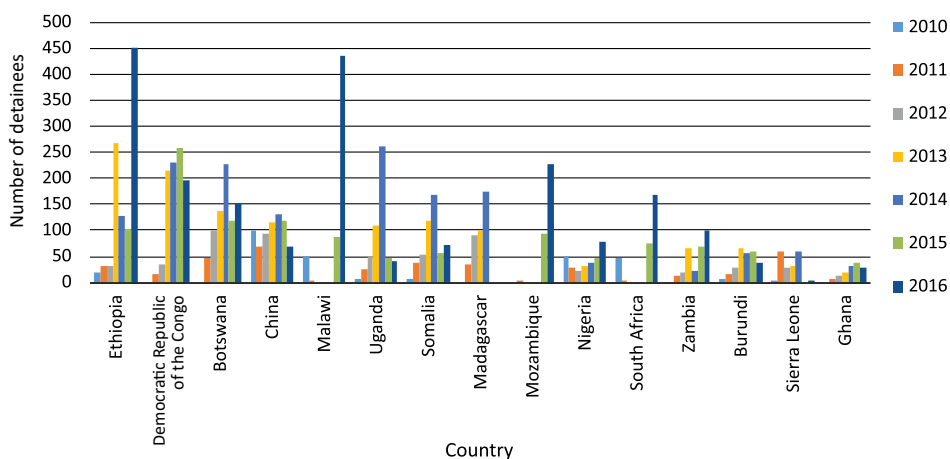
Figure 30: Number of immigration detentions in Zimbabwe by gender, 2010–2016



Source: Department of Immigration Control Zimbabwe, "Administrative data", email to consultant, September 2017.

Figure 31 shows the fifteen largest source countries – majority of which are African – for immigration detainees. Ethiopia tops the list, followed by the Democratic Republic of the Congo, and then by Botswana. Interestingly, China is the fourth largest source of foreigners whom the Government detained during the period under review. In fact, the total number of Chinese nationals returned for immigration-related offences between 2010 and 2016 was greater than that of their Malawian counterparts during the same period. China is also conspicuous as the only Asian country among the top 15 source countries for immigration detainees.

Figure 31: Top 15 source countries for immigration detainees in Zimbabwe, 2010–2016



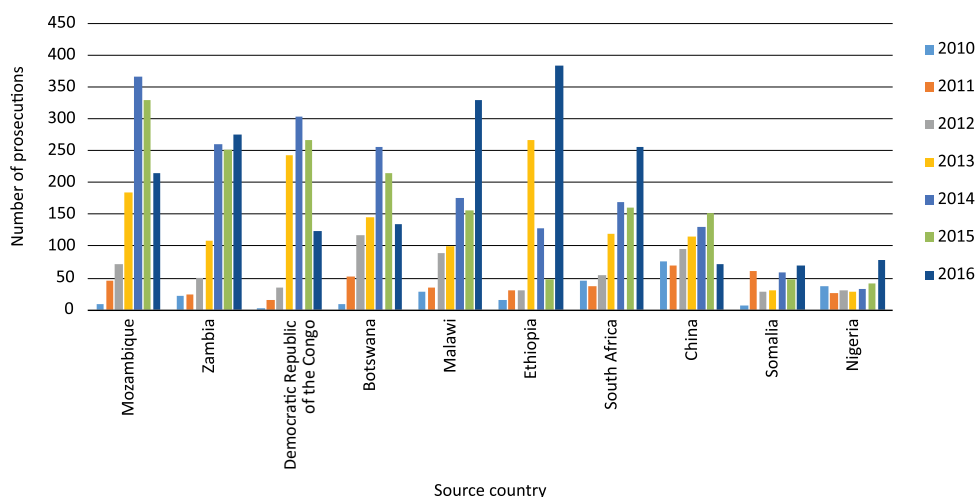
Source: Department of Immigration Control Zimbabwe, "Administrative data", email to consultant, September 2017.

B.4.2. Prosecutions

Between 2010 and 2016, 9,940 foreigners were prosecuted in Zimbabwe's courts of law for immigration-related offences. According to the Department of Immigration Control, reasons for prosecution include illegal entry, staying/living in the country without adequate documentation, working in the country without adequate documentation and forging of immigration permits. Another reason for prosecution is re-entry by prohibited persons. According to the Department of Immigration Control, the Magistrates Court convicted about 98 per cent of prosecuted foreigners during the period under review. The Magistrates Court meted out custodial sentences, with an option of a fine, for the majority of cases. As part of the sentence, the courts ordered that the Government return convicted foreigners to their countries of origin.

Figure 32 presents prosecutions between 2010 and 2016 according to country of origin. Interestingly, foreigners prosecuted for immigration-related transgressions come from both countries that had recently experienced political violence and those that were enjoying relative peace. Citizens of Botswana, Malawi, South Africa and Zambia – countries that have enjoyed relative peace in recent decades – for example, constituted a large proportion of foreigners prosecuted between 2010 and 2016.

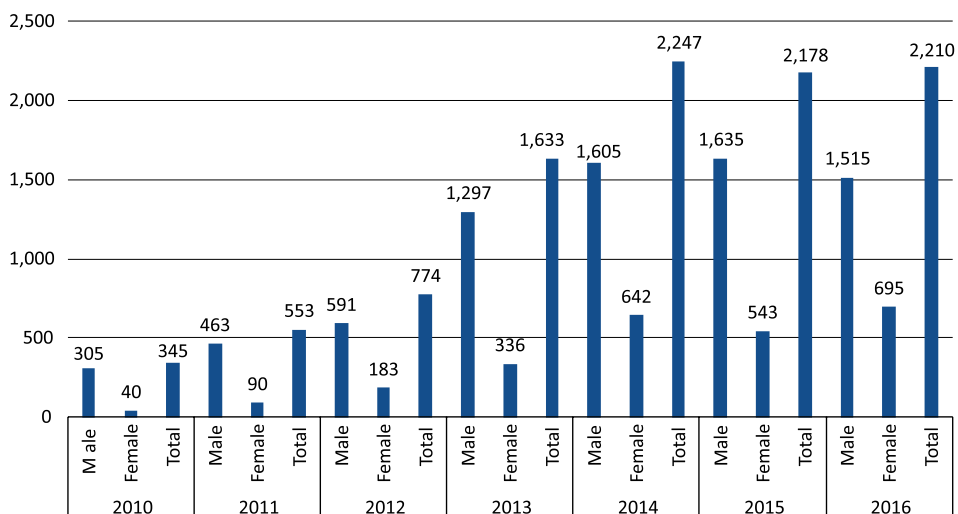
Figure 32: Top 10 source countries for individuals prosecuted under Zimbabwe's immigration law, 2010–2016



Source: Department of Immigration Control Zimbabwe, "Administrative data", email to consultant, September 2017.

As shown in Figure 33, males prosecuted under immigration law far outnumbered females during the period under review. This pattern meets general expectations since male migrants dominate most migration categories within the African region.

Figure 33: Immigration prosecutions in Zimbabwe by gender, 2010–2016



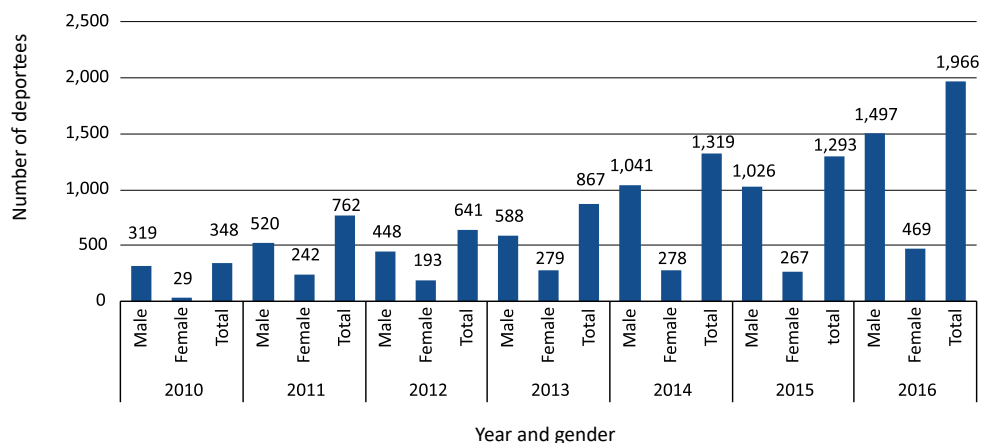
Source: Department of Immigration Control Zimbabwe, "Administrative data", email to consultant, September 2017.

In terms of trends, Figure 33 shows that the number of prosecutions made per year steadily increased from 345 in 2010 to 2,247 in 2014. A slight dip in the number of prosecutions was observed between 2014 (2,247) and 2015 (2,178).

B.4.3. Deportations

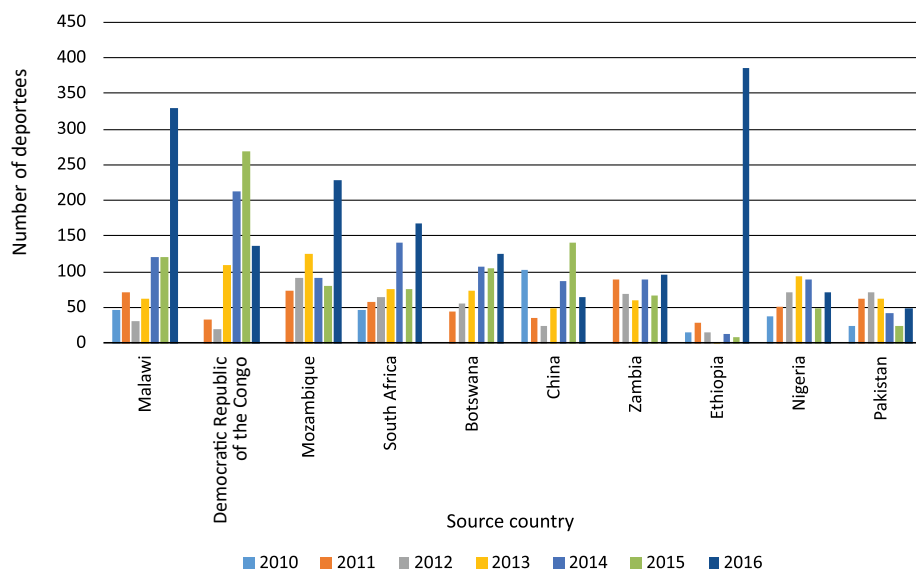
Between 2010 and 2016, the Government of Zimbabwe returned 7,196 migrants who had become irregular in one way or another, to 47 countries representing six continents and all major regions. As with detentions and prosecutions, deportations affected far more male migrants than female migrants. The number of foreigners returned from Zimbabwe increased nearly six times from 348 in 2010 to 1,966 in 2016 (Figure 34). There was a general upward trend during this period, the years 2012 and 2015 being the exceptions, when the number of migrants returned was lower than in the previous year.

Figure 34: Deportations from Zimbabwe by gender, 2010–2016



Source: Department of Immigration Control Zimbabwe, "Administrative data", email to consultant, September 2017.

Figure 35: Top 10 source countries for deportees from Zimbabwe, 2010–2016



Source: Department of Immigration Control Zimbabwe, "Administrative data", email to consultant, September 2017.

Figure 35 presents the top 10 source countries for foreigners that Zimbabwe returned for migration-related irregularities during the period under review. Combined, foreigners returned to SADC countries, especially Zimbabwe's neighbours, outnumbered migrants returned to any other region. Given that

the largest proportion of African migrants move between African countries, it is not surprising that citizens from other African countries, particularly those from within the SADC region, constituted the largest share of those returned. China and Pakistan were the only non-African countries among the top 10 source countries for returnees.

B.5. Return migration

IOM defines return migration as “the movement of a person returning to his/her country of origin or habitual residence, usually after spending at least one year in another country. This return may or may not be voluntary. Return migration includes voluntary repatriation.”³² Administrative data on regular, voluntary return migration from the Department of Immigration Control was not accessible during the preparation of this Migration Profile. However, the Department of Social Services of the MPSLSW provided statistics on Zimbabwean emigrants that South Africa and Botswana returned for failing to satisfy the legal requirements for regular entry and stay in those countries. South Africa returned Zimbabwean nationals through Beitbridge Border Post. Botswana used Plumtree Border Post to return Zimbabwean nationals who had become irregular on its territory. Upon arrival at either border post, irregular returnees accessed shelter, medication, transport to their respective places of origin, and advice on safe migration, among other services, at the on-site Reception and Support Centre (Beitbridge and Plumtree each have one), set up as part of a joint initiative of the Government of Zimbabwe and IOM. Since 2013, the Department of Social Services of the MPSLSW has assumed full operational responsibility of the centres.³³

The bases on which the Government extends services and benefits through the Reception and Support Centres, to Zimbabwean nationals returned by a foreign country are as follows:

- (a) the Social Welfare Assistance Act (Chapter 17:06), which provides for social welfare benefits and services to those in need, as well as their dependants;
- (b) the vulnerable status of Zimbabweans whom foreign governments return on the basis of evidence of irregularity. (This is especially true for children and women in such circumstances.)

³² IOM, *International Migration Law: Glossary on Migration* (IOM, Geneva, 2004). Available from www.iomvienna.at/sites/default/files/IML_1_EN.pdf

³³ Phone interview with officials from the Department of Social Welfare, September 2017.

The Department of Social Services provided statistics on nationals whom South Africa and Botswana returned through Beitbridge and Plumtree Border Posts, respectively. Table 6 and Figure 36 present annual numbers of returnees with an irregular status. The number of Zimbabwean males returned from the two countries between 2010 and 2016 outweighed the number of females in the same category. This reinforces the popular notion that migration in Africa remains a male-dominated phenomenon. Another interesting point to consider is that children were among the Zimbabwean nationals returned from South Africa and Botswana during the period under review. Conversations with officials from the Refugee Section of MPSLSW reported that a small but significant number of children were unaccompanied and separated minors. The fact that there were women and children among the Zimbabweans that returned from South Africa and Botswana after becoming irregular migrants in those countries reinforces the view that returnees with an irregular status are vulnerable movers.

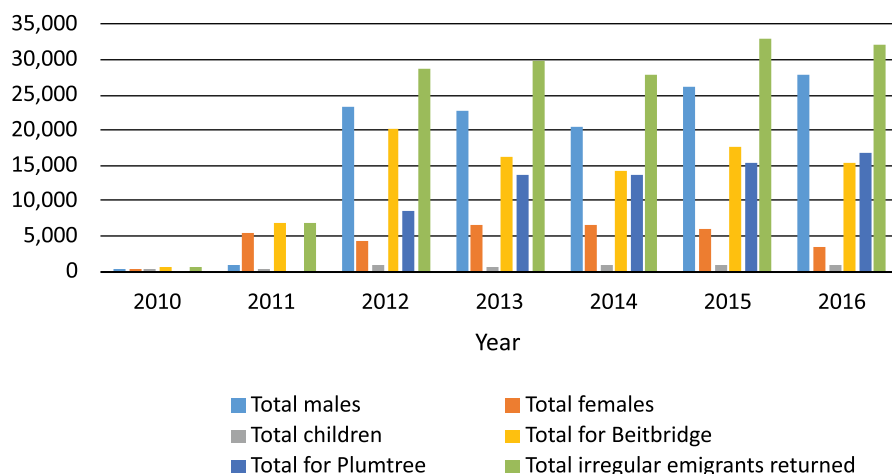
Table 6: Irregular Zimbabwean emigrants returned through Beitbridge and Plumtree Border Posts and who received assistance at the respective Reception and Support Centres, 2010–2016³⁴

Year	Males			Female			Children			Total, Beitbridge	Total, Plumtree	Total, All Irregular Emigrants Returned
	Beitbridge	Plumtree	Total	Beitbridge	Plumtree	Total	Beitbridge	Plumtree	Total			
2010	127		127	136		136	323		323	586		586
2011	956		956	5,589		5,589	291		291	6,836		6,836
2012	17,095	6,228	23,323	2,437	1,907	4,344	556	378	934	20,086	8,513	28,599
2013	11,540	11,311	22,851	4,335	2,117	6,452	273	281	554	16,148	13,709	29,857
2014	10,021	10,412	20,433	3,875	2,603	6,478	343	685	1028	14,239	13,700	27,939
2015	15,277	10,821	26,098	1,946	4,020	5,966	337	654	991	17,560	15,495	33,055
2016	12,721	15,109	27,830	2,196	1,153	3,349	408	607	1015	15,325	16,869	32,194

Source: Ministry of Public Service, Labour and Social Welfare, "Administrative data", email to consultant, October 2017.

