UNIVERSITEIT VAN PRETORIA
UNIVERSITY OF PRETORIA
YUNIBESITHI YA PRETORIA

The vulnerabilities and survival mechanisms of undocumented female migrants:

A case study of Zimbabwean female migrants in Jeffsville, Pretoria

by

Tiyese Chiwaya

14082587

Submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree.

MASTER OF SOCIAL SCIENCES IN DEVELOPMENT STUDIES

Prepared under the supervision of

Dr. P.E. Angu

Unit for Academic Literacy

Faculty of Humanities

University of Pretoria

Abstract

This study explored the vulnerabilities and survival mechanisms of undocumented Zimbabwean female migrants living and working in Jeffsville informal settlements in SA. It was motivated by the fact that existing studies on migration from Zimbabwe and immigration policies have neglected the unique vulnerabilities of undocumented female migrants. This study therefore used an intersectional lens and migration conceptions such as transnationalism and agency to examine these unique vulnerabilities and the survival strategies of Zimbabwean undocumented migrants in Jeffsville. This study adopted a qualitative research methodology and case study design and the data for this project was collected through personal interviews and focus group discussions. The data was categorised according to pre-determined themes generated for the objectives and a thematic analytical approach was used to make meaning from the data. The findings illuminated that economic factors are the key push factors followed by social factors and influence from the transnational networks. Additionally, empirical data collected revealed that gender, class, education, illegal status, social interaction, and education have exposed this category of migrants for different forms of exclusions, discrimination, and exploitation in SA. The findings of this study therefore show that women's experiences at home, and throughout the flight to exile and in exile are influenced by several domains of power that render undocumented female migrants to different vulnerabilities. The findings also revealed that undocumented female migrants cope and adapt during these challenges by exercising their resilience and agency when confronted with these vulnerabilities. These survival mechanisms were linked to the concept of transnational networks such as transnational communities and transnational kinship ties, which were crucial for the participants' wellbeing and support structure. Another finding was that malayitsha's were part of the transnational kinship ties that assisted participants and families in Zimbabwe through transportation of goods, remittances, and undocumented migrants' family members. This study also identified that the South African migration policy is exclusionary towards low-skilled, low-income migrants. Based on these findings, this study recommends that South African migration policy ought to pay more attention to the challenges of female migrants, particularly those that are undocumented. This policy should enhance the protection of the rights and wellbeing of all female migrants who enter South African regardless of their lack of the relevant documents to stay and work in the country. Finally, the South African government ought to devise strategies to effectively implement this policy.

Key Words: Vulnerability; Informal settlement; Undocumented migrants; Survival mechanisms.

Declaration

I declare that this dissertation, which I hereby submit for the degree MSocSci Development Studies at University of Pretoria is my own work and has not been previous submitted by me for a degree at another university.

Student's signature: Date: 30 June 2021

Supervisor's signature:  Date: 30 June 2021

Acknowledgements

I acknowledge my heavenly father for giving me the strength to complete this journey.

I would like to express my sincere gratitude to my supervisor Dr. Pineteh Angu for his invaluable supervision, and for the insightful comments and suggestions. Thank you.

My gratitude extends to my son's nanny Farisai for her treasured support and carrying for my son through this season of my life.

I would like to thank my son, Lwandle, for showing me the beauty and opposite side of life during the hard times of my thesis.

I would like to thank my husband, Nkosana, for always encouraging to complete my masters and to pursue my academic career.

Finally, I would like to express my gratitude to my parents Ambrosia and Walter Chiwaya, without their tremendous, encouragement and support, it would be impossible for me to complete my study.

Dedication

This thesis is dedicated to all undocumented African female migrants in SA.

List of Acronyms and Abbreviations

AU	African Union
DHA	Department of Home Affairs
DHET	Department of Higher Education and Training
FGD	Focus Group Discussion
GDP	Gross Domestic Profit
HAD	Humanitarian Agency for Development
ICPD	Programme of Action of the International Conference on Population and Development Cairo.
ILO	International Labor Organisation
IOM	International Organisation for Migration
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation Development
SA	South Africa
SADC	Southern Africa Developing Countries

Definition of Operational Terms and Concepts

Undocumented migrants: "These are persons who do not fulfil the requirements established by the country of destination to enter, stay or exercise an economic activity" (Programme of Action of the International Conference on Population and Development [ICPD] Cairo, 1994:44).

Vulnerability: "The concept of vulnerability can be understood to mean that some people are more susceptible to harm, relative to others, as a result of exposure to some form of risk. The type of harm to which they are more susceptible varies it may be psychological, physical, environmental, etc. Risk factors depend on the type of harm being examined and may or may not overlap" (International Organisation for Migration [IOM], 2020:4).

Survival mechanisms: It is also referred to as 'social survival strategies' by Hlatshwayo and Wotela "are premised on relations anchored around ethnicity, culture, nationality, and language. Out of this strategy is the concept of social capital which is defined as the link that allow people to discover opportunities as well as employment based in social relationships with previous migrants…" (2018:109).

Omalayitsha: "[…] impisi meaning hyenas or omalayitsha which entails "illicit operators who ferry people and goods across the border" (Daimon, 2010:2).
"Ndebele cross-border transporter" (Thebe, 2011:648).

Informal settlement: "one shack or more constructed on land, with or without consent of the owner of the land or person in charge of the land" (Humanitarian Agency for Development [HAD], 2013:7).

Table of Contents

List of Tables

List of Figures

List of Appendices

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND TO STUDY

1.1 Introduction and Background to the Study

Since the collapse of apartheid, the number of Africans migrating to South Africa (SA) has continued to increase exponentially. The post-apartheid patterns and trends of African migration to SA, signify social, political, and economic changes, and a shift in migration policies within SA and other African countries (Posel, 2006; Flahaux & De Haas, 2016; Hunter & Posel, 2012). The end of apartheid, the transition to democracy in 1994, and the neoliberal economy that emerged provided a beacon of hope for refugees and asylum seekers not only from neighbouring countries, but also from conflict-ridden countries across the African continent (Landau & Jacobsen, 2004; Maharaj, 2004; Kihato, 2007). Significantly, in 1995, the first Draft Protocol on the Free Movement of Persons aimed to allow citizens of other countries to enter at liberty, establish themselves and work in other states under the aegis of the Southern African Development Countries (SADC) (Maunganidze & Formica, 2018). However, the proposal faced strong opposition from SA, Namibia, and Botswana, who did not want to participate in regional integration that could lead to an influx of migrants into their respective countries. As a result, the initial proposal later revised into the Draft Protocol on the Facilitation of Movement of Persons in 2005 was a seemingly pro-African stance in support of regional integration (Lennep, 2019).

However, the protocol is not fully in force. SA supports the bilateral migratory agreements with African Union (AU) and SADC countries (Nshimbi & Fioramonti, 2014; Maunganidze & Formica, 2018). This was partially evident in the 2007 Refugee Amendment Act were SA made changes in the act in support of cross-border traders specifically females, relaxed African students requirement to pay repatriation deposits, and revised migration policy for only skilled labour migration (Segatti, 2011). The 2007 Act aimed for regional emphasis in migration, but the amendment was selective, restrictive, and not a great leap towards addressing the increase in undocumented migrants in SA. The 2008 refuges amendment was a direct response to this trajectory, where SA took a protectionist stance towards it immigration policy. The act enforced control and deterrence of new asylum seeker rights and enforced temporality in response so as to contain the number of Zimbabweans attempting this route (Amit & Kriger, 2014).

Nevertheless, in 2010, SA introduced the dispensation of Zimbabweans project. The project proved SA's commitment to a pro-African stance, securitising migration and addressing the influx in Zimbabwean migrants in SA (Nyakabawu, 2021; Carciotto, 2020). The DZP gave over 275 762 Zimbabweans applicants the opportunity to acquire the proper documents to live and work in SA (Crush & Tawodzera, 2011). Despite efforts by the SA government to take a pro-African stance towards migration policies, the migration policy of 2017 highlights a restrictive approach and an effort to deter migration. According to the Development of Home Affairs (DHA) annual report of 2003 to 2018, each year over 60000 people apply for asylum, and 90% are denied the refugee status. To add to this, the amendments of the 2017 Refugees Amendment Act are exclusionary towards refugees, in particular the lower-class and low-skilled, and re-emphasised securitisation and deterrence of new migrants (Lennep, 2019; Crush & Skinner, 2017). It is evident that post-apartheid South African is trying to manage the influx of African refugee migrants through restrictive migration policies and securitisation of its borders (Ilgit & Klotz, 2014; Hammerstad, 2012; Moyo, 2020).

In current times, South African migration policies retain the aim of deterring low-skilled and low-income undocumented African migrants from illegally migrating to SA (Moyo, 2020). Nonetheless, for Crush and William and McDonald (2002), since the 1990s, migration to SA has become mixed and inclusive of low-skilled, semi-skilled, skilled economic migrants, asylum seekers, and political refugees. SA's thriving economy and liberal democracy have been identified as pull factor for countries within the SADC region and the rest of Africa (Flahaux & De Haas, 2016; Potts, 2010; Kanayo et al., 2019). The Migration Data Portal (2021) points to that fact that SA is the most industrialised economy in the region, with an estimated that 2.9 million migrants living in the SA by mid-2020.

To add to this, due to lack of migration channels and restrictive migration policies, low-skilled and undocumented immigrants from Africa continue to enter the country illegally despite securitised borders in post-apartheid SA (Moyo, 2020; Klaaren & Ramji, 2017). For instance, the DHA 2003-2018 Annual Report notes that in 2018, 15 033 "revolving door" deportations took place. Evidently, African migrants are attempting to reside in SA at any cost, even if this means being deported, and returning illegally. It is apparent that contemporary SA is a prime migration destination in the SADC as well as all over the continent (Segatti, 2011; Nwonwu, 2010).

Consequently, migration into SA has shifted from contractual labour migrants to informal employment of undocumented African migrants across the economy (Gordon, 2010). SA for African migrants is a land of vast economic opportunities (Kihato, 2007). For instance, Fine (2014) and Vanyoro (2019a) state that African migrants are working in low wage of the economy, such as construction, domestic service, and retailing. Hence, Schierup (2016:1057) notes that the post-apartheid migrant population in contemporary SA is characterised by "a composite precarious labour pool is overwhelmingly black, to a considerable degree migrant, and increasingly female". Evidently, patterns and trends of African migration to SA have changed since the end of apartheid, and have been influenced by SA's strong economy, migration policies, and migrants countries of origin.

For example, many African migrants are forced to migrate from their countries of origin due to political instability, bad governance, war, unemployment, and poor service delivery (Rasool, 2012; Adepoju, 2008; De Jager & Musuva, 2016). Furthermore, the existence of transnational networks between SA and migrants home countries facilitates migration to SA (Pophiwa, 2014). Thus, countries such as Zimbabwe, a former breadbasket of Africa, has witnessed an upsurge in emigration as a result of the political and economic instability (Habasonda, 2016).

For this reason, "families of all social classes have increasingly been compelled to send members abroad to ensure basic survival, escape brutal attacks or meet aspirations for accumulation and education" (McGregor, 2007:806). Similarly, other countries such as Congo, Cameroon, Liberia, Rwanda and Sierra Leone have witnessed an increased in the emigration of it citizens to SA due to wars, ethnic conflicts, underdevelopment, poverty, and human rights violations (Angu & Mulu, 2020; Dzvimbo, 2003). Thus, migration to SA is not only a household poverty reduction strategy, but also involves the protection of migrants' human rights, such as article three of the right to life, liberty, and personal security.

Due to the influx of African immigrants, some South African locals are blaming African migrants for their social and economic problems, which has resulted in xenophobic violence and harassment of non-locals (Angu, 2019; Akinola, 2018). These anti-foreign sentiments are also legitimised by politicians and bureaucrats, such as the Zulu king, Goodwill Zwelithini, who instigated the 2008 historical xenophobic violence (Landau & Freemantle, 2010; Pineteh, 2017a). In Gauteng, Zimbabweans immigrants are often blamed for crime and other social ills, making them prime targets of xenophobic violence and harassment (Pineteh, 2017; Landau & Freemantle, 2010).

These particular sentiments are mostly common within informal settlements such as Jeffsville, where xenophobia and xenophobic violence are rampant (Landau, 2019). Xenophobia is a real social problem in SA that deleteriously affects all aspects of the lives of African migrants who relocate there (Solomon & Kosaka, 2013; Ilgit & Klotz, 2014).

Furthermore, African migrants struggle to gain formal employment due to their lack of documents, and more recently, many employers are rejecting foreign job applicants who do not possess an official South African identity document (Amit & Kriger, 2014; Smit & Rugunanan, 2014; Macheka, 2015). As a result, African migrants are unable to access financial credit, proper housing, and sometimes their non-South African qualifications are not recognised by South African employers (Andall, 2018; Musarurwa, 2015; CoRMSA, 2010). According to Tayah (2016) restrictive immigration policies results in deskilling, as well as the risk of exploitation and abuse. Therefore, Dumba and Chirisa (2010); Crush and Williams (2005) note that undocumented migrants in SA are linked to non-payment, low wages, and the informal sector.

The challenges of many African migrants are further exacerbated by deplorable living conditions in some parts of SA such as townships and Johannesburg centre city. According to a study undertaken by Rugunanan and Smit (2011:712) stressed on the challenges faced by refugees in SA:

> the issue of accommodation is a serious matter for most refugees, given the high rentals they are charged and their lack of finance to support themselves. To have some kind of a roof over their heads and be able to pay the often-exorbitant prices charged to foreigners, most of the participants had to rent room space from other refugees or sub-let their flats.

The lack of documentation creates a domino effect to the kind of lifestyle in which African migrants find themselves in SA. Here, literature on migration identifies that African migrants face a plethora of challenges in SA. However, they tend to ignore the fact that African female migrants are part of the migrant population that is highly susceptible to a plethora of challenges than their male counterparts.

For example, Palmary (2017), Gabaccia (2016); Gouws (2010) allude to the fact that feminisation of migration is an important part of international migration and females are redefining gender roles, and making the sole decision to become labour migrants and breadwinners for their families. For Mbiyozo (2018), migration to SA and within the African

continent has been mainly understood as a male phenomenon, regardless of the increase in female migration. Pophiwa (2014) states that women account for 49% of all migrant workers in SA, where women are increasingly migrating and redefining gender roles. Moreover, as previously stated, women are now making the autonomous decision to migrate and meet their own economic needs, rather than migrating as spouses (Adepoju, 2005). This is a significant shift, because prior to 1994 female migration was clandestine, coupled with job segregation, and discrimination in the labour markets (Posel, 2006; Ulicki & Crush, 2000). Independent female migration has become a survival strategy in response to push factors from countries of origins such as poverty (Adepoju, 2004; Mbiyozo, 2018; Makina, 2013; Crush &Chikanda, 2012). From this perspective, one significant aspect of migration to SA which has been neglected by many mainstream studies is the vulnerabilities, and survival mechanisms of transnational female migrants in SA.

For instance, African female migrants are labour migrants in SA who are migrating for survival, and also contributing to SA's economy through their entrepreneurial skills, small businesses, and ability to work in SA's low-wage sectors (Ojong, 2006; Crush & McDonald, 2002). According to the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD)/ International Labour Organisation (ILO) (2018), immigrants contribution to the Gross Domestic Profit (GDP) was estimated to be 9% in 2011, and it was observed that immigration is raising income per capita in SA, while immigrants also make a positive net fiscal contribution. African female migrants are contributing to the South African economy by owning small businesses, and working in key sectors of the economy, such as hospitality industry, hairdressing, domestic work sector, street trading, and the agricultural sector (Ojong, 2006; Baison, 2021). It is apparent that migration to SA offers socio-economic opportunities for African female migrants, who are in search of greener pastures that they are deprived of in their countries of origin.

A particular category of African female migrants that has been equally neglected by literature is the increase in undocumented Zimbabwean female migrants living in SA. Zimbabwean females are migrating to SA as a way of responding to social and economic challenges they encounter in Zimbabwe (Crush & Tawodzera, 2017a; Crush & Chikanda, 2012; Makina, 2012). Therefore, there is a dearth of literature that recognises their participation, as well as vulnerabilities as labour migrants. Regarding their participation in the SA, few studies, such as those of Muzondidya (2010), identify that Zimbabwean women are involved in the micro-business sectors, are entrepreneurs, and heavily involved in informal trading. Nevertheless,

studies such Muzondidya (2010) do not disaggregate the documentation status of these Zimbabwean women. On a broader level, Vanyoro (2019a) states that there is no gender-disaggregated migration data in SA. However, Mbiyozo (2018) notes that African female migrants constituted 44% of the total migrant population in SA, where, even by 2017, the data is not disaggregated into nationalities and documentation status.

According to Ally (2008); Vanyoro (2019a); Muzondidya (2010) many Zimbabwean female migrants in SA are low-skilled and do not meet the critical skills requirement, where as a result, they occupy the informal sectors, such as the migrant domestic worker sector (MDWs), which has been recorded to have nearly one million workers. It is apparent that undocumented Zimbabwean female migrants occupy the informal sector of the economy which makes the susceptible to plethora of challenges owing to their gender, documentation status, and nationality.

According to Hoang and Yeoh (2011); Kiwanuka (2010) and Carling (2005), although female migrants are exercising agency in their decision to migrate, they are still forced to negotiate their interest to migrate in their countries of origin and are often deemed as unworthy migrants in host countries. This means that the decision to migrate puts them in a vulnerable position of losing family ties due to societal structures and the pressure to play the role of dutiful daughters or sacrificial sister (Hoang & Yeoh, 2011; Barber, 2000; Parrenas, 2001). Hence, feminisation of migration is thought to reinforce pre-existing gender inequalities and made female migrants more vulnerable beings (Pessar, 2005; Tittensor & Mansouri, 2017).

Furthermore, Garatidye (2014) and Daimon (2010) note that Zimbabwean females who use the informal channels of crossing the Beitbridge border are at risk of being attacked by "*gumagumas",* the term referring to gangs who rape and rob their victims. Upon arrival in SA, undocumented Zimbabwean female migrants face a plethora of challenges owing to their gender and documentation status (Hlatshwayo, 2019; Smit and Rugunanan, 2014). For instance, Hlatshwayo (2019:161) notes that "undocumented women from Zimbabwe are often victims of different forms of exploitation by employers, sexual violence and rape, and xenophobia." These vulnerabilities also expand to illegal arrest and police harassment (Giorgio et al., 2016; Masuku, 2006).

Scholars such as Kiwanuka (2010) as well as Mulu and Mbanza (2021) state that SA legislation heightens migrant women's vulnerability to gender-based violence, afrophobia, and racial discrimination, in addition to the structural challenges faced by undocumented female

migrants. Solomon (2000) argues that some illegal immigrants, including female migrants, contribute to unlawful squatting, since most 'aliens' arrive in SA destitute, jobless, and homeless. The result is that they find their way to informal settlements. Informal settlements are also known to have extreme levels of crime, violence, poor housing structures, xenophobic attacks, and poor access to service delivery (Landau, 2012; Huq & Miraftab, 2020; Meth, 2017).

As a result, there is a need to rethink approaches to the study of migration in the context of post-apartheid SA. It is against this backdrop that this study seeks to investigate the vulnerabilities and survival mechanisms of undocumented female Zimbabwean migrants living in Jeffsville informal settlement in Pretoria. This informal settlement is therefore the quintessential case study for research of this nature.

1.2 Statement of the Research Problem

According to Rogerson and Visser (2007) as well as Agbobli (2013), SA's transition to democracy coincided with the internationalisation of labour markets and the country's integration into the global economy. Currently, SA is "the main migrant receiving country in the Southern African region and migration to SA is a well-established household poverty reduction strategy" (Black et al., 2006:116). According to Crush and Tevera (2010:1) Zimbabwe's "economy is in free-fall, soaring inflation and unemployment, the collapse of public services, political oppression and deepening of poverty, proved to be powerful, virtually irresistible, push factors for many Zimbabweans." Thus, migrating to SA is a survival strategy for many Zimbabweans. Although Tevera and Zinyama (2002) and Hlatshwayo (2019) argue that the male figure was the typical migrant worker during the 1970s, by the 1980s, females were increasingly migrating for labour. Batisai (2016b) alludes to the fact that Zimbabwe is an archetypical model of emigration of both female and male migrants migrating for economic reasons to alleviate poverty of their families, and children.

Despite the increase in numbers of female migrants in migration flows, female migrants from Zimbabwe have not been given significant attention in many studies on Zimbabwean migrants in SA. This means that in many instances, the unique vulnerabilities and survival mechanisms of these women have not been brought to the limelight in studies on migration. For example, studies such as Crush and Tawodzera (2014) and Munyaneza and Mhlongo (2019) investigated Zimbabwean migrant challenges in accessing the South African public health sector, and

Hungwe (2013), who explored the survival strategies and surviving social exclusion for Zimbabwean migrants. Moreover, Tevera and Zinyama (2002) note that border jumping and illegal entries into SA by migrants from neighbouring countries have substantially increased since the 1980s.

While existing literature acknowledges this increase, the vulnerabilities and survival strategies of female immigrants have been largely neglected. For instance, Dumba and Chirisa (2010) identify the increase in Zimbabwean migrant in Soshanguve extensions 4 and 5, where their research findings were mostly aligned to the male migrants experience and barely mentioned the experiences and vulnerabilities of Zimbabwean female migrants. Mbiyozo (2018) similarly identifies the increase in female migration to SA and the vulnerabilities of African women migrants in SA. The study broadly discussed the vulnerabilities and experiences of 'all African migrants', although in certain instances, Zimbabweans female migrants' experiences were stated.

Furthermore, Mbiyozo (2018) did not identify a specific case study site. This means Zimbabwean female migrants' unique problems, and the ways they deal with these problems, have not been adequately addressed in studies on African migration into SA. There is still a dearth of studies on the vulnerabilities and survival strategies of undocumented and unaccompanied Zimbabwean female migrants in informal settlements. In fact, there are very few empirical studies that have used an intersectional lens to help us understand how different domains of power-gender, race, culture, sexuality and institutions intersect to undocumented female migrants vulnerable (Collins & Bilge, 2020; Collins, 2019). These studies use this frame to analyse the experiences of undocumented Zimbabwean female migrants living in Jeffsville, Pretoria.

This shows that there is limited body of knowledge that focus primarily on undocumented, low income Zimbabwean female migrants' vulnerabilities whilst living in informal settlements where xenophobia is rampant, such as Jeffsville. In addition, the few studies on Zimbabwean female migrants have not used a mainstream gender theory, such as intersectionality, as a lens to understanding the migration experiences of Zimbabwean female migrants in South African informal settlements. There is a need for more research to be done to fully understand the vulnerabilities of undocumented Zimbabwean female migrants living in informal settlements. This study hopes to make an important contribution to existing literature on female labour

migration to SA by investigating the lived experiences of undocumented Zimbabwean female migrants living in volatile situations.

1.3 Research Questions

1.3.1 Main Research Question

1. What are the vulnerabilities and survival mechanisms of undocumented and unaccompanied female migrants living in Jeffsville informal settlement?

1.3.2 Sub Research Questions

2. What are some of the key factors driving Zimbabwean female migration into SA?
3. Why do Zimbabwean female migrants, migrate undocumented?
4. What are the social and economic challenges faced by undocumented and Zimbabwean female migrants living in Jeffsville informal settlements?
5. What are the effects of these challenges on the lives and livelihoods of Zimbabwean female undocumented migrants?
6. How do undocumented Zimbabwean female migrants in Jeffsville exercise their agency as they deal with their social and economic challenges?

1.4 Main Research Objective

The main research objective was to critically explore experiences of vulnerability and survival mechanisms of undocumented Zimbabwe female migrants living in Jeffsville informal settlement.

1.4.1 Research Sub-Objectives

1 To identify the key reasons why female migrants, choose to migrate to SA.

2 To understand why Zimbabwean females, migrate undocumented.

3 To investigate the social and economic challenges faced by Zimbabwean undocumented female migrants living and working in Jeffsville informal settlement.

4 To examine the effects of these challenges on their lives and livelihoods.

5 To understand how undocumented female migrants, exercise their agency as they deal with their social and economic challenges.

6 To use the findings of this study to make recommendations that can hopefully address the vulnerabilities of Zimbabwean female undocumented migrants.

1.5 Significance of the Study

Given the increase in the number of Zimbabwean undocumented female migrants, and the victimisation of African migrants in SA in general, this study aims to contribute to the study of migration through using the concept of intersectionality to understand the experiences of Zimbabwean female migrants. Intersectionality provides a broader space to examine female migratory experiences beyond some of the generalisations about African migrants, which have dominated existing bodies of knowledge on migration. For this researcher, the experiences of undocumented female migrants at some level are unique, and can only be better understood through the intersections of different domains of power (race, gender, sexuality, institutions, class, and culture) in African communities (Collins & Bilge, 2020; Collins, 2019). Furthermore, an intersectional approach in this study provided a platform to interrogate issues of social justice in female migrant communities and allow active stakeholders to focus on solutions informed by the experiences and voices of these women.

Secondly, this study hopes to create awareness and hopefully influence policy through the rich empirical evidence from the findings in this study. This study will uncover the subjective experiences of Zimbabwean female immigrants, who are undocumented and living in Jeffsville informal settlement. It is important to bring the experiences of this migrant community to the fore because many studies have tended to generalise the experiences of Zimbabwean undocumented migrants face in SA. This study moves away from the generalisation and sheds more light on the unique vulnerabilities and survival mechanisms of undocumented Zimbabwean female migrants living in Jeffsville informal settlement.

In addition, there is insufficient literature specifically focusing on Zimbabwean female migrants' vulnerabilities and survival mechanisms living in xenophobia rife informal settlements in SA. This suggests that female migrants in SA face triple discrimination, namely, misogyny, xenophobia, and femicide. To better understand the experiences of Zimbabwean migrants, there is need for research that exclusively explores the vulnerabilities and survival mechanisms of female migrants who are undocumented and unaccompanied living in Jeffsville informal settlement. By investigating Zimbabwean female migrants in Jeffsville, this study hope to bring to the attention of key state actors, policy makers, non-governmental organisations, and other stakeholders the plights of undocumented and unaccompanied Zimbabwean female migrants.

Finally, the recommendations derived from the results of this study can assist in contributing to general literature on female migration in SA. For the researcher, the study will help to uncover critical issues in the field of Zimbabwean female migrants that other researchers were unable to explore through the theoretical lens of transnational network connections, agency and intersectional social categorisations of gender, race, and class.

1.6 Delimitation of the Study

The delimitations of a study determine its focus (Collis and Hussey 2009). This research was limited to the vulnerabilities and survival mechanisms of undocumented Zimbabwean female migrants living in Jeffsville informal settlement, Atteridgeville West, Pretoria. Documented Zimbabwean female migrants, other nationalities of undocumented female migrants and undocumented Zimbabwean female migrants residing in other informal settlements were excluded. Furthermore, due to time constraints and distance, the study only focused on undocumented Zimbabwean female migrants living in Jeffsville informal settlements, Atteridgeville West, Pretoria.

This informal settlement was chosen due to the following reasons. Firstly, Jeffsville has a historical longstanding of foreign-born residents and increase in foreign newcomers over the recent years, which makes the population ideal to the research goals (Monsoon, 2015). Secondly, Jeffsville is the first community that organised xenophobic assaults against migrants and refuges in 2008 and has had other episodes of xenophobia in recent years (Rulashe, 2010). Lastly, informal settlements are characterised by weak housing structure, poor access to service delivery, bad sanitation, and high crime rates (Meth, 2017; Raleigh, 2015).

In this case study, I interviewed sixteen individual semi structured interviews and did two focus group discussions with the participants. The selected participants needed to vary in age group, to broadly reflect the experiences of undocumented Zimbabwean female migrants living in Jeffsville informal settlement.

1.7 Chapter Outline

The rest of this dissertation is organised as follows:

Chapter Two is the literature review. This chapter deals with the literature review of the study. The chapter will provide a conceptual framework to understand the vulnerabilities and survival strategies of undocumented Zimbabwean female migrants, this study will draw on migration

concepts and theories such as transnationalism, social networks, intersectionality, and female agency.

Chapter Three of the study will look at the research design, methodology and ethical considerations undertaken during the study. This study uses a qualitative research design, following three methods, viz.: focus groups, semi structured interviews, and a review of key literature. This section will also discuss the ethical consideration and challenges. Lastly, the chapter also discuss the research techniques adapted by the researcher to collect data.

Chapter Four of the study will provide the research findings resulting from the study. These findings will be presented in the form of themes, sub-themes, and categories. An analysis will also be given in comparison to the literature reviewed in two. Chapter five is a further conclusive analysis of the study and recommendations; this chapter provides a summary of the research report and outlines the overall conclusions drawn and recommendations made resulting from the research.

Chapter Five highlights some of the main findings and implications for lives and livelihoods of Zimbabwean female migrants in SA through the prism of those living in Jeffsville, Pretoria. The chapter also summarises rest of the findings of the study in relation to the objectives. This chapter also covers conclusions and proposes policy implications based on the findings of this study.