³⁴ 2010 and 2011 data on the number of returnees at the Reception and Support Centre at Plumtree Border Post are not available.

Figure 36: Zimbabwean irregular migrants returned through Beitbridge and Plumtree Border Posts, 2010–2016



Source: Ministry of Public Service, Labour and Social Welfare, "Administrative data", email to consultant, October 2017.

The reader should interpret the numbers in Table 6 and Figure 36 with caution. First, Table 6 and Figure 36 present numbers of only those irregular returnees who accessed assistance at the two Reception and Support Centres. Statistics on Zimbabwe nationals whom foreign governments returned using border posts other than Beitbridge and Plumtree were not accessible. Second, not all Zimbabweans returned at the behest of the Governments of South Africa and Botswana sought assistance at the Reception and Support Centres. Department of Social Services staff recorded the numbers of only those returnees who reported at their offices. Third, it is possible that some returnees subsequently re-entered South Africa and Botswana, failed anew to comply with the migration laws for legal and entry and stay in these countries, and were returned yet again. Officials from the Reception and Support Centres, therefore, may have recorded the same returnee more than once.

Nonetheless, the data presented in Table 6 and Figure 36 are relevant in many ways. For example, the data reinforces the view that mixed flows characterize Zimbabwean migration. Among the returnees were children in the company of their parents, unaccompanied and separated children, and women. These different groups of migrants often have correspondingly differentiated protection needs. The Reception and Support Centres form part of the institutional response to the complex needs of mixed migration flows, from a sending country perspective. The relevance of Reception and Support Centres confirms the need for strong sending country involvement in managing migration.

B.6. Internal migration

Unlike international migration, internal migration is a complex concept which, according to ZIMSTAT,³⁵ can refer to: (a) lifetime migration whereby a person moved from his/her place of birth to live in a different area; (b) intercensal migration involving a change in the place of abode in the intervening time between censuses; or (c) the less permanent process of circular migration. ZIMSTAT uses provinces as internal boundaries that define internal migration. Available evidence shows that lifetime migrants numbered 3,629,953, compared to 9,347,559 people who have never left their province of birth. Masvingo and Manicaland Provinces have relatively low levels of internal migration. In terms of intercensal migration, the dominant pattern in 2012 was that although major cities attracted migrants from various provinces, they tended to have more defined catchment areas. It should be noted, however, that occasional changes in the boundaries of provinces compromised the reliability of internal migration statistics to an extent.

³⁵ ZIMSTAT, *Census 2012 National Report*.

PART C: IMPACTS OF MIGRATION

This section examines the impacts of migration and subsequent remittances on development in the country of origin. Development goes beyond income indicators: True development involves broadening people's genuine freedoms by enhancing their human capabilities, that is, people's ability to live the kind of life they genuinely choose to pursue.³⁶ In this vein, development encompasses various dimensions, including, but not limited to, meaningful employment, income inequality, poverty alleviation, gender equality, and access to universal education, health and formal social protection.³⁷

The multiplicity of the dimensions that underpin the concept of development implies that assessing the impact of migration and remittances on development and society is a complex exercise. At the very least, it involves empirical analysis of multiple dimensions at various levels, from the household to the national economy. Furthermore, while migration and remittances have implications for broader microeconomic indicators such as the balance of payments and GDP, strictly speaking, they are part of a household or family's risk diversification and co-insurance strategy.³⁸ Migration, therefore, is part of the agency of individual migrants, households and families, aimed at addressing barriers to local development.³⁹ This implies that families and households shoulder the bulk of economic and non-economic costs associated with migration.⁴⁰ Whereas migrants and their families can easily account for the economic costs – such as the transactional costs that they incur – they find it difficult to quantify the non-economic costs of migration, such as the stress of living apart and associated experiences of loss. Non-economic costs are difficult to track and estimate, but they ought to be included in broader evaluations of the impact of migration.

Just as costs of migration accrue primarily to families, the economic returns to migration, for example, goods and monetary remittances flow through familial ties. Often, monetary and non-monetary exchanges occur outside the official realm. This implies that there is a certain level of informality

³⁶ A. Sen, *Development as Freedom* (Oxford University Press, New York, 1999).

³⁷ H. De Haas, "Remittances, migration and social development".

³⁸ Ibid.

³⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁰ A. Chereni, "Counting the costs: Reflections on personal vulnerability in debates on the Migration-Development Nexus", *BUWA! A Journal on African Women's Experiences* (Open Society Initiative for Southern Africa, Johannesburg), pp. 46–49.

to both migration and the subsequent remitting behaviours of movers. In fact, informality permeates migration, remitting practices, as well as the manner in which migrant families dispose of remittances. Consequently, the overall impact – both negative and positive – of human migration and remittances is prone to underestimation.

While scholarly interest in the development impacts of migration is not new, evaluating the causal connections of migration, remittances and development is often easier said than done. Multiple studies on the development consequences of migration exist in literature. However, especially in least-developed labour-exporting countries, robust evidence of the contribution of migration and remittances to development is hard to find. As such, conclusions by studies conducted overseas must be taken with considerable caution. This is because human migration is neither a uniform nor a universal experience. Migration is contingent upon various factors, including the human capital of the migrant and the socioeconomic status of the migrant-sending household. More importantly, the broader policy environment, including migration management regimes, bilateral migration arrangements and social welfare policies, tend to shape migration in far-reaching ways. For example, admission rules of destination countries often influence the plausibility of family reunion and access to secure residence after arrival. Thus, whereas migration is in one sense an outcome of human agency, structures that “determine the destination, selectivity, and returns to migration”⁴¹ often shape how it unfolds.

C.1. Migration and economic development

A point reiterated in literature is that international migration holds huge prospects for countries that have lost talent through emigration. It is, therefore, necessary to examine the potential benefits of migration for labour-exporting countries in general, in order to appreciate the economic impacts of migration in Zimbabwe.

A more direct economic benefit of remittances is their positive effect on balance of payment deficits, specifically, the reduction in the shortage of foreign currency in the country of origin. Unlike other flows of capital, remittances are free from the typical conditions attached to aid and private capital use. Remittances are neither tied to specific sectors nor earmarked for particular investment projects that, in some cases, may have high import content. Importantly, sending countries do not have to repay remittances (OECD, 2006).

⁴¹ H. De Haas, “Remittances, migration and social development”.

Perhaps the greatest economic prospect of migration is that a labour-exporting country can mobilize the entrepreneurial potential of its diaspora communities and direct it towards development at the place of origin – for example, through diaspora bonds, transnational loans and mutual funds, and other means.⁴² Diaspora bonds – long-dated debt instruments or sovereign debt agreements between the sending country government and the diaspora abroad – allow the labour-exporting country to borrow from its expatriate communities abroad, in order to close financing gaps, increase investment, boost productivity and create jobs in the domestic market. Diaspora bonds have been especially attractive at times when the sending country's access to international capital markets is poor due to low investor confidence and other reasons.⁴³

On three occasions since 1951, India has raised more than USD 35 billion annually from diaspora bonds at a time when its access to international capital markets was very limited.⁴⁴ Israel has raised many billions of US dollars annually since 1951, despite high sovereign risk.⁴⁵ These and many other examples have shown that, compared with non-diasporas, diaspora communities are more inclined to investing in their home country in spite of high sovereign risk. Thereby, diaspora bonds provide a “patriotic discount” on the costs of borrowing, making them cheaper than traditional financial instruments. Moreover, when making investment decisions, the diaspora has a bias towards its country of origin, suggesting that patriotism is the principal motivation for diaspora bonds. This inherent patriotism implies that diaspora bonds are “likely to be in demand in fair as well as foul weather.”⁴⁶

In recent years, some labour-exporting countries have used diaspora wealth to increase the assets held by domestic banks at home through the securitization of future flows of remittances. Future-flows securitization means the issuer of debt can use future or anticipated assets as security by.⁴⁷ Future-flow securitization of remittances also improves the credit rating of a labour-exporting country, thus encouraging financing by traditional instruments.

⁴² K. Newland and H. Tanaka, “Mobilizing diaspora entrepreneurship for development” in: *Diasporas: New Partners in Global Development Policy* (K. Newland, (ed.)) (Migration Policy Institute, Washington, D.C., 2010) p. 25.

⁴³ H. Ehrhart et al., “Does migration foster exports? Evidence from Africa”, policy research working paper (World Bank, Washington, D.C., 2014). Available from <https://openknowledge.worldbank.org/handle/10986/16810>

⁴⁴ S.L. Ketkar and D. Ratha, “Diaspora bonds: Tapping the diaspora during difficult times”, *Journal of International Commerce, Economics and Policy*, 1(2):251–263. Available from www.dilipratha.com/index_files/DiasporaBonds-JICEP.pdf

⁴⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁶ Ibid., p. 252.

⁴⁷ K. Newland and H. Tanaka, “Mobilizing diaspora entrepreneurship for development” in: *Diasporas: New Partners in Global Development Policy* (K. Newland, (ed.)) (Migration Policy Institute, Washington, D.C., 2010).

What makes future-flow securitization of credit feasible is the fact that, unlike private capital flows, remittances are more stable and counter-cyclical – that is, remittance flows are generally resilient and may even increase during economic crises at origin.⁴⁸ Flows of private capital are pro-cyclical in the sense that they tend to diminish during an economic downturn in a labour-exporting country and increase during economic boom.

Apart from their entrepreneurial potential, migrant communities abroad are said to have a pro-trade effect. In other words, the existence of migrant networks abroad positively affects trade in the country of origin, at least in theory. Proponents of the pro-trade effects of migration argue that migrants can overcome trade barriers that African countries face; help enforce contracts when the institutional context of trade is weak; provide requisite information; and boost trade in differentiated goods,⁴⁹ especially so-called “nostalgic goods” or “culture goods.”⁵⁰ The diaspora’s access to information lowers the information costs for those at origin, thus improving the comparative advantage of a labour-exporting country. In addition, diaspora communities boost tourism service exports through genealogical and heritage tourism, whereby diaspora visitors trace their ancestry, sometimes inviting families of friends. By all accounts, trade in nostalgic goods do not occupy a major portion of the world trade. However, local artistes typically produce nostalgic goods through labour-intensive means. This implies that nostalgic goods are more likely to lead to a direct increase in household consumption.⁵¹

Clearly, the potential economic benefits of migration and subsequent remittances are significant for labour-exporting developing countries. However, the extent to which a sending country can exploit the economic potential of emigration for economic growth at home depends on a number of factors, including the size of the diaspora and the institutional policy contexts at origin. Ketkar and Ratha (2010) observed that countries with weak governance structures may require the support of multilateral and bilateral agencies to improve institutional capacity, in order to guarantee the participation of diasporas.

⁴⁸ D. Ratha, S. Mohapatra and E. Scheja, “Impact of migration on economic and social development: A review of evidence and emerging issues”, policy research working paper (World Bank, New York, 2011). Available from <http://documents.worldbank.org/curated/en/617151468332982240/pdf/WPS5558.pdf>

⁴⁹ R.H. Adams, Jr. and J. Page, “International migration, remittances and poverty in developing countries”, policy research working paper (World Bank, Washington, D.C., 2003).

⁵⁰ K. Newland and H. Tanaka, “Mobilizing diaspora entrepreneurship for development”.

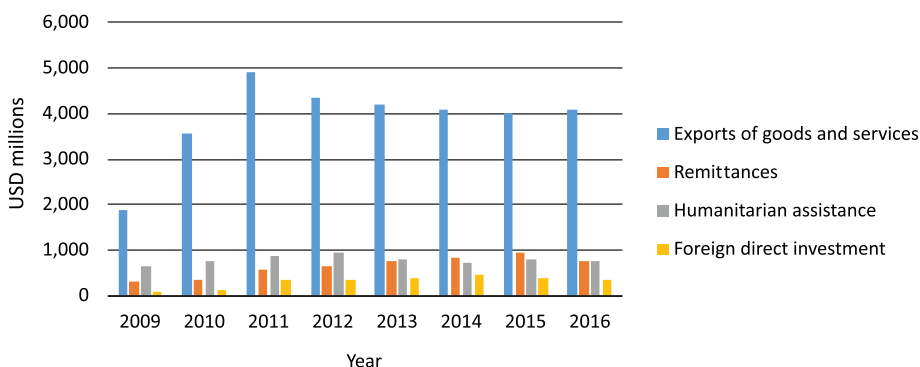
⁵¹ K. Newland and C. Taylor, “Heritage tourism and nostalgia trade: Diaspora niche in the development landscape”. In: *Diasporas: New partners in global development policy* (K. Newland, ed.) (Migration Policy Institute, Washington, D.C.), p.94.

C.I.I. Migration and economic development in Zimbabwe

Efforts to gauge the economic and other impacts of migration are typically confronted by two challenges. First, as already noted, migration unfolds through both official channels and informal routes. Likewise, remittances move through both official and informal channels. The informality of migration and subsequent remitting behaviours presents problems for collecting credible statistics. Second, in many developing labour-exporting countries, Zimbabwe included, comprehensive records of regular migration and remittances transmitted through formal channels do not exist.⁵² Ultimately, efforts to gauge the economic effects of migration will have to rely on available incomplete information.

Records of remittances kept by the Reserve Bank of Zimbabwe provide an indication of the significance of remittance flows for the Zimbabwean economy. Remittance flows constitute an important source of external revenue (see Figure 37), outweighing foreign direct investment (FDI) from 2010 through to 2016. While overseas development or humanitarian assistance (ODA) surpassed remittances annually between 2009 and 2013, this trend was reversed in 2014. From 2014 to 2016, remittances received were in excess of development aid, that is, humanitarian assistance. This means that from 2014 to 2016, apart from exports, remittances were the most important source of foreign currency. Figure 38 shows that in 2016, the largest share of remittances came from South Africa, followed by the United Kingdom and the United States of America. Given that Zimbabwe had a balance of payment deficit throughout the period under review, the positive impacts of remittances on the current account is nothing less than significant.

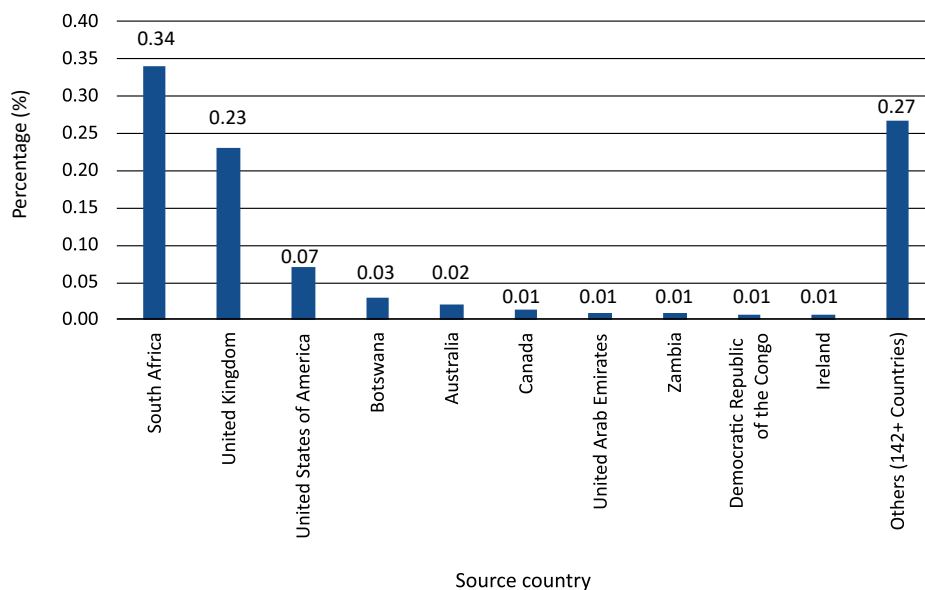
Figure 37: External sources of Zimbabwean national revenue, 2009–2016



Source: Reserve Bank of Zimbabwe website, Statistics section. Available from www.rbz.co.zw/statistics.html, accessed June 2017.