1.8 Summary

To conclude, this chapter presented the introduction to the research, background to the study, research problem, research objectives and research questions. It draws from broad literature to produce a research problem on undocumented Zimbabwean female labour migrants in SA. The chapter notes that while challenges faced by undocumented Zimbabwean female labour migrants living in SA are well-documented and recognised. There is a lacuna in literature when it comes to the vulnerabilities and survival mechanisms faced by undocumented Zimbabwean female migrants living and working in SA's informal settlements such as Jeffsville.

The following chapter critically reviews the body of literature transnational migration in the context of SA. It gives a brief historical perspective on African immigration into SA and provide the current trends and patterns of African migration into SA. Furthermore, the chapter discusses the push and pull factors influencing African migration into SA and the challenges facing African migrants in SA. In so doing, it also broadly explores gender and migration in

SA and the emerging themes from studies on African female migrants in SA. The section will further discuss the contributions of female migrants to the SAn economy (formal and informal sector) and the challenges of African female migrants in SA. Chapter Two, will explore immigration of Zimbabwean women into SA in terms of categories, patterns, and trends, highlighting the push and pull factors influencing Zimbabwean female migration into SA and the challenges facing Zimbabwean female migrants in SA. Lastly, Chapter Two provides the conceptual framework. This study framed the transnational networks, intersectionality, and agency concepts to uncover the critical issues related to this study.

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW AND CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

2.1 Introduction

This study sought to investigate the vulnerabilities and survival strategies of undocumented Zimbabwean female migrants in Jeffsville, Pretoria. The first chapter provided background to the project, statement of research problem, research objectives, and research questions. It also outlines the significance of the study and described the scope of the following chapters. This chapter undertakes a critical review of literature, so as to identify existing gaps in studies that predate the current study, and the way in which those gaps have been addressed in this case. This review of literature would help readers to understand why this study is important in the context of Zimbabwe struggling to provide solutions to deepening political and socioeconomic crisis and SA grappling with increasing numbers of refugees and economic migrants. Furthermore, the chapter outlines the conceptual framework for the study, and explains why the framework is a suitable lens for investigating the vulnerabilities of Zimbabwean undocumented female migrants.The chapter is based on the claims that undocumented Zimbabwean female migrants in SA are more likely to be vulnerable when attempting to make ends meet as labour migrants (Sigsworth, 2010; Fine, 2014; Hlatshwayo, 2019). Despite the initiative taken by Zimbabwean female migrants to escape the dire socio-economic conditions in Zimbabwe in search of greener pastures, Zimbabwean female migrants in SA still face barriers to their full socio-economic emancipation in the form of xenophobia, gender based violence, documentation status, exploitation and employment (Hlatshwayo, 2019; Ncube, 2017; Bosniak, 2004; Hiralal, 2017).

To this end, this review of literature first examines existing studies on patterns, trends, and complexities of African immigration into SA. Second, it looks at the challenges faced by African migrants and the politics of belonging in contemporary SA were critically examined and brought to bear on the vulnerabilities of undocumented female migrants. Third, it discusses gender and migration so as to understand the historical trends of gender migration and the evolution of gender migration and how female migrants exercise their agency. Fourth, Zimbabwean migration to SA and the implications on the livelihoods of migrants are analysed. Lastly, it reviews African female migration into SA, with a focus on Zimbabwean undocumented female migrants.

The second part of this chapters aims to understand the vulnerabilities and survival strategies of undocumented Zimbabwean female migrants through the lens of three key migration concepts, viz.: transnational networks, intersectionality, and agency.

2.2 African Immigration into SA - A Brief Historical Perspective

A historical understanding of African labour migration into SA is important to understand the plight of undocumented Zimbabwean female migrants migrating to SA. To begin with, African migration into SA has a long history, which dates back to early labour migration in the contract mines, with the discovery of gold and diamonds on the Witwatersrand (Crush & Tevera, 2010; Harington et al., 2004; Nshimbi & Fioramonti, 2014). The discovery of gold and diamonds, along with industrialisation towards the end of the nineteenth century led to an influx of African migrant labourers from Southern African region to the industrial centres and mining sectors of SA (Trimikliniotis et al., 2008; Harrison & Zack, 2012; Harington et al., 2004). This was due to the demand for cheap labour and also partaking in the South African mining economy was of significance for domestic economies of many countries in the region (Crush, 1992; Harrison & Zack, 2012).

Furthermore, early migration to SA was not simply based on the discovery of the rand. According to Katzenellenbogen (1982:37) "during the 1850s the Tsongas (Shangaana) had been travelling from the 'Delagoa Bay area to Natal to work for wages, and in the 1860s Mozambicans (from the Gaza, Inhambane and Lourenco Marques districts) worked as seasonal workers on farms in the Western Cape". An interesting point of reference is that that migration during this period was largely centred on the male figure of the households. The men participated in wage labour as a way of improving their social standing within the web of kinship relations and, send remittances, to earn wages for bride wealth and consumer goods (Turrell & Vicat, 1987; Bennett, 2014; Posel, 2006). Hence, female migrants had less autonomy, stayed at home to raise the kids, and were part of the commodities that male migrants purchased after participating in wage labour (Leliveld, 1997; Mbiyozo, 2018; Gouws, 2010). This was also due to the apartheid regime's migrants influx control laws specifically excluded women as labour immigrants to SA (Camlin et al., 2014). For this reason, female migrants were not part of early wage labour migration, due to structural and societal limitations.

Second, African migration to SA during the period of 1920-1990 was dominated by countries from the SADC region, whose citizens went to work in the South African mines and was also restricted to whites (Crush, 1999; Handmaker, 2010). In the case of African labour migrants,

Crush (1999) notes there were three types of supply countries, viz. long-standing supply countries, such as Mozambique, Botswana, Lesotho, and Swaziland; episodic supply countries such as Malawi and Zimbabwe; and occasional supply countries such as Zambia, Tanzania, and Angola. However, African labour migrants was considered to undertake a form of oscillatory migration. Oscillatory migration was a result of the "SAn government denying them permanent rights to work or take up residence in SA, regardless of the overall length of their employment under succeeding contracts, or their established familial connections or social ties" (Wentzel & Tlabela, 2006:76).

For example, the apartheid regime policies during this period were strict on prohibiting African migrants to permanently settle in SA. This was evident in the native (Urban Areas) Act (Act 21 of 1923) and the Native (Urban Areas) Consolidation Act (Act 25 of 1945). Crush and Tawodzera (2014) state that the apartheid regime migration policies were designed to manage migration polices, exploit cheap labour, and eventually dump this back when no longer needed. Evidently, exploitation of cheap labour is a common feature of SA that date back to the apartheid regime. For instance, Zimbabwe was a prime case of clandestine migration, where clandestine migration took place from Zimbabwe to SA, which resulted in the SAn and Rhodesian government entering into a formalised agreement for the immigration of wage labour migrants (Wentzel & Tlabela, 2006; Maharaj, 2002; Paton, 1995). Evidently, SA has always been a prime destination for wage labour migrants, but the apartheid regime had a restrictive approach towards wage labour migrants' permanent rights to take up residence (Posel, 2006; Barchiesi, 2011). Thus, the implications of these restrictive policies have been oscillatory migration from Zimbabwean wage labour migrants.

Third, as a result of the restrictive migration policies during the apartheid years, and no physical borders, SA received both undocumented and documented labour migrants during apartheid. According to Amit and Kriger (2014:270), during apartheid years, SA did not have a refugee policy, but Mozambicans who fled from "civil war were allowed to live without formal legal status in the homelands areas". To add to this, it was noted that Aliens Control Act of 1991 was largely applied to white migrants, while black migrants were permitted to enter SA through bilateral labour agreements (Crush 1999; Amit & Kriger 2014; Fine, 2014). However, Crush and Tshitereke (2001:50) contend that the apartheid regime "never qualified a single miner for permanent residence". To add to this, Fine (2014) alludes to the fact that because of no official borders during the 1960s migrants from neighbouring countries between SA such as Swaziland, Lesotho, and Botswana worked in agriculture, domestic services, and manufacturing.

Evidently, the lack of a border was also a cause of the undocumented status of other migrants. Moreover, SA's migration policies have long denied foreigners legal status to reside in SA since the apartheid years and has also had blurred policies that culminated in some African migrants becoming undocumented refugees in SA (Amit & Kriger, 2014; Fine, 2014).

Due to the migration policies that exclusively applied to white migrants and were restrictive towards black migrants, it was inevitable that the latter was doomed to be vulnerable, both at work and place of residence. According to Segatti (2011), Klaaren and Ramji (2017), and Crush (1999) racism was part of the working environment largely based on the 'two gate system', a gate for Western European white people, and another confined to black people who were deemed undesirable. For the undocumented migrants working in the informal system, the regime is stated to have subjected them "to work in labour starved sectors" (Crush & McDonald, 2001:3). It is apparent that black, low-skilled African migrants have been unwanted, and have had to endure ill-treatment and exploitation in SA from the apartheid regime.

Lastly, during apartheid, women were also actively migrating to SA, although they were undocumented. According to Wentzel and Tlabela (2006:79) "the South African recruiting organisations could officially recruit males in the Southern African region, but the official recruiting of females was not allowed." Evidently, discriminatory gender policies prohibited African female labour migrants from participating in SA as wage labour migrants. According to Crush (1997), Tswana women were considered to be some of the early clandestine female migrants who migrated to SA for economic reasons.

It is apparent that female immigration into SA was active, although invisible, largely due to South African recruiting organisations prohibited the hiring of female migrants, according to sexiest and raciest policies (Adjai & Lazaridis, 2013; Isike, 2017; Camlin et al., 2013). For this reason, African female migrants were deemed to be invisible, but were silently redefining gender roles since the early years of apartheid (Lee, 2009; Crush, 1999; Posel, 2006; Isike, 2017). It is against this backdrop that this study sought to investigate the experiences of the present-day female migrants, who are undocumented and migrate to SA for economic reasons.

2.2.1 Current Trends and Patterns of African Migration into SA

The end of apartheid and the new government of SA aimed to get rid of the remnants of the 1991 Aliens Control Act that were exclusionary towards blacks (Adjai & Lazaridis, 2013;

Crush & Tawodzera, 2011). As an attempt to be part of this regional integration, SA became part of the SADC, which proposed in 1995 free regional movement for SADC citizens, and the abolition of borders (Nshimbi & Fioramonti, 2014; Nkuna, 2019). However, SA, amongst others, opposed this protocol, as noted below:

> SADC Secretariat redrafted and accommodated the concerns SADC governments had raised over the 1995 Protocol. Governments approved the redrafted version named the 2005 Draft Protocol on the Facilitation of Movement of Persons in SADC. The Facilitation Protocol progressively eliminates obstacles to the movement of SADC citizens within the territories of member states. It provides SADC citizens visa-free entry into second SADC countries, for lawful purposes and for a maximum period of three months, and in keeping with the laws of the member state they are entering SADC (Nshimbi & Fioramonti, 2014:56).

As previously stated the draft protocol of 2005, however, this is still not fully in force, and post-apartheid migration policies aim to encourage regional integration and at the same time serve the interests of its people (Klotz & Ilgit, 2014; Maunganidze & Formica, 2018; Nshimbi & Fioramonti, 2014). For example, post-apartheid migration policies of the years 2007, 2008, 2010 and 2017 have been said to be taking the approach of skilled based migration policy of new migrants, as well as securitisation of borders (Lennep, 2019; Moyo, 2020; Crush & Tawodzera, 2011; Ilgit & Klotz, 2014). Consequently, post-apartheid migration polices have resulted in an influx of undocumented, low-income, and refugee migrants (Hammerstad, 2012; Nkuna, 2019). Thus, there is need to address the challenges of this new category of migrants and survival mechanisms living in SA, whose policies are exclusionary and discriminating towards them.

There has been in a shift of race and labour skills of migrants since the end of Apartheid. According to Peberdy (2016) and Tawodzera and Crush (2011), contemporary SA has detached itself from racist policies of the apartheid regime and introduced new forms of labour migration. Post-apartheid SA has witnessed an increase in both undocumented and documented African migrants, due to the prospects of a booming economy in a democratic country (Adepoju, 2004; Crush & McDonald, 2002; Mlambo, 2019; Adjai & Lazaridis, 2013). To add to this, porous borders and globalisation have significantly contributed to the influx of undocumented migrants in SA (Maharaj, 2002; Landau, 2012). This is because majority of the

illegal entries into SA occur at the Beitbridge border post, which spans the Limpopo River (Landau, 2019; Daimon, 2010).

Furthermore, Statistics SA's 2011 census, "6.2 million foreigners live in SA, and the organisation's 2015 estimate places the number of undocumented migrants between 1 200 000 and 1 500 000 undocumented migrants." New nationalities have flocked in from West Africa, Nigeria, and Ghana, occupying the highly skilled professional sectors such as university staff. Senegal and Mali came to occupy the informal sector, such as vendors and small traders (Bouillon, 1996). Economic refugees are also part of the undocumented migrants in post-apartheid SA. According to Harris (1995:119) "worker migrants are viewed a people in flight from poverty, and those seeking asylum are all too often regarded as 'economic migrants', who are really also fleeing poverty". Consequently, migration patterns and trends to SA have changed, because for African migrants, migration to SA has become a survival mechanism by means of which to escape poverty. More significantly, post-apartheid migration to SA have shifted from contract-based labour wage to informal wage labour, similarly characterised by precarity (Gordon, 2010; Bezuidenhout & Fakier, 2006; Schierup, 2016).

Another interesting point to note is the increase in African female wage labour migrants from other African countries. According to Ojong (2006); Baison (2021) and Mbiyozo (2018), African female migrants occupy 44% of SA's population in 2017 and are also participating in post-apartheid economy and in sectors such as domestic work, hairdressing, and street trading. This is a major shift in trend from the apartheid regime. Although scholars such as Dodson (2001), Vanyoro (2019a) have noted the discriminatory conditions and lack of security for female migrants manifest in formal migration policies.

Consequently these changes in migration patterns and trends has been common hatred for foreigners, especially illegal migrants, who occupy the bottom ends of the societal classes in South African citizens (Warner et al., 2003; Everatt, 2011; Solomon & Kosaka, 2013). There have been allegations that illegal immigrants "are involved in criminal activities: infiltrating the cities, townships, and squatter camps and taking away jobs from locals" (Adepoju, 2003:9). This is because, since the end of apartheid, illegal migration from neighbouring countries has become a major challenge in contemporary SA, due to SA's economic agendas, such as poverty alleviation for its citizens (Landau, 2005; Valji, 2003; Pineteh, 2017). Significantly, from the "11 to 21 May 2008, Gauteng Province witnessed two weeks of sustained violence against foreigners, leaving 62 dead, 22 of whom were South African, and 150,000 immigrants

displaced" (CORMSA, 2008:7). Evidently African migrants in SA are not welcomed in contemporary SA and are at risk of losing their lives (Steenkamp, 2009; Siziba, 2014; Dodson, 2001; Munyaneza and Mhlongo, 2019; Sigsworth et al., 2008). This has resulted in extreme xenophobic attacks directed towards other Africans, where those that are undocumented face victimisation and extortion by the police (Klaaren & Ramji, 2017; Landau et al., 2005; Mutambara & Naidu, 2021; Masuku, 2006).

2.2.2 Push and Pull Factors Influencing African Migration into SA

SA, since the end of apartheid rule, has been attractive destination for many, migrants from across Africa. There are a vast number of push and pull factors that lead Africans to migrate into SA. In broader terms, the desire for better lives and opportunities has been the leading cause for millions of Africans to move away from their countries of origin (Kanayo et al., 2019). The determinants that cause people to leave their home countries are called "push factors"; while those that attract them to a particular destination are called "pull factors" (Harris, 1995).

Firstly, push factors from countries of origins are forcing many Africans to emigrate. For example, some of these factors include bad governance, poor quality of education, unemployment, conflict, poor health care services, and waste of resources (Harris, 1995). Bad governance, corruption, and unemployment are determining factors. For example, the protracted economic and political crisis in Zimbabwe has led to an influx of emigrants (Crush & Tevera, 2010). Migration from Zimbabwe began around 2004/5, triggered by the campaign Operation Murambatsvina, which distracted a lot of homes and livelihoods (Potts, 2010; Vambe, 2008; Pophiwa, 2014). By 2005, the Zimbabwean economy was spiralling deeper into crisis (Crush, 2015). To add to this, unemployment was over 80%, and the inflation rate soared, which resulted in a lot of Zimbabweans losing their savings and unable to survive (Hanke, 2008; Hanke and Kwok, 2009). Thus, a vast number of desperate Zimbabweans were pushed to cross the border into SA.

Similarly, in the case of eastern region of Congo violent conflicts, underdevelopment, poverty, political instability, and corruption forced hundreds of thousands of Congolese to migrate and settle in SA (Dinbabo & Carciotto, 2015; Paddon & Lacaille, 2011).To add on, the migration of Africans, especially from the francophone Sub-Saharan region to SA, has been triggered by political instability in countries such as Cameroon, which resulted in the collapse of political systems. This led to a protracted period of economic crisis, which affected household incomes

severely, and has led to an influx of emigrants (Pineteh, 2010/2011; Posel, 2006). Thus, violent conflict has displaced millions of Africans due to heightened poverty levels, fear of persecution and insecurity (Paddon & Lacaille, 2011). Furthermore, existing literature alludes to the fact that major cause of migration, especially among African countries to SA, is a result of human rights violation wars and ethnic conflict (Kanayo et al., 2019). Dzvimbo (2003) further identifies other cases such as the cases of Liberia, Rwanda, and Sierra Leone, which have witnessed an influx of emigration of it citizens due to wars, ethnic conflicts, and human rights violations, to find refuge in other countries such as SA. Therefore, in the case of female migrants, feminisation of migration is not only about gaining agency for self-emancipation, but also about securing themselves from the vulnerabilities endured in countries of origin (Mutambara & Naidu, 2021; Mbiyozo, 2018)

Education is another determining pull factor for immigration to SA. In a study by Kanayo et al. (2019), the absence of certain programmes and lack of confidence in the educational system in countries of origin push migration to countries such as SA. Education-based pull factors for migration to SA include:

> that certificates obtained in SA are internationally recognised; tuition in SAn institutions are cheaper than in European countries; SA has the best universities in Africa and the equipment needed for field work; it is relatively easy to get a visa to SA and for some other French-speaking countries such as Cameroon educating in SA gives migrants the opportunity to learn English (Kanayo et al., 2019:241).

However, the implications are not always the same for all genders, for example Chow et al. (2011:7) in a study on female migrants, note that…

> owing to favouritisms toward sons, daughters often received less education and therefore had fewer personal resources on which to draw in seeking employment yet felt more obligations to remain in the city and send remittances home.

As a result, female migrants who fail to access SA's education system end up migrating illegally through informal channels such as *malayitsha's* and work in the informal economies of SA (Moyo, 2020; Thebe, 2011; Crush & Williams, 2005; Thoka & Geyer, 2019).

Dinbabo (2015) notes regarding the pull factors for African migrants to SA that, although SA has a high local unemployment rate, it is nonetheless comparatively lower than that of most of the migrants countries of origin. In addition, Rogerson (2015) observes that SA's economy has

the biggest absorption capacity for urban labour migration in relation to any other African economy. Thus, the main 'pull' factors for skilled foreign workers in SA's labour market consist of a retirement packages, increased career choices, and a better salary (Du Plessis, 2009; Rogerson & Visser, 2007). This shows that SA's employment sector offers a lucrative package, especially for documented migrants. However, the gaps in these studies are that they do not pay attention to the issues of gender and/or female transnational mobility, the pull and push factors that result in an influx of undocumented African female migrants.

Lastly, in terms of pull factors, the increase in the level South African government expenditure on health services results in a number of foreign nationals attracted to the country (Dinbabo, 2015). According to MacPherson and Gushulak (2001), international migration to SA benefits refugees and asylum seekers, due to a healthcare policy that is inclusive of all. Therefore, free health services attract immigrants to SA, since they are deprived of such in their countries of origin (Dinbabo & Nyasulu, 2015; Oosthuizen & Naidoo, 2004). This shows that well-funded public health facilities are a 'pull' factor for immigrants.

2.2.3 The Challenges Facing African Migrants in SA

Many post-apartheid African migrants in SA are asylum-seekers and undocumented migrants, where refugees and scholars have contended that there is a link between immigration status and human rights (Crush, 2008; Basok & Ilcan, 2006; Andall, 2018). As a result, although Africans are increasingly migrating to SA, they are doomed to experiences a plethora of challenges, such as poor living and working conditions, xenophobia, exploitation, and abuse (Ndinda & Ndhlovu, 2016; Meth, 2017; Andall, 2018; El-Mikawy, 1999). Thus, the section to follow will broadly discuss the challenges African migrants face in SA.

Firstly, exploitation by employers and abuse are common challenges (Smit & Rugunanan, 2014; Tayah, 2016; Ncube, 2017). As the Global Commission for International Migration observed in its final report:

> In some parts of the world, certain sectors of the economy, including agriculture, construction… have come to rely to a significant extent on migrants with irregular status, who are prepared to work in difficult, dangerous and dirty jobs with little security and low wages (2005:36).

According to Bloch (2008), African migrants migrate to SA illegally, due to the vast employment opportunities in the informal sector for undocumented migrants, and the cost of

acquiring a passport. Furthermore, Dumba and Chirisa (2010) contend that undocumented workers in SA experience exploitation and non-payment. Therefore, although many Zimbabweans manage to get illegally employed, their vulnerabilities and challenges are intensified as they fear deportation were, they to fight for their rights (Basok& Ilcan, 2006; Andall, 2018). This is all the worse for female migrants, who a more vulnerable than their male counterparts in SA, owing to the greater limitations on their job opportunities (Thoka & Geyer, 2019). For example, scholars such as Bloch (2010); Mbiyozo (2018); Collins and Bilge (2020), who state that African female migrants in particular undocumented female migrants end up doing precarious work, due to failed employed and exploitation.

Secondly, research has noted the extreme xenophobia that African migrants face in SA. Xenophobia is causally linked to the association between increases in 'illegal immigration' and other social and economic problems faced among South Africans (Posel, 2006; Angu, 2019). In addition, Casale and Posel (2002) argues that xenophobia against African nationals results from unemployment and a saturated formal economy.

Furthermore, there is a dominant view that African foreign nationals have adverse economic and social implications for SA (Posel, 2006). South African locals and leaders target African migrants as scapegoats to their ongoing socio-economic problems. A distinguishing characteristic of the post-apartheid labour market, therefore, has been remarkably high and rising rates of joblessness (Oosthuizen & Naidoo, 2004). Under these circumstances, immigrants are easy targets to blame for growing unemployment in the country (Posel, 2006; Pineteh, 2017a; Ilgit & Klotz, 2014).

In the same vein, Matsinhe (2011) and Mbembe (2015) state that the initiators of xenophobic episodes have targeted mostly African foreign nationals, and this has resulted in xenophobia being labeled as "Afrophobia", or what Achille Mbembe calls "black-on-black racism". Crush (2008) concurs with Mbembe (2015) that black African migrants are treated differently from Europe and North Americans. To add to this, Zimbabweans are some of the less welcomed migrants, whilst Nigerians are some of the least welcome (Crush, 2008). Xenophobia therefore poses a real challenge to African migrants in SA.

This is because South Africans also believe that most foreign nationals are undocumented and believe that they should be denied basic rights (Crush, 2008). According to Dumba and Chirisa (2010) and Raleigh (2015), segregation of African migrants by locals often occurs in informal settlements such as Soshanguve, where most low-income foreign national live and work.

Several scholars have argued that informal settlements have become the new refugee centers for many undocumented African migrants. To add to this, as previously stated, informal settlements are also known to have high crime rates, violence, and poor standards of living (Dumba & Chirisa, 2010; Landau, 2019).

For instance, the 2008 xenophobic violence took place predominantly within informal settlements of SA such as Alexandra (Ndinda & Ndhlovu, 2016). Xenophobia has been widely associated with male migrants to the country. However, scholars such as Sigsworth et al. (2008) note that African female migrants in SA are indeed also susceptible to xenophobia, because of their visible traditional wear and other markers of their culture. Thus, African female migrants can be considered easily identifiable victims to the perpetrators of xenophobia. At present there remains a dearth of literature and gender disaggregated data on the lived experiences of migrants during xenophobic episodes.

Furthermore, other scholars have argued that xenophobia has also become institutionalised in contemporary SA in the form of medical xenophobia by healthcare professionals in public hospitals (Mhlongo and Munyaneza, 2019). For instance, Crush and Tawodzera (2014) contend that undocumented Zimbabwean migrants are a category that faces a plethora of challenges in accessing medical treatment in SA, because they are often asked to reveal the legal documents before getting access to treatment. According to Crush and Tawodzera (2014:662)

> In SA, migrants seeking treatment are categorised and triaged, not on the basis of their health status, but their race, language, and national origins. 'Foreignness' becomes an indispensable element of the snap judgement and can lead to lengthy wait times before being seen.

This is a major challenge that African national face in contemporary SA. Furthermore, African female refugees in SA are more vulnerable potential victims of xenophobia because they require antenatal care, birth delivery assistance / facilities, and other medical assistance based on the precarity of their livelihoods (Mazars et al., 2013).

Lastly, owing to the fact that African refuges are undocumented, they cannot access formal work and proper housing, and as a result end up living in extreme conditions (Idemudia et al., 2013; Smit & Rugunanan, 2011; Huq & Miraftab, 2020). For example, Landau (2012) states that the refugees are denied essential social services, protection from the law enforcement agents, and identity documents. As a result, they end up seeking accommodation in informal

settlements, where they are charged exorbitant rents for small spaces (Ndinda & Ndhlovu, 2016; Smit & Rugunanan, 2011). To add to this, Meth (2017) and Raleigh (2015) note that informal settlements are characterised by violence, high crime rates, poor housing structure, and poor access to services. As a result, undocumented female migrants amongst other undocumented African refugees, become victims of all these circumstances, alongside pervasive xenophobia. This is because attacks mainly occur in informal settlements, where a significant proportion of the population is undocumented female migrants, against whom anti-foreigners sentiments are rife (Ndinda & Ndhlovu, 2016; Sigsworth et al., 2008; Moagi et al., 2018).

2.3 Gender and Migration in SA

The study of gender and migration is a fundamental in also understanding the plight of female labour migrants, who are often seen as invisible migrants or the gender that moves at an accord of the male figure (Gouws, 2010; Mbiyozo, 2018; Farley, 2019). This is because the traditional pattern of cross-border migration in the Southern African region has focused on labour migration of black males to SA from other Southern African countries (Cornelissen, 2009; Groenmeyer, n.d.; Pophiwa, 2014). Although several other scholars have tried to consider the gender aspect of migration, very few have explored the experiences of female labour migrants without attaching them to the male figure or being the gender that is left behind. According to Brown (1983), even when gender has been the primary research focus, it normally discusses the impact of male labour migration on women left behind. It is against this backdrop this study saw the need to explicitly explore the experiences of female migration to SA, as well as taking into account that female migration to SA from neighbouring countries has drastically increased since 1994 (Pophiwa, 2014; Mbiyozo, 2018).

Firstly, the concept of feminisation of migration is increasingly gaining momentum in migration studies. The ‘feminisation of migration’ refers to an overall rise in the number of women migrants (Pophiwa, 2014). Migration experiences are indeed gendered, and that gender is at the core of each individual’s narrative as a migrant. According to O’Neil et al. (2016), women are often compelled to migrate for different ‘push’ and ‘pull’ factors than men. Thus, Mbiyozo (2018) identifies gendered perspective to be critical in understanding and responding to migration. For example, female migration experiences are different from those of men and involve greater exposure to multiple risks (Mbiyozo, 2018; Dastile, 2013; Hiralal, 2017). Female migrants are at a greater risk of exploitation and abuse, including trafficking, and are

more likely to work in less regulated and less visible sectors (Mbiyozo, 2018; Batisai, 2016b; Manjowo, 2019). Moreover for "undocumented female migrants often suffer pervasive violations, xenophobia, racism and patriarchy intersect and expose African women migrants to 'triple' discrimination" (Mbiyozo, 2018:3). Thus, although there is as substantive increase in female migration in particular SA, there is evidence that female migrants are highly vulnerable to a variety of factors, which in turn makes it pivotal to adopt a gendered approach to migration.

Secondly, although female migration has largely been associated with the vulnerabilities of female migrants, it should be noted that the migration of female migrants ought not to be widely associated with the suffering of female migrants. Contemporary research has focused on the suffering of women without men, or the destructive impact of male labour on family life (Ulicki & Crush, 2000). Historically, females have had less autonomy over migration choices. Recently, more are migrating independently for work, education, and as heads of households to meet their own or their families' economic needs (Mbiyozo, 2018; Dodson, 2000; Gouws, 2010). It is against this backdrop that this study saw the need to address migration through the gendered lens, so as to not only view labour migration of female migrants as a dire experience, but to also understand their victories.