⁵² R.H. Adams, Jr. and J. Page, "International migration, remittances and poverty in developing countries".

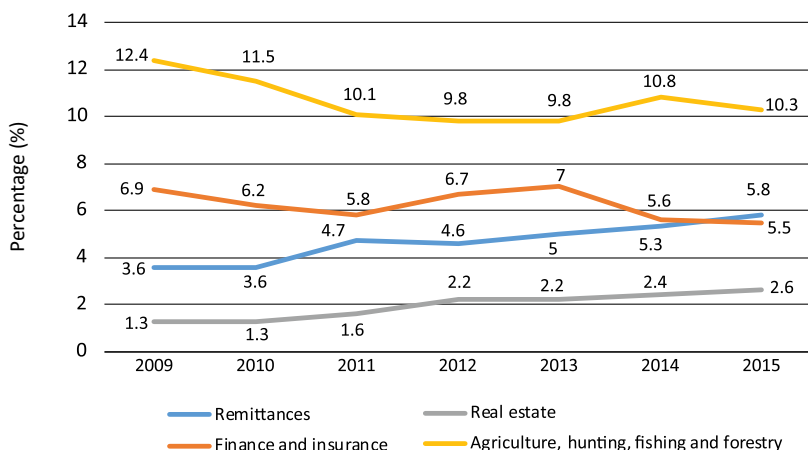
Figure 38: Percentage contributions of remittance-sending countries, 2016



Source: Reserve Bank of Zimbabwe website, Statistics section. Available from www.rbz.co.zw/statistics.html, accessed June 2017.

Figure 39 presents the contribution of remittances and selected sectors to GDP. As a proportion of GDP, remittances steadily increased from 3.6 per cent of GDP in 2009 to 5.8 per cent of GDP in 2015. The share of remittances in 2015 (5.8% of GDP) exceeded half of the total contribution of the agriculture, hunting, fishing and forestry sector – the top contributor to GDP (10.3%). Data on the share of remittances that were invested annually were unavailable. However, available data demonstrate that remittance flows have a significant impact on GDP and potentially give rise to numerous multiplier effects in the economy.

Figure 39: Remittances and sector revenues as a percentage of GDP, 2009–2015



Source: Values for remittances as a percentage of GDP were calculated from the RBZ dataset received in May 2017. Other percentage values were calculated from GDP values listed in: ZIMSTAT. *Quarterly Digest of Statistics: 4th Quarter 2016*.

Apart from remittance flows, some members of the Zimbabwean diaspora may have participated in domestic real estate projects, some of which were managed by the RBZ and its subsidiaries. However, it is often difficult to get more accurate statistics of remittances committed to investments of this nature since senders of remittances hardly disclose their purpose.

C.2. Migration and human development

Some texts use the terms “social development” and “human development” interchangeably.⁵³ For this reason, this section uses the notion of human development as defined by the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP). Human development “is about enlarging freedoms so that all human beings can pursue choices that they value.”⁵⁴ The UNDP’s definition of human development draws on Sen’s work and emphasizes the ability of individuals and households to make rational choices and participate in processes that influence their lives.

Studies of human development impacts of migration largely focus on how remittances are used. The assumption here is that the manner in which remittances are disposed of determines their impact at multiple levels. While

⁵³ J. Midgley, *Social Development: Theory and Practice* (Sage, Los Angeles, California).

⁵⁴ United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), *Human Development Report: Human Development for Everyone* (UNDP, New York, 2016). Available from http://hdr.undp.org/sites/default/files/2016_human_development_report.pdf

the focus on remittances is understandable, given their potential impacts on macroeconomic indicators, it is worthwhile to think of migration as a positive development outcome, even in the absence of meaningful economic returns to the migrant-sending household. Migration may constitute, in and of itself, a manifestation of the will and autonomy of the individual and the household to address the local restrictions to welfare. While migration remains particularly male-dominated in Zimbabwe, women are increasingly migrating in their own right,⁵⁵ not as accompanying migrants. Known as “the feminization of migration”, this trend has implications for the nature and amount of remittances flowing to labour-sending countries. For example, female migrants typically remit more often than men do.⁵⁶ Hence, migration increases livelihood options for women. It enables women to construct secure livelihoods in spite of restrictive conditions in the country of origin. Ethnographic studies such as that conducted by Moorhouse and Cunningham (2012) in South Africa suggest that migration enables Zimbabwean female single parents to play their mothering role from abroad.

Migrant-sending households view international migration as a livelihood strategy and an investment from which they expect economic returns.⁵⁷ Thus far, international literature has established positive links between remittances and:

- Household consumption
- Human capital formation, especially health, education and welfare
- Poverty alleviation
- Risk mitigation

Most studies converge on the idea that migrant-sending households commit all or a portion of remittances—money and goods—to basic consumption.⁵⁸ Such decisions boost food security in the household and have a positive link to nutrition and education outcomes.⁵⁹ That remittances are channelled towards the education and health of family members – thus supporting human capital

⁵⁵ V. Dzingirai et al., “Migrating out of poverty in Zimbabwe”, working paper (University of Sussex, Brighton, 2015). Available from <http://migratingoutofpoverty.dfid.gov.uk/files/file.php?name=wp29-dzingirai-et-al-2015-migrating-out-of-poverty-in-zimbabwe.pdf&site=354>

⁵⁶ Ibid.

⁵⁷ J. Mora and J.E. Taylor, “Determinants of migration, destination, and sector choice: Disentangling individual, household and community effects”, research paper (University of California, Davis, 2005).

⁵⁸ R.H. Adams and J. Page (2003), cited in: D. Ratha, S. Mohapatra and E. Scheja, *International Migrant Remittances and Their Role in Development Impact of Migration on Economic and Social Development: A Review of Evidence and Emerging Issues* (World Bank, Washington, D.C., 2011). Available from www.shram.org/uploadFiles/20171120121738.pdf

⁵⁹ A. Ahsan et al. (eds.), *International Migration and Development in East Asia and the Pacific* (World Bank, Washington, D.C., 2014). Available from <https://openknowledge.worldbank.org/handle/10986/20437>

formation – is an indisputable claim in literature. Concerning poverty alleviation, studies have confirmed that remittances have population-wide impacts. Adams and Page (2005), cited in Ratha et al. (2011), conducted a study of 71 developing countries and found that a 10 per cent increase in per capita official international remittance results in a 3.5 per cent drop in the proportion of people living in poverty.⁶⁰

Some argue that migration may not positively affect the poorest households, certainly in the short-term.⁶¹ This is largely because the worse-off households are less likely to afford the costs and risks associated with international migration. It is thus the “better-off” households that will more likely benefit from migration than the worse-off. Furthermore, if they manage to send migrants, worse-off households may struggle to replace the cost of the loss of household labour. This is largely true since members of the worse-off households more likely have lower human capital than their better-off counterparts. Moreover, after arrival, members of worse-off families typically earn a living in the lower rungs of the economy, where social security benefits do not exist.⁶²

Still, other scholars anticipate that in contexts where migration is persistent migration (for example, flows between Mexico and the United States), the costs of migrating will decline opening the gates for poorer households to send migrants as migrant networks become more established.⁶³ Moreover, some scholars tend to over-emphasize the role of multiplier effects, arguing that the poorest households will benefit from the economy-wide effects of remittances. For instance, the OECD (2006) argues that just one remittance US dollar can stimulate considerable retail sales. In turn, retail sales trigger causal chains that link the increased demand for goods, increased productivity and, ultimately, more employment. Drawing on Ratha (2003), the OECD demonstrated that in Mexico, every USD 1 remitted induces a GNP rise of USD 2.69 in urban areas and USD 3.17 for the remittances received in rural areas.⁶⁴

The connection between remittances and inequality remains rather ambiguous. Since transactional costs of migration deter the poorer (and poorest) households from sending migrants to international labour markets, migration

⁶⁰ D. Ratha, S. Mohapatra and E. Scheja, “Impact of migration on economic and social development”.

⁶¹ J. Mora and J.E. Taylor, “Determinants of migration, destination, and sector choice”.

⁶² M. Olivier, “Regional overview of social protection for non-citizens in the Southern African Development Community (SADC)”, discussion paper (World Bank, New York, 2009). Available from <http://siteresources.worldbank.org/SOCIALPROTECTION/Resources/SP-Discussion-papers/Labor-Market-DP/0908.pdf>

⁶³ J. Mora and J.E. Taylor, “Determinants of migration, destination, and sector choice”.

⁶⁴ D. Ratha, “Worker’s Remittances: An Important and Stable Source of External Development Finance”, in: *Global Development Finance 2003* (World Bank, Washington, D.C., 2003), pp. 157–175.

might negatively affect income distribution in migrant-sending communities and societies. Nonetheless, some studies have found that where migrants leave “en masse” from very poor villages, and where migration is persistent so that relatively poor migrants may also enjoy returns, migration may have an equalizing effect. Therefore, international literature suggests strong, positive links between migration, remittances and human development.

To what extent are these insights applicable to the Zimbabwean context? In order to address this question, we need to examine relevant migration research conducted on Zimbabwe. Surprisingly, despite the heightened political and scholarly interest in migration, especially after 2000, there are now far fewer studies on the impacts of migration on Zimbabwean society than before. As shown in Table 7, the existing studies are typically cross-sectional case studies; these studies, however, are not nationally representative by any means. With the exception of Dzingirai et al. (2014 and 2015) and Ncube (2011), the studies in Table 7 draw on fieldwork conducted before 2007. This means that only two studies in Table 7 were conducted during the period covered by the current Migration Profile.

Table 7: Relevant studies on the migration–remittances–development connection in Zimbabwe

Study	Methods and geographic scope
V. Dzingirai, E.M. Egger, L. Landau, J. Litchfield, P. Mutopo, and K. Nyikahadzoi (2015)	Survey which included 1,200 households in three districts, namely, Gwanda, Chivi and Hurungwe (data collected in 2013)
Dzingirai, Mutopo and Landau (2014)	Survey which included 1,200 households in three districts, namely, Gwanda, Chivi and Hurungwe (data collected in 2013)
Ncube (2011)	Ethnographic methods in a village in Ward 19 of Tsholotsho Rural District in 2010
Sachikonye and Bracking (2010)	Mixed methods in Harare and Bulawayo Urban Districts in 2005 and 2006
Tevera, Crush and Chikanda (2010)	Survey of over 700 households in Zimbabwe and other SADC countries in 2005
Maphosa (2007)	Mixed methods Study in Ward 7, Mangwe District Survey of 150 households and focus group discussions, among other methods, in 2007 and earlier

To a larger degree, studies conducted prior to 2010 captured the character of the widespread economic and political crises, including multiple-digit inflation, widespread food shortages, the prominence of the black market as the default distribution mechanism for goods and services. Nonetheless, some of the findings remained relevant even after they had been published, as later shown by studies by Dzingirai et al. (2014).

Not all migrants make remittances after arrival. Moreover, very few migrants send money only and even fewer do so through formal channels. The LFCLS showed that 76 per cent of migrants did not send remittances to Zimbabwe after arrival. Furthermore, of those who remit there were more migrants who sent goods only (9.7%) compared to those who sent money only (8.9%) and those who sent both (4.7%).⁶⁵ Systems used to track remittances do not capture non-monetary expenses and monies sent through informal channels. In much the same way, systems already in place to track remittances do not capture adequate information on their intended purpose. Moreover, even if they did, it is highly likely that senders do not disclose the purpose of remitting to avoid potential levies and taxes. Therefore, experts in Zimbabwe (the RBZ, for example) are likely undercounting the value of remittances.

Furthermore, in the absence of complete information about remittances, researchers will more likely underestimate the impact of remittances on Zimbabwean economy and society. The survey – one of the most suitable research methods available to researchers of migration remittances and their impacts – will less likely capture transactions between migrants and non-migrants due to recall bias and unwillingness to disclose. For example, the 2014 LFCLS found that 66 per cent of the migrants who sent cash remittances did not state the actual amount they remitted.

While establishing the value of remittances remains a tall order, studies reveal information about the profile of migrants who are more likely remit, and what and how much they typically remit. Males are more likely to send money only than female movers are. According to ZIMSTAT, males sent more money than females, although the later remit more frequently. Furthermore, migrants with children in Zimbabwe were more likely to remit compared to other types of migrants.⁶⁶ In other words, split families, that is, families with members who live apart, had more access to remittances and could dispose of them in the country of origin. This point raises questions about the nature of non-economic consequences – emotional strain and psychological stress – of migration for family members, especially children. The challenge for researchers and policymakers is how to quantify non-pecuniary costs of migration and factor them in the evaluation of the impact.

Overall, the studies conducted on migration and remittances in Zimbabwe suggest that, for most households, migration remains a survival strategy employed by households to navigate a precarious economic situation. Migrant-

⁶⁵ ZIMSTAT, *2014 Labour Force Survey*.

⁶⁶ ZIMSTAT, *Survey*.

sending households do not report large amounts of remittances. Dzingirai et al. (2015) found that, on average, migrants remitted no more than USD 350 per year. Given that, from the viewpoint of members of migrant-sending households, the environment has largely remained investor-unfriendly, patterns of remittance use typically exclude meaningful investments in productive economic activities.⁶⁷ In fact, households continue to channel the lion's share of remittances to basic consumption.⁶⁸

However, it is necessary to emphasize that a considerable share of expenditure covers children's education and the health of family members. This means that remittances boost human capital investments and contribute to an educated and healthy workforce in future. Furthermore, migration research points to some evidence that migrants commit remittances to small, informal ventures, typically a kiosk or *spaza* shop, acquisition of livestock and the construction of a house with a "modern" roof.⁶⁹

There is no doubt that these remittance uses give rise to multiplier effects in the economy. However, some researchers believe that these activities may as well fall within a continuum of risk-spreading behaviours, and not necessarily taxable business activities. These moves remain strategies to insure the migrant and migrant-sending household against future risks at origin and destination. From the view point of Dzingirai et al. (2014), the dominant patterns of remittance use lack adequate transformative potential.⁷⁰

According to Dzingirai et al. (2014), what limits the productive potential of migrants is that they seem to prioritize spending for activities that boost personal social recognition – that is, those that further one's good name and status in kinship groups, such as customary obligations during weddings and funerals, among others. Migrants invest less money in agriculture, small-scale mining or trading in goods. Such unreasonable behaviours, these scholars argue, are widespread because migration and subsequent remitting unfold within and is shaped by networks comprising familial and kinship ties, different kinds of social obligations, and value systems – all of which constitute the moral economy of migration.⁷¹

⁶⁷ V. Dzingirai et al., "Migrating out of poverty in Zimbabwe".

⁶⁸ V. Dzingirai, P. Mutopo and L. Landau, "Confirmations, coffins and corn: Kinship, social networks and remittances from South Africa to Zimbabwe", working paper (University of Sussex, Brighton, 2014). Available from <http://migratingoutofpoverty.dfid.gov.uk/files/file.php?name=wp18-dzingirai--mutopo-landau-2014-confirmations-coffins--corn-final.pdf&site=354>

⁶⁹ V. Dzingirai et al., "Migrating out of poverty in Zimbabwe".

⁷⁰ Ibid.

⁷¹ V. Dzingirai, P. Mutopo and L. Landau, "Confirmations, coffins and corn: Kinship, social networks and remittances from South Africa to Zimbabwe".

It is possible to anticipate that patterns of remittance use in migrant-sending households may not change in the absence of systemic shifts in the policy environment in the near future. However, even if the investment environment becomes conducive for investment, the networks that give rise to remittances may continue to channel the money and goods sent by migrants towards maintenance of social cohesion rather than economic production.⁷² Furthermore, the networks within which migration and remittances unfold tend to suffer from information asymmetries – a factor which gives rise to a moral hazard. In the case of migration, a moral hazard occurs when nationals back home engage in risky economic decisions and expect the diaspora abroad to incur the consequent costs.⁷³ The moral hazard scenario implies that the networks in which remitting unfolds are vulnerable to wasteful, thriftless spending.

The argument that some uses of remittances appear suboptimal, at least in terms of investment behaviour, should be examined against the evidence of the importance of remittances for human development. Remittances enable families and households to avoid absolute poverty, keep children in school, purchase plots of land and buy construction materials, among many other uses. Remittances, therefore, undoubtedly have indirect and direct impacts on both economic human development.

C.3. Migration, employment and the labour market

C.3.1. Impacts of emigration

The lack of adequate administrative data and regular surveys on emigration complicates efforts to evaluate the consequences of emigration for the labour market and the employment situation in the country. Perhaps the single most critical impact of emigration is brain drain, that is, departure of relatively highly skilled persons from the country. Emigration of skilled persons implies that the country does not fully enjoy the returns to human capital investments made during education and training. Additionally, there is no doubt that Zimbabwe may struggle to replace the skills and experience of its expatriates abroad.

The evidence with which to evaluate both the nature and impacts of emigration during the period covered by the current Migration Profile is scarce. Most of the research on Zimbabwean emigration was conducted prior to 2009. Consequently, such research may not accurately reflect the patterns and

⁷² V. Dzingirai et al., “Migrating out of poverty in Zimbabwe”.

⁷³ Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), *International Migration Outlook Annual Report 2006 Edition* (OECD, Paris, 2006).

consequences of emigration during the period under review. A pioneering survey on migrant labour – the 2014 Labour Force and Child Labour Survey – conducted by ZIMSTAT provides an indication of brain drain since 2009. The findings of the study suggest that of those labour migrants who departed since 2009, nearly 32.5 per cent were skilled agriculture, forestry or fishery workers, while 9.7 per cent were skilled services and sales workers. Given that the agriculture, hunting, forestry and fishery sector is one of the largest contributors to GDP, the negative impact of emigration on this sector cannot be overemphasized.

Of those migrants who were engaged in some form of employment abroad, nearly 3.9 per cent were experts, of which 2 per cent were professionals; 1.2 per cent, technicians and associate professionals; and 0.7 per cent, managers. From these numbers, we can infer that the country lost persons with critical expertise between 2009 and 2014.

The employability of the bulk of emigrants since 2009 was also significant, given that nearly 73 per cent had some secondary education, while 6.7 per cent had post-secondary qualifications. Furthermore, the highest proportion of migrants (71.2%) were aged between 20 and 34 years. Approximately 9 per cent were full-time students prior to departure.⁷⁴ One can infer that that foreign labour markets benefit from relatively young and trained migrants at the expense of the Zimbabwean economy.

Nevertheless, given that the demand for formal employment in some sectors of the labour market, especially those sectors funded by the Government, is arguably low, one might be inclined to think that emigration relieved pressure for formal jobs in the origin country. For example, ZIMSTAT found that nearly 70 per cent of emigrants were working abroad. Prior to departure, 17.3 per cent were looking for a job. However, upon scrutiny, it appears that high levels of de-skilling characterized employment abroad. What this implies is that many migrants experienced a decline in the skills sets they used after arrival, perhaps due to their marginal status in the foreign labour market. A telling example is that 7.9 per cent were working in elementary occupations prior to departure compared to nearly 42 per cent doing elementary jobs after arrival.

⁷⁴ ZIMSTAT, *2014 Labour Force Survey*.

C.3.2. Impacts of immigration

The impact of immigration on Zimbabwe's labour market and employment situation can be evaluated by examining the educational levels and skills sets of migrant laborers, as well as the sectors in which they eke out a living. With the exception of TEP holders, the majority of labour migrants neither possess skills nor post-secondary education, nor do these foreign workers operate in the formal taxable sectors of the economy. Evidence from the LFCLS indicates that nearly 95 per cent of migrants were employed in the informal sector, with a majority of men and women absorbed in the private household sector.⁷⁵ The bulk of labour migrants (82%) in the country were unskilled, while 7 per cent were semi-skilled; only 6 per cent were professionals. Equally, 32 per cent had no education at all, while only 12 per cent have completed secondary education.

Given the education and professional profiles of migrant labourers, one can assert that immigration hardly replaces the diverse expertise that the country loses through emigration. However, the fact that migrants largely operate in non-taxable sectors does not imply zero economic contribution. While not included in GDP calculations, the domestic sector significantly contributes to human capital development.

Zimbabwe is a net importer of goods and services; however, the tourism sector, specifically, is a net exporter of services. The tourism sector generates foreign exchange, which has a positive impact on the balance of payments. When GDP from the years 2005 to 2015 is examined at constant (2009) prices, the distribution, hotels and restaurants industry is the largest contributor.^{76,77} There is potential for the tourism sector to grow. Far fewer visitors actually spend money on accommodation and associated services after arrival. Figure 40 shows that Africans, who constitute the majority of visitors, contribute the least on average.⁷⁸ Visitors from the Oceania region tend to stay longer and spend more than any other group.

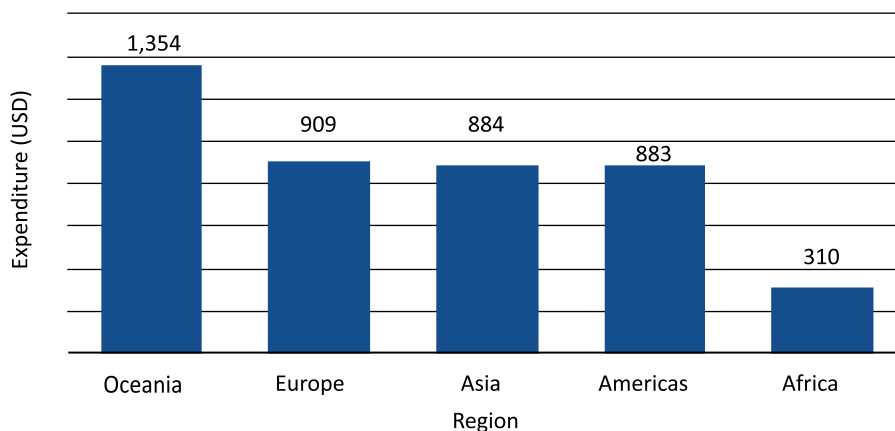
⁷⁵ Ibid.

⁷⁶ The reader should bear in mind that the contribution of the distribution (retail), hotels and restaurants sector to GDP includes sources of revenues other than tourist expenditure.

⁷⁷ ZIMSTAT, *Quarterly Digest of Statistics 4th Quarter 2016*.

⁷⁸ ZIMSTAT, *Zimbabwe Visitor Exit Survey (VES) Report 2015/16* (ZIMSTAT, Harare, 2016b). Available from www.zimbabwetourism.net/index.php/download/visitor-exit-survey-report-2015-2016

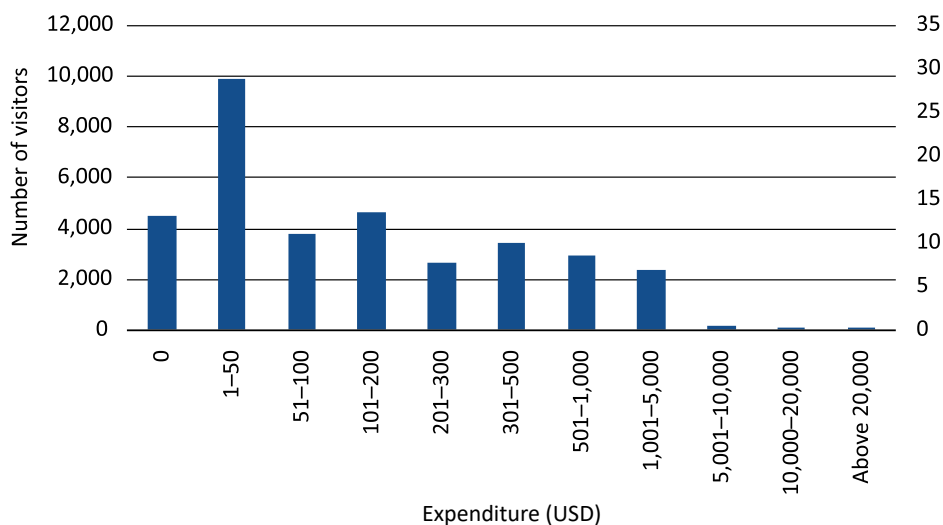
Figure 40: Average expenditure per foreign visitor per trip to Zimbabwe, by region of origin



Source: ZIMSTAT, Zimbabwe Visitor Exit Survey (VES) Report 2015/16.

Figure 41 shows that a majority of visitors (over 70%) spend less than USD 100. Most of these spend less than USD 50.

Figure 41: Distribution of visitors to Zimbabwe by expenditure



Source: ZIMSTAT, Zimbabwe Visitor Exit Survey (VES) Report 2016/16.

Negative perceptions in tourist-sending countries have negatively affected domestic tourism, especially after 2000. Regardless, there is no denying that the sector creates a significant number of jobs, boosting incomes of people with a range of skills, including as tour guides, tourist drivers and professionals.

PART D: MIGRATION GOVERNANCE

Among other things, migration governance provides a framework for regulating the causes and consequences of migration, in order to ensure safe, orderly and dignified routes of migration. The causes and consequences of migration that are of interest to States include economic, social, demographic and related issues. Effective migration governance is indispensable in efforts to promote the benefits of migration while reducing its costs. In order to encourage effective migration governance, IOM supports the Government of Zimbabwe in various domains, including institutional capacity, migrant rights, safe and orderly migration, labour migration management and regional cooperation.

The socioeconomic challenges that prevailed in Zimbabwe between 2000 and 2009 led to multiple and complex migration issues characterized by, among others, high levels of brain drain, cross-border mobility and irregular migration. In response, IOM supported the Government of Zimbabwe to host a series of national migration strategic workshops, one of whose outcomes was the formulation of the 2008–2010 national migration strategy. The national migration strategy was anchored on seven priority areas, namely: (a) migration policy, legal and institutional framework; (b) skills retention and development; (c) labour migration; (d) diaspora participation in development; (e) economic and community development for migration; (f) safe migration; and (g) cross-border management.

D.1. Policy frameworks

D.1.1. National Diaspora Policy

Apparently, there is considerable recognition of the huge development potential of the diaspora for local development programmes in Zimbabwe. The Government of Zimbabwe adopted a National Diaspora Policy in July 2016, whose principal aim is to harness the development potential of the diaspora through deliberate programmes and strategies designed to mainstream and integrate the diaspora in national development. Mainstreaming and integrating the diaspora into local development involves mobilization of their entrepreneurial spirit, remittances, professional expertise and innovation by government and multiple other stakeholders. It requires that the Government recognize Zimbabweans living abroad as key actors and agents of change that contribute to the national developmental discourse.

Following the adoption of the Zimbabwe Diaspora Policy, the Government has embarked on development of an action plan for the initiative, which will run from 2017 to 2022. The action plan outlines the diaspora policy priority areas, strategic objectives, concrete activities to be undertaken, responsible line ministries and institutions, timelines and indicative resources required. The need for a diaspora plan came at a time when the magnitude of diaspora remittances has been on the increase, as discussed in Section C. The following section examines some of the key developments in the establishment of Zimbabwe's migration governance framework, including legislation, institutional arrangements and policies.

D.1.2. Trafficking in Persons National Plan of Action

The Government of Zimbabwe launched the Trafficking in Persons National Plan of Action (NAPLAC) in August 2016 to operationalize the Trafficking in Persons Act,⁷⁹ which Parliament passed in 2014 to fight human trafficking in the country. The plan is underpinned by the 4Ps – “Prevention, Protection, Prosecution and Partnership” – and will be implemented from 2016 to 2018. Among other things, it seeks to strengthen tools for the identification of victims of trafficking. Information about victims of trafficking is important for measuring the country's response to migration. In this regard, United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC), working in partnership with the SADC Secretariat and IOM, provided technical assistance to the Government of Zimbabwe in the development of the NAPLAC. The launch of the NAPLAC was one of the first steps in the journey towards implementation of the country's obligations under the Palermo Protocol.

D.1.3. Draft National Labour Migration Policy

Apart from the National Diaspora Policy, a National Labour Migration Policy is underway. It will deal with challenges connected to labour migration in Zimbabwe, including (but not limited to) brain drain, irregular migration, lack of mechanism for social protection of migrant workers, and lack of up-to-date statistics on labour migration. As is, the draft policy has the potential to provide a framework for the governance of labour migration; protect and empower migrant workers; and ensure that migration feeds into development and growth.

⁷⁹ The Ministry of Home Affairs is the custodian of the trafficking in persons legislation.

The Labour Export Policy is another strategic policy framework under construction that is worth mentioning. In keeping with the broader recognition of the potential benefits of emigration to the sending country, the Ministry of Higher and Tertiary Education, Science and Technology Development was, in 2017, working to finalize a Labour Export Policy framework which would pave way for the formalized placement of skilled Zimbabwean professionals in other countries on bilateral levels.

State and non-State actors in Zimbabwe are developing these domestic policies within a broader regional policy context at the SADC regional level and the African continent at large.

D.1.4. National Immigration Policy

Among other things, the proposed National Immigration Policy will provide a well-balanced and comprehensive approach to migration management that will serve multiple and interrelated objectives of ensuring and facilitating: (a) national security, (b) employment of foreign recruited nationals, (c) tourism facilitation and (d) investment promotion. It represents a clear realization of the potential for leveraging immigration for local development while maintaining the security of the country.

D.1.5. SADC regional-level frameworks, protocols and policies

Until 2014, the SADC did not have a regional labour migration policy framework, despite growing levels of intraregional labour migration and the governance and development challenges that they pose. In the absence of a regional labour migration policy, member States have used bilateral arrangements with partner countries to regulate migration between SADC member States. However, since the mid-2000s, the SADC Secretariat, through its Employment and Labour Sector (ELS), has worked with several stakeholders, including the International Labour Organization (ILO) and the International Organization for Migration (IOM), to develop a regional strategy on labour migration.

Facilitating free movement of capital, goods and labour is at the core of the very spirit of SADC. The SADC founding treaty, particularly Article 5.2(d), called for the development of policies aimed at “the progressive elimination of obstacles to free movement of capital and labour, goods and services and the people of the Region generally, among member States.” In keeping with this founding spirit, SADC member States have developed a number of action plans and programmes to improve the rights and well-being of migrant workers in

the region. These include the ILO–SADC Decent Work Programme (2013–2019), the SADC Action Plan on Labour Migration (2013), the SADC Employment and Labour Protocol (2014) and the SADC Labour Migration Policy Framework.

The SADC Labour Migration Policy Framework (2014) promotes the sound management of intraregional labour migration for the benefit of both the sending and receiving countries, as well as the migrant workers. The ILO–SADC Decent Work Programme 2013–2019 (2012) aims to promote the ratification and domestication of ILO conventions in the region, including the Migration for Employment Conventions of 1949.