For instance, Ojong (2012) notes that female migrants are part of the transnational process of migration, and challenge transnational gender hegemonies within the South African context. Ojong (2012) and Smit and Rugunanan (2015) note that a number of independent African professionals are migrating to SA in pursuit of tertiary education and employment, where their experience and education has positively positioned them to access skilled employment and resources, and where they are able to provide some form of financial assistance. Female migrants are therefore not only victims in the feminisation of migration process, but also victorious, to some degree, in their pursuit of becoming socially and economically emancipated. Nonetheless, female migrants are also likely to perform unskilled and undervalued work, including the domestic, care, and agriculture sectors. This work is historically undervalued and unprotected (Mbiyozo, 2018; Gaitskell et al., 1983; Andall, 2018; Crush & Williams, 2005).

Additionally, females often experience disparate 'deskilling', where they do work that is not aligned with their skills or qualifications (Collins & Bilge, 2020; Lee & Piper, 2013). They also often fall into work that is in high demand but is not highly valued and poorly regulated, regardless of their skills. The labour market is highly segmented by gender, class, and ethnicity,

including for migrants (Crush & Skinner, 2017; Nyamnjoh, 2006; Tsuda, 2010). Furthermore, evidence shows that women migrants are less likely to be employed than men. Others engage in precarious informal self-employment, including hair braiding, or crafts (Smit & Rugunanan, 2014; Vanyoro, 2019a; Ojong et al., 2021). Thus, because of the characteristics of informal sector employment, poverty increases, income is lower, and women are forced to work longer hours (Thoka & Geyer, 2019; Tayah, 2016; Ncube, 2017). Thus, it is pivotal to explore the experiences of female migrants, especially those implicated in the most vulnerable social classes and economic structures.

Lastly, gender and migration are fundamental, because the SA government does not have adequate data on this phenomenon. Thus, without the necessary data, it is difficult to address the vulnerabilities and understand the plight of female migrants. There is a need for more extensive research to be done on the increase of female migrants in SA. According to Mbiyozo (2018:8):

> …gender disaggregated migration data in SA is mostly unavailable. The scale and complexity make for incomplete and inconsistent migration data overall, but there is a particular dearth of gendered information. However, it is clear that a growing rate and number of women are migrating to SA.

Thus, the mere fact that the government is not aware of who exactly is crossing over into and taking up residence in SA creates practical disconnections when it comes to addressing socio-economic challenges faced by migrants. This is only exacerbated by the creation of poorly informed policies.

2.3.1 Emerging Themes from Studies on African Female Migrants in SA

There is evidence that women are increasingly migrating to SA. The increase in female migration to SA has also seen significant themes from studies on African female migrants in SA. These themes are emerging because there is gendered reconfiguration of traditional migrant streams (Crush & McDonald, 2000; Groenmeyer, n.d.; Cornelissen, 2009; Olivier, 2011). Females are making up a growing proportion of the African migrant population crossing into SA, particularly from neighbouring countries (Pophiwa, 2014; Mbiyozo, 2018; Gouws, 2010). According to Crush and Chikanda (2015); Ally (2008) and Muzondidya (2010), in the case of SA, the closing of industries that used to employ men in large numbers and the opening of precarious jobs for women has resulted in an increase in female migration. Palmary (2017),

Mbiyozo (2018) and Farley (2019) term this the 'feminisation of migration' and the 'feminisation of work'. The evolution in female migration and participation in the labour markets is significant in this study to understand their achievements and vulnerabilities of African female migrants in SA.

The first emerging theme is that African female migrants in SA are often considered to be in precarious position in relation to the kind of job and also in accessing social security (Olivier, 2011; Smit & Rugunanan, 2014; Hlatshwayo, 2019). To add to this, these female migrants are part of precarious labour pool, which is overwhelmingly black, to a considerable degree migrant, and increasingly female (Schierup, 2016). This is because "failure to access the formal labour market has forced refugees and asylum seekers into the informal labour market" (Smit & Rugunanan, 2014:6). For instance, Hlatshwayo (2019:161) states in the case of Zimbabwean women migrant workers in Johannesburg that

> Unlike some of the female migrants who work as better paid professionals in SA and other parts of the world, these women can be regarded as precarious workers employed as domestic workers, cashiers, waitresses and child minders, and earning low wages, having no job security or benefits like medical aid and pension funds.

Therefore, the informal sector results in the female migrants being vulnerable to exploitation, discrimination, and abuse (Hlatshwayo, 2019; Muzondidya, 2010; Magidimisha, 2018). To add to this, in the case of female migrants working in the care giving and domestic work, it has been widely reported that employer violate their rights (Smit & Rugunanan, 2014; Vanyoro, 2019). Furthermore, other studies have noted that patriarchal structures are still reinforced for female migrants working in SA. This is because female migrants are working in feminised labour, such as care and domestic work, which reinforces patriarchal structures (Dodson, 2018; Vanyoro, 2019a, Camlin et al., 2014). As a result, female migrants do not reach their full social and economic emancipation, due to societal and cultural structural limitations. Therefore, this study aimed to bring to the fore the challenges that hinder the emancipation of female migrants.

Secondly, the feminisation of poverty is another emerging theme for African female migrants living in SA. In a study by Smit and Rugunanan (2014:12), respondents noted experiencing a "grim financial situation." The "grim" financial situation can be attributed to exploitation, lack of job opportunities for females in comparison to that of males, and substandard wages (El-Mikawy, 1999; Thoka & Geyer, 2019; Ncube, 2017). To add to this, Humera and Ambreen (2017; Dodson, 2001) note that South African policies are gender blind, and fail to protect

females, where as a consequence, they survive with limited economic opportunities. Limited economic opportunities result in female migrants staying in abusive relationships (Hiralal, 2017). Mulu and Mbanza (2021:32) concur, stating further that "refugee and asylum-seeking women in SA experience gender-based violence". Therefore, female migrants are indeed experiencing feminisation of poverty, owing to plethora of factors that stem from their gender and documentation status in SA. Nonetheless, few studies have addressed this phenomenon. Hence, this study aimed to highlight issues of feminisation of poverty amongst undocumented Zimbabwean female migrants.

Deskilling is another theme, where for example, female migrants in SA such as Zimbabwean migrant women work in low-skilled and low-paying jobs, although they might possess tertiary and secondary education qualifications (Tayah, 2016). According to Ncube (2017) and Dodson (2001), this is attributed to the non-recognition of their foreign qualifications, and SA's gender blind polices. Thus, some female migrants are working in the informal economy of SA, undertaking precarious jobs due to deskilling. It is against this backdrop that this study aimed to investigate whether undocumented Zimbabwean female migrants living in Jeffsville experienced deskilling.

2.3.2 Contributions of Female Migrants to SA Economy (Formal and Informal Sector)

Female contribution to SA's economy ought to be researched, due to the fact that much has been written about African men and their entrepreneurial activities in SA and little on female migrants (Crush, 2017; Nyamnjoh, 2006). Furthermore, African female migrants actively migrate to SA for wage labour as low-skilled, semi-skilled and highly skilled migrants (Olivier, 2011; Smit &Rugunanan, 2014; Ojong, 2006, 2012). This means that their role in the active economy in SA is being overlooked. Although the literature recognises the challenges and precarious nature of jobs occupied by female migrants, it is necessary to point out that female migrants are still contributing to the South African economy, in spite of the unfair labour practices and policies documented.

According to the World Bank (2019), Africa has the highest rate of entrepreneurship, and females account for most of the entrepreneurs. Entrepreneurship is causally linked with job creation (Peberdy, 2016). For instance, African female migrants in SA are also business owners of small businesses, provide skills transfer, care giving, and ability to do work in precarious sectors (Ojong, 2006; Vanyoro, 2019a; Smit & Rugunanan, 2014; Ojong et al., 2021). For instance, Ojong (2006) notes that Ghanaian female migrants also contribute SA's economy by

creating employment and skills transfer, especially in the case of Ghanaians hairdressers. Another way in which South Africans benefit from the activities of female migrant entrepreneurs is through their purchasing behaviour. According to Peberdy (2016:31), "almost one-third of the entrepreneurs use at least two sources for supplies for their businesses, while others use up to five different kinds of outlets." For example, Muzondidya (2010) states that Zimbabwean and Somalian female migrants are independent traders in SA. In addition to this, female migrants constitute 73.4% of domestic workers in the country. This particularly important because domestic workers allow for dual income households (Albin & Mantouvalou, 2012).

Furthermore, women are replacing men as the foreign employees of choice in some low-wage sectors of the South African economy, such as agriculture (Ulicki & Crush 2002). This is because undocumented female migrants, in comparison to men, are often preferred as a more docile labour force (Johnston, 2007). For example, the deepening search for cheaper labour is evident in the use of female farmworkers from Lesotho (Ulicki & Crush, 2002). Similarly, Durban has recently emerged as a major destination point for job seekers from other countries in Africa, due to the perception of readily available employment (Maharaj & Moodley, 2002). Thus, African female migrants not only innervate SA with entrepreneurial skill, but they are taken up as cheap labour in other sectors of the economy, such as agriculture.

Lastly, female migrants also actively contribute to the formal economies of SA. Ojong (2012: 209) notes that "female migrants are migrating to SA as independent professionals for tertiary education and employment opportunities". For instance, Zimbabwean professional women have joined the formal sector of SA's education as teachers (Zvisinei and Juliet, 2018; Ranga, 2015). Wojczewski (2015) states that skilled female nurses, physicians, and doctors, are originating from all over Africa and working in SA. Thus, the OECD/ILO (2018) notes these migrants contribute to the income per capita and have a positive impact on the government's fiscal balance, because migrants tend to pay taxes. To this end, this study aimed to fill in the gap in the literature on the different ways in which African female migrants contribute to the South African economy.

2.3.3 Challenges Female Migrants Face in SA Versus Zimbabwean Female Migrants

As previously stated, there has been an increase in independent migration by females to SA as wage labour migrants, who are responding to the dire social and economic conditions in their countries of origin (Pophiwa, 2014; Mbiyozo, 2018; Adepoju, 2005). African female migrants

in SA are trying to make ends meet in SA, while facing a plethora of social and economic challenges, such as gender-based violence, exploitation, and unemployment, xenophobia/medical xenophobia, and a language barrier (Sigsworth et al., 2008; Crush & Tawodzera, 2014; Masuku, 2006; Siziba, 2014; Kiwanuka, 2010). African female migrants reportedly experience challenges from the time they first step foot on South African soil (Daimon, 2010; Smit & Rugunanan, 2014; Moyo, 2020).

To begin with, upon arrival in SA, African migrants are harassed by "border officials, including immigration officials, the police and army" (Nshimbi & Moyo, 2019:309). This is particularly dangerous for female migrants, who attempt to illegally cross the Beitbridge border post and become potential victims of rape, theft, and extortion by South African officials (Daimon, 2010; Garatidye, 2014). Furthermore, Mbiyozo (2018) notes that in once in SA, "African women migrants face triple discrimination: as black, as women, and as migrants". This means they are socially excluded amongst others, and as a result, they encounter challenges based on their perceived identity. For instance, Hiralal (2017) notes that the hostile environment of the host country further contributes to immigration challenges of assimilation, due to the fact that African female migrants are considered to be job takers and exploiting SA's economy.

For instance, cultural norms that discriminates against female migrants who in the hierarchy of gender groupings are perceived as being beneath South African females (Isike, 2017). This is an unpleasant experience/challenge that African females endure in SA, because they are discriminated against due to their nationality and gender, and thus made to feel like less of a woman. This has resulted in the discourse of intermarriage which embedded within a broader ideology of afrophobia, "built on exclusionary practices that serve to create boundaries of both inclusion and exclusion" between locals and Africans (Mosselson, 2010:643). In this case, intermarriage is imagined as a metaphor of survival, especially in a space where South Africans' relationships with migrants have fractured along racial and ethnic lines (Pineteh, 2015). Thus, intermarriage has become a survival strategy that African female migrants use for social inclusion, and to leverage their social existence in the city (Pineteh, 2015).

Furthermore, African female migrants face exclusion at a broader level, such as within structural institutions in SA. Crush and Tawodzera (2014); Munyaneza and Mhlongo (2019) identify medical xenophobia and Zimbabwean migrant poor access to public health as another challenge. It was reported that African refugees, including Zimbabwean females, face a number of challenges when dealing with public hospitals (Munyaneza & Mhlongo, 2019; Mutambara

& Naidu, 2021). Those challenges include a xenophobic attitude from healthcare service providers, language barriers, and a lack of documentation. As a result, refugees are denied access to healthcare services (Crush & Tawodzera, 2014). Additionally, Zimbabwean female immigrants are also denied access to healthcare because in some hospitals, they are expected to pay inflated prices they cannot afford (Chinyakata et al., 2019a). In another study by Alfaro-Velcamp (2017), she noted that refugees and migrants are discriminated against and denied healthcare services based on their nationalities and/or documentation. Given the reality that most Zimbabwean female are undocumented, it is inevitable that they face the challenge of medical xenophobia in SA.

Second, xenophobia is a common feature in SA to date, where high-profile and widespread violence against migrants and refugees in May 2008 and March 2015 (Bekker, 2015). Nonetheless, most data for xenophobic episodes in SA do not have disaggregated information on who according to gender is attacked during these episodes (Mbiyozo, 2018; Freeman, 2020). However, additional surveys show that South Africans differentiate between migrants of different national origin, and that Zimbabweans are amongst the most disliked by South Africans (Crush et al., 2013). For instance, according to research by Hungwe (2013), employers prefer Zimbabweans, because they know they can exploit and abuse them, without any legal of financial implications. As a result, Zimbabweans become the preferred choice over South African nationals (Hungwe, 2013).

To add to this, the language barrier also serves as major challenge for African female migrants assimilation in SA. For example, in a study by Smit and Rugunanan (2014), the Congolese and Burundian female migrants identified their lack of proficiency in English to be a major stumbling block in both enabling formal employment, and integration into the host society. Consequently, language is used a weapon for both inclusion and exclusion in SA (Smit & Rugunanan, 2014; Batisai, 2016a; Gqola, 2008). Thus, the language barrier is a hindrance for African female ability to integrate with locals, as well finding employment. In the case of Zimbabwean female migrants, language is another weapon used to make undocumented Zimbabwean female migrants vulnerable, on top of other forms of overlapping discriminations (Sigsworth et al., 2008).

Third, African female migrants face a lack of formal employment and housing due to their undocumented status (Olufemi, 2000; Russell, 2014; Batisai & Manjowo, 2020; Manjowo 2019). For instance, Dumba and Chirisa (2010) highlight that undocumented Zimbabwean

female migrants, when compared with their male counterparts, experience new forms of poverty as a consequence of their migrant status. The few who manage to secure employment usually work as domestic servants in the homes of South Africans, or as shop assistants in retail shops owned by Asian migrants, where they encounter challenges of low wages and sexual abuse (Muzondidya, 2008; Vanyoro, 2019a). To add to these dire circumstances, due to the challenges of lack of formal employment and poor wages, some female migrants in low-paying jobs such as street sales or becoming an advertising agent for small private companies and other self-employed migrants, or, in the worst instances, resorting to prostitution (Muzondidya, 2008). Thus, poverty is a challenge for Zimbabwean female migrants, especially the low-skilled and undocumented that propels them to enter into precarious work.

Fourth, African female migrants in SA face exploitation and abuse by their SAn employers. According to Smit and Rugunanan (2014); Bloch (2010) and Vanyoro (2019) African female migrants, owing to informal jobs such as they might find in the domestic sector, are a category of female migrants that are exploited and underpaid because they are undocumented (Chinyakata et al., 2019a). For example, it is projected that median monthly earnings of Zimbabwean labour migrant in Tshwane is ZAR 785.76 (Theodore et al., 2017). Such low earnings contribute to the dire lifestyle these migrants find themselves living.

The fifth challenge that African female migrants face in SA is the gendered nature of the available jobs. For example, women's male counterparts are mostly concentrated in masculine work, such as the motor and service industries (Hungwe, 2013; O'Neil Fleury & Foresti, 2016). This illuminates the gendered nature of the South African labour market that restricts African females to certain occupations, reinforcing their traditional gendered roles (Amrith & Sahraoui, 2018). Due to the increase of African female labour migrants, along with the already existing number of South African female citizens, the 'female employment' sector is undoubtedly saturated.

Thus, Zimbabwean female migrants are likely to fail to access formal employment opportunities. These migrants end up working in the informal sector, where they are exposed to gender-based violence, structural violence in the form of client or police brutality (Vearey et al., 2011; Chinyakata et al., 2019a; Ritcher et al., 2012). For instance, Chinyakata et al. (2019) and Singh (2007) further identify that undocumented Zimbabwean female migrants in SA often fall prey to prostitution and are thereby exposed to diseases particularly prevalent in SA, such as HIV and AIDs. This further exacerbates their challenges because they become

despised by society, and even discriminated against by the authorities, especially by police and healthcare providers (Crush &Tawodzera, 2014; Polzer & Takabvirwa, 2010; Adjai & Lazaridis, 2013).

Lastly, African female migrants face the challenge of lacking trust in state officials, especially for those that are undocumented, because they fear deportation, which is propagated by the state through state officials and state policies alike (Kiwanuka, 2010; Mulu & Mbanza 2021; Basok & Ilcan, 2006). In study done by Hungwe (2013), it was further identified that undocumented female migrants mistrusted the local authorities, because they feared being harassed and exploited, and were reluctant to deal with cases relating to foreigners. This makes abuse a result of gender persistence in the lives of Zimbabwean female migrants in SA. Language is also a factor, where the failure to speak South African local languages in institutional environments results in female migrants being unable to express themselves well (Chinyakata et al., 2019a; Sigsworth et al., 2008). Thus, Zimbabwean female migrants are silenced in times of challenge due to a lack of trust in state security, and an inability to use South African dialects.

2.3.4 Immigration of Zimbabwean Women into SA: Categories, Patterns and Trends

Zimbabwean female migrants became active in the migration to SA during the third wave of mixed migration from Zimbabwe to SA. This section will firstly discuss the push factors for Zimbabwean female migration to SA, and the latter part will discuss the categories, patterns, and trends of this migration.

The third wave of migration occurred between 2000 and 2008 as a result of the economic crisis that left a lot of Zimbabweans leaving in poverty (Crush & Tawodzera, 2015). During the 2000s, there was political instability between the opposition Movement for Democratic Change (MDC) and Zanu PF (Sachikonye, 2011). During this period, there was reported to be human rights abuses, intimidation and violence committed by Zanu PF and its supporters (Dziva et al., 2013; Eppel, 2009). These ruling party attacks were mainly targeted against white farmers, opposition supporters and anyone else perceived to be part of the opposition (Sachikonye, 2011). For example, in 2008, many Zimbabweans were fleeing from the ruthless attacks on opponents of President Robert Mugabe, after the presidential run-off to the election (De Jager & Musuva, 2015). Hence, “these elections will be remembered as the most violent in Zimbabwe’s post-independence history” (Sachikonye, 2011:45). For this reason, the third waves emerged for many migrants and their families as not only as a solution to an economic

situation, but as an escape from human rights violations and abject poverty (Kiwanuka & Monson, 2009).

Given the different sources for migration, the crisis generated a mix of migrants (Crush and Chikanda, 2012). For instance, most emigrants were Shona, who were forced to migrate to SA, a country they had never been to or knew the languages (Morreira, 2015). The result was that, by the early 2000s, "women were increasingly accounting for a larger percentage of the Zimbabwean migrant population; in 2005 women made up 44 percent of the total migrants to SA" (Crush & Chikanda, 2012:18). According to Crisp and Kiragu, the third wave encompassed:

> …refugees, asylum seekers, people who are leaving their own country in response to governance and development failures, those who are seeking economic, educational and family reunion opportunities, as well as some who regard the journey to SA as a first step towards more distant destinations such as Europe and North America (Crisp & Kiragu, 2010:1).

Crush (2015) further concurs that the third wave was mixed migration, because it had mixed population of the single, old, young, married, refugee, skilled and unskilled worker, and economic migrant. Thus, political instability pushed Zimbabweans to migrate for survival, regardless of age, race, or gender (Makina, 2012; Bloch, 2008). The third wave of migration to SA was indeed mixed migration, which saw an influx of Zimbabwean female migrants making the autonomous decision to migrate to SA for a better social and economic life in comparison to that of Zimbabwe (Makina, 2010; Crush & Chikanda, 2015).

Additionally, during the third wave, the ruling party organised a systematic campaign known as Operation Murambatsvina, targeted to destroy informal settlements, which resulted in many Zimbabweans being left homeless with their livelihoods destroyed (Potts, 2006; Vambe, 2008; Pophiwa, 2014). Thus, during the third wave, the Zimbabwean economy spiralled deeper into crisis was another significant push factor for many Zimbabwean female migrant to SA, who earn a living as street vendors along roadsides (Crush, 2015: Musoni, 2010; Benyera, 2015). Additionally, unemployment was recorded to be at 80%, the inflation rate soared, whilst the economy collapsed (Hanke, 2008; Hanke & Kwok, 2009). The economic downturn and high unemployment rate undoubtedly pushed many Zimbabweans to migrate to SA, including female migrants in search of greener pastures.

Regarding pull factors, in comparison to other African countries, post-apartheid SA is understood by both legal and illegal migrants as having greater economic opportunity (Maharaj, 2004; Ilgit & Klotz, 2014; Maharaj, 2002). Mbiyozo (2018) reports migrants to indicate key pull factors to include indicated economic opportunities and personal freedom when choosing SA as a destination. The prospects of higher earning potential and job availability are considered pull factors for African female migrants to SA, including Zimbabwean female migrants. De Villiers and Weda (2017) reporting on pull factors for Zimbabwean teachers to SA, found SA's proximity to Zimbabwe to be central. This is because migrants maintain, build, and reinforce multiple linkages with their country of origin and maintain dual engagement in host and countries of origin (Tsuda, 2012). Proximity is therefore a pull factor to migration to SA.

However, the pattern and trends of female migration to SA have changed considerably. This is because Zimbabwean female migrants are making the autonomous decision to migrate to SA in order to provide for their families, and to become socially and economically emancipated (Mutambara & Maheshvari, 2019; Hungwe, 2013; Ranga, 2015). Crush and Chikanda (2015:367-368) note that the statistics they gathered "highlighted that by the late 1990s migration from Zimbabwe to SA was noticeably more varied than anything seen in the past." Women are migrating in higher numbers and are emerging as bread winners as they cross borders in search of sufficient income for family survival (McDuff, 2015). This is because most women in urban Zimbabwe view migration to SA as a solution to the economic related problems in their family households (Muzvidziwa, 2015, Jamela, 2013). For this reason, Zimbabwean female migrants are redefining gender roles, and taking charge of their socio-economic destiny by migrating to SA.

To add to this, there are three major categories of Zimbabwean female migrants migrating to SA, namely: skilled, low-skilled, and undocumented migrants, who often enter SA through unauthorised port of entry by negotiating their entry with border officials in a process that is popularly referred to as "border jumping" (Sibanda, 2010). For example, Zimbabwean teachers constitute the largest group of migrant teachers in SA (Department of Higher Education & Training [DHET], 2013). A study estimated that more than 80 per cent of doctors, nurses, pharmacists, radiologists and therapists trained since 1980 left the country, and that by 2003, Zimbabwe had lost more than 2 100 medical doctors, and 1 950 certified nurses, mostly to SA (Tevera, 2008).

Lastly, regarding the low-skilled and undocumented categories, they often find themselves working in the informal sector, doing precarious jobs such as street trading, domestic work, prostitution, and waitressing (Smit & Rugunanan, 2014; Vanyoro, 2019; Hlatshwayo, 2019). Nonetheless, this category of migrants also encompasses some who are semi-skilled, but as a result of non-recognition of their qualification from their countries of origin, some semi-skilled Zimbabwean female migrants face deskilling (Tevera & Chikanda, 2008; Bloch, 2006).

2.4 Conceptual Framework

This section draws on migration concepts and theories, such as intersectionality, transnationalism networks, and the agency to understand the vulnerabilities and survival strategies of undocumented Zimbabwean female migrants. These concepts can be used as a lens to investigate the social experiences of this group of Zimbabwean migrants, because they are part of African transnational migrant community in SA who are actively exercising their agency. Additionally, undocumented Zimbabwean female migrants often form strong transnational networks as a strategy for survival or to deal with their vulnerabilities. The concept of intersectionality is used to frame and understand the different forms of discrimination that this category of migrants' experience in SA. These theoretical conceptions are therefore complementary in this study, having helped the researcher to understand the complexities of discrimination against undocumented female migrants. Since migrants are bound to find ways to survive once in exile, they also provided the principles by means of which to examine how undocumented female migrants exercise their agency in their struggles for survival.

2.4.1 Intersectionality in Migration Studies

Intersectionality is a mainstream concept that has been employed by traditional feminist studies, useful here in providing a framework to analyse the multiple forms of oppression or discrimination faced by women in general. Intersectionality was conceptualised and coined by Kimberle Williams Crenshew, a civil rights activist and legal scholar, in 1989. She boldly describes the intersectionality of a black woman through this analogy:

> Consider an analogy for traffic in an intersection, coming and going in all four directions. Discrimination, like traffic through an intersection, may flow in one direction, and it may flow in another. If an accident happened in an intersection, it can be caused by cars travelling from any number of directions and, sometimes, from all of

> them. Similarly, if a Black woman is harmed because she is in the intersection, her injury could result from sex discrimination or race discrimination (Crenshew, 1989: 149).

Crenshaw's definition of intersectionality has developed and popularised by like-minded scholars such as Patricia Hill Collins, who argues that the different of discrimination experienced by women are as a result of intersection of different domains of power (structural, cultural, disciplinary, and interpersonal) in societies (Collins & Bilge, 2020). In brief, Minow (1997:38) defines intersectionality as "the way in which any particular individual stands at the crossroads of multiple groups." From this perspective, the concept of intersectionality is used to theorise the relationship between different social categories: gender, race, sexuality, and so forth, so as to identify the multiple forms of discrimination and oppression they face owing to their identity (Valentine, 2007; Crenshew, 1989; Minow, 1997). His study draws on this guiding definition to understand how social categories such as gender, race, and class intersect to exacerbate the vulnerabilities of undocumented Zimbabwean female migrants living in Jeffsville informal settlement.

Firstly, Kerner notes that "the meso-level element of institutions, which generate structural hierarchy building and discrimination, serving as a bridging element between the epistemological and personal dimensions of racism and sexism" (Kerner 2009: 46). This shows that evidence of gender inequality reproducing itself at different levels of society, such as the institutional spaces and private spaces that exacerbate the discrimination against females. Hence, this increases the vulnerabilities of undocumented Zimbabwean female migrants, who already face pre-existing challenges owing to their race, class, and documentation status (Collins & Bilge, 2020; Basok & Ilcan, 2006; Crush & Williams, 2005).

For example, in SA, a report by Hlanganisa and Izwi (2020) identifies that African female migrants domestic workers face the overlapping intersectionality of capitalism, racism, patriarchy, and consequently, are denied basic civil rights and security from the authorities. Scholars such as Kiwanuka (2010) and Dodson (2001) further argue that the state of SA and facilitates the perpetuation of the vulnerabilities of migrant women through the gender-blind polices, policies that simply aim are deporting, and policing illegal migrants. Thus, intersectionality is embedded in different levels of society. In the case of undocumented female migrants, intersecting factors such as exploitation, gender-based violence, and abuse stem from the household level to the state level, which results in female migrants being vulnerable through

their journey as labour migrants (Kiwanuka, 2010; Bastia, 2014; Collins & Bilge, 2020; Mulu &Mbanza, 2021).

Secondly, according to Burkner (2012), the study of intersectionality allows for the readjustment of the significance of age and body as determinants for the exclusion or inclusion of migrants. Burkner (2012:187) states that "migration regimes increasingly restrict immigration or transnational mobility to persons who are able to make a living on their own, selecting those who are healthy and those who are not supposed to take state subsidies in case of illness and disability". For example, historically, migration from Zimbabwe to SA was symbolised by the image of a young and economically active man (Crush & Tevera, 2010). Hence, these intersecting factors apply pressure to the new migrants population, such as female migrants, to cope with general as well as with migration-specific rules of bodyism (Burkner, 2012). This study examines migrants who are undocumented, black and female, ranging from the young to the elderly, and Zimbabweans an unpopular nationality in SA. These pre-existing identities that this category of migrants hold will overlap with the new challenges they are likely to encounter. As a result, they will be more vulnerable to a lack of employment opportunities, exploitation, discrimination, and abuse (Mulu & Mbanza, 2021; Collins & Bilge, 2020; Hiralal, 2017; Crenshaw, 1991).

Furthermore, the intersectionality's connected to this category have only partially been explored, a great example of which is single migrants prone to disability and illness (Kruse & Tyner, 2008), or increased risk for illegal migrants to be detected in case of illness (Poore, 2005). This is particularly relevant in this study, where scholars have identified medical xenophobia constituting the negative attitudes and treatment of foreigners when it comes to assistance in SA's healthcare system and civil society at state level (Crush & Tawodzera, 2014). For instance, "despite the South African Constitution for stating free medical assistance for all, it has been reported that migrants in Johannesburg are often denied access to basic health services" (Pursell, 2004:94). Moreover, Vearey points out that cross-border migrants often have difficulty communicating with local healthcare providers; that "some public health facilities generate their own guidelines and policies that run counter to national legislation"; and that "frontline healthcare providers" often develop "their own access systems for migrants" (2011:125). Medical xenophobia mainly affects female migrants, where studies have revealed that there are gender differences in the utilisation of health care services, for instance, where migrant women need to access antenatal care (Bertakis, 2000; Mazars et al., 2013).