At the continental level, one of the policy frameworks adopted by the African Union has the Migration Policy Framework for Africa. This policy focuses on nine thematic areas, including include labour migration, border management, irregular migration, forced displacement, the human rights of migrants and migration data.

D.2. Laws and regulations

D.2.1. International laws and regulations

The international normative framework for international migration includes instruments pertaining to the human rights of migrants, the rights of migrant workers and the protection of refugees. In addition, the framework comprises instruments designed to combat migrant smuggling and human trafficking. Zimbabwe has ratified most conventions and instruments relevant to migration. Table 8 presents the main global instruments central to the international regime for the protection of migrants and refugees.

Table 8: Zimbabwe's status on main global instruments on migration and refugees

Instrument	Year of enactment	Provisions	Zimbabwe's ratification and accession statuses and year of accession
Refugees			
Geneva Convention relating to the Status of Refugees	1951	Grounded in Article 14 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the Convention recognizes the right of persons to seek asylum from persecution in other countries	Ratified by Zimbabwe Acceded on 25 August 1981
Geneva Protocol relating to the Status of Refugees	1967	The Protocol consolidates previous international instruments relating to refugees and provides the most comprehensive codification of the rights of refugees at the international level. In contrast to earlier international refugee instruments, which applied to specific groups of refugees, the 1951 Convention endorses a single definition of the term "refugee" in Article 1. The Protocol uses the term "stateless person" to mean a person who is not considered as a national by any State under the operation of its law.	Ratified by Zimbabwe Acceded on 25 August 1981
Migrant workers			
ILO Convention concerning Migration for Employment (Revised 1949) (No. 97)	1949	Article 1 of the Convention states that: Each Member of the International Labour Organization for which this Convention is in force undertakes to make available on request to the International Labour Office and to each Member, <ul style="list-style-type: none">a) information on national policies, law and regulations relating to emigration and immigration;b) information on special provisions concerning migration for employment and the conditions of work and livelihood of migrants for employment;c) information concerning general agreement and special arrangements on these questions concluded by the Member.	Not yet ratified

Instrument	Year of enactment	Provisions	Zimbabwe's ratification and accession statuses and year of accession
ILO Convention concerning Migrations in Abusive Conditions and the of Equality of Opportunity and Treatment of Migrant Workers (Supplementary Provision) (No. 143)	1975	Recalls provisions of the Migration for Employment Convention and Recommendation (Revised), 1949; Protection of Migrant Workers (Underdeveloped countries) Recommendation, 1955; Employment Policy Convention and Recommendation, 1964; Employment Service Convention and Recommendation, 1948; and Fee-Charging Employment Agencies Convention (Revised), 1949.	Not yet ratified
United Nations International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of their Families	1990 (Signatories: 38, Parties: 51).	The Convention stipulates that persons who are considered to be migrant workers under its provisions are entitled to enjoy their human rights throughout the migration process, including preparation for migration, transit, stay and return to their State of origin or habitual residence.	Not yet ratified
ILO Convention concerning Decent Work for Domestic Workers (No. 189)			
Smuggling and trafficking			
Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children	2000	The purposes of the Protocol are: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • To prevent and combat trafficking in persons, paying particular attention to women and children • To protect and assist the victims of such trafficking, with full respect for their human rights • To promote cooperation among States Parties in order to meet those objectives 	Ratified by Zimbabwe Acceded on 13 December 2013
Protocol against the Smuggling of Migrants by Land Sea and Air	2000		Not yet ratified

Source: Adapted from the United Nations Treaty Collection. Available from <https://treaties.un.org>

In 2013, the Government of Zimbabwe ratified the 2000 Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children in 2013, and promulgated the Trafficking in Persons Act in 2014. However, the Government has yet to ratify the 2000 Protocol against the Smuggling of Migrants by Land Sea and Air.

In terms of ILO conventions, the Government has ratified 26 conventions; 25 of these conventions are currently in force, as one had been denounced.⁸⁰ Zimbabwe has signed all eight ILO Fundamental Conventions, three of the four governance conventions,⁸¹ and 15 of the 177 technical conventions. In the African scene, the Government ratified the African Union Convention for the Protection and Assistance of Internally Displaced Persons in Africa in 2013. In the same year, Zimbabwe took two significant legal steps regarding the protection and assistance of internally displaced persons (IDPs). Firstly, the Government enacted a new Constitution, which provides for significantly expanded protections of human rights and respect for international law compared to the earlier Constitution. Furthermore, in July 2013, the Parliament ratified the Kampala Convention,⁸² although Zimbabwe has yet to enact domestic legislation implementing the Convention.

D.2.2. National-level legislation

The Government of Zimbabwe has put in place key migration management legislation within whose framework the governance of migration in Zimbabwe takes place. Key stand-alone migration legal instruments in place include the Immigration Act and the Trafficking in Persons Act.

D.2.2.1. Immigration Act

The Immigration Act (Act 22 of 2001) is administered by the Ministry of Home Affairs. The Immigration Act, put in place in 1979, regulates the entry into and exit of foreigners (and nationals) from Zimbabwe. The Ministry of Home Affairs is in the process of formulating a National Immigration Policy, which seeks to promote national security, tourism facilitation, investment promotion and recruitment of foreign workers.

D.2.2.2. Trafficking in Persons Act

Due to a number of factors which include growing economic disparities, greater opportunities for employment abroad, information, communication and transportation technological advances, Zimbabwe, like other countries,

⁸⁰ ILO, "Ratifications for Zimbabwe", webpage (ILO, Geneva, 2017). Available from www.ilo.org/dyn/normlex/en/f?p=NORMLEXPUB:11200:0::NO::P11200_COUNTRY_ID:103183

⁸¹ The outstanding convention being the Employment Policy Convention, 1964 (No. 122).

⁸² African Union, "List of Countries which have Signed, Ratified/Acceded to the African Union Convention for the Protection and Assistance of Internally Displaced Persons in Africa (Kampala Convention) (as of 28 January 2014). Available from https://au.int/sites/default/files/treaties/7796-sl-african_union_convention_for_the_protection_and_assistance_of_internally.pdf (accessed 16 March 2015).

witnessed a growing prevalence and incidence of human trafficking and smuggling. In response to the growing challenge of human trafficking,⁸³ the Ministry of Home Affairs spearheaded the development and enactment of the Trafficking in Persons Act. It is noteworthy that following the enactment of the legislation, courts of law have deliberated on prosecutable cases of human trafficking.

Administered by the Ministry of Home Affairs, the Trafficking in Persons Act (No. 4 of 2014) criminalizes human trafficking in Zimbabwe. Among others laws, the Trafficking in Persons Act provides for: (a) the establishment of a Trafficking in Persons Inter-Ministerial Committee, (b) the development of the Trafficking in Persons National Plan of Action (NAPLAC), (c) safe homes for victims of trafficking and (d) extra-territorial jurisdiction, among others.

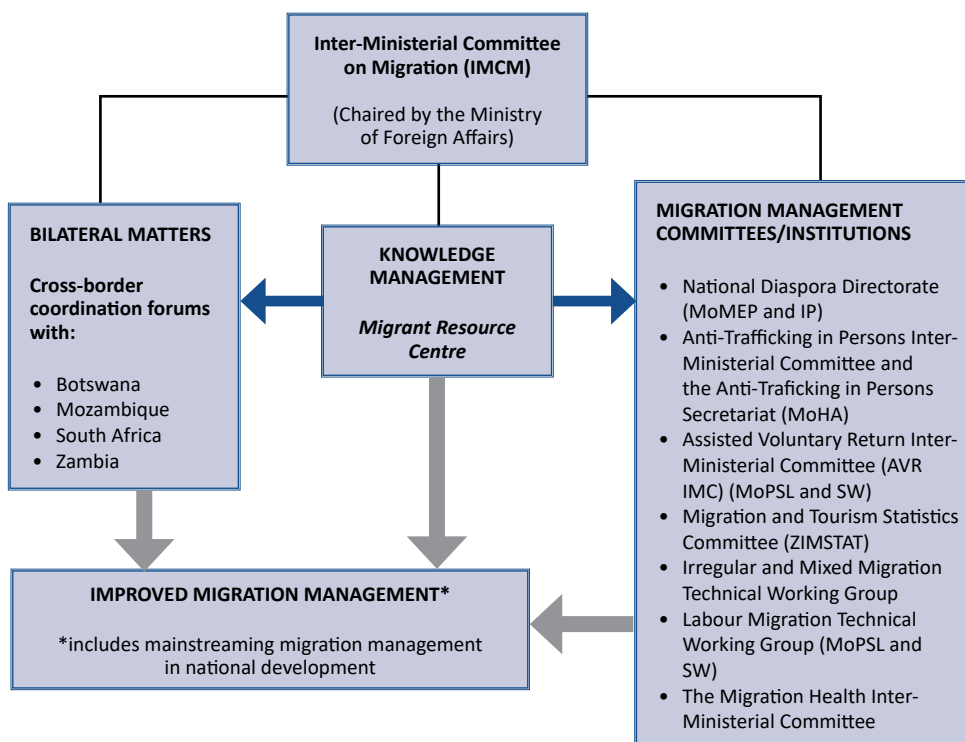
Other related instruments include the Refugee Act No. 22 of 2011, the Labour Act 7 of 2005, the Tourism Policy and the Investment Policy. It is important to note that migration cuts across many disciplines. As such, it is enshrined in many related pieces of legislation such as the Children's Act, the Labour Act, investment policies, among others.

D.3. Institutional framework

In order to realize the goals of migration-related policies and enforce immigration laws, institutions with a clear mandate are required. Given that the concern to manage migration in ways that boost both development and security is relatively new, the institutions are still in their early phases.

⁸³ Indications have shown that Zimbabwe is a source, transit and destination country for victims of trafficking in persons.

Figure 42: Zimbabwe's institutional framework for migration



Source: IOM literature. Accessed June 2017.

The IMCM (Inter-Ministerial Committee on Migration) has been identified as the key interministerial body coordinating migration management in Zimbabwe. The IMCM is a coordination mechanism for all activities involving the Government and various national and international organizations involved in the area of migration. It hosts quarterly coordination meetings, has led the review of a national labour migration policy and has developed a National Migration Management Strategic Plan of Action (2015–2018).

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs chairs the IMCM, which comprises 17 other ministries. The IMCM's main task is to establish and operate a harmonious system of migration management. Equally, IMCM provides an all-stakeholder and overall monitoring and governance oversight platform for its different activities. Under the IMCM are interministerial committees, which various ministries coordinate. Coordinated by the Ministry of Home Affairs, the Anti-Trafficking in Persons Inter-Ministerial Committee coordinates the national response to trafficking in

persons in Zimbabwe. The Ministry of Home Affairs coordinates the activities of the Anti-Trafficking in Persons Inter-Ministerial Committee and its day-to-day management and administration, including reporting and budgeting.

The Ministry of Public Service, Labour and Social Welfare chairs the Assisted Voluntary Return Inter-Ministerial Committee (AVR-IMC), an ad hoc committee that convenes as and when necessary. For example, the AVR-IMC convenes for the purposes of coordinating the provision of voluntary assistance to large caseloads of stranded migrants. A case in point is when a large number of migrants were displaced by xenophobic disturbances and needed assistance.

Another committee is the Migration and Tourism Statistics Committee. Chaired by ZIMSTAT, the committee is responsible for coordinating the collection, collation and dissemination of migration and tourism statistics to the producers and consumers of statistics. The work of the Migration Statistics Committee feeds into the Migration Dialogue for Southern Africa (MIDSA), which generates recommendations to address mixed and irregular migration in the SADC region.

In addition to committees, one of the new institutions responsible for the implementation of the diaspora policy is the National Diaspora Directorate within the Ministry of Macro Economic Planning and Investment Promotion. When operating at full capacity, the Directorate will be critical in efforts to mobilize the diaspora for local economic development.

Like other countries, Zimbabwe has established a technical working group to advance the implementation of a roadmap to address mixed and irregular migration in the SADC region. Chaired by the Ministry of Public Service, Labour and Social Welfare, the Labour Migration Technical Working Group coordinates the activities of the migration project in Zimbabwe. It is necessary to mention that IOM's technical support to the IMCM has helped to lay a solid migration management foundation in Zimbabwe, especially in terms of the establishment of institutions for managing migration in a safe and orderly manner. Furthermore, IOM's support has enabled the Government to re-evaluate its migration management approach.

D.4. International cooperation

An area of strong international cooperation is the accommodation of refugees. Zimbabwe has ratified the 1951 Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees. As modified by the 1967 UN Protocol Relating to the Status of Refugees, the 1951 Convention embodies the principle of non-refoulement,

which requires that signatories commit to not returning refugees to their country of persecution. This represents a mutual commitment to host refugees.

D.5. Commentary on institutional arrangements

Migration at once presents opportunities and challenges for movers, their households and society. Responding to the challenges and opportunities that migration presents for economic development demands a whole-of-government approach. As such, one expects that various arms of the Government will be involved in a systematic response to the challenges and opportunities of migration. A systematic approach to managing migration requires that stakeholders mobilize skills, funding, and other relevant resources. There is, therefore, a greater need for oversight in the formulation and implementation of policies, strategies and plans. In this regard, the IMCM is a very relevant institution. Placing the responsibility of coordinating migration policy implementation under one committee – the IMCM – ensures oversight. Zimbabwe has, thus far, taken promising steps towards building a comprehensive migration governance framework that has potential to mainstream migration into national development, while protecting the rights of migrants.

An area that has received considerable attention is capacity-building. One expects that the new institutions and policy arrangements will boost the capacity of the Government to deal with migration-related challenges and opportunities in a holistic manner. Priority areas include coordination, policy formulation and infrastructure.

Managing migration in a holistic manner to ensure benefits for all requires a whole-of-government approach. While migration governance structures are taking shape in Zimbabwe, there are areas that require attention, to ensure an effective and efficient response to the opportunities and challenges of migration:

- *Coordination and accountability issues.* The plurality of committees and subcommittees requires that coordination and accountability arrangements be clearly spelt out to avoid role conflict and duplication of efforts.
- *Knowledge management and information dissemination.* There is a need to ensure that all relevant sections of the population have access to migration-related information. Migration information need not remain the sole preserve of technocrats and migration specialists. It would be worthwhile to design a multi-pronged approach to information dissemination, which uses traditional print media, websites and social media.

- *Mainstreaming migration management.* There is a strong rationale to provide for migration management in the national budget in the coming years. Integrating migration education in already-existing civic education programmes is equally worthwhile.
- *Public-private partnerships in migration management:* There is a need to work on establishing and/or strengthening public-private partnerships in migration management to tap into existing resources in the country.
- *Representation in migration issues should occur at various levels and involve a broad range of stakeholders.* It is vital that the IMCM considers the idea of having multiple levels of representation. For example, ministers can meet at their highest level, with lower levels for permanent secretaries, directors and technical officers. Multilevel representation potentially ensures that stakeholders at every level stay informed of the developments in migration management. Nigeria provides a relevant example. (The Nigerian national migration management framework (National Migration Policy) has four levels of coordination, as follows: ministerial committee, technical working groups, sectoral/thematic groups, and individual ministries, departments and agencies.)