Lastly, race is another intersecting factor for female migrants. As previously stated, African, black foreigners are least welcome in SA, under a regime of 'new racism' which is victimisation in the form of the stigmatisation against and victimisation of black foreigners (Tafira, 2011; Gqola, 2008; Matsinhe, 2009). Accordingly, this study seeks to investigate how race plays a significant role in increasing undocumented Zimbabwean female migrants' vulnerabilities and oppression whilst living in Jeffsville, and to identify their lived experience with the new racism. Crenshew (1989) has suggested that black women experience multiple forms of overlapping discrimination, which are different from that of white women in terms of "the combined effects of practices which discriminate on the basis of race and on the basis of gender" (Crenshew 1989:149). Therefore, in SA, some studies have found that black African lesbians and black African low-income women undertaking precarious jobs suffered multiple forms of discrimination and oppression (Vaught, 2006; Vanyoro, 2019a; Smit & Rugunanan, 2014).

To conclude, the concept of intersectionality is pivotal in understanding the vulnerabilities Zimbabwean female migrants in SA, through the categories of race, age, nationality, class, and gender.

2.4.2 Transnational Networks

Schiller et al. (1992:1) "defines transnationalism as the processes by which immigrants build social fields that link together their country of origin and their country of settlement". In the same vein, generally defined migrant transnationalism refers to simultaneous presence in different geographical locations through transnational linkages (Moyo, 2020). In simpler terms, transnational networks refer to migrant assimilation within host countries, whilst maintaining strong linkages with the country of origin (Crush & McDonald, 2000; Erdal & Oeppen, 2013; Portes, 2003; Schiller et al., 1992). Therefore, migrants participate within transnational communities and transnational kinship ties for survival, solidarity, and inclusion (Pineteh, 2008; Hemson, 2019). It is against this backdrop that this study identifies the transnational network concept in order to analyse the way in which undocumented Zimbabwean female migrants use it as a survival strategy.

Firstly, according to Dahinden (2010:53), "the mobility or better, circulation of representations, ideas, goods, and services across and within national boundaries is of great importance for the production and reproduction of transnational spaces". To add to this, the traditional approach to transnational migration focuses ways in which transnational migrants establish themselves

in host countries and maintain the linkages with the country of origin (Erdal & Oeppen, 2013). Nonetheless, critics argue that transnational networks hinder migrants from their success as labour migrants, where instead, they encourage migrants to completely assimilate in host countries in order to achieve success (Moyo, 2020; Erdal & Oeppen, 2013).

However, in the case of undocumented Zimbabwean female migrants in SA, some studies have revealed that they maintain strong transnational linkages through transnational communities such as the church, burial societies, and other forms of informal gatherings (Moyo, 2020; Bloch, 2010; McGregor & Pasura, 2014). Moyo (2020) further alludes to the fact that transnational networks have made it possible for Zimbabweans in the SA to participate in family decision-making on matters such as marriage and child support. Linkages between Zimbabwe and SA are apparent, reflecting that majority of Zimbabwean migrants do not assimilate completely in the destination country, which may deter them from success in terms of labour markets and socio-economic mobility (Erdal & Oeppen, 2013; Dzingirai et al., 2014). This study investigates the ways in which undocumented Zimbabwean female migrants use transnational networks as a survival mechanism, considering whether these transnational networks are fruitful.

For instance, other significant aspects of the transnational network concept in terms of migration are the transnational social fields (Lubbers et al., 2020). Transnational social fields are defined as a "combinations of social and symbolic ties, positions in networks and organizations, and networks of organizations that can be found in at least two geographically and internationally distinct places" [all sic] (Faist, 1998:216). Thus, transnational social fields are social spaces that highlight the significance of social relationships beyond national boundaries (Levitt & Schiller, 2004; Lubbers et al., 2020). For instance, Vertovec (2004:219) has identified that mobile devices were a "social glue of migrant transnationalism".

Over the recent years, social media platforms such as Facebook have been identified as providing agency to transnational networks, and in the case of Zimbabwean migrants, *omalayitsha* have also been identified as agents of such transnational networks (Marlowe, 2019; Daimon, 2010; Thebe, 2011). Technological advancement in communication and participation of individuals within transnational communities have eroded the issue of geographical disparity. Thus, transnational connections assist migrants with a sense of belief that although they are miles apart, they are still relatively close when it comes to accessing families and friends in countries of origin (Moyo, 2020; Marlowe, 2019).

Additionally, transnational connections act as pull factors for prospect migrants, who believe their migratory journey is safe-guarded due the extant connections they have in the potential host country. Furthermore, these connections are also a survival tool for prospect migrants and ease the concerns of family members especially in the case of female migrants. According to Thebe (2011) and Maphosa (2007), migrants who entered SA illegally had pre-existing relations in SA that assisted the migration process, and migrants in host countries maintained transnational linkages by remitting. Thus, transnational networks assist migrants in securing survival in host country, and financially assisted the families in countries of origin.

In the same vein, building networks with certain groups or community also assist migrants survival in terms of emotional stability and employment success in the host country. For example, Kankonde (2010); Field (2017); McGregor and Pasura (2014), Sinclair (n.d.) state that belonging to a church network facilitated access to jobs, through information, referrals, and even training. Pineteh (2008) identified that cultural practices amongst the Cameroonian migrant community in SA is a survival mechanism for migrant communities, used to overcome feelings of homelessness. Indeed, transnational connections assist undocumented migrants in SA in accessing employment opportunities, ensuring protection by labour unions, and overcoming feelings of homelessness in a host country.

Transnational networks also emerge in the form of transnational kinship ties, which suggest that transnational contact with family and friends in countries of origin is crucial for migrants' wellbeing (Mbiba, 2010; Bloch, 2008). This is particularly true for transnational female migrants, who use these ties as a coping mechanism and form of resilience in times of adversity (Collins & Bilge, 2020). For example, transnational kinship ties have been widely associated with giving migrants strength to counter daily challenges, and also to provide emotional support for Zimbabwean female migrants (Gadzikwa, 2017; McGregor & Primorac, 2010). However, some critics of transnational networks state that they reinforce patriarchal structures for female migrants, and limit female migrants in terms of their full social and economic emancipation (Clifford, 1994; Moyo, 2020).

To conclude, it is against this backdrop that this study seeks to investigate different forms and ways in which undocumented Zimbabwean female migrants use transnational networks as a survival mechanisms and form of resilience towards the challenges they encounter.

2.4.3 Migration and Agency

Atasoy (2006) states that the concept of agency is linked to women finding autonomy in societal structures and institutions that discriminate and oppress the female gender. The concept of agency provides an interesting lens by means of which to understand the way that undocumented female migrants like Zimbabwean female migrants in Jeffsville exercise their agency. Agency is defined here as:

> …the capacity for social actors to reflect on their position, devise strategies and take action to achieve their desires. For some, this emphasis on action is sufficient; agency need be no more than the simple individualism of autonomous actors exercising their power over the world beyond (Bakewell, 2010:7).

In the past, migration studies had at least a general view of women, their familial roles, and the specific ways in which they were discriminated against or denied access to relevant resources (Burkner, 2012). Thus, female migrants were barred from exercising agency, due to certain structural forces that do not promote emigration, albeit it in civil society, or at state level. Historically, some of these structural forces were labour markets, migrant networks, diasporas, migrant organisations, and so forth (Bakewell, 2010). Females are deterred from exercising agency in migration because of genders norms, traditional and cultural norms. For example, in a study by Kibria (1998:13), "women's labour migration is often discouraged due to concerns about their sexuality/gender". Evidently, female migrants are considered to be vulnerable to a plethora of factors, owing to their gender and societal perspectives. Unlike African men, who emigrate to SA for paid labour on white-owned farms and mines, females perform maternal responsibilities (McDuff, 2015; Gouws & Stasiulis, 2015). Thus, in certain societies structural forces discourage female migration as well as the exercising of agency for female migration.

Nevertheless, in recent years, Zimbabwean females have begun to exercise agency with respect to migration. For instance, some academic studies note that Zimbabwean female migrants are in search economic opportunities such as labour migrants in SA, to assist their families financially, and to maintain survival (McDuff, 2015; Nshimbi & Fioramonti, 2014; Dugbazah, 2012). This is a significant shift from the period before Zimbabwe's independence in 1980, when they were restricted to rural homelands by structural and colonial authorities (Schmidt, 1992). Hence, agency is understood as "the capacity for autonomous action in the face of often overwhelming cultural sanctions and structural inequalities" (McNay, 2000:10). The current

study investigates why and how undocumented Zimbabwean female migrants have exercised agency as transnational wage labour migrants.

2.5 Summary

This chapter has broadly explored the literature on African immigration into SA and how it has evolved from the early labour migrants in the African male labour migrants contract mines to the feminisation of migration of female entrepreneurs (Nshimbi & Fioramonti, 2014; Crush & Tevera, 2010; Mbiyozo, 2018; Ojong, 2006). This section also identifies that there push and pull factors that have resulted in an increase of African migration to SA such as political instability, to collapsed economies and war, whilst the pull factors to SA are its liberal democracy and neoliberal economics (Crush &and Tevera, 2010; Kanayo et al., 2019; Pophiwa, 2014; Mutambara & Maheshvari, 2019; Pineteh, 2010).

SA has witnessed an increase in immigration, in particular African female migration such as low-skilled, semi-skilled, and skilled female migrants (Gouws, 2010; Farley, 2019; Mbiyozo, 2018; Vanyoro, 2019a). For instance, Zimbabwean female migrants have been migrating to SA since the third wave of Zimbabwean migration (Crush & Chikanda, 2015; Thebe, 2018). Therefore, this study identified that female migrants are contributing to SA's economy in both the informal and formal sector (World Bank, 2019; Ojong, 2012; Ojong, 2006; Zvisinei & Juliet, 2018; Pophiwa, 2014). This study also identifies that African migrants and at large female migrants still face a magnitude of challenges in SA, such as xenophobia, abuse, and gender discrimination, to highlight a few (Basok & Ilcan, 2006; Andall, 2018; Smit & Rugunanan, 2014; Tayah, 2016). To add to this, there is an increase in female participation in labour markets, African female migrants are considered precarious workers, there is feminisation of poverty, and deskilling (Tayah, 2016; Smit & Rugunanan, 2014; Dodson, 2018; Hlatshwayo, 2019; Magidimisha, 2018).

The last part of this section is the conceptual framework that framed the basis of this study. This study identified the transnational network connection as a crucial survival mechanism for female migrants in SA, as well as their families in Zimbabwe (Crush & McDonald, 2000; Erdal & Oeppen, 2013; Portes, 2003). Secondly, this study framed the intersectionality concept to identify the different forms of oppression that intersecting with female migrants ability to reach their full social and economic emancipation (Minow, 1997:38; Crenshew, 1989; Collins & Bilge, 2020; Crenshaw, 1991). Lastly, this study makes use of agency as a concept to

supplement the previous two concepts, and to understand how undocumented Zimbabwean female migrants' exercise of agency has impacted the patterns and trends of migration.

The following chapter will present methodology and research design chosen. It will begin by providing an introduction that briefly reflects on the study's main objective, and the previous chapters. The introduction further provides definitions of a methodology, qualitative research design, exploratory case study applied in this study, a description of the research site and participants, as well as the research methods and data collection processes used in this study. Lastly, a discussion of the ethical considerations and concerns of the study will be provided.

CHAPTER THREE: RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

This study investigates the vulnerabilities and survival strategies of Zimbabwean female undocumented migrants in Jeffsville, Pretoria. The first chapter provided background to the project, statement of research problem, research objectives, and research questions. It also outlined the significance of the study and described the scope of the following chapters. In Chapter Two, this study provided a critical review of literature, so as to identify lacunae and make note of how these are to be addressed. The study has drawn on the following theoretical conceptions, such as intersectionality, transnationalism, and agency as prisms to access and analyse the experiences female undocumented migrants from Zimbabwe.

3.2 Research Design and Methodology

According to Creswell (2009:22) "research designs are plans and the procedures for research that span the decisions from broad assumptions to detailed methods of data collection and analysis". From this perspective, a research design is a detailed plan that entails a project from the early stages of assumption to the final stages of data analysis so as to fulfil research objective and questions (Maruca et al., 2003).

The design for this study was exploratory in nature. Yin (2009:14) defines this as "an empirical enquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon in depth and within its real-life context, especially when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident". Therefore, Yin's definition describes a case study as seeking to gather real life experiences in their natural setting in order to investigate a particular situation within a defined boundary. In other words, a case study is a unique way of observing any natural phenomenon extant in a set of data (Yin, 1984). Being unique, only a small geographical area or number of subjects of interest are examined in detail. This is based on an in-depth investigation of a single individual, group, or event. Thus, this study qualified for a case study approach because it focused on a specific case, namely that of undocumented female migrants from Zimbabwe, living and working in Jeffsville informal settlement in Pretoria, SA.

From this perspective, this study's choice of research design and methodology were influenced by the research main objective, viz. to critically examine the vulnerabilities and survival

mechanisms of undocumented and unaccompanied Zimbabwean female migrants living in Jeffsville informal settlement. It was also influenced by the research problem, which considers that despite the increase in Zimbabwean female migrants flows to SA, there is a dearth of qualitative studies using the theory of intersectionality to investigate the subjective vulnerabilities and survival strategies of this category of immigrants living in informal settlements such as Jeffsville.

Henning (2004) defines a methodology as methods in research that produce data and findings for the research purpose and reflect the research questions. According to Creswell (2013:44):

> Qualitative research begins with assumptions and the use of interpretive/theoretical frameworks that inform the study of research problems, addressing the meaning individuals or groups ascribe to a social or human problem. To study this problem, qualitative researchers use an emerging qualitative approach to inquiry, the collection of data in a natural setting sensitive to the people and places under study, and data analysis that is both inductive and deductive and establishes patterns or themes. The final written report or presentation includes the voices of participants, the reflexivity of the researcher, a complex description and interpretation of the problem, and its contribution to the literature, or a call for change.

As noted by Creswell, qualitative research is a research method that deals with social and human problems and obtains data that is representative of participants and the problem through an interactive process, whilst observing certain patterns and themes (Creswell, 2013). Furthermore, Draper (2004:642) contends that a qualitative approach is "concerned with the quality or nature of human experiences and what these phenomena mean to individuals". Qualitative research thus tends to start with 'what', 'how' and 'why' type questions." Since this study set out to analyse the individual vulnerabilities and survival mechanisms of Zimbabwean undocumented female migrants in a particular South African locality, the most suitable research design and methodology is a case study that is qualitative in nature. Using a qualitative approach, this study extracted firsthand information about the vulnerabilities and survival mechanisms of undocumented Zimbabwean female migrants in Jeffsville.

According to Willig (2001) a case study focuses on a specific unit that is considered to be a case. Thus, a case can be an organisation, a group of people, community and school (Willig, 2001). Additionally, to collect rich empirical evidence, the researcher used semi-structured interviews and focus groups as key research methods. This approach allowed the researcher to

collect and interpret rich empirical evidence from this group of Zimbabwean migrants. Given that there are different types of case study, this study subscribes to an 'exploratory' design. According to Yin (2014), in an exploratory case study, questions such as "how" and "what" are used to understand different phenomena. These questions were appropriate when the researcher sought to gain an extensive and in-depth description of the vulnerabilities and survival mechanisms that undocumented and unaccompanied Zimbabwean female came across in Jeffsville informal settlement.

As a result, this research explored the lived experiences of a group of undocumented and unaccompanied Zimbabwean female migrants, and how they deal with human and social problems they faced in the host country of SA. The strengths of a qualitative case study are that the process allows for emergent questions and the data collected in the participant's setting to be made into general themes, where the researcher was able to make interpretations of the meaning of data.

3.3 Research Objectives, Research Question, Data Sources and Analysis

Table 1 Data Sources and Analysis

Research objectives	Questions	Data methods/sources
Main objective: To analyse, the vulnerabilities and survival mechanisms of this category of migrants	**Main:** What are the vulnerabilities and survival mechanisms of this category of migrants?	Semi-structured interviews, focus groups, existing literature on gender and migration, literature on migration networks, intersectionality, and agency
Identify the key reasons for female migration to SA.	What are the key factors driving female migration to SA?	Semi-structured interviews. Literature on; emigration of African female migrants, political, social, and economic standing of migrants countries of origin.
Understand why Zimbabwean females migrate undocumented and unaccompanied to SA.	Why do Zimbabwean female migrants, migrate undocumented?	Semi-structured interviews and focus group discussions, literature on migration policies in SA and Zimbabwe, literature on Zimbabwean

		home affairs, transnational networks, and agency.
Investigate the socio-economic challenges faced by this category of migrants.	What the social and economic challenges faced by this category of migrants?	Semi-structured interviews and focus groups. Literature on challenges faced by African female migrants in SA, literature on intersectionality, literature on policy implementation in SA.
Examine the effects of these challenges on their livelihoods.	What are the effects of these challenges on the lives and livelihood on these migrants?	Semi-structured interviews and focus groups. Literature on transnational networks and agency.
Understand how these participants exercise agency as they deal with social and economic challenges.	How does this category of migrants exercise their agency as they deal with their social economic challenges?	Semi-structured interviews and focus groups. Literature on agency, transnational networks, and survival strategies of undocumented female migrants.
To use the findings to make recommendations that can help this category of migrants.	How can the government of SA and the government of Zimbabwe improve the lives of this category of migrants?	This research's findings, review of previous policies, green and white papers on migration in SA, and Zimbabwe.

3.4 Description of Research Site and Participants

Jeffsville is one of the six constituent settlements of Mshongoville, also known as Mshongo Informal Settlement. Mshongo consists of six settlements, namely, Siyahlala, Brazzaville, Vergnenoeg, Phomolong, Jeffsville, and Matlejoane. These settlements are found in the periphery of Atteridgeville in Tshwane, the capital city of SA. Shacks also known as 'Mukuku' by the locals are the type of housing found in Jeffsville informal settlement, and are mostly built with corrugated iron, wood, cardboards, and plastics. Jeffsville was established in 1991 before the end of apartheid, as a result of frustrations of longstanding claimants on the waiting list for municipal housing (Monsoon, 2015).

The population of Jeffsville encompasses foreign-born residents who shared in the area's history and helped establish it since arriving in 1994, increasing in the late 1990s, and again in 2005 (Monsoon, 2015). According to Monsoon (2015), these dates correspond with the Refugee Act of 1998, and the collapse of the Zimbabwean economy as this took place from 2005 onwards. Due to the increase in refuges within Jeffsville, the relationship of local and foreigners within is considered to be hostile, xenophobic, social divisions between locals and foreigners (Landau & Freemantle, 2012). The implication is that foreigners lives are constantly threatened, they are at risk of losing their livelihoods, they can easily be displaced, and they encounter human rights violations (Choane et al., 2011).

For instance, on 18 March 2008, the looting of foreign owned businesses began, there were evictions of foreign-owned businesses, and up to seven people were reportedly killed (Chauke, 2008). The trigger of this violence was attributed: "service delivery protest, perception of lack of solidarity from foreigners, associating crime with foreigners, individual and collective punishment, distrust of housing allocation system, and unfair business practices and competition" (Landau & Freemantle, 2012:33).

Foreigner in Jeffsville informal settlement and Brazzaville as a whole get their source of income from running small business shops, street trading, and undertaking unfair labour practices within the informal settlement that locals are not willing to undertake (Monsoon, 2015). This causes conflict between foreigners and locals in the informal settlement, who are in the same line of work and those that do not want to do the low paying and exploitative jobs that migrants are acquiring (Monsoon, 2015). It is against this backdrop that this study chose Jeffsville informal settlement as a case study site in the investigation of the vulnerabilities and survival mechanisms of undocumented Zimbabwean female migrants.

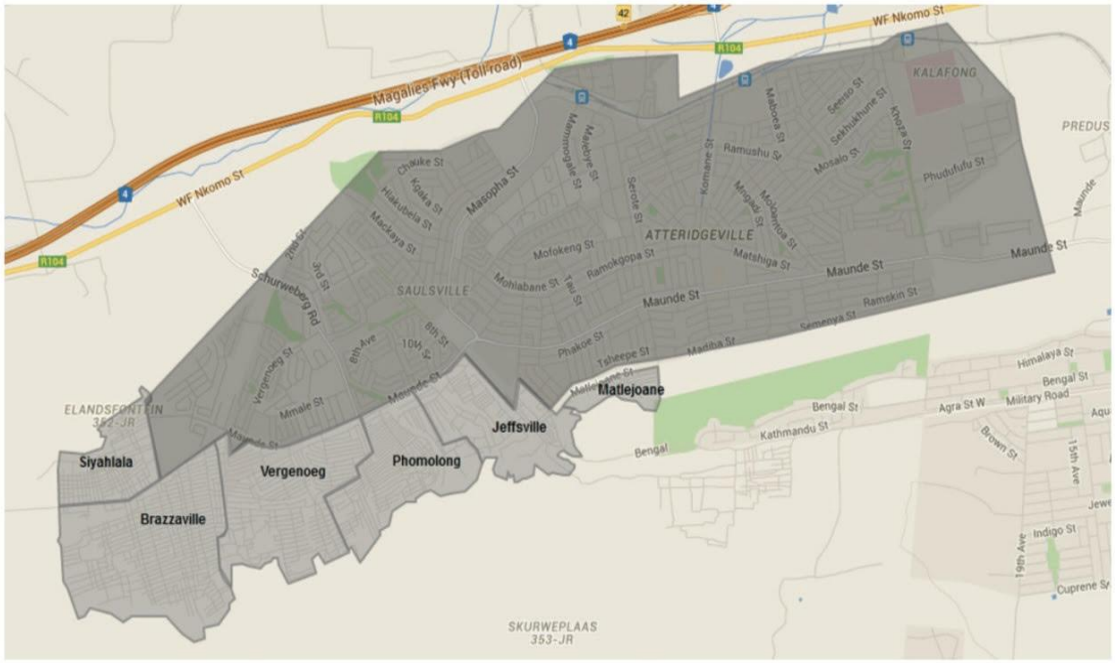

Figure 1 Research Site and Participants

3.5 Research Methods and Data Collection Processes

Two primary research methods (semi-structured interviews and focus group discussions) were employed to collect data from undocumented female migrants from Zimbabwe living in SA's Jeffsville informal settlement. The researcher used the linear snowball sampling technique in order to identify participants for the semi structured interviews. According to Etikan et al. (2016:1) "Linear snowball sampling is a snowball sampling in which the researcher recruits a single participant, while the second nominee recruits the third participant. The chain continues to refer linearly up to the end of the sampling". The researcher was fully aware of how this sampling technique may create a biased sample. Thus, once the researcher had observed the environment and population of Jeffsville, they approached females who were doing informal jobs such as street vendors if they were Zimbabwean and wanted to participate in this study. This was done to avoid social connections that would possibly lead the researcher to respondents who have characteristics similar to the last respondents. Having done so, a purposive sampling method was used to select participants for this study.

Using a snowball sampling approach, which allowed participants to recommend other participants, three main criteria were used to select participants for this study 1) participants had to be Zimbabwean nationality residing in Jeffsville informal settlement; 2) they had to be

females above the age of eighteen; 3) they had to be undocumented female migrants; 4) participants age group had to vary. The sample consisted of sixteen female participants. The snowball sampling approach was also complemented by purposive sampling method (Creswell, 2013; Guarte & Barrios, 2006). This secondary sampling approach was appropriate for this study because it narrowed down the specific group the researcher wanted to investigate. Furthermore, the variations in the age group allowed the findings to broadly reflect the experiences of undocumented Zimbabwean female migrants living across different informal settlements in SA. The demographics of the participants and their sources of livelihoods are represented in the table below. For ethical reasons, the names of the participants are pseudonyms.

Table 2 Description of the Sixteen Participants

Name	Age	Marital status	Language	Job	Documentation Status	Time in SA
ZIMF06	18	Not married	Ndebele	Chicken plucker	No passport	2 years
ZIM010	21	Single	Ndebele	Tuckshop operator	Expired visitor days has passport	8 months
ZIMF05	21	Single	Shona	Street vendor	Has passport, no permit	3 years
ZIMF013	24	Single	Shona	Shop keeper	No passport	2 years
ZIMF09	28	Widowed	Shona	Domestic worker /Hair braider	Passport, no permit	5 years
ZIMF02	31	Single	Ndebele	Domestic worker, part time hair braider	Passport expired	8 years
ZIMF04	27	Married	Tonga	Domestic worker/piece jobs	Passport valid overstayed visitor's visa	4 years
ZIMF014	35	Widowed	Tonga	Waitress	Passport expired	7 years
ZIMF03	38	Single	Ndebele	Domestic worker	Passport expired, No visa	12 years
ZIMF011	35	Married	Shona	Domestic worker	Passport expired	7 years

ZimF08	40	Widowed	Shona	Chicken plucker and part time domestic worker	Passport valid, no visa	10 years
ZIMF016	28	Single	Tonga	Street vendor	Passport valid, no visa	4 years
ZIMF015	45	Widowed	Tonga	Piece work/shop keeper	Passport valid, no visa	5 years
ZIMF01	34	Single	Shona	Waitress	Passport valid, no visa	4 years
ZIMF07	23	Single	Shona	Hairdresser	No Passport	2 years
ZIMF012	18	Single	Ndebele	Piece work	No passport	1 year

To add to this, data was collected using semi-structured interviews because of their relative open-endedness, which allowed a two-way engagement between the researcher and the participant (Bless et al., 2013). For example, Longhurst (2003:143) defines semi-structured interviews as:

> verbal interchanges where one person, the interviewer, attempts to elicit information from another person by asking questions. Although the interviewer prepares a list of predetermined questions, semi-structured interviews unfold in a conversational manner of offering participants the chance to explore issues they feel are important.

Drawing on this definition, this data collection method allowed the researcher to get individual accounts of Zimbabwean female migrants' experiences and survival mechanism as undocumented migrants living in an informal settlement. Semi-structured interviews were ideal for this study because the informants have the freedom to express their views on their own terms. This is particularly important to achieve the research objective, especially on the vulnerabilities and survival mechanisms experienced by undocumented and unaccompanied Zimbabwean migrants. Furthermore, these interviews took place in private spaces with which both the researcher and participants were comfortable.

The research questions served as a guide to the interview, because participants' responses to questions required further probing of key issues. Therefore, semi-structured interviews gave

the researcher the opportunity to explore and investigate particular themes by following new lines of inquiry based on the responses of the participants. They also enabled the researcher to probe more and allow opportunities for themes to emerge organically.

For instance, the semi-structured interview with ZimF02 took place on the 10th of March 2021 at 10:00 am, at her place of work, where there were other Zimbabwean female migrants in the same line of work. The respondent knew they could speak freely and opted to have the interview in that location. The interview was done using Shona language, and it took two-and a-half hours to be completed. After the interview, the researcher overheard potential participants in the same vicinity speaking in Shona, and introduced herself to the respondents, explaining the purpose of the interview and research by the interviewer. The respondents gave their consent orally to participate in the interview and signed a consent form that stated that the respondents accepted to be recorded, and their identity would remain anonymous.

Another example is that of Zimf04, where the semi-structured interview took place on the 12th of March 2021 at 12:00 pm, in a calm and safe location in Jeffsville, which she knew well and went to regularly. The respondent chose to do the interview on a table with chairs slightly away from people present at the time in the location. The interview was conducted in English because the respondent stated that she could express herself better in English because her home language was Tsonga. No-one else could hear what the interviewer and respondent were discussing. Thus, the respondent created this private and safe space for the interview for her to be able to speak freely. The researcher had explained the objectives and purpose of the interview and conducted the interview before they had arrived at this location.

To complement semi-structured interviews, this study made use of two focus group discussions (FGD). According to Guest et al. (2017), two or three FGDs are sufficient to capture 80% of themes including the most common themes. Hence, the researcher conducted two focus group discussions to ensure sufficient data was captured. FGD is a qualitative approach, which deals with extrapolated data from a group of individuals to further investigate and discuss in detail the topic at hand (Anderson, 1990). Here, Longhurst (2003:145) states that “a focus group is a group of people usually between 6 and 12 who meet in an informal setting to talk about a particular topic that has been set by the researcher.” The researcher conducted two focus group sessions with the two equally divided groups of participants, because after transcribing the semi-structured interviews, the researcher wanted clarity and to crosscheck the findings from the interviews. Although the participants were equally divided in two groups of six individuals, the characteristics of these group varied in terms of age and language. The researcher ensured

the groups had different ages to ensure the study's findings were reflective of the experiences of undocumented Zimbabwean female migrants living in SA. The researcher divided the two groups into a Shona group and an English group so as to ensure participants in these group would be able to express themselves well amongst their peers and to the researcher.