PART E: KEY FINDINGS, POLICY IMPLICATIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

E.1. Main findings on current trends in migration, migration policies and the impacts of migration

E.1.1. Findings on current migration trends

Throughout the period under review, Zimbabwe was a net emigration country. The number of people who left Zimbabwe to live and work abroad were greater than the foreign-born people on its territory. Available data suggests that the stock of international migrants in the country has shrunk from a peak of 626,821 in 1990 to less than 360,992 in 2013. Recent official estimates show that the foreign-born population has declined to 207,000 in 2014.⁸⁴ The 2009 Migration Profile similarly concluded that while Zimbabwe simultaneously plays the role of source, destination and transit country, it is predominantly a sending country.⁸⁵

Zimbabwe admits skilled migrants by issuing TEPs to qualified foreigners. Holders of TEPs have a huge potential to contribute to the economy. However, not all foreigners who engage in some form of economic activity have TEPs. Neither do they possess desirable skills. In fact, while a sizeable portion of the foreign-born population – approximately 38 per cent – are labour migrants who belong to the working age group, the majority work in the informal, non-taxable sectors.⁸⁶ After arrival, the majority eke out a living in the informal sector, with a large portion absorbed in the private household sector. With the exception of TEP holders, foreigners who live and work in the country typically possess very low levels of skills and education, and maintain an irregular status after arrival. Migrants who penetrate the formal sector more likely occupy elementary jobs in Harare and other urban centres. This observation, however, may not apply to TEP holders.

Whereas destination countries often manage labour and skills deficits through immigration, the stock of international migrants does not seem to provide a remedy for the multiple skills lost through emigration. For example,

⁸⁴ ZIMSTAT, 2014 *Labour Force Survey*.

⁸⁵ L. Zanamwe and A. Devillard, *Migration in Zimbabwe: A Country Profile 2009*.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*

Zimbabwe has lost personnel in critical areas such as the medical and nursing professions, social work, information and communications technology, and engineering. It is important to once again point out that the exception to this pattern is the number of migrants who hold TEPs (18,436). Such migrants possess higher levels of education and sophisticated skills.

International migrants are typically African. Migrants from within the SADC region dominate all categories of temporary migration – regular, irregular, voluntary immigration for study – although immigration for temporary employment was an exception. Combined, citizens from countries in Asia were the most prominent group in the regular temporary employment category. Chinese nationals alone accounted for approximately 71 per cent of the total number of TEPs issued between 2010 and 2016. Nationals of India were the third largest group in this category.

During the six-year period, the total population of refugees and asylum seekers peaked in 2010 to approximately 15,425. The lowest population (5,749) was recorded in 2011. In the forced migration category, citizens from the Democratic Republic of the Congo were the single-largest group, contributing over 90 per cent each year between 2010 and 2015. Combined, citizens of Burundi, the Democratic Republic of the Congo and Rwanda made up over 95 per cent of refugees and asylum seekers each year, from 2010 and 2015. To a larger degree, the dynamics of the conflicts in Africa's Great Lakes region influenced changes in the total population of refugees and asylum in the country.

A significantly large proportion of the total population of refugees and asylum seekers are children. Children outnumbered adults in 2012, 2013 and 2014. In 2012, children constituted 54.4 per cent of the total population of refugees and asylum seekers in the country compared to adults (45.4%). Children made up 55.3 per cent and 59 per cent in 2013 and 2014, respectively.

Male migrants were the largest group in any migrant category, although the share of female movers was not insignificant. Based on the preceding analysis of migration trends, one can conclude that the dominance of men in migration statistics transcend nationality, educational level, occupation and other socioeconomic markers. While the prominence of male migrants was expected, given that migration in Africa remains male-dominated, statistics analysed pointed to a growing feminization of both voluntary and involuntary migration.

By and large, voluntary migration – whether regular or irregular – occurs between Zimbabwe and its neighbours. Available statistics on detentions, prosecutions and deportations for immigration-related issues indicate that countries which share a contiguous border with Zimbabwe and those in the SADC are the main sources of irregular migrants. Male migrants were over-represented in all irregular migration categories.

Statistics for irregular emigration are hard to find. The same can be said about regular emigration. In the absence of accurate administrative data about departures, most estimates that circulate in academic texts and popular media may be misleading. These texts typically recycle speculative figures and, in most cases, do not reveal the methods of estimation used. Estimates from surveys, therefore, may serve to demonstrate the popular destinations for Zimbabweans, as well as their profiles and motivations for leaving the country. It appears that the broader goal for migrating – both for the individual migrant and the household – is to construct secure livelihoods now and in future. Emigration is a key outcome of the migrant's agency that he/she devises to prevail over barriers to local development.

South Africa is by far the single largest destination country for voluntary and involuntary migrants from Zimbabwe. More reliable estimates from a “country-wide” STATS SA survey in 2016 suggest that 574,047 Zimbabweans lived in South Africa in 2016. The United Kingdom is also a popular destination, but it appears to host more educated and skilled migrants who had worked in various professions prior to departure. A considerable number of Zimbabweans sought asylum in the United Kingdom. In the SADC region, Malawi, Mozambique and Zambia are hosts to significant numbers of Zimbabweans. If there is no agreement on the estimated number of Zimbabweans abroad, there is consensus that Zimbabwe is currently a net emigration country, as it has been in the past six years.

E.1.2. Findings on migration policies

The Migration Profile presented information about the governance framework for migration in Zimbabwe. There are multiple institutional actors in place to manage migration. However, it is too early to tell their impact on migration management. Although migration is a complex phenomenon that, at once, gives rise to multiple problems and opportunities, some issues may receive less attention due to the multiplicity of institutional actors. There is a danger of overlapping priorities, duplicating efforts and poor accountabilities of committees and parent ministries involved. In terms of policies, it is too early to

tell their impact on migration management. Some of the policies reviewed were still in draft form. To be fair, however, Zimbabwe has taken some critical initial steps to put migration governance institutions, legislative frameworks and policy arrangements in place. These arrangements have a lot of potential to boost the potential of the Government.

E.1.3. Findings on the impacts of migration

The causal links of migration, remittances and development have sparked a lot of interest in recent times. Beginning in the early 1970s through to the late 1990s, pessimism shaped the dominant policy discourse on migration and development. Migration, it was argued, detracts from, rather than contribute, to development in sending countries, mainly through brain drain. This skepticism has given way to an optimistic view of migration and development. Studies have sought to demonstrate the potential of migration for driving development at origin. One can summarize the potential impacts of migration as follows:

- Labour-exporting countries can tap into the wealth of diaspora communities and direct it towards development at origin, through diaspora bonds and other financing mechanisms. The diaspora community has a pro-trade effect through, for example, facilitating information about markets and products.
- Remittance flows have a positive effect on balance of payment deficits and they remedy shortages of foreign currency. Governments of labour-exporting countries can use remittances as security or insurance for incoming future flows of private capital, thereby increasing their credit ratings.
- Other advantages of remittances are that flows of remittances are insensitive to recession in the sending country and, unlike private flows, they do not need to be repaid.
- Literature hypothesizes that remittances increase household consumption, investments in education, health and social insurance and poverty alleviation.

Very little disagreement, if any, exists around the notion that migration and remittances have potential for economic development in the sending country. What attracts debate, however, is establishing the actual impacts of migration and remittances on development at origin. In labour-exporting countries in the Global South, including Zimbabwe, more accurate data on migration and robust migration data management systems are considerably absent. Consequently, both positive and negative impacts of migration on migrant-sending households, families, communities and the country are prone to underestimation.

In the absence of sound data management systems and reliable trustworthy data, it is considerably difficult to ascertain the extent to which the potential of migration and remittances, hypothesized in literature, could be realized in Zimbabwe. However, analysis of existing literature in preceding sections has shown that:

- (a) Even in the absence of returns, migration constitutes a fruition of the individual agency of migrants. It demonstrates the ability of migrants and their families to work on factors that restrict development in the local context.
- (b) Remittances boost consumption, increase investments in human capital and may be used in asset-building projects and small businesses. Households can use such ventures as social safety nets in the event of future shocks.
- (c) Remittances sustain closer ties between migrants and non-migrants – connections that migrants can exploit to obtain social support in times of need.
- (d) Remittances and the manner in which they are used by households may have little, if any, transformative impact on social protection and well-being and economic production. Existing research demonstrates that remittances are being used primarily to meet social obligations within the networks of migrants and nationals back home, to boost social recognition rather than production. One may not deny the idea that even when migrant households use remittances for consumption, such uses still have multiplier effects, stimulating production and creating jobs. However, remittances will less likely give rise to widespread, community-wide growth of the economy in the current environment due to challenges in the domestic economy, which include liquidity constraints, foreign currency controls and poor infrastructure.
- (e) At the household and family levels, migration inevitably creates intangible non-economic, non-pecuniary costs for non-migrant and migrant measures. Such costs include the bodily and psychological effects of stress, grief and the like on family members, which emerge because of living apart during the process of migration. Although few, if any, studies have attempted to quantify such costs, it is undeniable that family and household members – not government – endure these non-material costs of migration. Exploring such non-pecuniary and non-material costs of migration is important for fully understanding the impacts of migration.

At the macrolevel, we found evidence to show that remittances recorded, that is, those monetary remittances transmitted via formal channels, are of a significant amount and have a notable impact on balance of payments and GDP. However, authorities cannot account for a sizeable number of remittances since they flow through informal channels. An overall inference is that migration-related economic benefits in Zimbabwe flow from circular migration, rather than the less impermanent emigration.

E.2. Recommendations regarding the migration governance framework

There is a need to devise indicators for which data about the performance of the migration governance framework, as a whole, can be collected and analysed. The process of developing indicators and assigning weights should be stakeholder-driven and transparent, in order to improve the trustworthiness and reliability of indicators.

Furthermore, accountability lines between various actors, including committees and technocrats in the various line ministries, and their respective roles should be made clear to the public. This is particularly relevant in situations where important migration issues are dealt with. There is a need to know who does what and with which funds. As well, the decision-making role of committees should be spelt out clearly.

E.3. Recommendations regarding mainstreaming migration into development

- Policy and initiatives that nurture circular migration will likely improve the flow of remittances in the country. We recommend that the Ministry of Home Affairs take the lead in mobilizing other institutional actors to identify and experiment with various approaches of fostering circular migration.
- Encouraging participation of the diaspora in public life at origin, including in social and economic initiatives, can boost patriotism and unlock the investment potential of the diaspora.
- Achieving financial stability in the domestic economy can potentially attract investment from diaspora communities.
- Increased involvement of the Government in facilitating more affordable remittance transmission channels could boost the value of remittances. It can also encourage people to use formal routes of remittance. The Ministry

of Economic Development Planning and Investment Promotion and the Reserve Bank of Zimbabwe (RBZ) are uniquely positioned to create formal remittance schemes. Equally, a government-led initiative that recognizes and responds to the negative impacts of remittances is critical.

- Current efforts to explore Government-led approaches for exporting labour abroad are welcome. There is a need, however, to make relevant processes more inclusive and transparent.

E.4. Recommendations concerning improvements to migration statistics and the overall evidence base

E.4.1. Administrative data management systems

The Ministry of Home Affairs should lead stakeholder-driven efforts to design a system to collect, organize, store and share data on departures and arrivals. Collection of data should be systematic, targeting citizens, residents and non-residence. The system could be designed in a manner that enables the collection of data for a set of identified indicators that relate to safe and orderly migration and other domains of well-managed migration. As well, collected data can be used to gauge the performance of management systems.

The Refugee Section of the Ministry of Public Service, Labour and Social Welfare should device systems and templates for systematically collecting comparable data on selected indicators, designed to fill information gaps. These data should be publicly available to researchers and other members of the public.

E.4.2. Research, data collection and information availability

The Ministry of Home Affairs should lead a stakeholder-driven effort to identify and design reliable and trusted indicators to allow for transparent measurement of the performance of migration management systems and impacts. A possible starting point is the “migration governance framework” study commissioned by IOM and conducted by The Economist’s Intelligence Unit in 2016, which identifies some of the indicators that enable international comparison. Moreover, the proposed indicators established best practices after which Zimbabwe can model its governance systems. Institutional actors, including the Inter-Ministerial Committee on Migration (IMCM), relevant directorates and ZIMSTAT should identify gaps and sources of data methods that would enable a more transparent and robust estimation of impacts. The deliberate involvement of researchers domiciled in national universities is urged to enable robust scientific modelling, estimation and analysis of migration phenomena.

There is also need to develop short-term research agendas or programmes ranging from two to four years, to expose migration-related issues. Such programmes should ultimately establish the impacts of migration on Zimbabwean society and come up with evidence-informed recommendations for improving migration management and control systems. Some of the areas for which data are needed include:

- (a) The non-economic, non-pecuniary consequences of migration for household and families (How do we quantify these in a more transparent manner? More importantly, from a policy perspective, how should the State respond to those externalities of migration?);
- (b) The causal associations between: (i) migration and inequality and (ii) migration and trade require further exploration;
- (c) The effects of remittances on poverty and human capital formation;
- (d) The extent that migrant workers in Zimbabwe realize their social protection and other rights; and
- (e) The size and economic potential of the Zimbabwean diaspora.

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ANNEXES

Annex I: Department of Immigration Control Interview Guide

For all questions, please provide numbers for the years 2010 to 2016.

Section A: Numbers of immigrants, day trippers and Zimbabweans abroad

1. Can the Department of Immigration Control provide the numbers of immigrants in each category of migration for the years 2010 to 2016, indicating the source country and gender?

Prompts

- Regular migration
 - Irregular migration (detentions, prosecutions and returnees)
 - Student migration
 - Temporary employment
 - Day trippers
 - Forced migration
 - Permanent residency
 - Returnees
 - Child migration
 - Any other category
2. For each category of immigrants (see Prompts in No. 1 above), can the Department of Immigration Control provide numbers of immigrants according to age sets?
 3. Can the Department of Immigration Control provide the numbers of Zimbabweans abroad and emigrants for each category, for the years 2010 to 2016, indicating the source country and gender?
 4. For each category of emigrants or Zimbabweans abroad, can the Department of Immigration Control provide numbers of immigrants according to age set?
 5. Can you provide the numbers of regular immigrants for each category according to port of entry and year?

Section B: Child migrants

6. Does the number of migrants in any category mentioned above include children? If so, what is the proportion of children in each category for the years 2010 to 2016?
7. What is the proportion of accompanied minors?
8. What is the proportion of unaccompanied minors?

Section C: Irregular migration

9. For immigrants who were detained between 2010 and 2016, what is the average period, longest period and shortest period of detention?
10. For immigrants who were prosecuted, provide:
 - (a) reasons for prosecution;
 - (b) outcome of prosecution.

Section D: Migration for the purposes of study and employment

11. How many work/temporary employment permits were issued annually since 2009?
12. How many temporary employment permits did the Department of Immigration Control issue to female foreigners? How many to male foreigners?
13. For which occupations, economic sectors and industries did the Department of Immigration Control issue permits?
14. How many study permits did the Department of Immigration Control issue between 2010 and 2016?
15. How many holders of study permits were female? How many were male?
16. Which disciplines did the holders of study permits intend to pursue?
17. Can you provide a list of their home countries?

Section E: Permanent residency

18. How many permanent residency permits did the Department of Immigration Control issue each year between 2010 and 2016?

19. Describe the following attributes of the holders of permanent residence permits:
- (a) Gender
 - (b) Age set
 - (c) Country of origin

Section F: Migration management

- 20. What was the cost per year of detaining immigrants from 2010 to 2016?
- 21. What was the cost per year of prosecuting immigrants from 2010 to 2016?
- 22. What was the cost per year of deporting migrants from 2010 to 2016?
- 23. Where does money for deportation, prosecuting and detaining foreigners come from?
- 24. What percentage of the annual budget of the Department of Immigration Control goes to detaining, prosecuting and deporting migrants?
- 25. What is the average cost per year of detaining and deporting each immigrant?
- 26. How much revenue did the Department of Immigration Control collect each year, from 2010 to 2016, through the issuance of permits and visas?

Annex II: Reserve Bank of Zimbabwe Interview Guide

For all questions, please provide numbers for the years 2010 to 2016.