The focus group meetings took place at Ramapulana Park in Atteridgeville, where each meeting lasted a period of two hours, on the 25th and 26th of March 2021. In this study, FGDs created multiple engagement between participants and the researcher, which provided a profound understanding of participants shared experiences. According to Campbell et al. (1999), a construction of homogeneous group is important for participants to feel relaxed talking to each other. Participants in the focus group discussions were able talk freely about their shared experiences as undocumented Zimbabwean female migrants living in Jeffsville. During these discussions, it was apparent that the female migrants shared the same sentiments about their vulnerabilities and survival mechanisms as undocumented female migrants. Furthermore, the composition of a focus group made it possible for the researcher to get feedback on several issues that could not be addressed during individual interviews. The use of focus groups for this study helped to trigger participants' memories, thus soliciting more information.

In addition to the two research methods, this study critically reviewed literature on female migration to SA, highlighting gaps in this body of knowledge, and explained how this study has contributed to address the gaps. It also allowed the researcher to compare and contrast different perspectives on migration in SA and discuss how this study fits within the broader literature in the field of study.

3.6 Ethical Considerations and Concerns

During the research, certain ethical considerations had to be abided by in order to protect the concerns of the participants such as their identity, personal information, and physical safety (Steffen, 2016; Wiles et al., 2006), so as to counter any challenges with which that the researcher will be confronted. These ethical considerations include informed consent, prevention of harm, confidentiality, and anonymity as a prerequisite prior to undertaking any of the empirical research suggested in this study (Quinney et al., 2016; Haggerty, 2004).

3.6.1 Informed Consent

Boeije (2010:450) defines informed consent as, "the obligation to outline fully, the nature of the data collection and the purpose for which the data will be used to the people or community being studied, in a style and language that they can understand". Participants were given a consent letter and were free to ask any questions in such case that they had not understood. The researcher explained the study and intentions of the study to the participants. The consent letter entailed the name of the institution, the researchers name and contact information, the purpose of the study. It also outlined the rights and responsibilities of participants. Participants had to individually sign the consent form before the interviewing process began. The consent solicited permission audio-record interviews and FGDs.

3.6.2 Confidentiality and Anonymity

According to Babbie:

> Anonymity is guaranteed in a research project when neither the researchers nor the readers of the findings can identify a given response with a given respondent.' With reference to confidentiality, the same author states that 'A research project guarantees confidentiality when the researcher can identify a given person's responses but promises not to do so publicly (Maxfield & Babbie, 2014:68).

Participants were informed that their identities would remain anonymous through the entire research process, through the use of pseudonyms. Furthermore, participants were advised to not reveal any of their personal information that did not relate to the study. The pseudonyms/codes were used in the consent forms and the dissertation. Participants were ensured by the researcher that the information provided was confidential, and solely for research purposes.

3.6.3 Prevention of Harm

The safety of participants and the researcher was important during the field research. The researcher made sure interviews were done in a safe environment and there was no risk of physical harm. First, the researcher identified an Atteridgeville local, who was familiar with Jeffsville, to help navigate around the settlement. This local was identified through the referral of well-trusted friend. In terms of the interviews, they took place in private spaces as previously mentioned. Private spaces were pivotal in ensuring that participants' lives would not be put in danger once the researcher had left, and that the interview process would go by smoothly

without interventions or harassment from neighbours and passers-by. To add to this, if the participants felt that the interview process had invoked mental instability, they were advised to contact the researcher, who would align them with a non-profit organisation that assisted with mental wellness. However, none of the participants in this study mentioned they were distressed or needed help.

During the research, the researcher also encountered challenges whilst trying to elicit information from the undocumented Zimbabwean female migrants. These challenges included language barrier, expectations, and withdrawals. Below is a brief explanation of each of these challenges encountered by the researcher whilst doing the field research.

3.6.4 Language Barrier

The researcher had to abandon some of the potential participants, because they only spoke Tonga and Kalanga, and were not well articulated in either Shona or English. Thus, the researcher chose not to interview these participants, because research findings could be distorted or inaccurate. Hence the main challenge was that the researcher had to find participants that could express themselves well in English and Shona so as to ensure the data collected would be reliable and accurate.

3.6.5 Expectations

The researcher observed that participants were slightly disappointed when they were told that the interview process would not yield immediate changes in their lives or expectations. Thus, before the participants signed the consent form the researcher, had to reiterate the study's objectives and purpose to ensure that participants were fully aware of what was to occur once the study was collected, and their role therein.

3.6.6 Withdrawals

Withdrawals are important in any research project because integrity in research is crucial (Maruca et al., 2003). Thus, the researcher did not force any participants to take part in this study and also allowed participants to withdraw during anytime of the research. During the two separate semi-structured interviews, participants opted to withdrawal from the interview process. One of the participants stated that she had to rush elsewhere, whilst the other stated that she was afraid that her identity would be exposed one day. The researcher had explained to her prior to the interview process that she would remain anonymous and during the time she

wanted to withdraw. Nonetheless, moving forward the researcher ensured that all participants were fully aware of anonymous aspect of the study, and that they were willing to try and finish the interview process.

3.7 Credibility and Trustworthiness of Data

By using two research methods, employing a purposive sampling method, and critically examining existing studies, the researcher sought to ensure the participants were credible and data was trustworthy. This was due to the fact that the researcher was aware of the criticisms associated with the qualitative research approach. According to Koch Harrington (1998) qualitative research is criticised for being subjective, biased, and lacking generalisability. Thus, the researcher attempted to get the highest possible quality of findings by using strategies to enhance credibility and trustworthiness. By using more than one method of data collection method, the researcher was able establish the degree of consistency and truthfulness in participants' responses. The researcher used the most common strategies as purported by Lincoln and Guba (1985) to develop trustworthiness and credibility. Through purposive sampling the researcher chose participants that fit the characteristics of the study. These 16 participants were chosen based on their documentation status, place of residence, gender, and nationality. This identification and selection process allowed the researcher to collect information that participants were knowledgeable of and would fit the purpose of the study.

Firstly, according to Polit and Beck (2012), credibility refers to the truth of the data or the participant views and the interpretation and representation of them by the researcher. The researcher ensured credibility by describing and verifying the research findings with the participants. The researcher's aim was to ensure that the results of these study was reflective of experiences of other undocumented Zimbabwean female migrants living in SA's informal settlements. According to Sandelowski (1986), a qualitative study is deemed credible if the narratives of human experience by individuals are similar to one another.

Confirmability was pivotal in ensuring that the researcher was trustworthy. According to Cope (2014:89) "confirmability refers to the researcher's ability to demonstrate that the data represent the participants' responses and not the researcher's biases or viewpoints". The researcher ensured confirmability in this research by describing how conclusions and interpretations were established. Although in the beginning, the hypothesis for this study was mainly influenced by literature, the findings of this study were not influenced by literature but were reflective of the real experiences of undocumented Zimbabwean female migrants living

in Jeffsville. The researcher also provided rich and direct quotes from the participants to avoid biasness.

Authenticity is the extent to which the researcher expresses the feelings and emotions of the participant's experiences in a faithful manner (Polit & Beck, 2012). The researcher did so by ensuring that the quotes used in the finding of this research were unedited and were purely indicatives of the experiences of the female migrants. To add to this, this was done by using Whittemore et al.'s (2001) proposed primary and secondary validity criteria, with credibility established in going back to the participants to ensure the researcher had transcribed the findings correctly and to their satisfaction. Whilst the researcher ensured they uphold integrity by giving a valid interpretation of the data, in doing so, the researcher hoped the reader would grasp the real experiences of undocumented Zimbabwean female migrants living in Jeffsville informal settlement.

Dependability was the last aspect used by the researcher to ensure credibility and trustworthiness. Dependability refers to the reliability of the data over similar circumstances (Polit & Beck, 2012). The researcher achieved this by ensuring that other researchers and authors work concurred with this research throughout the decision trails at each stage of the research process. According to Koch (2006), a study can be deemed dependable if the study findings were replicated with similar participants in similar conditions.

This study therefore attempted to triangulate research methods (interviews, focus group discussion, and field notes) in order to obtain trustworthiness and credibility. Trustworthiness was guaranteed through the purposive sample technique, while credibility was assured by the research method used. The study used a qualitative approach, semi-structured interviews, and focus groups in order to confirm insights obtained from the semi-structured interviews. Lastly, credibility was assured by forwarding the initial themes that arose from the process of data analysis to participants for their feedback and confirmation.

3.8 Data Analysis

Once the researcher generated the data from in-depth semi-structured interviews and focus groups, the data analysis process began. Mariano (1995:479) "describes data collection and

data analysis as proceeding hand-in-hand". For Jacelon and O'Dell, data analysis in qualitative research is a creative process, in which the researcher…

> … explores and reflects on the meaning of the data. In most qualitative traditions, the data analysis phase overlaps the data collection phase. As data analysis proceeds, the researcher moves back and forth between data analysis and data collection in order to create and explain the findings. Using data from the authors' research, common techniques of data analysis in qualitative research are presented… (2005: 217).

From this perspective, the researcher made use of the thematic analysis approach. Thematic analysis is a common approach to qualitative research (Guest et al., 2012). To add on, King (2004) argued that thematic analysis is a useful method for highlighting similarities and differences as well as for generating unanticipated insights. This was particularly important in ensuring that the voices and experiences of the undocumented female migrants were properly captured and represented in the thesis. The thematic approach involved examining themes and patterns, and patterns and making meanings from the datasets (Marks & Yardely, 2004). This approach, proved to be a valuable tool for analysing how gender, race and other categories of difference intersect to entrench the vulnerabilities of undocumented Zimbabwean female migrants.

To add to this, the researcher made use of codes during the thematic analysis. According to Guest et al. (2012:10) "codes are developed to represent the identified themes applied or linked to raw data as a summary marker for data analysis". Thus, the data for this research was in the form of audio recordings, of the semi-structured interviews and field notes. Thus, the researcher began the data analysis process by following the steps outlined by Bernard and Ryan (1998) for a grounded theory data analysis. Firstly, the researcher listened to the audio recordings transcribed the data before it was analysed. Secondly, the researcher assigned preliminary codes to the data in order to describe the content and to transcribe it. Thirdly, the researcher transcribed the data and identified patterns and possible themes by using the codes across the different interviews. Thus, thematic analysis was also useful for summarizing key features of a data findings, and further assisted the researcher to take a well-structured approach to handling data, helping to produce a clear and organized final report (King, 2004)

Lastly, to enhance the data analysis process, the researcher also made use of the Atlas.ti, to select and organise data according to predetermined themes. Atlas.ti, helped the researcher to extract, manage and compare datasets, which resulted in a graphical view of the data findings. (Foreman, n.d.). For this study, the datasets were field notes and interview transcripts from the semi-structured interviews and FGDs. When the data was sorted, categorised, and coded according to predetermined themes, the researcher drew on the principles of intersectionality, transnationalism, and agency to make meaning from the datasets. This helped the researcher to connect the findings to research problem and objectives of this study.

3.9 Summary

This chapter has presented the research methodology, research design, data collection methods and data analysis approach for this study. This chapter began by providing a wholesome introduction that briefly reflected on the study's main objective and the previous chapters. The introduction also presented definitions from Henning (2004); Creswell (2013) and Yin (2014) of a methodology, qualitative research design, and exploratory case study. The second section provided a table that was reflective of research objective, research questions, data sources, and analysis. The third section went on to discuss the research design and methodology. A description on the research site and participants was then provided to understand the environment and relations of local of foreigners in Jeffsville. The fifth section went on to provide research methods and data collection process used, the two primary research methods used were semi-structured interviews, and focus group discussions.

Additionally, the researcher used the linear snowball sampling technique to recruit participants. A description of the sixteen participants was then provided, as well as brief descriptions of the semi-structured interviews and focus groups that transpired. This was followed by the ethical considerations and concerns for the study. The ethical concerns and considerations included identity, personal information, and physical safety (Haggerty, 2004; Quinney et al., 2016; Wiles et al., 2006). The ethical considerations included informed consent, prevention of harm, confidentiality, and anonymity. The last section was the data analysis and thematic analysis and used Bernard and Ryan's (1998) steps for a grounded theory data analysis, where the data for this research was in the form recordings and field notes. To enhance the data analysis, process the researcher made us of Atlas.ti, to select and organise data according to predetermined themes.

The next chapter is Chapter Four of this study, which aims to discuss the outcomes of the methodology, presenting, and analysing the data collected in greater depth. The findings of this study will be organised according to the research objective as presented in Chapter One. The key sections as follows the key reasons why Zimbabwean females migrate to SA, the challenges of undocumented Zimbabwean female migrants, survival strategies of undocumented Zimbabwean female migrants, and lastly, the effects of the South African migration policy on Zimbabwean female migrants.

CHAPTER FOUR: PRESENTATION OF FINDINGS AND ANALYSIS

4.1 Introduction

This study set out to investigate the vulnerabilities and survival mechanisms of Zimbabwean female unaccompanied and undocumented migrants residing in Jeffsville, Pretoria. It was motivated by the fact that although there is a rich body of knowledge on Zimbabwean female migrants in SA see for example Amis et al., 2021; Chinyakata et al., 2019a; Hlatshwayo, 2019; Walker and Oliveira, 2015 there is still a paucity of studies that focus primarily on this category of migrants. Also, studies on South-South migration, and particularly African immigration into SA, have largely neglected the unique challenges of women, let alone the undocumented. Although studies such as those by Mulu and Mbanza (2021); Ncube and Mkwananzi (2020); Ojong (2017/2012) have focused on gendered aspects of migration, the feminisation of migration is still a research focus that requires more empirically-led projects. These aspects are drawn from Chapter One, which contextualised this study and it has outlined the research problem, main aim, objectives, and questions. This chapter therefore presents and analyses empirical data from selected participants living in the above-mentioned informal settlement. It draws on existing literature and theoretical conceptions such as intersectionality, transnational networks, and agency, as well as principle of qualitative research discussed in Chapter Two and Chapter Three to analyse the data.

Before the presentation of findings and analysis, this chapter firstly summarises the key points in Chapter Two, and secondly recapitulates the methodology, data collection and analysis processes. For example, Chapter Two analysed literature on African immigration into SA, which dates to early labour migration in contract mines. It was noted that female migration remained under-documented, because it was considered invisible, due to its clandestine nature. The exploration of current trends of African migration in SA in this chapter shows that SA post-apartheid has experienced an increase in mixed migration from all Africa (Landau, 2012; Neocosmos, 2010; Nyamnjoh, 2006). Research reflects an increase in female migrants to SA, due to the vast economic opportunities in comparison to those in their home countries. In the case of Zimbabwean female migrants, they emigrate to SA due to the political and economic instability in Zimbabwe.

Furthermore, Chapter two also explored literature on Zimbabwean migration and identified that undocumented, low-income, Zimbabwean female migrants in SA mostly settle in the

informal settlements of SA, such as Jeffsville. These informal settlements are characterised by inadequate access to safe water and sanitation, poor quality of housing, overcrowding, xenophobia, and crime exposing migrants to different forms of vulnerabilities (Meth, 2017; Richards et al., 2007; Ndinda & Ndhlovu, 2016).

The undocumented Zimbabwean female migrants vulnerabilities and survival strategies can be better understood through the lens of intersectionality, agency, and transnational networks (Bastia, 2014; Burkner, 2012; Levitt & Schiller 2004; Vertovec, 2004). The concept of agency was used to understand the ways in which undocumented Zimbabwean female migrants display agency in adverse circumstances, while the intersectionality approach was used to identify the multiple forms of oppression that undocumented Zimbabwean female migrants encounter owing to their gender, race, class, nationality, and undocumented status in SA. Lastly, the concept of transnational networks was used to identify the different ways in which undocumented Zimbabwean females made use of these transnational linkages between SA and Zimbabwe as a survival mechanism (Mulu & Mbanza, 2021; Hill, Collins & Bilge, 2020; Vertovec, 2004).

Chapter Three of this study discussed the choice of research design and methodology and rationale for choosing a qualitative methodology and case study design (Yin, 2014; Henning, van Rensburg & Smit, 2004), explaining that these choices were influenced by the research main objective and questions, as well as the view that migration experiences are largely subjective, and better understood through rich empirical data from personal interviews and focus ground discussions. This is because such rich data allows researchers to access the lives of migrants and make multiple meanings from their experiences of exile (Pineteh, 2010; Henning, van Rensburg & Smit, 2004). The key data findings in this chapter were drawn from the semi-structured interviews and focus group discussions with undocumented Zimbabwean female migrants living in Jeffsville informal settlement. The data for this research was collected from personal interviews and focus group discussions, with 16 participants selected through a snow-balling approach. After collecting the data, it was transcribed and sorted according to key themes developed from the research aim and objectives. The researcher therefore employed thematic analysis approach to generate meaning from the data. In order to ensure credibility and trustworthiness of data, the researcher relied on the most common strategies as purported by Lincoln and Guba (1985), namely, credibility, confirmability, authenticity, and dependability. For example, the researcher triangulated data collection methods to ensure the credibility and reliability of data (Henning, Van Rensburg & Smit, 2004).

The presentation and analyses of findings in this study are organised according to the research objectives as presented in Chapter One. This chapter will also present the quotations and descriptions of the experiences of the participants. The key reasons why Zimbabwean females migrate to SA are discussed under the following subsections: unemployment, hyperinflation, food security, and poverty, deepening economic crises and collapse of public services under the new dispensation. This is followed by a small section, which addresses the reasons and experiences of Zimbabwean females migrating to SA undocumented.

The second main heading is the challenges of undocumented Zimbabwean female migrants in Jeffsville informal settlement. This is sub-divided into gender-based violence and crime, exploitation and unemployment, xenophobia, medical xenophobia, and language barrier, poor housing structures and access to service delivery. The third main heading is the survival strategies of undocumented Zimbabwean female migrants. The subsections are transnational community, societies, and committees, transnational kinships and the *malayitshas* as member of the wider kinship system. The last heading discusses the effects of the South African migration policy on Zimbabwean female migrants.

4.2 Why Undocumented and Unaccompanied Zimbabwean Females Migrate to SA

In studying the vulnerabilities and survival strategies of undocumented Zimbabwean females, it is important to note these vulnerabilities begin at home and continue during the migration journey into exile. At home, different factors, such as, socioeconomic problems, gender, class, and educational abilities equal intersect to render them vulnerable. While these factors contribute to female decision to migrate, they equally inform us that the female migrant's struggle for survival begins at home (Chiweshe et al., 2014; Dugbazah, 2012; Chogugudza, 2008/2005). Moreover, the reasons stated here capture general patterns of Zimbabwean migration to SA regardless of gender. However, the data reflects some gendered aspects to the reasons for migrating, despite their gender neutrality. To this end, this discussion of the findings from this study provide an opportunity to access and understand the lives of female Zimbabwean migrants at home and also in exile. In this case, the researcher started the data collection process by determining why the participants decided to migrate.

Several studies on Zimbabwean migrants have explored the key reasons why undocumented and low-income Zimbabwean female migrants migrate to SA. According to Mbiyozo (2018) African female migrants come from a range of conditions in their home countries and arrive in SA seeking asylum, work, education, or the opportunity to live in a country with relatively high

gender equality. In the case of Zimbabwe, the dire economic climate is the main push factor for the undocumented female migrants. According to Green and Pick (2006:172), the "economic situations at the migrant's origin and destination are crucial to decisions about moving". Participants saw migrating to SA as a survival strategy, as it awarded them an opportunity to make more money, and to gain employment, as opposed to the circumstances they face staying in Zimbabwe. It is indicative of the fact that Zimbabwean females, amongst other African females, are exercising their agency through their decision to migrate to SA in pursuit of better social and economic opportunities. In this way, migration to SA has become a family survival mechanism that has positively redefined the role of females in society (Mbiyozo, 2018; McNay, 2000). Consequently, participants in this study identified the push and pull factors to be as follows: unemployment and access to employment opportunities, hyperinflation, food insecurity, poverty, deepening economic crises, and collapse of public services (hospitals and schools) under the new dispensation.

Unemployment in Zimbabwe

According to the participants who participated in this study, one of the main reasons for female migration from Zimbabwe is unemployment, where women seek access to employment opportunities in SA, including that targeted at undocumented migrants. This aligns with Nshimbi and Fioramonti (2014:57), who argue that emigration in the case of Zimbabwe can be attributed to two intersecting aspects, viz.: "...the political and economic crisis in Zimbabwe, which has encouraged out migration to SA's strong economy". Although this reason applies to all categories of migrants from Zimbabwe, research has shown that in patriarchal societies such as Zimbabwe, women are usually more often the victims of unemployment, simply because of their gender (Chiweshe et al., 2014; Dugbazah, 2012). For example, in response, one participant who had lost her job in the years of the economic meltdown in Zimbabwe had the following to say [all participants cited verbatim]:

> "*I migrated to SA in the year of 2009, because I was struggling to find employment in Zimbabwe. Prior to being unemployed I worked in a factory and during those years I was content with my job, salary and I had no intention to emigrate. Until the factory closed down, because they could no longer afford to pay us, and keep their business running. That is when the real hardships for me began. Since I had not furthered my education, I struggled to find employment opportunities. Furthermore, the job sectors I could work for were mostly retrenching or closing down, such as farms and factories,*

it seemed impossible for me to get employed again. I resorted to piece jobs but the money I made was not enough to look after my family and myself. I had to come to SA, because at least the rand has a value in Zimbabwe, most people that work in SA their families in Zimbabwe are doing considerably well" (ZimF03).

This participant has lived in SA for 12 years, and she now works as domestic worker due to the fact that she has no permit or passport to work in the formal sector. During the interview, the participant mentioned that "the main reason for migration to and within SA is due to variations in economic opportunities within the country and the region" (Landau & Segatti, 2009:5). Thus, for undocumented Zimbabwean female migrants, SA provides an opportunity to earn a living in various ways, such as the informal economy (Smit & Rugunanan, 2014). Here, emigration to SA is perceived as a solution to the political and economic crisis in contemporary Zimbabwe, and the participant chooses to exercise her agency not by participating in social activism for change in Zimbabwe, but by migrating to SA. Her words capture the challenges of someone without the requisite educational capabilities and skillsets to survive in a collapsing political and economy system like Zimbabwe. In a Zimbabwe still constrained by a patriarchal norms and educational policies that privilege the education of boys over girls, it is not surprising that this participant was not able to complete her education (Chogugudza, 2008; 2005). In this case, the participant's social class, as defined by their education, intersects with other structural issues, to render the participant vulnerable in the current Zimbabwean economic and political climate (Hill-Collins & Bilge, 2020; Bastia, 2014).

Hyperinflation, food insecurity and poverty

Furthermore, the increase in Zimbabwean migration and female migration is particular can be blamed on hyperinflation, food insecurity, and poverty. The collapse of the Zimbabwean economy touches all aspects of society. According to Mazuru (2014) hyperinflation was a consequence of the failed economy in Zimbabwe, leading to food shortages and decline of the agricultural sector, which resulted in an increase of citizens living below the international poverty line. Most participants in this study explicitly mentioned how they could not afford to buy basic foods during the time they were still employed in Zimbabwe. A participant who had taken agency to migrate to SA in hopes of being able to provide for her kids, after the death of her husband, had this to say:

"*I came to SA in 2010. My husband had died in 2007, he was the provider for our family. After I lost my husband, I began working as a domestic worker in the capital*

> *city of Harare. However, the money I was making was not enough to feed my family in the rural areas. I recall times when I got calls from my mother, who was looking after my three kids, asking me to send more money, because the money I had sent was not enough for just food?! It really pained me knowing that my kids and parents were still suffering even when I was working. Whenever I asked my mother what she bought with the money I sent, she would mention a few food items and say 'zvinhu zvirikudhura!'* [things are expensive]. *A loaf of bread in 2008 cost millions of Zimbabwean dollars, eating bread was a luxury, now imagine a plastic bag of groceries and my salary at that time as a domestic worker. This pushed me to migrate, because the thought of my kids sleeping or going to school hungry pained me. I just had to come to SA at and work. I was so happy when I got my first salary in SA, I went and bought groceries that fit into two shangani bags, and I sent it back home to my family in Hwange with a malayitsha*" (ZimF08).

Arguably, most Zimbabwean migrants were affected by hyperinflation, food security, and poverty, noted as push factors for general migration from Zimbabwe (see for example Hlatshwayo, 2019; Ncube et al., 2019). However, this participant story is a classic example of gendered aspects that rendered her vulnerable during this period and forced her to migrate. Because of the loss of her husband, she was forced to assume to the position of breadwinner in a context where this position has always been occupied by men, while at same time performing her maternal responsibilities (Dugbazah, 2012; Gouws & Stasiulis, 2015). Further to this, working as a domestic worker exposes us to the precarious nature of jobs occupied women, which means the effects of hyperinflations and food insecurity was likely severe on women like this participant (Hlatshwayo, 2019; Walker & Oliveira, 2015).

In this case, migrating to SA was also a poverty reduction strategy, to ensure that their families were able to maintain a decent standard of living (Tawodzera, 2014). The economic crisis in Zimbabwe did not only lead to many Zimbabweans being unemployed, but also resulted in hyperinflation, which caused food shortages and increases in other expenses. Participants in this study were heavily affected because they already formed part of the low income and lower class of their communities, which in turn resulted in them living on the very margin of poverty, as reported by participant ZimF08.

Deepening economic crises and collapse of public services under the new dispensation

When President Robert Mugabe's regime came to end, there was a renewed sense of hope. Many Zimbabwean imagined the new president Emerson Mnangagwa's leadership as a new beginning and an opportunity to rebuild a broken state. However, the imagined new dawn was merely an ephemeral period of utopia. In this study, a majority of the participants who migrated to SA during more recent years of 2015-2020 reported that Zimbabwe's dire economy remained a push factor, especially under the new dispensation of Emerson Dambudzo Mnangagwa. Mahere (2019) argues that the situation in Zimbabwe has worsened ever since the 2018 elections. For instance, just like in the year 2008, in the year 2018, the price of bread increased by 10% and the price of fuel also increased (Rapanyane et al., 2020). The social sector such as the public and health services have also not been spared from Zimbabwe's economic crisis. Some participants interviewed in this study further expressed how they migrated to SA to have access to better public and health services. Participant ZimF010 who had taken the agency to migrate to SA as a result of cultural sanctions, poverty, and desire to access quality education in SA, had this to say:

> "*I was born in the Mugabe era in the year 2000, and I came to SA in the year 2019, looking to further my education. When I was growing up, by parents always told me I was growing up during the hard times in Zimbabwe. I never utterly understood what they meant until l passed by O-Level certificate, and my mother struggled to raise money for me to further my education. Since my father had died, when I was in Form 2 and I still had two younger siblings, and my older brother my mother had to support. I had to step up and find work at the age of 17. That is when I understood what my parents meant by hard times. When Mnangagwa became president, I was hopeful that things in Zimbabwe would get better, and I would make enough money to go back to school. In the end, I figured migrating to SA was my best option to further my education, because in those two years, economically things got really bad in Zimbabwe. I could not imagine having a better future. During the time, I was learning in Zimbabwe the public schools did not have enough textbooks, desks, chairs, and sometimes teachers did not come to work, because they will be demanding salary increases. Considering that I really wanted to pursue my education, I wanted a school that had books and the ability to work afford to pay my own school fees*" (ZimF010).

Although this is a common reason for migration in studies on Zimbabwean migration to SA, this participant's experience is unique, since she is a single parent and sole breadwinner. Also,

Mugabe's leadership personified patriarchy, as it entrenched different forms of gender inequalities in Zimbabwean and forced women in particular to migrate (Chogugudza, 2008; Kambarami, 2006). As a woman living during the Mugabe hard times, she had to sacrifice her own education for that of her children, by opting to work at the age of 17. During these dark days, women were always the most vulnerable, because they pushed deeper into margins of poverty and discrimination, similar to what they experience in SA (Mbiyozo, 2018; Bastia, 2014). By the year 2009, the education system in Zimbabwe was referred to as a "national disaster" (Physicians for Human Rights, 2009:5; Mlambo, 2013:362).

Mlambo's (2013) analysis concurs with that of ZimF010, who faced the same predicament of her mother, who was the sole provider opting to further studies of her two younger siblings and older brother, whilst she had to drop out. The ZimF10 narrative supports the theory that although female migrants take the initiative and agency to migrate to SA, they face intersecting factors, owing to their gender in their home countries. Chow et al. (2011:7), in a study on female migrants, concurs that "owing to favouritisms toward sons, daughters often received less education, and therefore had fewer personal resources on which to draw in seeking employment, yet felt more obligation to remain in the city and send remittances home." It is apparent that although society is patriarchal in terms of opportunities offered to the girl child, in instances like that of participant ZimF10, females end up facing the double burden of being offered less opportunities than males. Females migrate to SA for their own social and economic emancipation, whilst still facing the obligation to send remittances to Zimbabwe.