Section A: Remittances, definition, categories and data sources

- 1. Let us begin with the definition of “remittances,” sources of data and the methods of collecting or collating remittance data.
 - (a) What is the RBZ’s definition of remittances?
 - (b) How does the RBZ calculate the remittances?
 - (c) What are the sources of remittance data/statistics?
 - (d) How often is data collected or collated, and how confident is the RBZ regarding the accuracy of data/statistics on remittances?
 - (e) How does the RBZ categorize remittances?
 - (f) Can the RBZ provide remittance data according to: (i) remittances from individuals and (ii) remittances transmitted by agencies as a part of wages?

2. Can the RBZ provide remittance statistics for the years 2010 to 2016, disaggregated by category and source country?
3. How do remittances compare to other sources of foreign currency?
4. Does the RBZ have information about the receiver (migrant's household or family) or the receiving organization?

Section B: Uses and impacts of remittances

What can we learn about the impacts of remittances?

5. Can the RBZ demonstrate the impacts of remittances? From the RBZ's point of view, how significant are remittances for various sectors of the economy?
6. More specifically, what is the impact of remittance flows on the state of the country's current account?
7. What are the effects of remittances on prices?
8. In some countries, researchers have found evidence of Dutch Disease effects. Is this evident in Zimbabwe?
9. Approximately, what proportions of remittances go to consumption and investment?
 - (a) If remittances are being channelled towards consumption, what could be the effect of remittances on prices, wages and non-traded goods?
 - (b) Do remittances have an observable impact on export growth?
 - (c) What is the relationship between remittances and imports in Zimbabwe? Do remittances generate additional demand for goods that the country meets via increased imports?
10. What are the impacts of remittances on human development?
11. How do you explain the changes in the volume of remittances flowing into the country each year?

Annex III: Ministry of Public Service Labour and Social Interview Guide

For all questions, please provide numbers for the years 2010 to 2016.

Section A: Categories of forced immigration and numbers

1. Can the Ministry of Public Service Labour and Social Welfare (MPSLSW) provide the numbers of forced immigrants in each category for the years 2010 to 2016, indicating the source country and gender?

Prompts

- Male
- Female
- Asylum seekers
- Refugees
- Day trippers
- Assisted repatriation
- Children
- Returnees

2. For each category of forced immigrants (see *Prompts* in No. 1 above), can the MPSLSW provide numbers of forced immigrants according to age set?

Section B: Child migrants

3. Does the number of migrants in any category mentioned above include children? If so, what was the proportion of children in each category for the years 2010 to 2016?
4. What was the proportion of accompanied minors?
5. What was the proportion of unaccompanied minors?

Section C: Zimbabwe Refugee Committee

6. Can the MPSLSW provide statistics on cases that have been approved, heard, deferred and rejected, disaggregated by the migrant's:
 - (a) Gender
 - (b) Age set
 - (c) Country of origin

7. What were the top three reasons cited for rejection?
8. What was the time lag between arrival and lodging application?
9. What was the time lag between lodging of application and decision?

Section D: Returnees

10. Can the Ministry of Public Service Labour and Social Welfare (MPSLSW) provide the numbers of Zimbabweans whom foreign countries returned from 2010 to 2016 due to irregularity?
11. Did the number of returnees include children? If so, what was the proportion of children in each category for the years 2010 to 2016?
12. What was the proportion of accompanied minors?
13. What was the proportion of unaccompanied minors?

Annex IV: Statistical tables

Tables A1: Population of Zimbabwe, actual (2012) and projected (2032)

Table A1.a: Population by age and sex, 2012

Age group	Male	Female	Total
0–4	988,570	994,095	1,982,665
5–9	846,753	855,004	1,701,757
10–14	851,173	848,065	1,699,238
15–19	700,629	714,396	1,415,025
20–24	544,554	653,655	1,198,209
25–29	520,874	613,224	1,134,098
30–34	444,427	478,274	922,701
35–39	363,222	375,080	738,302
40–44	268,997	256,899	525,896
45–49	161,580	187,174	348,754
50–54	139,379	212,227	351,606
55–59	121,018	161,929	282,947
60–64	96,973	130,227	227,200
60–69	73,201	94,268	167,469
70–74	62,355	75,636	137,991
75–79	40,354	48,905	89,259
80 and over	56,480	81,640	138,120
Total	6,280,539	6,780,698	13,061,237

Table A1.b: Medium-variant national projections by five-year age groups, 2032

Age group	Male	Female	Total
0–4	1,057,700	1,080,039	2,137,739
5–9	1,030,718	1,062,654	2,093,372
10–14	982,249	1,020,846	2,003,095
15–19	908,975	954,122	1,863,097
20–24	926,724	952,510	1,879,234
25–29	799,039	819,282	1,618,321
30–34	790,838	804,064	1,594,902
35–39	636,351	670,670	1,307,021
40–44	485,292	611,005	1,096,297
45–49	460,040	568,144	1,028,184
50–54	385,713	435,639	821,352
55–59	304,594	333,155	637,749
60–64	213,185	220,168	433,353
60–69	113,738	149,881	263,619
70–74	85,078	149,677	234,755
75–79	58,749	91,553	150,302
80 and over	46,502	75,708	122,210
Total	9,285,485	9,999,117	19,284,602

Source: ZIMSTAT, "Zimbabwe Population Census 2012: Women and men profile: Summary report".

Table A2: Population at previous censuses and population projections for 2032

	Year						
	1982 Census	1992 Census	2002 Census	2012 Census	2032 low scenario	2032 medium scenario	2032 high scenario
Population	7,501,470	10,412,548	11,631,657	13,061,239	18,855,181	19,284,051	19,851,051

Source: ZIMSTAT, "Census 2012: Population projections thematic report, August 2015".

Table A3: Projected average population growth rate (2012–2032) by age group

Age group	Average annual growth rate (%)
Working age (15–64)	3.59
Reproductive age (15–49)	3.27
Young people (15–24)	2.23
Older persons (65+)	2.16
School-going age (5–24)	1.52
Children (0–4)	0.39

Source: ZIMSTAT, "Census 2012: Population projections thematic report, August 2015".

Table A4: Sex ratio by age group at the 1982, 1992, 2002 and 2012 censuses

Age group	Census year			
	1982 Census	1992 Census	2002 Census	2012 Census
0	97	99	100	99
1–4	97	99	100	100
5–9	99	99	99	99
10–14	102	99	100	100
15–19	95	97	96	98
20–24	80	89	86	83
25–29	87	89	92	85
30–34	90	86	103	93
35–39	87	88	88	97
40–44	102	92	81	105
45–49	106	101	86	86
50–54	123	90	74	66
55–59	111	109	87	75
60–64	118	113	95	74
65–69	100	101	95	78
70–74	98	93	96	82
75 and over	84	76	78	74

Source: ZIMSTAT, "Census 2012: Population projections thematic report, August 2015".

Table A5: Total fertility rate at the 1982, 1992, 2002 and 2012 censuses

	Census year			
	1982	1992	2002	2012
Total fertility rate	5.6	4.4	3.6	3.8

Source: ZIMSTAT and ICF International, *Zimbabwe Demographic and Health Survey 2015: Final Report*.

Note: Total fertility rate is expressed as the number of births per 1,000 women.

Table A6: Births per woman by province for the three-year period prior to the 2015 ZDHS

Province	Birth rate
Bulawayo	2.7
Harare	2.8
Manicaland	5.0
Mashonaland East	4.3
Mashonaland Central	4.4
Mashonaland West	4.3
Masvingo	4.4
Midlands	4.2
Matabeleland North	4.4
Matabeleland South	3.5

Source: ZIMSTAT and ICF International, *Zimbabwe Demographic and Health Survey 2015: Final Report*.

Table A7: Crude death rates at the 1992, 2002 and 2012 censuses

	Census year		
	1992	2002	2012
Crude death rate	9.5	17.2	10.2

Source: ZIMSTAT and ICF International, *Zimbabwe Demographic and Health Survey 2015: Final Report*.

Note: Crude death rate is expressed as the number of deaths per 1,000 population.

Table A8: Maternal mortality ratio, 2005–2006, 2010–2011 and 2015

Level	Year		
	2005–2006	2010–2011	2015
Upper limit	767	1,142	829
Lower limit	458	778	473
Closest true level	612	960	651

Source: ZIMSTAT and ICF International, *Zimbabwe Demographic and Health Survey 2015: Final Report*.

Note: Maternal mortality ratio is expressed as the number of maternal deaths per 100,000 live births

Table A9: Child mortality rates prior to the 2015 ZDHS

Rate (by age category)	Year					
	1988	1994	1999	2005–2006	2010–2011	2015
Infant mortality rate	49	53	65	60	57	50
Under-five mortality rate	71	77	102	82	84	69
Neonatal mortality rate	27	24	29	24	31	29

Source: ZIMSTAT and ICF International, *Zimbabwe Demographic and Health Survey 2015: Final Report*.

Note: Numbers are per 1,000 live births.

Table A10: Under-five mortality by province

Province	Birth rate
Bulawayo	50
Harare	58
Manicaland	112
Mashonaland East	102
Mashonaland Central	90
Mashonaland West	101
Masvingo	65
Midlands	72
Matabeleland North	67
Matabeleland South	65

Source: ZIMSTAT and ICF International, *Zimbabwe Demographic and Health Survey 2015: Final Report*.

Note: Numbers are per 1,000 live births.

Table A11: Annual GDP and GDP per capita growth rates, 2010–2015

Growth rate	Year					
	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015
GDP growth rate (%)	11.38	11.91	10.57	4.48	3.85	0.47
GDP per capita growth rate (%)	9.36	9.69	8.21	2.15	1.48	-1.82

Source: World Bank Open Data (database). Available from <http://data.worldbank.org>, accessed June 2017.

Table A12: Summary of external trade (in USD), 2012–2016

Item	Year				
	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016
Total imports	7,462,913,437	7,704,061,789	6,379,758,045	6,002,596,473	5,212,002,290
Domestic exports	3,837,939,047	3,415,830,544	3,009,022,932	2,682,046,588	2,827,092,758
Re-exports	44,347,181	91,360,741	54,713,678	22,049,360	9,927,727
Total	3,882,286,228	3,507,191,284	3,063,736,610	2,704,095,948	2,837,020,485

Source: ZIMSTAT, *Quarterly Digest of Statistics*, 4th Quarter 2016.

Table A13: Total reserves as a percentage of total external debt, 2010–2016

	Year						
	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016
Percentage of external debt	13.7	11.08	9.03	6.65	5.8	4.53	4.98

Source: World Bank Open Data (database). Available from <http://data.worldbank.org>, accessed June 2017.

Table A14: Annual inflation rate as measured from consumer prices, 2010–2016

	Year						
	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016
Inflation rate (%)	3.03	3.28	3.90	1.63	-0.22	-2.40	-1.56

Source: World Bank Open Data (database). Available from <http://data.worldbank.org>, last accessed June 2017.

Table A15: Percentage distribution of Zimbabwean emigrants by reason for migrating

Reason for migrating	Total
Lack of work opportunities in Zimbabwe	49.3
Poor working conditions in Zimbabwe	9.7
Improve household income	18.3
Gain work experience/career advancement	0.6
Job transfer	0.3
Pursue studies	4
Family reasons	9.7
Desire to live abroad	3.1
"I don't know"	1.6
Not stated	0.2
Others	3.3
Total	100.0

Source: ZIMSTAT, "2014 Labour Force and Child Labour Survey", in: *2014 Labour Force Survey*.

Table A16: Total international migrant stock in Zimbabwe by sex, 1990, 2000 and 2013

Sex	Year		
	1990	2000	2013
Male	352,028	233,259	205,817
Female	274,793	175,754	155,175
Total	626,821	409,013	360,992

Source: UN DESA – Population Division and UNICEF, Migration Profiles: Zimbabwe. Available from <https://esa.un.org/migmgprofiles/indicators/files/Zimbabwe.pdf>, accessed June 2017.

Table A17: Percentage distribution of international migrants in Zimbabwe by country of origin and sex, 2013

Country of origin	Sex		
	Male	Female	Total
Botswana	3.9	3.9	3.9
Malawi	19.1	11.3	15.3
Mozambique	19.9	23.6	21.7
South Africa	44.8	46.1	45.4
Zambia	7.2	8.4	7.8
Other African countries	2.7	2.9	2.8
Non-African countries	2.4	3.8	3.1

Source: ZIMSTAT, "2014 Labour Force and Child Labour Survey", in: *2014 Labour Force Survey*.

Table A18: Percentage distribution of international migrants in Zimbabwe by age and sex, 2013

Age group	Sex		
	Male	Female	Total
0–4	1.3	1.4	2.7
5–9	1.8	2	3.8
10–14	2.4	2.6	5
15–19	3	3.1	6.1
20–24	3.9	3.6	7.5
25–29	5.2	4	9.2
30–34	6.3	4.3	10.6
35–39	7	4.3	11.3
40–44	6.8	4	10.8
45–49	6	3.5	9.5
50–54	4.8	3	7.8
55–59	3.7	2.6	6.3
60–64	2.7	2.3	5
65 and over	2.1	2.3	4.4
Total	57	43	100

Source: UN DESA – Population Division and UNICEF, Migration Profiles: Zimbabwe. Available from <https://esa.un.org/migmgmprofiles/indicators/files/Zimbabwe.pdf>, accessed June 2017.

Table A19: Distribution of temporary employment permit holders by sex, 2010–2016

Sex	Year							
	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	All years (2010–2016)
Male	1,294	1,290	1,755	2,037	2,639	3,487	2,295	14,797
Female	336	336	534	662	694	687	390	3,639
Total	1,630	1,626	2,289	2,699	3,333	4,174	2,685	18,436

Source: Department of Immigration Control, "Administrative data", email to consultant, September 2017.

Table A20: Source countries for temporary employment permit holders

Source country	Number of TEP holders
Algeria	9
Angola	83
Australia	77
Bangladesh	7
Belgium	42
Botswana	61
Brazil	16
Bulgaria	14
Cameroon	20
Canada	41
China	11,272
Cuba	172
Czech Republic	10
Democratic Republic of the Congo	210
Denmark	13
Egypt	25
Equatorial Guinea	32
Eritrea	9
Eswatini	35
Ethiopia	35
Finland	6
France	58
Germany	73
Ghana	93
Greece	21
Guyana	2
Hungary	4
India	711
Indonesia	12
Iran, Islamic Republic of	7
Ireland	3
Israel	17
Italy	108
Japan	136
Kenya	126
Lebanon	3
Lesotho	97
Liberia	111
Luxembourg	3
Madagascar	18

Source country	Number of TEP holders
Malawi	331
Mauritius	20
Mexico	3
Mozambique	195
Namibia	282
Netherlands, the	80
New Zealand	17
Nicaragua	6
Nigeria	78
Norway	18
Pakistan	162
Philippines, the	34
Poland	6
Portugal	17
Republic of Korea	79
Russian Federation	79
Rwanda	19
Senegal	2
Serbia	4
Singapore	10
Slovakia	1
South Africa	1,859
Spain	12
Sri Lanka	71
Sweden	58
Switzerland	6
Thailand	3
Turkey	4
Uganda	55
Ukraine	16
United Republic of Tanzania	86
United Kingdom	338
United States of America	338
Zambia	355
Total	18,436

Source: Department of Immigration Control, "Administrative data", email to consultant, September 2017.

Table A21: Percentage distribution of international labour migrants by province

Province	Percentage of total
Bulawayo	4
Harare	17.9
Manicaland	19.3
Mashonaland Central	14.2
Mashonaland East	11.6
Mashonaland West	16.5
Masvingo	3
Matabeleland North	1.8
Matabeleland South	7.4
Midlands	4.2

Source: ZIMSTAT, "2014 Labour Force and Child Labour Survey", in: *2014 Labour Force Survey*.