Manguvo et al. (2011) note that the general economic collapse has had a tremendous effect on the government of Zimbabwe's provision for basic teaching and learning material since public secondary schools are mainly funded by the government. Thus, the consequence according to Manguvo (2011:43) is that "most public schools in Zimbabwe operated without basic resources such as furniture and books, a scenario that further demoralised the remaining teachers". Evidently, lack of basic resources in schools did not only demoralise teachers, but also participants such as ZimF010, and ZimF05. ZimF05, who has been living in SA for the past three years and works as street vendor in Jeffsville, had this to say:

> "*I migrated to SA because after completing my O-levels, I didn't get a chance to further my studies. My father was not really supportive of me furthering my studies because they thought I had not done well enough for them to keep sending me school, considering that I other younger siblings who needed the same opportunity. I honestly*

did not mind the decision my father took, because I knew how hard I had worked with limited resources such as text books and teachers that barely attended classes or put the effort to make you understand the work. I stayed two years without going to school, and then decided to migrate to SA in hope of working and eventually going back to school."

Mbiyozo (2018) concurs that indeed many African female migrants, migrate to SA seeking economic and education opportunities not available to women in their own countries. Nonetheless, one participant in this study stated Zimbabwe's failed health care system as their main reason for migrating to SA. According to Dhliwayo (2001:9), the privatisation and liberalisation of the healthcare sector resulted in "limited access to care to those who [could] afford the fees and [...] exposed the poor to potentially large, unexpected costs". Participant ZimF09, a mother who migrated to SA with her son seeking medical care, employment, and economic returns, had this to say:

"*I come from a rural area in Zimbabwe called Shurugwi, I am a single mother to my son, who has diabetes. I migrated to SA, because my son constantly needs medical attention and a good diet that promotes his wellness. During the years we were in Zimbabwe we struggled to get him his injections and medicines; sometimes they did not have them in pharmacies and sometimes they were too expensive for me to buy. In terms of his required diet, I struggled to buy, because I was not earning enough money from my job. I decided to migrate to SA so that my son could have access to proper medical care because my friend had informed me that public hospitals in SA are free of charge and I could also work to ensure that he eats what will promote his wellness*."

ZimF09's narrative and other participants in this study, exemplifies how the females gained agency and resilience in dealing with the economic crisis in Zimbabwe. From this perspective, the cultural sanctions, and structural inequalities due to their gender identity. For example, migration was primarily constructed as a 'male project' or as a 'male-led phenomenon', whereas the women were often portrayed as unproductive followers (Morokvasic, 1983; King & Zontini, 2000). However, this quote exemplifies how female migrants are taking charge of their own destiny, and redefining gender roles to ensure success of their own families. More specifically, work on female labour migration often highlights the migrant's role, both real and perceived (by self and family), in relation to the family as martyr mothers, dutiful daughters, or sacrificial sisters (Barber, 2000; Yeoh & Huang, 2000; Parrenas, 2001).

These reasons are gender neutral, but the excerpt cited here shows that under precarious socioeconomic and political circumstances, women are always at the centre of human suffering, due to their gender and expectations of motherhood (Mulu & Mbanza, 2021; Collins & Bilge, 2020). The main reasons for participants to migrate to SA reflect an exercise of agency in hope to fulfil migrant's role as economic providers for those back home, through transnational networks while in the diaspora. For example, Smit and Rugunanan (2015) note that female migrants maintain strong ties to family members in their home countries. These include significant flows of remittances, of both cash and goods, sent to family members back home. Indeed, this is evident in this study's findings, where participants' key reasons for migration from Zimbabwe to SA reflect that African females are empowering themselves and securing their future, families, and children by becoming active economic providers.

4.3 Experiences of Zimbabwean Females Migrating Undocumented to SA

Undocumented migration from Zimbabwe largely accounts for recent migration, with right wing SA politicians advocating for stringent border control. While in SA, many Zimbabweans also live undocumented, despite the special visa dispensation accorded to Zimbabwean as a strategy for addressing the issue of undocumented migration (Hlatshwayo, 2019; Moyo, 2020). It was therefore important to investigate why women, in particular, travel undocumented, along with their vulnerabilities and survival strategies on their journey to SA. Participants in this study mentioned how they migrated to SA without any form of legal documentation to work and live in SA. Two categories of participants were identified in this study, namely those that migrated with only a passport and had an expired visitors stamp on their passport, and those that migrated without a passport and border jumped into SA through the assistance of *malayitsha* or *gumaguma* smuggling syndicates that assist undocumented migrants to cross illegally into SA (Daimon, 2010).

Undocumented migrants and porous borders

It is unclear how many legal migrants are living in SA presently. According to Statistics SA figures from 2011, there are about 2.1 million people migrants in SA, with 68% from the SADC region. Over 45% of those from the SADC region were Zimbabweans (StatsSA, 2011). However, in SA, gender-disaggregated data is considered to be absent (Mbiyozo, 2018). Nonetheless, UNDESA (2017) notes that by mid-year 2017, female migrants accounted for 6.2% of the population in SA, and 44% of total migrants. Evidence shows that it is difficult to determine how many undocumented migrants there are in SA currently, accurate data on

undocumented Zimbabwean female migrants living in SA. Crush (2011:3) states that data on migrants in SA is hard to obtain partly "because of the phenomenon of irregular migration and partly because of inadequate data collection systems". Moyo (2020) meanwhile notes that Zimbabweans are the largest illegal migrant population in SA, due to the economic and political crisis that has led to many people to continue to flee to SA, some of them swimming across the crocodile infested Limpopo River. Participant ZimF02, who migrated without any travel documents for her daughter, with a *malayitsha* had this to say:

> "*Although I had a passport, my daughter did not have any documentation. The journey was scary and tiring for me, especially because I was migrating with my daughter, who was undocumented. We were sitting at the back of the bakkie with other travellers, the journey was so uncomfortable, my back hurt, considering the long drive, and the bad roads in Zimbabwe. I barely managed to sleep for the entire journey, because we were sitting with men who I didn't know, and I feared that if I slept I would end up in an inappropriate sleeping position and expose myself to harm. I also needed to make sure my daughter was fine and was not exposed to any harm from those strangers. When we got to the border, the malayitsha stopped at growth point just outside the border and he opened the truck gate where we were sitting, and he said all those without documents should get out of the truck. Even though I had a passport, I had to go out, because my daughter did not have any form of documentation. We were told to leave anything that was valuable, and our shoes, because we going to cross the river and our shoes could also get wet and slow us down when encountered by danger. Once we got out of the truck, a big, tall, and dark guy came (the gumaguma) the malayitsha told us to go with him. It was the six of us; two women, three men, and my daughter. We disappeared into the bushes and the gumaguma told us to walk in a straight line with our bodies against each other for security reasons, such a rape and crimes that maybe be committed by other gumagumas in the bush. It was so uncomfortable for me having to carry my baby and have a random man pressing on my back. Once we got to the other side, we waited at the fence on the SAn side. The malaisha parked his car on the side of the road and we all ran to the truck for our lives fearing arrest and deportation. For me, it was even harder, because I had to run with my daughter, and I also got cut trying to jump that fence. Crossing to SA was a bad experience for me*."

According to Daimon (2010) the Zimbabwe-SA border is one of most porous and fluid borderlands on the African continent, resulting in an influx of many undocumented

Zimbabweans migrating to SA. For instance, the narrative of ZimF02 of her journey to SA with her undocumented daughter illuminates several spheres of vulnerability that female migrants encounter whilst travelling to SA, while trying to cross Beitbridge border illegally. To add to this, prior to arriving at the Beitbridge border post, female migrants are vulnerable to medical conditions, such as back pains caused by conditions of the bakkies *omalayitsha* operate, and the roads in Zimbabwe. According to Thebe (2011) and Tshabalala (2019), *malayitsha* use old bakkies that are normally the worse for wear. Dastile (2013:282) notes that undocumented Zimbabwean female migrants who use the *malayitsha* system to illegally cross into SA are subject to inhumane treatment: "higher risk of gynaecological complications, particularly pregnant young mothers, whose propensity to migrate may be further fuelled by a partner who crossed the borders illegally". Hence, the vulnerabilities of female migrants on their journey to SA are greater than that of their male counterparts. Furthermore, according to Moyo (2020:66-67), the smuggling journey is full of a variety of activities such as "scaling the border fence and crossing the river and although undocumented migrants are safe from SAPs and SANDF they fall victim to *maguma-guma* (criminal gangs) who robbed them of their valuables and sometimes raped and killed women". Therefore, it is apparent that the vulnerabilities of undocumented Zimbabwean begin from the onset of their journey at the in the bakkie of the *malayitsha*, where the travelling conditions are appalling, at the Beitbridge border post, where they are at risk of abuse.

Inaccessible and unaffordable visa's and permits

The second group of participants had migrated to SA with a passport but did not have permit or the required documentation to work and live in SA. Mupedziswa and Gumbo (2001) contend that the influx of desperate Zimbabweans in the new millennium the visa regulations and application process became increasingly strenuous, and egregiously expensive. Before its discontinuation in mid-2009, a multiple entry visa valid for six months cost a non-refundable R2000 South African Rands (about US$150). More recently, in the draft amendment to the South African Refugee Act posted on 6 August 2015, an asylum-seeker would have only five days to make an application (Section 2[i]) and must "satisfy the RSDO refugee status determination officer that there are compelling reasons for such entry' other than through a designated port of entry" (Section 2[h]). Additionally, Moyo (2020) states that the selective and restrictive South African immigration policies limit opportunities for Zimbabwean labour migrants, for instance, the 90 days visitors permit to SADC citizens who cannot meet the requirements for work permits. It is worth noting that the 90 days visitor's visa does not grant

SADC citizens an opportunity to work in SA. Participant ZimF016, who migrated to SA with only her passport, and is currently working in Jeffsville as a street vendor, though she migrated with the intention of applying for a permit and working in the formal sector had this to say:

> "*I migrated to SA with a passport in the year 2016. When I decided to migrate to SA, I knew I needed to have a passport and some form of legal papers that would allow me to live and work in SA. I did not have the support of my family to migrate to SA, especially my parents, who were trying to do an arranged wedding instead of me trying to migrate for work. So, I decided to leave home in a rush before I caught in the web. I thought would apply for an asylum when I got to SA. However, as I was journeying to SA, I was sitting next to a woman who claimed to have been living and working in SA and was on Zimbabwean Special Dispensation Permit. I told her that I intended on applying for asylum. She advised me not to do, because she said I would not get approved, because many Zimbabweans were applying for them and there was a backlog, and that I had no guarantee in getting it because DHA would evaluate my case and give me the verdict. So, I thought of applying for an actual work permit, but I do not meet the criteria for a work permit and the DZP programme closed on new immigrants applications. For now, I am focused on making money and looking after my family in Zimbabwe*" (ZimF016).

Since this participant was escaping from gendered norms and entered undocumented, her access to job opportunities was limited to highly precarious employment. According to Jayachandran et al. (2021) women are often confined to cultural barriers, such as restrictions on movement, and gender roles such as household and childcare. Similarly, in the case of ZimF016, whose parents opted her to get married rather than become an economic migrant to alleviate her and families poverty. According to Otoo-Oyortey and Pobi (2003) there are links between poverty and early marriages of girls, which prevents girls from achieving their full emancipation. Hence, participant Zimf016 exercised her agency to achieve her goals, although it was short lived. To add to this, the plight of undocumented Zimbabwean female migrants is further exacerbated by restrictive South African migration policies. Chiumia (2015) argues that the immigration documents, including work permits, student visas, and permanent residency visas, are either inaccessible or unaffordable to low-income and unskilled individuals. Indeed, it is evident that although participants in this study are migrating for survival, their vulnerabilities are a double-edged sword, because they encounter structural, cultural, and

societal limitations in Zimbabwe, and face restrictive migration policies that cascade from the time they arrive at the Beitbridge border post.

4.4 The Vulnerabilities of Undocumented Zimbabwean Female Migrants in Jeffsville Informal Settlements

The precursors of intersectionality argue that there are several domains of power that intersect to render women vulnerable. These domains include "structural, cultural, disciplinary and interpersonal" (Collins & Bilge, 2020:6). For Collins and Bilge (2020) and Crenshew (1989), we cannot understand the vulnerabilities of women unless these are analysed through the lens of these domains of power. This means issues such as social institutions, education, health, culture, sexuality, gender, race, class, social interactions all converged to either empower or discriminate against women. For this reason, using intersectionality as a prism through which to investigate the vulnerabilities of female migrants is crucial for this case study, because the inequalities experienced by female migrants are influenced by these domains of power (Ressia, et al., 2017; Bastia, 2014; Burkner, 2012). This section therefore explores the social and economic challenges faced by undocumented Zimbabwean female migrants living and working in Jeffsville informal settlement, through an intersectional lens. This category of migrants has to deal not only with different form of discrimination and exclusions, because of the intersections of the different domains of power mentioned above.

For example, the challenges mentioned by the participants under the category of social factors included high crime rates, xenophobia, gender-based violence, and discrimination. Economic challenges included low wages, unemployment, access to public services, poverty, and poor housing structures. Despite the challenges African female migrants face in SA, statistics continue to reveal an increase in female migration yearly. The United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs (UN DESA) estimates that female migrants comprise 44% of the total migrant population in SA. It is therefore pivotal to identify the social and economic challenges faced by undocumented Zimbabwean female migrants.

Gender-based violence and crime

Post-apartheid SA has a long and well documented history of gender-based violence and femicide. The increasing number deaths from gender-based violence have been written as an epidemic in SA (Abrahams et al., 2010; Graaff & Heinecken, 2017). According to Mbiyozo

(2018), although African females are increasingly migrating to SA their migration pathways and experiences involve greater exposure to violence in comparison to that of men. For Kiwanuka (2010: 177) this can be blamed indirectly on a

> "state that functioned to fuel intimate partner violence among migrant women through policies related to immigration legislation that are aimed to policing and deporting undocumented migrants in SA…"

For example, participant ZimF02 who once lived with her boyfriend, experienced abuse, and crime had this to say:

> "*During the time I arrived in SA, I decide to live with a boyfriend, he was the one working. When I needed anything, he would go buy the things I needed, but he never gave me cash. He also did not allow me to work, because he said that if I worked, I would lose respect for him, so he refused for me to work whenever I initiated it. Eventually I decided to work by force, and then he stopped coming home and loving me. He also said that because I was now working, I should also start paying half of the rent, and from then on, he completely stopped supporting me and my child. He also would beat me up, if I were coming from work late, even when I would explain to him my reasons for coming late. For example, one-night I got off a taxi a from work and group of men approached me trying to steal my phone and inappropriately touching me, I managed to escape, but it was a scary experience for me. I had to leave that job because even after confiding in my employer about how I nearly lost my phone and life, she let me go home early for a few weeks and then it went back to me leaving late. Leaving situations is my solution in SA when a boyfriend becomes abusive, when my employer becomes abusive, I leave. I have no one to protect me in SA and because I am undocumented the police are not an option. I don't want to get deported*."

This participant's experiences illustrate how gender and employment status intersect to reproduce gender-based violence in her relationship. Here, patriarchal norms are evident in the cultural domain of power as the partner perceives the woman's employment status as a threat to his powerful and control her over her (Collins & Bilge, 2020; Bastia, 2014). Participant ZimF02, like many others, claims to have experienced some form of gender-based violence, either with an intimate partner, or with strangers who can be thieves or locals in their area of

residence. Trends revealed that participants were more likely to experience some manner of violence in SA during their stay.

The 2018 Global Peace Index has revealed that SA is one of the most violent places in the world, ranked 38 out of 163; with one of the highest murder rates found globally outside of a warzone. Mulu and Mbanza (2021:32) concur by further stating that, "refugee and asylum-seeking women in SA experience gender-based violence, Afrophobia and racial discrimination in their daily lives as they navigate to integrate into host communities and participate in the labour market". It is apparent that issues of patriarchy, gender, and illegality have affected undocumented Zimbabwean female migrants, as they end up failing to benefit from the monitoring of just and fair legislation. The 2018 Victims of Crime Survey reports revealed an increase in crime levels for 2017/ 2018, as compared to 2016/2017, coupled with a decline in feelings of safety and trust in the criminal justice system. In the above quotation, ZimF02 endured gender-based violence without reporting it due to her status as unauthorised migrants. Thus, there is intersectionality between gender-based violence and crime for undocumented Zimbabwean female migrants, living in Jeffsville informal settlement.

Undocumented Zimbabwean female migrants face intersections of structural, cultural, and interpersonal domains of power entrenched by discriminatory migration policies, gender, and class in the case of undocumented Zimbabwean female migrant in SA (Collins & Bilge, 2020). For example, participant ZimF02, who had to stay in an abusive relationship due to financial dependence on her boyfriend until she became socially and economically emancipated. Hence, Hiralal (2017: 170) states that for migrant women "lack of job opportunities and income force women to stay in abusive relationships. For some it is a lifestyle choice in the midst of being a foreigner in the host country". Participant ZimF04, who was cohabiting with her partner, had this to say …

> "…*To be honest, we are just cohabiting, because I think life is better for me this way since I do not have proper job. Things are not that great, but I think of what happens if I leave him and end up with someone who is worse and more abusive? I just have to be strong*."

This speaks to traditional gender norms, where men are perceived a protectors and providers. This cultural domain of power has socialized this participant to believe that her existence depends on this type of social relation. Here, she lives at the mercy of her cohabiting male

partner, and this renders her more vulnerable to a variety of abuse (Hlatshwayo, 2019; Chogugudza, 2008). Intersectionality acknowledges that, "the ways in which the location of women of colour at the intersection of race and gender makes our actual experience of domestic violence, rape, and remedial reform qualitatively different from that of white women" (Crenshaw 1991:3). Thus, for undocumented and Zimbabwean female migrants, they are not only victims of race and gender, but also have their illegal status in SA, and poverty. Findings in this study explicitly stated having to endure abusive relationships, due to their inability to fend for themselves.

Exploitation and unemployment

According to Andall (2018:7) "immigration status has a critical impact on female migrants' living and working conditions. Yet most low-skilled intra-African labour migration occurs outside formal legal channels leading to an undocumented status and women's concentration in the informal economy". Undocumented female migrants in SA are therefore vulnerable to exploitation and difficulties in accessing formal employment especially given the increasing rate of unemployment in SA. In the case of Zimbabwe, challenges among Zimbabwean refugees are experienced before, during, and after arrival in SA (Idemudia et al., 2013). Similarly, in this study, all undocumented Zimbabwean female migrants interviewed broadly mentioned that life in SA was remarkably similar to life back at home in Zimbabwe. In SA, participants mentioned exploitation, low wages, and unemployment as major challenges in succeeding in their economic endeavours. El-Mikawy (1999:79) states: "the informal sector represents a marginal class of people who are subordinated to the domination of international capitalism [...] who are exploited in the sense of being paid substandard wages... or no wages at all... and therefore, concretise the industrial reserve army". For example, participant ZimF03, who does piece jobs working as an undocumented migrant for a cleaning company, states:

> "*Heeeee!* [laughs] *my employer only employs undocumented Zimbabwean migrants because they know that we come from a poor country and are very desperate for money and jobs. Thus, they can exploit and abuse us because they know we have nowhere else to go. I face a lot of challenges with my employer, where they treat us badly because they can see we have nothing. I feel exploited most of the time because I work hard only to get paid peanuts. They pay us 170 rands after a hard day of labour. We spend the day without eating. The money they pay us is meant to be for transport and work. I spend 70 rands on transport and sometimes I am only left with a 100 rands after a hard*

day of work. Hmm!!! [sighs] *one time she called me for work to babysit her daughter, her friend asked her why she had not offered me food, since I had been working the whole day at her house. I overheard her say to her friend "these ones don't they can spend the whole day without eating." That really hurt me, because I realised, they knew that they were making us suffer and abusing us*."

ZimF03 narrative highlights low wages and exploitation amongst undocumented Zimbabwean female migrants by the employers. Here "the fundamental structures of social institutions such as a job markets…" entrench this participant's financial vulnerability (Collins & Bilge 2020:7). Basok and Ilcan (2006) argue that the reasons for the vulnerable position of undocumented migrants is the interrelation of citizenship and human rights. For this reason, undocumented migrants are unable to access their human rights framework, especially those that work in the informal sector. Crush and Williams (2005) further state that, in SA, the informal sectors are key areas of work for both male and female undocumented migrants such as, construction industry, commercial farms, and small businesses. However, since these industries are still male dominated, the gender and illegality of female undocumented migrants such as those from Zimbabwe expose the worst forms of exploitation. Undocumented Zimbabwean migrants are therefore pushed towards the informal sector because they cannot access formal employment due to their visa status. Informal employment makes them vulnerable to exploitation and abuse, where, as Bosniak notes, undocumented migrants "usually lack access to many, if not most, civil and labour rights and social benefits, and they are afraid to avail themselves of the rights they may enjoy for fear of exposure to immigration authorities"(2004:323). Evidently the position of undocumented Zimbabwean female migrants in SA is vulnerable, precarious, and characterised with low wages, abuse, and exploitation. For instance, participant ZimF08, who works as a chicken plucker in Jeffsville informal settlement, had this to say:

"*I work for a SAn woman who sells broiler chickens. It is only Zimbabwean women who you will find doing this kind of job, because we are desperate, and we will do anything for money. This job is hard and dirty work, we slaughter the chickens outside, remove the chicken feathers and package them for her. We do everything outside no matter the weather condition, if it is too hot, too cold, or too windy. We have to boil the water with firewood which we carry from her house, for us to be able to remove the feathers properly. If we do not remove the feathers properly of the low water heat and limited firewood we collect from her house, she comes to shout, insult us, and threatens to beat*

us up or get us arrested. This job is bad, especially with the bad hygiene, because of limited water and the little money we get paid after doing such labour-intensive work. We get paid 120 rands per day, which nothing is based on the hours and amount of dirty work we do for her."

ZimF08 highlights issue of race, nationality, social class, and job status. Although, SA is a preferred destination for undocumented Zimbabwean females, securing employment is a challenge that participants in this study widely mentioned. This speaks to Smit and Rugunanan's (2014:5) contention that "one of the most daunting challenges refugees face in SA is securing a livelihood and more specifically, accessing formal employment". Thoka and Geyer (2019) conducted a study on migration and labour force participation in Gauteng, where they concluded that there is lower likelihood of employment for females than for men. For instance, Tayah (2016) and Ncube (2017) note that Zimbabwean female migrants in SA often work in low-paying and low-skilled jobs, although they might have completed secondary and tertiary education, due to a lack of recognition of their foreign qualifications, and the prejudices against foreign education in SA. In this case, their vulnerabilities are exacerbated by the intersection of structural and disciplinary domains of power (Collins and Bilge 2020). Participant ZimF010, who has a Zimbabwean School Examination Council (ZIMSEC) ordinary certificate, testifies:

"*Finding a job in SA is not easy. I migrated to SA thinking that I would have a readily available and earn a good salary, since I had successfully completed my o-levels. Instead, my friend who was hosting me during the time I arrived in SA laughed at me and told me those qualifications meant nothing in SA, and that I only qualified for the marketplace. For the first three months, I was waking up every day and going to look for work at the marketplace. A marketplace is normally a busy street corner, where you find foreigners holding placards written their job description, such as domestic worker, nanny, gardener, painter etc. My friend who I was staying with, upon my arrival kept on pressuring me to go there every day. I absolutely hated that place, because it was also a place where other females would sell sex, because they would become so desperate to earn something before the day ends. I never managed to get a piece job at the marketplace, because when a car that would genuinely want to hire a domestic worker would stop, there would be a swarm of female migrants wanting to seize that one opportunity. The market for me was a like jungle, instead I managed to get my first job from my friends' friend, who knew someone who wanted a domestic worker*."

Zimf010's narrative echoes some of the findings by Smit and Rugunanan (2014) and Polzer and Landau (2008), who broadly discuss challenges associated with African migrants in securing a livelihood. For instance, female migrants may have the qualifications to enter the formal labour markets, but nonetheless end up in the informal labour market. More specifically, scholars such as Kihato (2007), Jinnah (2013) ; Cox and Watt (2002) contend that, due to failed employment opportunities, female migrants end up working in the informal labour market and taking on precarious work. Organisations such as the Consortium for Refugees and Migrants SA (CoRMSA, 2010:24) recommended that SAQA "reduce, waive, or defer fees" for the certification of qualifications of asylum seekers and documented refugees. This is because the fees impact low-income migrants who do make or earn the required fees.

Associating these findings with the concept of intersectionality, it is evident that access to the labour market for an increasingly marginalised population of unskilled labour migrants and refugees is informed by the intersections of race, gender, class, geography, and citizenship (Nyamnjoh, 2006; Tsuda, 2010). There is interconnectedness between gender, nationality, and class when it comes to undocumented Zimbabwean female migrants accessing employment opportunities and exploitation in SA (Collins & Bilge, 2020; Lee & Piper, 2013).

For example, black South African women and migrant women have been occupying the domestic services sector, which is an important sector of employment for them (Griffin, 2011; Fish, 2006). Participant ZimF011, who has been living in SA for seven years, narrates how she migrated to SA knowing that she was entering the domestic service sector…

> "*when I migrated to SA, I already knew that I was coming to work here as a domestic worker. This is because I had an aunt who was already working in SA since 2005 as a domestic worker and was able to support her family in Zimbabwe fairly well. In Zimbabwe, I was also working as a domestic worker, but I was not making enough money to support my family and my husband who was no longer working due to injury he had gotten from his old work place. However, although we earn more money doing domestic service in SA, the work conditions are worse than those in Zimbabwe. Here I do piece jobs for domestic services in and out of Atteridgeville. In Zimbabwe, the employees treat us like family, but here, they treat us like animals that do not get tired and can be pushed around. For example, one of my bosses demands I come to her house at 7am three times a week, she does not offer me food and if she does it is food that is almost or has gone bad. The money she pays me is not enough for me to bring lunch to*

work, because I need to save money for my family. You know it is so painful to see them eating nice foods whilst you are working on an empty stomach."

This quote suggests that undocumented Zimbabwean female of their race, nationality, and gender. The intersection of these identities subject them to oppression, discrimination, and exploitation. Thus, Gaitskell et al. (1983) contend that domestic work is a black institution associated with African wage labour migrants in SA. To this end, Vanyoro (2019a) states that women do not constitute a single category, but instead, they are both united and divided by ethnicity and nationality. Therefore, undocumented Zimbabwean female migrants are at the intersection of identities that act as barriers to opportunities. For instance, Zimf09, who is a part-time domestic worker and hairdresser in SA, explains how she aims to broaden her technical skills because of her dire experience as an undocumented Zimbabwean female domestic worker under Mrs. X:

"*When I migrated to SA, I was ok with working as a domestic worker. However, after one bad experience, I realised I needed to broaden my skills that is when I learnt to do hair. An example is that I once worked for this exceedingly kind SAn woman. She was never a problem to me, she looked after me very well but her husband! [Sighs]. Whenever Mrs. X was not around, he would do inappropriate stuff. It first started with him always complimenting my sense of style, and then he started telling me how beautiful I was. I used to brush it off until one day Mrs. X was not around and then he came from my back and hugged me whispering in my ear that whatever we do Mrs. X would not find out. I was so shocked and distraught, I said to him I could not do that to Mrs. X and I just took my bag and never returned because I could not report to anyone*."

ZimF09 similar to that of ZimF011 narrative illuminate gender issues coupled with immigration status that undocumented Zimbabwean female migrants who work in SA encounter. According to a report by Hlanganiswa and Izwi (2020:6) "migrant domestic workers in SA encounter intersectionality of patriarchy, capitalism, racism and migration has affected DWs worst in SA". Therefore, undocumented Zimbabwean female migrants are subject to exploitation, as well as physical, and sexual abuse, owing to their gender and lack of legal rights in the domestic service sector (Vanyoro, 2019; Walker, 2015). The broader problem is the South African migration policies that does not consider vulnerable undocumented low-skilled and low-income migrants.

For example, post-1994, immigration policies were beneficial to highly skilled migrants, at the expense of their less skilled counterparts (Moyo, 2016). Dodson (2001) argues that the 1999 White Paper of the Aliens Control Act discriminated against females. Vanyoro (2019a) alludes to the fact that Southern African women are denied the opportunity to acquire the education and resources therefore they cannot qualify as highly skilled. Hence, undocumented Zimbabwean and low-income Zimbabwean female migrants sit at the intersections of overlapping systems of discrimination, such as racial discrimination, immigration status, gender identity, and social class.