Table A22: Percentage distribution of migrants by work sector and province

Province	Sector		
	Informal	Formal	Household
Bulawayo	8.3	17.5	0
Harare	28.2	56.9	5.4
Manicaland	13.8	4.8	24
Mashonaland Central	13.1	4.4	17.3
Mashonaland East	5.4	4.2	14.3
Mashonaland West	24.5	1.8	19.7
Matabeleland North	0	0.9	2.2
Matabeleland South	0	0	10.2
Masvingo	6.8	2	3.1
Midlands	0	7.5	3.8

Source: ZIMSTAT, "2014 Labour Force and Child Labour Survey", in: *2014 Labour Force Survey*.

Table A23: Percentage distribution of study permit holders by sex, 2010–2016

Gender	Year				
	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016
Male	661	875	1,057	1,261	1,373
Female	348	451	498	565	590
Total	1,009	1,326	1,555	1,826	1,963

Source: Department of Immigration Control, "Administrative data", email to consultant, September 2017.

Table A24: Top 10 source countries for study permit holders, 2010–2016

Source country	Year						
	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016
Angola	38	41	45	58	67	57	70
Democratic Republic of the Congo	67	61	176	188	197	282	315
Lesotho	17	40	40	52	50	73	94
Malawi	71	72	71	80	67	59	49
Mozambique	103	127	84	154	136	153	157
Namibia	35	71	81	93	166	206	247
South Africa	121	112	87	87	102	98	96
South Sudan	0	0	25	95	163	208	204
United Kingdom	75	73	68	68	58	60	52
Zambia	95	116	113	116	147	194	203

Source: Department of Immigration Control, "Administrative data", email to consultant, September 2017.

Table A25: Number of refugees and asylum seekers in Zimbabwe, 2011–2015

Population subset	Year					
	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015
Adult males	no data*	1,968	1,948	4,139	2,655	3,336
Adult females	no data*	917	707	2,756	3,057	2,059
Adults	5,535	2,885	2,655	6,895	5,712	5,395
Children	4,400	2,864	3,173	8,530	8,208	5,194
Total	9,935	5,749	5,828	15,425	13,920	10,589

Source: Ministry of Public Service, Labour and Social Welfare, "Administrative data", hard copy of data extracts furnished to the consultant in June 2017.

Note: *2010 data on adult refugees and asylum seekers is not disaggregated by gender.

Table A26: Source countries for refugees in Zimbabwe, 2010

Source country	Adults	Children
Angola	2	0
Burundi	438	264
Cameroon	2	0
Congo	4	2
Côte d'Ivoire	1	0
Democratic Republic of the Congo	1,835	1,672
Eritrea	18	0
Ethiopia	15	0
Rwanda	384	281
Sierra Leone	1	0
Somalia	21	2
Sudan	11	1
Uganda	5	1
Zambia	1	0
Total	2,738	2,223

Source: Ministry of Public Service, Labour and Social Welfare, "Administrative data", hard copy of data extracts furnished to the consultant in June 2017.

Table A27: Top five source countries for refugees in Zimbabwe, 2012

Source country	Number		
	Adults	Children	Total
Burundi	305	228	533
Democratic Republic of the Congo	2,294	2,210	4,504
Ethiopia	57	2	59
Rwanda	331	315	646
Somalia	27	17	44

Source: Ministry of Public Service, Labour and Social Welfare, "Administrative data", hard copy of data extracts furnished to the consultant in June 2017.

Table A28: Top three source countries for forced migrants in Zimbabwe, 2013

Source country	Number of refugees
Burundi	593
Democratic Republic of the Congo	6,000
Rwanda	1,177

Source: Ministry of Public Service, Labour and Social Welfare, "Administrative data", hard copy of data extracts furnished to the consultant in June 2017.

Table A29: Top five source countries for forced migrants in Zimbabwe, 2015

Source country	Number of forced migrants
Burundi	838
Democratic Republic of the Congo	8,468
Ethiopia	90
Rwanda	867
Somalia	35

Source: Ministry of Public Service, Labour and Social Welfare, "Administrative data", hard copy of data extracts furnished to the consultant in June 2017.

Table A30: Number of immigration detentions in Zimbabwe by sex, 2010–2016

Sex	Year						
	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016
Male	336	442	557	1,205	1,342	1,192	1,850
Female	29	77	155	286	471	189	466
Total	365	519	712	1,491	1,813	1,381	2,316

Source: Department of Immigration Control Zimbabwe, "Administrative data", email to consultant, September 2017.

Table A31: Source countries and territories for immigration detainees in Zimbabwe, 2010–2016

Source country/territory	Year							
	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	All years (2010–2016)
Angola	0	4	5	14	26	1	11	61
Bangladesh	5	3	6	3	7	21	17	62
Botswana	0	48	100	136	226	119	153	782
Burundi	7	17	28	67	57	58	37	271
Cameroon	4	7	18	14	10	19	19	91
China	101	69	95	116	130	117	69	697
Hong Kong Special Administrative Region of China	0	2	1	0	0	1	2	6
Democratic Republic of the Congo	0	15	35	214	229	258	197	948
Denmark	2	0	0	1	0	0	1	4
Egypt	0	3	6	3	2	52	28	94
Equatorial Guinea	7	2	3	2	5	26	9	54
Ethiopia	19	30	31	267	129	103	452	1,031
Gambia, the	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	2
Ghana	0	6	13	19	31	38	29	136
Guatemala	1	0	0	0	1	2	0	4

Source country/territory	Year							
	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	All years (2010–2016)
Guyana	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	2
India	9	14	7	18	21	0	18	87
Israel	0	2	0	1	0	3	3	9
Jamaica	0	2	0	0	2	1	0	5
Japan	0	5	1	4	6	0	2	18
Kenya	6	4	7	9	7	8	13	54
Lebanon	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
Lesotho	0	16	8	14	49	4	14	105
Liberia	0	2	3	2	4	0	0	11
Libya	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
Madagascar	0	36	89	101	176	0	0	402
Malawi	50	1	0	0	0	87	437	575
Mauritius	0	4	9	12	14	0	0	39
Mozambique	0	1	0	0	0	95	228	324
Nepal	0	27	31	29	33	1	0	121
Netherlands, the	0	0	0	2	0	0	2	4
Nigeria	49	29	21	33	37	48	79	296
Pakistan	23	4	5	0	2	25	49	108
Republic of Korea	1	0	0	4	0	0	0	5
Rwanda	0	2	0	2	3	4	6	17
Sierra Leone	3	61	28	31	58	0	5	186
Somalia	7	37	54	120	169	55	72	514
South Africa	47	2	0	0	0	75	167	291
Sri Lanka	1	1	0	0	0	0	2	4
Sweden	1	11	10	20	34	0	0	76
Thailand	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	2
Turkey	0	13	21	48	47	0	4	133
Uganda	8	24	51	108	261	47	42	541
United Kingdom	3	2	3	5	3	13	6	35
United Republic of Tanzania	8	0	0	0	0	24	36	68
United States of America	0	0	3	6	11	4	4	28
Zambia	0	12	20	66	23	70	100	291
Total	365	519	712	1,491	1,813	1,381	2,316	8,597

Source: Department of Immigration Control Zimbabwe, "Administrative data", email to consultant, September 2017.

Table A32: Source countries and territories for individuals prosecuted under Zimbabwe's immigration law, 2010–2016

Source country/territory	Year							
	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	All years (2010–2016)
Angola	2	4	5	14	26	17	11	79
Bangladesh	5	3	6	3	7	11	9	44
Botswana	9	53	117	145	255	214	135	928
Burundi	7	17	30	65	57	58	16	250
Cameroon	4	7	18	14	10	17	12	82
China	76	69	95	116	130	151	71	708
Hong Kong Special Administrative Region of China	0	2	1	0	0	4	2	9
Democratic Republic of the Congo	2	15	35	243	304	267	123	989
Denmark	0	0	0	1	0	2	1	4
Egypt	4	3	7	3	2	47	14	80
Equatorial Guinea	5	2	3	2	5	23	6	46
Ethiopia	16	30	31	267	129	48	383	904
Gambia, the	0	0	0	0	0	3	2	5
Ghana	3	6	13	19	31	28	13	113
Guatemala	0	0	0	0	1	2	0	3
Guyana	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	2
India	5	14	7	18	21	28	13	106
Israel	2	2	0	1	0	3	3	11
Jamaica	0	2	0	0	2	1	0	5
Japan	0	5	1	4	6	12	2	30
Kenya	6	4	7	9	7	7	7	47
Lebanon	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
Lesotho	0	16	8	14	49	65	14	166
Liberia	0	2	3	2	4	0	0	11
Libya	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
Malawi	28	36	89	101	176	156	330	916
Mauritius	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
Mozambique	8	45	71	184	367	330	214	1,219
Nepal	0	0	0	2	0	1	0	3
Netherlands, the	0	1	0	0	0	0	2	3
Nigeria	38	27	31	29	33	42	78	278
Pakistan	25	29	21	33	37	31	54	230

Source country/territory	Year							
	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	All years (2010–2016)
Republic of Korea	1	0	0	4	0	7	0	12
Rwanda	0	4	5	0	2	5	6	22
Sierra Leone	3	2	0	2	3	1	4	15
Somalia	7	61	28	31	58	49	69	303
South Africa	46	37	54	120	169	161	256	843
Sri Lanka	1	2	0	0	0	0	2	5
Sweden	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	2
Thailand	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	2
Turkey	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	4
Uganda	6	13	21	48	47	68	34	237
United Kingdom	3	2	3	5	3	25	6	47
United Republic of Tanzania	8	11	10	20	34	24	33	140
United States of America	0	0	3	6	11	17	4	41
Zambia	21	24	51	108	261	251	276	992

Source: Department of Immigration Control Zimbabwe, "Administrative data", email to consultant, September 2017.

Table A33: Immigration prosecutions in Zimbabwe by sex, 2010–2016

Sex	Year							
	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	All years (2010–2016)
Male	305	463	591	1,297	1,605	1,635	1,515	7,411
Female	40	90	183	336	642	543	695	2,529
Total	345	553	774	1,633	2,247	2,178	2,210	9,940

Source: Department of Immigration Control Zimbabwe, "Administrative data", email to consultant, September 2017.

Table A34: Deportations from Zimbabwe by sex, 2010–2016

Sex	Year							
	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	All years (2010–2016)
Male	319	520	448	588	1,041	1,026	1,497	5,439
Female	29	242	193	279	278	267	469	1,757
Total	348	762	641	867	1,319	1,293	1,966	7,196

Source: Department of Immigration Control Zimbabwe, "Administrative data", email to consultant, September 2017.

Table A35: Top 10 source countries for deportees from Zimbabwe, 2010–2016

Source country	Year							
	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	All years (2010–2016)
Botswana	0	44	55	74	107	105	126	511
China	102	35	24	48	87	141	65	502
Democratic Republic of the Congo	0	32	20	110	213	268	137	780
Ethiopia	16	29	16	1	13	9	386	470
Malawi	46	71	31	63	120	120	330	781
Mozambique	0	74	92	125	91	81	228	691
Nigeria	38	50	72	94	89	48	70	461
Pakistan	23	61	72	61	42	25	49	333
South Africa	47	58	64	75	141	75	167	627
Zambia	0	90	69	60	90	66	96	471

Source: Department of Immigration Control Zimbabwe, "Administrative data", email to consultant, September 2017.

Table A36: Zimbabwean irregular migrants returned through Beitbridge and Plumtree Border Posts, 2010–2016

Subset	Year							
	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	All years (2010–2016)
Beitbridge adult males	127	956	17,095	11,540	10,021	15,277	12,721	67,737
Beitbridge adult females	136	5,589	2,437	4,335	3,875	1,946	2,196	20,514
Beitbridge children	323	291	556	273	343	337	408	2,531
Total for Beitbridge	586	6,836	20,086	16,148	14,239	17,560	15,325	90,780
Plumtree adult males	-	-	6,228	11,311	10,412	10,821	15,109	53,881
Plumtree adult females	-	-	1,907	2,117	2,603	4,020	1,153	11,800
Plumtree children	-	-	378	281	685	654	607	2,605
Total for Plumtree	-	-	8,513	13,709	13,700	15,495	16,869	68,286
Total adult males	127	956	23,323	22,851	20,433	26,098	27,830	121,618
Total adult females	136	5,589	4,344	6,452	6,478	5,966	3,349	32,314
Total children	323	291	934	554	1,028	991	1,015	5,136
Total irregular emigrants returned	586	6,836	28,599	29,857	27,939	33,055	32,194	159,066

Source: Department of Immigration Control Zimbabwe, "Administrative data", email to consultant, October 2017.

Table A37: External sources of Zimbabwean national revenue, 2009–2016

Source	Amount by year (in USD millions)							
	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016
Exports of goods and services	1,882.65	3,569.25	4,907.58	4,336.63	4,197.69	4,080.44	4,000.89	4,098.13
Remittances	300.67	361.07	570.32	646.31	764.18	837.00	935.00	778.86
Humanitarian assistance	648.60	748.60	882.30	944.57	783.25	735.00	790.40	750.30
Foreign direct investment (FDI)	105.00	122.59	344.30	349.85	373.05	472.80	399.20	343.01
Total	2,936.92	4,801.51	6,704.50	6,277.36	6,118.16	6,125.24	6,125.49	5,970.30

Source: Reserve Bank of Zimbabwe, Statistics section. Available from www.rbz.co.zw/statistics.html, accessed June 2017.

Table A38: Percentage contributions of remittance-sending countries and territories, 2016

Source country	Percentage of total
Australia	2
Botswana	3
Canada	1.3
Democratic Republic of the Congo	0.6
Ireland	0.6
South Africa	34
United Arab Emirates	0.9
United Kingdom	23
United States of America	7
Zambia	0.9
Others (140+ countries and territories)	26.7
Total	100

Source: Reserve Bank of Zimbabwe, Statistics section. Available from www.rbz.co.zw/statistics.html, accessed June 2017.

Table A39: Remittances and sector revenues as a percentage of GDP, 2009–2015

Source/Sector	Year						
	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015
Remittances	3.6	3.6	4.7	4.6	5	5.3	5.8
Finance and insurance	6.9	6.2	5.8	6.7	7	5.6	5.5
Real estate	1.3	1.3	1.6	2.2	2.2	2.4	2.6
Agriculture, hunting, fishing and forestry	12.4	11.5	10.1	9.8	9.8	10.8	10.3

Source: Values for remittances as percentage of GDP were calculated from the RBZ dataset received in May 2017. Other percentage values were calculated from GDP values listed in: ZIMSTAT, *Quarterly Digest of Statistics, 4th Quarter 2016*.

Table A40: Average expenditure per foreign visitor per trip to Zimbabwe, by region of origin

	Region of origin				
	Oceania	Europe	Asia	Americas	Africa
Expenditure (in USD)	1,354	909	884	883	310

Source: ZIMSTAT, Zimbabwe Visitor Exit Survey (VES) Report 2015/16.

Table A41: Distribution of visitors to Zimbabwe by expenditure

	Expenditure range (in USD)										
	0	1–50	51–100	101–200	201–300	301–500	501–1,000	1,001–5,000	5,001–10,000	10,000–20,000	Above 20,000
Number	4,505	9,906	3,777	4,656	2,626	3,406	2,974	2,393	154	51	69
Percentage of total visitors	13.1	28.7	10.9	13.5	7.6	9.9	8.6	6.9	0.4	0.1	0.2

Source: ZIMSTAT, Zimbabwe Visitor Exit Survey (VES) Report 2015/16.

Zimbabwe National Statistics Agency (ZIMSTAT)
P.O. Box CY 342, Causeway, Harare, Zimbabwe
Telephone: +263 4 706681/ 8 and +263 4 703971/ 7
Fax: +263 4 728529 or +263 4 708854
E-mail: dg@zimstat.co.zw
Website: www.zimstat.co.zw

International Organization for Migration (IOM)
4 Duthie Road, Alexandra Park Harare, Zimbabwe
E-mail: iomharare@iom.int
Website: www.zimbabwe.iom.int
Telephone: +263 4 704285/88/90