Xenophobia, medical xenophobia, and Language barrier

Post-apartheid, SA has witnessed episodic xenophobic violence particularly in the years of 1998, 2008, 2015, 2019, and most recently 2020. According to Solomon and Kosaka (2013:5) xenophobia refers to "the fear or hatred of foreigners or strangers; it is embodied in discriminatory attitudes and behaviour, and often culminates in violence, abuses of all types, and exhibitions of hatred". Beyond the existing xenophobia encountered by foreigners in SA, medical xenophobia is becoming an increasingly dire phenomenon, where migrants and refugees experience the "negative attitudes and practices of health sector professionals and employees towards [them] on the job" (Crush & Tawodzera, 2011:1). For Mbiyozo (2018), xenophobia in SA is typically associated with able-bodied migrant men competing with South Africans for both work and women, as well as assumed to be committing crime. However, although the phenomenon of xenophobia is typically viewed as physical violence against African male migrants. According to Sigsworth et al. (2008:26) "most women encounter this phenomenon in the public spaces they make use of daily, for instance at work or in public". undocumented Zimbabwean female migrants in this study commonly mentioned being vulnerable to xenophobia, particularly medical xenophobia, which is exacerbated by the language barrier. Participant ZimF03, who has witnessed an episode of xenophobia, had this to say:

> "*Yoh! I am scared of Xenophobia* […] *I just know when they say "kwabalomsindo!"* [There has been noise] - *it means that they have started to target foreigners. I do not understand why we all cannot live together in peace as black Africans. When xenophobic violence begins, I just wish I can become invisible or I can be SAn. This is because they* [SAns] *can easily identify us* [foreigners]. *Being easily identifiable means that you can easily get attacked and lose your life or the small property you have worked*

for. Living in this place is a curse because you constantly have to hide you identity and try your best to blend in with South Africans to survive. Hmmm [sighs] *one-time xenophobic violence erupted, and they were head hunting foreigners in Jeffsville informal settlement. They were working with a referral system to identify anyone who was a foreigner, a lot of foreign men and women fell victim to violence, physical abuse, sexual abuse, and verbal abuse by those people. They identified foreigners by their association with other foreigners, their appearance* [sense of dressing] *and being heard speaking their native language such as Shona. Luckily for me, I am Ndebele, I do not really know how to speak Shona, and no-one here knows that I am Zimbabwean; it has helped me a lot when it comes to xenophobia*."

Although the literature suggests that foreign African men are the predominant victims of xenophobia, ZimF01's narrative amongst other participants in this study also shows how female foreigners living in Jeffsville consider themselves vulnerable during xenophobic episodes. For instance, Sigsworth et al. (2008:17) foreign female migrants "are often made more visible, and therefore more vulnerable to exploitation and xenophobia, through various 'markers of difference' that set them apart from the indigenous South African population". Here, 'markers of difference' exacerbate female migrants vulnerabilities and are associated with cultural wear, race, and ethnicity. Furthermore, xenophobia has been argued to bring lack of safety for Zimbabwean female migrants, because it sometimes results in burning and looting of their safe spaces (Mutambara & Maheshvari, 2019; Sigsworth, 2010).

Similarly, ZimF01 noted the narrative linguistic discrimination particularly the bodily badge/physical appearance and language, are key in identifying insiders from outsiders, and exposing foreigners to locals in SA (Batisai, 2016a; Gqola, 2008). The ramifications of xenophobia are that female migrants are forced to obscure or abandon their transnational connections that are pivotal as a survival mechanism, "psychological, and spiritual link with their countries of origin" (Sigsworth et al. 2008:17).

For Steenkamp (2009:4) "the remarkable feature of xenophobic violence against African migrants is that it is overwhelmingly perpetrated by black South Africans against black Africans." Associating this finding with the concepts of intersectionality, it is apparent that undocumented Zimbabwean female migrants do not only experience gender oppression, but also experience racism from black South Africans. According to Warner and Finchilescu (2003:36), during xenophobia, black South Africans attack mainly "black (im)migrants and

asylum seekers/refugees from other African countries". These attacks mainly occur in informal settlements, where a significant proportion of the population is undocumented female migrants (Ndinda & Ndhlovu, 2016; Sigsworth et al., 2008; Kirshner, 2012). The impact of this is that undocumented female migrants do not have a sense of belonging in either SA or Zimbabwe. For instance, ZimF014, who has lived in SA for the past seven years, and has only gone back to Zimbabwe twice, testifies that she feels insecure and lack of belonging in Jeffsville and Zimbabwe:

> "*I do not feel safe or feel at home in Jeffsville. To make things worse, I do not have family in SA, and I cannot go back home as frequently, because of my documentation status. Xenophobic episodes really make me feel homeless, especially when they cause me to be unable to work feed my kids. Going outsides when tensions are high puts you in a vulnerable position of harm to your personal life*."

For instance, Everatt (2011:1) states that "in May 2008, the world watched in horror as South Africans turned on African migrants with murderous intent, killing, looting, raping women and girl-children, and leaving tens of thousands homeless". To add to this, Sigsworth et al. (2008: 16) note that undocumented "migrant women felt caught in between two systems and unable to fully belong to or identify with either of them". Evidently, this study identifies that undocumented Zimbabwean female migrants face the 'intersectionality' of race, class, nationality, immigration status, and gender power relations oppressions, as purported by Crenshaw (1991). There has been visual evidence that they are victims of a plethora of intersecting factors, however, there is a dearth of literature that covers their lived experiences.

Furthermore, participants in this study mentioned language to be a challenge, noting that they were forced to quickly learn the local language in order to assimilate with the locals. The main cause of concern for participants in this study was that they were 'forced' to learn a language and 'abandon' their own languages as a survival mechanism. According to Morris (1998:1125), African migrants are identified by the "languages they speak, a supposedly darker skin colour and even the clothes they wear". In a study by Ojong (2002:67), she identified that female migrants were discriminated against for "not understanding the language" failure to understand the SAn languages had consequences on how they were treated and perceived by the locals. Language, traditional attire, and cultural practices are particularly important for women, because women are the bearers of culture; however, these markers can also heighten their vulnerabilities (Sigsworth et al., 2008).

Siziba (2014:174) adds that "language has emerged in SA as a boundary marking resource that profiles and excludes certain categories of people." In this instance, language is used to categorise and exclude foreigners who are identified as '*amakwerekwere*'. Siziba (2014:174) notes the word '*amakwerekwere*' refers to "speakers of a strange language", but the term has come to refer in strongly derogatory overtones particularly to African immigrants to SA. Participants ZimF01 from Mashonaland, who has been staying in SA for four years, and can speak at least five South African official languages, had this to stay:

> "*I am from Mashonaland in Zimbabwe, I never had to learn any other language besides English growing up. Since I arrived in SA in four years ago, I have had to quickly learn Tswana, and I can now speak Zulu, Ndebele, Tsonga, and Xhosa. To survive in this environment, especially without documents, you need to speak, and talk like them. Speaking your home language freely means making yourself vulnerable to all bad things that could happen to you as a foreigner. This is because they can easily identify you as a foreigner and can steal, exploit, and abuse you, knowing that you cannot express yourself and report the matter, because you can be identified as a kwerekwere. Most kwerekwere's are undocumented, so being able to speak at least one language in this environment is crucial, especially when xenophobia is rife*."

Whilst this participant expresses how language renders African migrants more vulnerable, and this challenge is not restricted to undocumented females. Also, many Zimbabweans tend to adapt and integrate, especially amongst South Africans, due to their ability to speak some of the local languages. However, living in an informal settlement like Jeffsville, the inability to speak a popular local language endangers the lives of vulnerable migrants, especially undocumented female migrants. For example, migrants who speak English only are often perceived as arrogant and pretentiously superior to locals, and therefore susceptible to different forms of discrimination in these informal settlements (Dodson, 2010; Landau & Polzer, 2008; Ndinda & Ndhlovu; 2016). In this study, language is a factor that further exacerbates inequalities and oppression amongst undocumented Zimbabwean female migrants in Jeffsville informal settlement. This is because language is used by South Africans to "impose silence on foreigners as a measure of power and containment." Language is another weapon used to make undocumented Zimbabwean female migrants vulnerable, on top of other forms of overlapping discrimination and oppression, based on their gender, class, nationality, and documentation status (Sigsworth et al., 2008).

According to Bourdieu (1991), language is a symbolic capital that can exacerbate inequalities faced by immigrant population, where migrants claim this capital as a means to other forms of symbolic, social, and economic capital. For undocumented Zimbabwean female migrants, they face multiple identities, such as race, class, gender, nationality, and migration status, and the impacts of these identities are multiplicative, reinforcing each other (Crenshaw, 1991). Thus, findings of this study reflect that language plays a significant role in the lives of undocumented Zimbabwean female migrants, because it exposes their identity and also is also a marker of social inclusion and exclusion.

In addition, undocumented Zimbabwean female migrants in this study commonly stated that xenophobia was not only a challenge in the community of Jeffsville, but also with public institutions, and in the face of state officials. Scholars such as Ojong (2006) and Maharaj and Moodley (cited in Crush and McDonald, 2002) have identified some of the different ways in which African female migrants contribute to South African economy, and how they sustain their livelihoods through the informal economy. However, the dynamism of the way in which immigrant entrepreneurs succeed in their business operations still raises controversy within the SAn small and medium enterprise (SME) sphere (Liedeman et al., 2013). Participant ZimF05 a street vendor had this to say:

> "*I work as a street vendor, and I do piece jobs within Jeffsville informal settlement. Most undocumented female migrants I know are most working within the informal economy and that is how we survive. However, we are constantly working in fear because sometimes a police officer can drive past me, and I become so afraid, because I worry that they can ask for my identity card and eventually arrest or deport me. My job relies on me constantly moving around and marketing the things I sell. Every time I leave my house in the morning, I am not guaranteed to come back home, or I can lose everything I have worked hard for, from theft, or bribery I need to give to the police. It is tough for everyone even those that have built their own small tables to sell things are at risk of losing their goods when police officers do raids or even when xenophobic sentiments arise within locals*."

As a female and undocumented migrant selling on the street, this participant exposed to different forms of challenges such as crime and police brutality. Also, while undertaking such precarious employment, due to a lack of access formal employment, this participant is exposed to both health and environment vulnerabilities, particularly during the winter (Mulu & Mbanza,

2021; Hlatshwayo, 2019). Masuku's (2006) contention is that migrants, especially undocumented females, are easy targets for police extortion, often due to their tenuous legal status and/or inadequate identity documents. Additionally, the HRW (2020) report on xenophobic violence in SA states that police raids have also targeted foreign-run businesses to crack down on counterfeit goods, with shops ransacked and destroyed. The report also alleges that the Department of Home Affairs and the police carried out "abusive documentation raids," in some cases denying detained foreigners court hearings or failing to bring them before a judge within the required time period. Hence, although undocumented Zimbabwean female migrants try to make ends meet by working in the informal economy, they remain at constant risk of getting deported, or losing all they worked for through bribery and theft.

Furthermore, Munyaneza and Mhlongo (2019) state that female refugees in SA face medical xenophobia by healthcare professionals. In a study by Crush and Tawodzera on medical xenophobia and Zimbabwean migrants access to public health services in SA it identified that "most important obstacle for Zimbabwean migrants trying to access public healthcare in SA is the denial of treatment to those who cannot produce the 'correct' documentation" (2014:660). The "correct" documents referred to in this instance are immigration papers. This then makes undocumented Zimbabwean female migrants vulnerable to poor access to public health services, as they do not meet the criteria for assistance. Participant ZimF06, who experienced medical xenophobia, had this to say:

> "*Accessing public services is a challenge, especially because I am undocumented. It is costly to get sick in SA, when I get sick, I opt to go to the private clinic or doctor around Jeffsville. This because at the public hospitals they take long to assist; you worse off if you are not SAn, the nurses can insult you and give you inhumane services. One time I got really sick, I just woke up and I had the worst headaches I could barely open my eyes. My friend walked me to the hospital, and we waited in the que for almost eight hours. When the nurse came, she asked for my identity card, I gave her my passport and she started flipping the page checking if I had a permit. She passed my passport around other nurses for them to check for stamps. During that time, they were passing side comments saying 'these Makwerekwere especially these Zimbabweans are always here and finishing the medicine for our people'. They finally helped me by giving me stop pains, but I still went to see a private doctor, because the headaches did not stop.*

Since that day, I vowed to myself that I would never step foot in the public hospital. Even though I do not earn a lot of money, I would rather go to see a private doctor."

ZimF06's narrative shows that in order to access healthcare, undocumented Zimbabwean female migrants face a wide range of possible experiences, and the process is gruesome. This is because there are gender differences in the utilisation of health care services (Bertakis, 2000). According to IOM, "migrant women are in a more disadvantaged position, as they may be unable to access continuous antenatal care, safe delivery facilities/assistance and contraceptives, and experience specific vulnerabilities due to the mobile nature of their livelihoods" (Mazars et al., 2013:25). Associating this finding with the concepts of intersectionality, it is apparent that SAn public hospitals triage migrants (Crush & Tawodzera, 2014). To this end, this study identifies xenophobia to be a challenge for undocumented Zimbabwean female migrants. This category of migrants face xenophobia in two forms, that is, institutional xenophobia, and xenophobia at community level. Undocumented Zimbabwean female migrants are a category that face overlapping discrimination related to their gender, documentation status, nationality, and race (Collins & Bilge, 2020; Crush & Tawodzera, 2014).

Poor housing structure and access to service delivery

According to Huq and Miraftab (2020), informal settlements are spaces of convergence for refugees, asylum seekers or internally displaced people, and they provide precarious shelter to refugees and low-income migrants. However, informal settlements lack water, sanitation, electricity, ventilation, as well as means for food preparation and storage. Such conditions are associated with a range of health risks, including diarrhoeal and respiratory diseases (Shoniwa & Thebe, 2020). The 2009 National Housing Code's Informal Settlement Upgrading Programme of SA identifies informal settlements on the basis of the following characteristics: illegality and informality; inappropriate locations; restricted public and private sector investment; poverty; vulnerability; and social stress. For Meth (2017:408), most informal housing in SA is "constructed from relatively basic, temporary, non-weather-proofed materials (namely cardboard, mud, plastic, wooden boards and metal) and usually single storey."

But these temporary spaces have become permanent homes for Zimbabwean female undocumented migrants because they access proper housing without legal documents and formal employment. For example, participant ZimF02, who stays alone with her daughter in a *mukhukhu* had this to say:

> "*Staying in a mukhukhu is extremely hard, especially rain season, because the rain seeps in the house and damages the property and makes us wet. The zinc structure is dangerous for us, because when it rains, we are vulnerable to getting electrical shocks; and because of the illegal connections things like our tv and refrigerators can die. All harsh weather element mean that a house can be easily destroyed by the wind or floods. There is no security for us here. Night times are the scariest, because some men in the can harass you, some men can even inappropriately touch you. Also, at night if those men know where you stay, they can come and rape you or if they know that you stay alone, they can come and steal from you. Our houses do not have proper doors and the structure itself is weak to secure, it is extremely easy for thieves or rapist to come in. The people here never sleep, so if you come late from work these men can easily target you for rape or theft, and even if you scream no one will come and help you*."

ZimF02's narrative is similar to that of other participants who broadly mentioned issues of safety concerns such as rape and robbery associated with the adoption of alternative and often undesirable, sanitation practices. Focusing on African cities, Raleigh (2015:104) explains "violence risks are [linked] […] to the conditions of unplanned and underdeveloped urban spaces within African states". This study supports one of the findings in the current study, namely that undocumented Zimbabwean female migrants from Zimbabwe living in Jeffsville informal settlement, an unplanned and underdeveloped urban space are constantly at violence risks. In addition, Meth (2017:413) states that in South African informal settlements "fear is compounded by the relatively poor security features of their informal homes, particularly their locks, the presence, or more commonly, the absence of burglar guards and/or a fence surrounding the property". Indeed, issues of security and safety are a major challenge for undocumented Zimbabwean female migrants because the type of housing structure and environment only promotes their vulnerability to a plethora of challenges. Unlike their male counterparts, female undocumented migrants are more vulnerable to heinous crimes including rape and gender-based violence, in crime-ridden informal settlements like Jeffsville.

In addition to the challenges stated above of safety and security within informal settlements, the narrative of participant ZimF01 illuminates the challenges associated with poor access to service delivery within Jeffsville. The challenges stated were the use of external communal standpipes to access water for domestic use and communal toilets. Participant ZimF01 who

was shocked by the standard of living of Zimbabwean migrants in SA when she arrived, had this to say:

> "*When I first arrived, I was appalled by their living conditions. There were the two other female migrants living in a small room and now it was the four of us including myself and her daughter I had migrated with. We did everything in that small room, cook, eat, bath and sleep. Even if you were in your menstrual cycle, you would stand in a bucket and bath, whilst everyone else went about their business in that small room. I found it very unhygienic, because sometime the other girls would be cooking less than three steps away from where you would be bathing. Hmmm! [sighs] the toilet for me was a nightmare: we shared a communal toilet with everyone which was outside our place of residence, sometimes the toilet would be so filthy, because anyone and everyone can use it! The hygiene in this informal settlement is appalling. I only stay here because this is the only place I can afford to stay*."

Shoniwa and Thebe (2020) note that in SA's informal settlements, access to safe sanitation is challenge, and it is a major social concern of post-apartheid SA. The lack of, or inadequate access to improved sanitation facilities and poor hygiene practices was flagged by the participants in this study as being a significant challenge. This is because participants have to improvise their hygiene practices in order to make do without failed delivery. Furthermore, research has highlighted that a high number of users and lack of cleanliness are interconnected (Muanda et al., 2020; McFarlane, 2008). For instance, the high number of users and long waiting queues found to be related to the high number of blocked toilets and lack of availability of facilities at the time of need (Muanda & Haldenwang, 2020). To add to this, access to electricity is a major challenge in informal settlement such as Jeffsville, which results in individuals making illegal connections. Gaunt (2012) states that the poorest households are generally the slowest to find connections, hence, in SA, they fail to derive benefit from the Free Basic Electricity programme. Eskom notes that illegal connections can result in electrocution and loss of life. Indeed, undocumented Zimbabwean female migrants are vulnerable to life threatening illnesses and events as a result of the environment in which they live.

Drawing on the relationship between intersectionality and migration, there is an overlap between the low-income immigrants/refugee female immigrants and place of residence (Mulu & Mbanza, 2021; Bastia, 2014). For example, Eddin (2011) writing on Jordan notes that when it comes to the intersectionality of class and gender, class in the country is very much related

to place of residence. Anthias and Yuval-Davis (2005) concur that intersectionality is the best approach to the study of social inequalities, as it places people within multi-dimensional positions in social spaces. This study found that undocumented Zimbabwean female migrants are, by virtue of their documentation status, income status, class, gender, and race, are compelled to live in informal settlement, where they are exposed to different vulnerabilities (Mulu & Mbanza, 2021; Collins & Bilge, 2020; Bastia, 2014).

4.5 Survival Strategies of Undocumented Zimbabwean Female Migrants

The previous section identified the vulnerabilities of undocumented Zimbabwean female migrants living in Jeffsville informal settlement and assessed the impact of these challenges on their lives. This section explores the survival strategies and mechanisms as an exercise of agency and resilience by undocumented Zimbabwean female migrants. Resilience in this case refers "to the processes that individuals, families and communities use to cope, adapt and take advantage of assets…" when confronted with challenges (Hemson, 2019:62). The findings in this study identified transnational networks to be at the core of the survival strategies by undocumented Zimbabwean female migrants. Schiller et al. (1992:1) define transnationalism as "the process by which immigrants build social fields that link together their country of origin and their country of settlement". Participants widely mentioned being active in transnational communities, and transnational kinship groups. More significantly, this study identified that *malayitsha's* are agents who have become embedded in transnational networks and are instrumental in the survival strategies of undocumented Zimbabwean female migrants. Thus, this section is organised as follows: transnational communities; transnational kinships groups; and *malayitsha's* embedded in transnational networks.

Transnational community, society, and committees

The emergent approaches in migration theory describe the ways in which contemporary migrants live in 'transnational communities'. These types of migrant community, according to Portes (1997:812), comprise "dense networks across political borders created by immigrants in their quest for economic advancement and social recognition. Through these networks, an increasing number of people are able to live dual lives". This suggest that transnational communities are an important coping mechanisms and support structure, as well as a way of alleviating the burden of migration.

Crush and McDonald (2000) note that in SA, there are networks of migrants with strong links back home and institutional support through unions and nongovernmental organisations, but these networks tend to either represent a relatively narrow constituency (such as mine workers) or are very new and poorly funded (such as the Cape Town Refugee Forum). "These are not unimportant organizations [sic] for migrants, and they are likely to grow in importance in the future, but their current role in protecting and expanding the rights of migrants is very limited" (Crush & McDonald, 2000:12). Hence, participants in this study hardly mentioned unions and non-governmental organisations, but instead transnational communities for undocumented Zimbabwean female migrants were identified through social fields and gatherings, such as church and informal settlement informal gatherings. Participant ZimF02, who attends church fastidiously every Sabbath, had this to say:

> "*I deal with my challenges through praying and going to church. The church I attend is the same church I attended growing up. Most people if not everyone in that church is Zimbabwean, and from the same area in Matabeleland. Going to church is a mental escape for me because I feel like I am at home with my family and I feel safe. When things get tough for me, I also ask my prophet to pray for me and he gives me holy water to keep me safe. Going to church every week for me renews my spirit and gives me strength to conquer all the challenges I face in SA, since no one else can protect us here. For me, going to church and God is what have kept me safe in this country*" (ZimF02).

Although churches are more social networks than transnational committees, they play a critical role in providing support to migrant communities in distress, and in helping migrants to reconnect with their home countries. This is because the churches have branches in several South African countries. For instance, Field (2017:1) examines the New Testament images of the church, arguing that "the church as God's Makwerekwere [sic] is a community in solidarity with the excluded, a community of affirmation of the excluded, a community of reconciliation and a transnational community." Participants like ZimF02, amongst others felt a sense of community and affirmation whenever they attended church. McGregor and Pasura (2014) on the role of diasporic transnational connections on the theology and practice of Zimbabwe Assemblies of God Africa (ZAOGA), identifies that there are transnational Pentecostal religious activities in the diaspora. In the case of female undocumented and unaccompanied migrants in Jeffsville, churches have become spaces for social cohesion and formation of collective identities in order to confront their vulnerabilities (Hemson, 2019; Sinclair, n.d.).

Consequently, undocumented Zimbabwean female migrants in this study mentioned how going to this church was a survival strategy that cured some of their problems and gave them hope for a better future. For them, this was as coping mechanism, as they continued to confront different challenges in their host community (Hemson, 2019).

Participants in this study also mentioned how the informal settlement of Jeffsville was a transnational community that formed part of their survival strategy. According to Crush and McDonald (2002), "informal settlements" are an aspect of post-apartheid SA city landscapes, which are witnessing the growth and rapid reconfiguration of new migrant spaces. Solomon (2000) also observed that most illegal immigrants contribute to unlawful squatting in SA, and since most aliens arrive in SA destitute, jobless, and homeless, the result is that they find their way into informal settlements. Participant ZimF010 who sees Jeffsville as a transnational community had this to say:

> "*When I first arrived in this informal settlement, I was shocked by the number of foreigners' here. It is almost like every poor and undocumented Zimbabwean is staying in an informal settlement. There are a lot of Zimbabweans and other nationalities in Jeffsville. Staying here is the only option we have because renting a proper house is expensive, and without documents it is difficult. Staying in a Mukuku is cheaper and allows you to send remittance and groceries back home. If you move around here, you might think everyone is SAn, because many try to conceal their identities through language, and try align themselves with the SAn culture by putting a gold tooth; and for some ladies style of dressing and hair dressing, to avoid being vulnerable*."

In the case of this participant, her transnational network was not limited to reconnecting with families and friends back home, but also included establishing a community with other African nationals in SA.

Crush and McDonald (2002) concur that informal settlements have become new migrant spaces in SA. Settlements contain increasing agglomerations of migrants and refugees from neighbouring countries and further afield who retain transnational linkages, whilst trying to make ends meet. Similarly, in a study by Pineteh (2008:87-88) he notes that Cameroonians in "[…] Johannesburg have engendered some degree of cultural adaptation and/or integration as a survival strategy." Participants in this study mentioned how they maintain strong transnational linkages in Zimbabwe and also adapting the SAn culture for survival purposes in the settlement. ZimF015, who is an elderly migrant, describes how she has had assimilate with

the SAn culture when it comes to physical appearance, but has maintained strong transnational linkages that assist her spiritually and psychologically. This is what she had to say:

> "*When I was in Zimbabwe, I used to wear traditional attire, tie a head scarf on my head, and only wear dresses and skirts. Also, when I got here, everyone seemed to be SAn, because everyone spoke the local languages more than their native languages. To add to this, I barely saw any Zimbabwean or African women dress in their traditional attire, or too conservatively. I was advised by my friend that cultural practices that are visible to the public make you vulnerable xenophobia and discrimination. So, if you look at me now, you will think I am from Zimbabwe or still associate myself with the Zimbabwe. But I actually do! I keep daily contact with my family, on weekends I attend Zimbabwean-based church that is also in SA, I am also part societies and committees groups from Zimbabwe. The truth is most of us here conceal our identities, but we never forget our roots, and we still maintain connections and cultural practices that are not for the public eyes, for our safety*."

Thirdly, informal gatherings such as burial societies and transnational ward committee groups were two of the transnational linkages that assisted migrants in their survival strategies (Muzondidya, 2010). Bloch (2010:245) notes that the two areas where undocumented migrants were most likely to have contacts with other Zimbabweans were through church (25%) and informal social activities (19%). Outside of these two areas, there was little or no interaction with others. Participant ZimF011, who is part of burial society and a ward committee group had this to say:

> "*Although I am undocumented, I am a member of burial society and ward committee group. Both of these groups serve a different purpose. In the event that I die in SA, they will ensure my body arrives to my village, and also give my family a pay-out. Every month I contribute 200 rands to the society, which is deposited into a bank account here. Some of the members in the society have permits and we used those to open and account. We meet every once in a while, to discuss matters that pertain the society. The ward committee is a WhatsApp group for diasporas' from my village the group acts a financial support relief group for those that are in dire need of financial assistance in Zimbabwe and SA. Hmmm* [laughs] *but you need to state a good case to get assistance because everyone needs help*."

Evidently, transnational communities such as burial societies and ward committee groups are pivotal for undocumented female migrants psychological wellbeing, and they also act as informal life insurance policies. This illuminates the fact that undocumented female migrants have taken agency for survival, regardless of their documentation status. For instance, the government of SA does not give them access to any form of institutional support as a result of their documentation status. However, undocumented female migrants have taken agency to secure their families and their own lives, through the creation of informal channels of insurance and communities (Pineteh, 2011; Rugunanan & Smit, 2015). These transnational communities created under adverse circumstances of discrimination and oppression, are a true testament to the ways in which this category of migrants have built resistance under adverse circumstances.

Transnational kinships

The available reviewed literature suggests that contact with home is crucial to the lives of those in the diaspora (McGregor & Pasura, 2014; Mbiba, 2010). As Bloch (2008:302) states, "Zimbabweans have strong social and economic ties to Zimbabwe and the inter-connectedness of these ties is evidenced by regular contact with family members in Zimbabwe and the sending of regular monetary remittances". A majority of the participants in this study mentioned how they were still in contact with their families in Zimbabwe and sending groceries as well as remittances. Participant ZimF012, who values her kinship ties with her family in Zimbabwe, stated:

> "*I am here in SA because I am working to provide for my family in Zimbabwe. I have to maintain contact with them, because they are my pillars of strength, and I know they genuinely love, support, and pray for me to prosper in everything I do here. For me, I do not have friends that I can call real friends, so my family in Zimbabwe is important. They even panic if they do not hear from me throughout the day. My family gives me guidance and courage to continue working hard and providing for them*."

Since interpersonal domains of power affect the lives of female undocumented and unaccompanied migrants from Zimbabwe, maintaining connections with friend and families back home is seen as a coping mechanism and a form of resilience (Collins & Bilge, 2020; Hemson, 2019). In this case, reconnecting with friends in Zimbabwe helps to lessen the burden of loneliness in exile. Similarly, in a study by McGregor and Primorac (2010), it is reported that emotional support was provided in the form of prayers to help the women in the

Zimbabwean diaspora migrants cope with the illness. ZimF012 and other participants in this study also attested to the enormous strength they got through maintaining transnational kinship ties, and by knowing that their families in Zimbabwe were praying for them. Thus, transnational kinships proved to be pivotal as a survival strategy for migrants' emotional and physical strength.

Similarly, in Gadzikwa (2017) study she notes that female migrants also relied upon the people left behind for emotional support. However, some undocumented Zimbabwean female migrants in this study mentioned how transnational kinship ties also made them feel under duress of patriarchal structures, as well as pressure to send remittances. Participant ZimF03, who values her kinship ties and feels the need to access transnational communities, had this to say:

> "*I try to solve my own problems, because if I try share my problems with family at home, they might say I am the problem, and I talk too much, and I should know my place as a woman and a worker. For instance, currently I am staying with an abusive boyfriend, when he abuses me, and I call my family to complain, or for support they take his side instead and say 'he is not going to pay lobola for you if you keep acting like the man in the relationship'. Here there is no one else to run to, sometimes I go to church for guidance and prayer when I meet challenges, and sometimes my family isn't supportive of me*."

Clifford (1994:313-14) concurs with this finding of gender relations in the migration process. As he states: "on the one hand, maintaining connections with homelands, with kinship networks, and with religious and cultural traditions, may renew patriarchal structures." Consequently, for undocumented Zimbabwean female migrants in this study, kinship ties were fundamental for emotional support, but they also limited the female migrants' ability to exercise agency, because these networks lead back to patriarchal structures that rendered them vulnerable before migration.

Malayitshas as members of the wider kinship system

To exercise a strong sense of agency and resilience, the community of migrants participated in different transnational kinship programmes, which helped them send remittances to their families in Zimbabwe. In this case, the establishment of *malayitshas* in SA was quoted as an important transnational network. According to Thebe (2011) *omalayitsha* have provided a constant flow of goods and cash to Matabeleland, and migrants to SA and are often part of the

community and members of the wider kinship system. For example, Maphosa (2007) states that in the rural districts of Zimbabwe, there are no banks and financial institutions, and most people who remit are undocumented migrants. Therefore, *malayitsha's* play a pivotal role in transnational networks. Participants ZimF015 amongst other participants who mention the significant role of *malayitsha's* as part of the wider kinship system had this to say:

> "*Malayitsha are what makes our lives in SA easier as undocumented migrants all undocumented migrants use them. They help us maintain our relationships with our families in Zimbabwe, since we do not get to see them frequently, and they also help us by transporting the groceries, goods, and the money we earn here. For me, my malayitsha was an old classmate of mine in school, and whenever he goes to drop of my groceries at home, he also updates me on how my family and kids. End of the year I get to go and come back with him,* even *though I am undocumented. Hmm [sighs] these malayitshas are Godsend, for some people they are survival is based on them, because when some undocumented migrants send them with groceries, their families also send them back with their chronic medication, such as those who started their HIV medication in Zimbabwe, and traditional foods and medication that promote their health*."

Participant ZimF015 illuminates here the ways in which *malayitsha's* can indeed be considered part of the wider kinship system, as purported by Thebe (2011). Thebe and Mutyatyu (2017) concur that illegal migrants in SA rely entirely on *malayitsha's* to maintain contact with families back home. Matsa (2020) also adds that *malayitshas* play a role of kin keeping amongst the migrant society. Thus, this study findings identified the *malayitsha's* are an agency of the transnational network that assist undocumented Zimbabwean female migrants to maintain kinship ties with their families in Zimbabwe.

4.6 Effects of SA Migration Policy on Undocumented Zimbabwean female migrants

According to Pretorius and Blaauw (2015), migration from Zimbabwe to SA has increased exponentially over the past decade, due to the political and economic meltdown in Zimbabwe. Consequently, Stulgaitis (2015:3) argues that "SA current web of law and policy echoes a wider global shift towards restrictive migration control, encouraging in-migration of skilled and temporary workers (with limited benefits), limiting entry by those deemed to be a burden to the state, and placing a high priority on national sovereignty and state security". Given that

one source of the vulnerability of female Zimbabwean undocumented migrant is structural domains of ZimF02 sees the significance of being a documented migrant:

> "*Nothing can make your life better than have the right documents to live in SA. This is because everywhere you try get employed, they ask for your papers and if you do not have them, they say they cannot help you. For me I have already overstayed my three months visitors permit, and I know if I try get my passport stamped again, I will be deported and banned. My only option now is working in the informal sector, where they don't ask of bother us about documents*."

As explained previously, female undocumented migrants are involved in precarious employment, due to their illegal status. This exposes them to different forms of abuse and exploitation (Mulu &Mbanza, 2021; Hlatshwayo, 2019). Pretorius and Blaauw (2015) note that most Zimbabwean migrants living in SA are undocumented and working in the informal sector. The effect of this, as noted by Bloch (2010) and Rutherford (2013), is that undocumented and unskilled migrants are left at a disadvantage, due to the casual nature of employment that is typically secured by Zimbabwean migrants. This results in them not being eligible for the six-month permit, and migrants being faced with the need to leave to renew the three-month permit. Many overstay and become illegal. Crush and Tawodzera (2011) add that many migrants are underemployed, and unable to get jobs reflective of their qualifications and experience, and they end up working lower-paid jobs.

However, SA's migration policy has tended to be exclusionary towards migrants from Zimbabwe. According to the Centre for Development and Enterprise a report by Makina (2008:21) on Zimbabwean female migrants in SA, 44 per cent are female, "a much higher proportion than among migrants from elsewhere in the region." This highlights the fact that Zimbabwean female migrants make up a significant proportion of the South African population. Nonetheless, they still encounter a vast number of challenges, such as restrictive migration policies, limited job opportunities, and other afore mentioned challenges in this study. For instance, participant ZimF01, who strongly feels that there are limited job opportunities for female migrants in SA, notes:

> "*employment opportunities are higher for males such as construction jobs like painting, in clubs also they also preferred to higher males than females. Us undocumented and low-income female migrants are mostly working in the caregiving sectors, such as*

domestic workers, nannies, and waitress, whilst undocumented men have a variety of jobs they choose from and work in."

Scholars such as Crush (1999) and Dodson (2001) have critiqued the South African 1991 Aliens Act control for both the language and the ideology on gender. The effect is that female migrants are not catered for or recognised in the migration policy, placing them at a disadvantage in relation to documentation status and employment opportunities in SA. Although, the South African government has instituted a special dispensation for Zimbabwean migrants, it tended to privilege those with formal employment. Because many undocumented female migrants work in the informal sector, they do not qualify for this special dispensation (Mulu & Mbanza, 2021; Hlatshwayo, 2019).

It is stated that for both temporary migration and permanent immigration there should be "rules of entry driven by labour-market need," admitting "individuals who have desirable skills, expertise, resources, and entrepreneurial will" (Republic of SA, 1997:19). Dodson (2001:76) argues that Southern African females are relegated to the margins of poverty because they are "routinely denied the opportunity to acquire such skills and resources and they are automatically disadvantaged by the application of such criteria for (im)migration eligibility."

According to Mazars et al. (2013:16) "despite SA's constitutional guarantee of basic rights and policy frameworks taking migrants into consideration, implementation challenges impact negatively on migrants' well-being". For instance, participants in this study mentioned how education and healthcare is considered free for all but note that they still cannot access both. ZimF010, who migrated to SA in hopes of furthering her studies had this to say:

"*When I arrived in SA, I was informed that the public hospitals and schools here are free for all. However, when I do need access to the hospitals, for example, I get scared because of my past experiences, and how I was awfully treated as a foreigner*."

Similarly, in a study by Duponchel et al. (2010) in Alexandra Township, 39 per cent of those who had tried to access healthcare reported having been refused access because they did not have adequate documents, where as a result, undocumented Zimbabwean female migrants can be at risk of losing their lives as result of failed access to the healthcare system. It is notable that restrictive migration polices continue to render the opportunities for undocumented, low-income Zimbabwean female migrants, who are increasingly migrating to SA as a survival mechanism. South African migration policies are discriminatory towards low-income African

migrants and are gender blind to migration and gender (Dodson et al 2008; Lennep 2019). As a result, undocumented Zimbabwean female migrants will be rendered from opportunities and continue being vulnerable beings in SA.

4.7 Summary

This chapter has explained how different domains of power intersect to entrench the vulnerabilities of undocumented female migrants from Zimbabwean. Drawing empirical data collected from Jeffsville, the chapter has shown how gender, class, education, illegal status, social interaction, education, and so on have exposed this category of migrants for different forms of exclusions, discrimination, and exploitation in SA. The findings of this study therefore show that women's experiences at home and throughout the flight to exile and in exile are influenced by the gender and gender norms, as well as the other interrelated factors (Angu & Mulu, 2020; Mbiyozo, 2018). As these factors continue to intersect to influence the migration experiences, the feminisation of migration will become even more imperative. The chapter discussed how undocumented females cope and adapt during these challenges, and how they exercise their resilience and agency when confronted with these vulnerabilities. The experiences of the community Zimbabwean migrants were therefore through the conceptions of intersectionality, transnational networks, and agency (Collins & Bilge, 2020; Hemson, 2019).

This chapter presented the empirical results from the qualitative research. The focus was on the vulnerabilities and survival mechanisms of undocumented Zimbabwean female migrants living in Jeffsville informal settlement. According to the findings of this study, several results presented in the literature were confirmed. In analysing the key reasons for migrating to SA of the respondents, the study revealed that many undocumented Zimbabwean female migrants emigrated from Zimbabwe due to political and economic instability, in pursuit of better social and economic conditions in SA.

The study also revealed that undocumented Zimbabwean female migrants were migrating to SA due to the cost and time associated with acquiring a legitimate passport, and the porousness of the Beitbridge border post (Kiwanuka, 2010; Daimon, 2010; Tshabalala, 2019). This study identified that undocumented Zimbabwean female migrants in Jeffsville are mainly from poverty-stricken urban areas and rural areas in Zimbabwe (Crush & Tevera, 2010). The findings revealed that indeed, undocumented Zimbabwean female migrants exercised agency

in the mist of adverse circumstances that include patriarchal and structural limitations (Batisai, 2016b; Levko-Everett, 2005; Parrenas, 2001).

With regards to their vulnerabilities, it was established that undocumented Zimbabwean female migrants are vulnerable to gender-based violence, crime, medical xenophobia, xenophobia, language barriers, unemployment, exploitation, poor housing structures, and access to service delivery (Hiralal, 2017, Idemudia et al., 2013; Crush et al., 2005; Chekero & Ross, 2018; Meth, 2017). Through the lens of intersectionality, this study identified that these challenges had negatively impacted their lives. because they also faced oppression and discrimination owing to their multiple identities such as gender, race, class, documentation status, and nationality (Bastia, 2014; Chinyakata et al., 2019a; Vanyoro, 2019a).

However, the qualitative data analysis also revealed that undocumented Zimbabweans employed survival strategies to overcome adversities. These survival strategies were causally linked to the concept of transnational networks. Respondents mentioned transnational communities in the form of the church, societies, and committees. These gave them a form of sense of solidarity and inclusion, as well as a form of dependable insurance.

Transnational kinship ties were crucial for the respondents' wellbeing and support structure that provided genuine love and support for migrants (Rugunanan, 2015; Bloch, 2010; Moyo, 2020). A minority of the participants mentioned how these kinships ties reinforced patriarchal structures. The findings of this study also identified that *malayitsha's* were part of the wider community of transnational kinship ties, who ensured survival of migrants families in Zimbabwe through transportation of goods, remittances, undocumented migrants, and kin keeping for undocumented migrants (Thebe, 2011; Hungwe, 2013; Nzima et al., 2017). This study also identified that the South African migration policy was exclusionary towards low-skilled, low-income migrants, and gender (Dodson et al., 2008; Crush, 1999; Farley, 2019). Furthermore, the SAn migration policy had poor implementation, which negatively affected the lives of the undocumented Zimbabwean female migrants living informally in Jeffsville (Boynton, 2015).

The next chapter discusses key issues that have emerged from this study and puts them into context of broader social configuration in the field of migration and considers them in terms of the principal of intersectionality. It also summarises the previous chapters, the overall findings,

and finally provides suggestions to improve the lives of undocumented female migrants from Zimbabwe, as well as and recommends areas for further research.

CHAPTER FIVE: DISCUSSIONS, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5. 1 Introduction

With the increasing number Africans trying to cross into neighbouring countries as well as into Europe, transnational migration has in fact become the main indicator of the level of despair and desperation in Africa today (Kane & Leedy, 2013; Landau, 2011; Nyamnjoh, 2006). The search for new livelihoods or simply a place for political refuge because of ethnic conflicts, civil war or merely the collapse of political and economic systems continues to push Africans as economic migrants and refugees away from their homelands (Kane and Leedy, 2013; (Neocosmos, 2010). This exponential increase in migration across the African continent has resulted in new forms of inclusion and exclusion, as well as impassioned claims to autochthonous citizenship (Landau, 2012; Nyamnjoh, 2006). It has led to deepening anti-migrant sentiments, which have erupted into spells of xenophobic violence across Africa, with right wing politicians clamouring for securitised and militarised borders as a strategy to curb migration. In the countries of destination, we see migrants experiencing the same vulnerabilities that forced them to flee from the home countries. SA's restrictive policies and over-bureaucratised migration process has resulted in many Zimbabwean female migrants, migrating undocumented and illegally staying in SA. The undocumented status exposes these migrants to several social and economic challenges (Moyo, 2020; Landau, 2012; Nyamnjoh, 2006).

In SA, African migrants are targets of xenophobic attacks, because they have been repeatedly blamed for unemployment, poverty, and crime. Here, the presence of African migrants perceived "as an existential threat to SA's collective transformation and renaissance" (Landau, 2011:1). This is because, since the collapse of apartheid, SA has become the main migration destination for many Africans fleeing wars, political persecution, and economic deprivation (Neocosmos, 2010; Pineteh, 2010). Although SA is now home for nationals of most African countries, Zimbabweans top the list with many living without proper documentation. This places them at the mercy to different forms of discrimination, where today there are calls for the repatriation of all illegal migrants especially Zimbabweans from SA, and for the border between the two countries to be fortified (Landau, 2011; Neocosmos, 2010). There is an extensive body of knowledge on Zimbabwean migration to SA, which captures migrant's border crossing experiences and lives in exile. While many of these studies have addressed

gendered issues of migration, there is a paucity of studies focused mainly on the vulnerabilities of undocumented female migrants from Zimbabwe.

As discussed in Chapter Four, for undocumented Zimbabwean female migrants, the main purpose for emigrating was for economic purposes, while for some, it extended beyond this. For example, some respondents stated that they emigrated for education, food security, and social emancipation. This confirms the assumptions by the agency approach, which claims that individuals have the ability to make an independent decision, regardless of structural limitations and cultural sanctions (McNay, 2000). Undocumented Zimbabwean female migrants are disrupting gender roles by gaining independence and autonomy through their decision to migrate and providing for their families left behind (McDuff, 2015; Batisai, 2016b; Gouws, 2010; Zvisinei & Juliet, 2018). It is against this backdrop that this study was conceived. The study's main objective is to critically examine the vulnerabilities and survival mechanisms of undocumented Zimbabwean female migrants living in Jeffsville informal settlement. It accesses and analyses these vulnerabilities and survival mechanisms through the lens of theoretical conceptions such intersectionality, transnational networks, and agency.

This study developed from a research problem that argued that although there is a rich body of knowledge on Zimbabwean migrants, most of these studies have been gender neutral, or have investigated the migratory experiences of women as an objective of a broader projects. In cases whereas given project takes women as its subject, there has been minimal focus on the vulnerabilities of undocumented migrants and how different domains of power intersect to exacerbate their vulnerabilities (See for example Amisi et al., 2021; Moyo, 2020; Hlatshwayo, 2019). The main contribution of this study to the existing body of knowledge is its ability to use an intersectional lens together with other migration conceptions to make meaning from empirical data from a selected group of undocumented female migrants. Since the findings of these studies have revealed that women's experiences of migration, there is an increasing need for the feminisation of migration and has contributed to the body of knowledge on the area of migration and on female migration from Zimbabwe to SA, with a particular interest in undocumented cases.

5.2 Summary

The introductory chapter provided the background to the study, statement of research problem, research objectives, research questions, significance of the study, and described the scope of the project.

In Chapter Two, a critical review of literature was provided on historical African immigration into SA as well the current trends and patterns of migration in SA. Literature indicated that current trends and patterns of migration into SA have changed considerably since the end of apartheid (Posel, 2006; Kanayo et al., 2019; Crush & Chikanda, 2012; Mbiyozo, 2018). In the same vein, political and economic instability amongst African migrants have pushed migrants to flee their home countries to SA in search of greener pastures (Bisschoff, 2012; Dinbabo & Carciotto, 2015; Pineteh, 2010; Kanayo et al., 2019). Literature further indicates that undocumented Zimbabwean female migrants, amongst other African female migrants, are increasingly migrating to SA and settling in informal settlements (Posel, 2012; Meth, 2017; Mulu and Mbanza, 2021; Bastia, 2014). However, owing to their undocumented status and abysmal environment in which they live, they are vulnerable to a plethora of challenges, and need to adapt survival mechanisms. Chapter Two also provided a conceptual framework for the study and examined the vulnerabilities and survival mechanisms of undocumented Zimbabwean female migrants through the lens of agency, transnational networks, and intersectionality.

Chapter Three provided a wholesome explanation of the research design and methodology used in this study. Firstly, the chapter presented the research objectives, research questions, data sources and analysis in the form of a table. Secondly, a discussion on the research design and methodology was provided in detail (Maruca et al., 2003; Creswell, 2009; Yin, 2009). Thirdly, a description of research site and the participants was given. This was followed by a review of literature on the research method and data collection process (Guest, 2017). The study used semi-structured interviews, focus group discussion, and data in the form of audio recordings and field notes (Bless et al., 2013; Longhurst, 2003). In order to identify the population sample, a snowball sampling technique was used (Etikan et al., 2016). The chapter concluded by highlighting the ethical considerations and concerns for the study.

Chapter Four provided the empirical evidence on the vulnerabilities and survival mechanisms of the undocumented Zimbabwean female migrants living in Jeffsville informal settlement. The findings in this study concurred with the literature review in Chapter Two. The chapter

began by identifying the determinants for migration and the reasons of Zimbabweans female migrants migrating undocumented. The second part of the chapter identified the migrants challenges/experiences, and the ways in which migrants have been impacted by their documentation status, and the environment in which they live. The findings indicated that undocumented Zimbabwean feel migrants face a plethora of challenges such as unemployment, exploitation, gender-based violence, crime, xenophobia, medical xenophobia, language barrier, poor housing structures, and failed access to service delivery (Collins & Bilge, 2020; Bastia, 2014; Andall, 2018; Sigsworth et al., 2008; Meth, 2017; Mulu & Mbanza, 2021).

The third section dealt with the survival mechanisms adapted by undocumented Zimbabwean female migrants living in Jeffsville informal settlement. The findings reflected transnational networks, such as kinships and communities, were part of their survival strategies adapted by these female migrants (Thebe, 2011; Thebe & Mutyatyu, 2017; Crush & McDonald, 2000). This chapter concluded by assessing the different ways in which SA migration policy affects the lives of undocumented Zimbabwean female migrants.

5.3 Discussion

Using empirical data collected from 16 undocumented female migrants, this study has produced several interesting findings. Firstly, although the study focused on these migrants' vulnerabilities in SA, their lives have been a constant struggle against different vulnerabilities at home and during the journeys to SA because of different gender norms (Chiweshe et al., 2014; Helliker, 2014; Chogugudza, 2008; Carling, 2005). To understand their vulnerabilities also required making meanings of the lives in Zimbabwe before migration. This was evident in the reasons for migration and their experiences of border crossing (Moyo, 2020). Secondly, the principles of intersectionality provided a clearer lens by means of which to gain entry and analyse the vulnerabilities of undocumented female migrants. From the empirical evidence cited in this study, it was clear that their vulnerabilities were as a result of intersections of different domains of power, namely, structural, disciplinary, cultural, and interpersonal. These domains of power emerge from genders, race, social class, education, job market, and social interactions, amongst other aspects (Mulu & Mbanza, 2021; Collins & Bilge, 2020). When these domains of power intersect, they render migrants vulnerable to different forms discrimination, exploitation, and victimisation. Because of their legal status, their access to

employment tends to be limited to precarious jobs, such as domestic work, or street vending (Moyo, 2020; Hlatshwayo, 2019).

Making a conscious decision in a repressive society to secure a better livelihood for themselves and their families was a determinant factor for undocumented Zimbabwean female migrants, migration to SA. Contemporary large-scale migration from Zimbabwe has its origins in the structural adjustments policies when growing unemployment started to increase (Crush &Tawodzera, 2017). However, in the 2000s, Zimbabwe's macro economy and political landscape began to deteriorate and emigration from Zimbabwe began to increase (Crush & Ramachandran, 2015). The collapse of the economy had a domino effect on other aspects of the Zimbabwean society such as the public services and the employment sector, which resulted in mixed migration (Crush & Tevera, 2010). As a result, this study identified that undocumented Zimbabwean female migrants were a category of migrants emigrating to SA.

Thirdly, since Zimbabwe is not yet a home to return to, undocumented female migrants had to exercise their resilience and agency to survive in SA. Here, they relied on their transnational networks and faith-based organisations as a coping or survival mechanism. This entailed seeking divine intervention from a supreme being, maintaining relationships with family and friends in Zimbabwe, and at the same establishing new networks with migrants form other African countries (Hemson, 2019; Pineteh, 2008). This study identified that SA has transnational networks for migrants, such as institutional support and nongovernmental organisations, but these networks tend to either represent a relatively narrow constituency, or are very new and poorly funded (Crush & McDonald, 2000). This was evident in the findings, where participants reportedly did not have confidence in the institutional support, or knowledge on how to access certain organisations.

For this reason, this study identified that although informal settlements are plagued with multiple challenges for undocumented Zimbabwean female migrants. Informal settlements are places with burgeoning transnational communities. Crush and McDonald (2002) note that informal settlements have become new migrant spaces in SA, where migrants and refugees from neighbouring countries and further afield who retain transnational linkage, are increasingly establishing a base for themselves in SA (Crush & McDonald, 2002). Migrants engender cultural adaption, mannerisms, dressing like locals, for the purposes of safety, while still maintaining strong linkages with their countries of origin (Pineteh, 2008; Hungwe, 2012).

5.5 Recommendations

Improving the lives of undocumented Zimbabwean female migrants in Jeffsville is fundamental for them to achieve full social and economic emancipation. This study provides the following recommendations to the Zimbabwean government, South African government, non-profit organisations, and the Department of Home Affairs.

Recommendations to the Zimbabwean government include the need for employment programmes that will alleviate the economic plight of Zimbabweans. Secondly, there is a need to address the process of acquiring a passport it should be less bureaucratised, time consuming, and expensive.

For the government of SA, there is a need to educate South Africans about xenophobia. The government ought to set strict laws against employers who exploit the undocumented immigrants, in terms of wages, as well as working hours and working conditions. The SAn government should establish gender inclusive policies that acknowledge the increase in female migration participation in labour markets. The SAn government ought to introduce permits for low-skilled labour migrants. The SAn government ought to impose strict laws on those who commit gender-based violence and crimes against females. SA's government should further investigate claims of institutional xenophobia and institute swift improvements.

Recommendations for non-profit organisations: NPOs ought to assist all undocumented migrants in acquiring legal documentation, and fight against employers who exploit undocumented migrants. Lastly, NPOs ought to participate more in informal settlements, and their presence and work must be more visible within SA's informal settlements.

Furthermore, there are several recommendations to the Department of Home Affairs. The Department should consider making the process of acquiring legal documentation less expensive for low income immigrants. The Department should employ additional staff to manage the process of acquiring legal documentation.

To this end, these recommendations will help alleviate the vulnerabilities of undocumented Zimbabwean female migrants and also assist them in achieving their social and economic goals as labour migrants and individuals within the society of Zimbabwe and SA.

5.6 Suggestions for Further Research

A study of this nature can never be totally comprehensive, and there is always room for exploring other areas that are relevant to the study of women, along with their place of residence and work. This project should be extended into a comparative study of both male and female undocumented migrants and documented and undocumented female from Zimbabweans, using a larger sample.

5.7 Conclusion

Chapter Five provided an introduction, delineations of the study, discussion of key findings, summary of chapters, conclusions, recommendations, and areas for further research. The chapter began by providing a wholesome introduction for the study and delineations of the study. Following that was a discussion of the key findings. Chapter five also summarised all the five chapters of this dissertation. Furthermore, the chapter provided recommendations for the governments of Zimbabwe and SA, Department of Home Affairs, and non-profit organisations. Lastly, this chapter provided areas for further research.

REFERENCE

Abrahams, N. Jewkes, R. & Mathews, S. 2010. Guns and gender-based violence in SA. *SAMJ: South African Medical Journal*, 100(9): 586-588.

Adepoju, A. 2003. Continuity and changing configurations of migration to and from the Republic of SA. *International Migration*, 41(1): 3-28.

Adepoju, A. 2004. Trends in international migration in and from SA. *International Migration: Prospects and Policies in a Global Market*, 7: 59-76.

Adepoju, A. 2005. Review of research and data on human trafficking in Sub-Saharan Africa. *International Migration*, 43(1-2): 75-98.

Adepoju, A. 2008. *Migration and social policy in Sub-Saharan Africa.* Geneva, Switzerland: International Organization for Migration.

Adjai, C. & Lazaridis, G. 2013. Migration, xenophobia, and new racism in post-apartheid SA. *International Journal of Social Sciences Studies,* 7(9): 1192.

Agbobli, E.K. 2013. *The influence of entrepreneurial and market orientations on small scale agricultural enterprises in the Vryburg region*. Unpublished PhD Thesis, Central University of Technology, Free State: SA.

Akinola, A.O. 2018. The South African xenophobic question: a reflection on the complicity of state actors. *Ubuntu: Journal of Conflict and Social Transformation*, *7*(1):53-79.

Albin, E. & Mantouvalou, V. 2012. The ILO convention on domestic workers: From the shadows to the light. *Industrial Law Journal*, 41(1): 67-78.

Alfaro-Velcamp, T. & Shaw, M. 2016. 'Please go home and build Africa': Criminalising immigrants in SA. *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 42(5): 983-998.

Alfaro-Velcamp, T. 2017. "'Don't send your sick here to be treated, our own people need it more": Immigrants' access to healthcare in SA", *International Journal of Migration, Health and Social Care*, 13(1): 53-68.

Ally, S. 2008. Domestic worker unionisation in post-apartheid SA: Demobilisation and depoliticization by the democratic state. *Politikon*, 35(1): 1-21.

Amisi, M. Vanyoro, K. Archibald, T. Gould, C. & Mulondo, M. 2021. How violence against women and children is represented in research. *Policy Brief*, 157.

Amit, R. & Kriger, N. 2014. Making migrants' il-legible': the policies and practices of documentation in post-apartheid SA. *Kronos*, 40(1): 69-290.

Amrith, M. & Sahraoui, N. (eds.) 2018. *Gender, work, and migration: Agency in gendered labour settings*. London and New York: Routledge.

Andall, J. 2018. Intra-African female labour migration: Common issues, work, and rights. *Migration for Structural Transformation*, 7: 67-89.

Anderson, J.R. 1990. The adaptive character of thought (1st ed.). *Psychology Press*. https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203771730.

Angu, P.E. & Mulu, T.N. 2020. The changing material conditions of Cameroonian migrants in SA: what does this say about an "Afrophobic" post-apartheid state? *African Human Mobility Review*, 6(2).

Angu, P.E. 2019. Living on the fringes of life and death: Somali migrants, risky entrepreneurship, and xenophobia in Cape Town. *African Human Mobility Review*, 5(3): 1674-1695.

Anthias, F. & Yuval-Davis, N. 2005. *Racialized boundaries: Race, nation, gender, colour and class and the anti-racist struggle.* London: Routledge.

Atasoy, Y. 2006. Governing women's morality: a study of Islamic veiling in Canada. *European Journal of Cultural Studies, 9*(2): 203-221.

Baison, P. 2021. 'Recruitment' and job-seeking mechanisms for Zimbabwean women care workers in the domestic services sector in SA. *African Human Mobility Review*, 7(1).

Bakewell, O. 2010. Some reflections on structure and agency in migration theory. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies, 36*(10): 1689-1708.

Barber, P.G. 2000. Agency in Philippine women's labour migration and provisional diaspora. In *Women's Studies International Forum*, 23(4): 399-411.

Barchiesi, F. 2011. *Precarious liberation: Workers, the state, and contested social citizenship in post-apartheid SA.* New York: Sunny Press.

Basok, T. & Ilcan, S. 2006. In the name of human rights: Global organizations and participating citizens. *Citizenship Studies*, 10(3): 309-327.

Bastia, T. 2014. Intersectionality, migration, and development. *Progress in Development Studies*, 14(3): 237-248.

Batisai, K. & Manjowo, L. 2020. Renegotiating gender identities and sexual bodies: Zimbabwean migrant women's narratives of everyday life in SA. *Gender Questions*, 8(1): 1-23.

Batisai, K. 2016. Interrogating questions of national belonging, difference, and xenophobia in SA. *Agenda*, 30(2): 119-130.

Batisai, K. 2016b. Transnational labour migration, intimacy, and relationships: how Zimbabwean women navigate the diaspora. *Diaspora Studies*, 9(2): 165-178.

Bekker, S. 2015. Violent xenophobic episodes in SA, 2008 and. *African Human Mobility Review*, 6: 229.

Bennett, F. 2014. The 'living wage', low pay and in work poverty: Rethinking the relationships. *Critical Social Policy*, 34(1): 46-65.

Benyera, E. & Nyere, C. 2015. An exploration of the impact of Zimbabwe's 2005 operation murambatsvina on women and children. *Gender and Behaviour*, 13(1): 6522-6534.

Bernard, H.R. & Ryan, G.W. 1998. Qualitative and quantitative methods of text analysis. *Handbook of Research Methods in Cultural Anthropology*, 1: 595-646.

Bernstein, A. 2011. SA's migration policies a regional perspective.

Bertakis, K.D. Azari, R. Helms, L.J. Callahan, E.J. & Robbins, J.A. 2000. Gender differences in the utilization of health care services. *Journal of Family Practice*, 49(2): 147-14

Bezuidenhout, A. & Fakier, K. 2006. Maria's burden: Contract cleaning and the crisis of social reproduction in post-apartheid SA. *Antipode*, 38(3): 462-485.

Black, R. Crush, J. Pederby, S. Ammassari, S. McLean Hilken, L. Mouillesseux, S. Pooley, C. Rajkotia, R. 2006. Migration and development in Africa. *An overview*, 7: 160-167.

Bless, C. Higson-Smith, C. & Sithole, S. L. 2013. *Fundamentals of social research methods: An African perspective.* 5th ed. Cape Town: Juta.

Bloch, A. 2006. Emigration from Zimbabwe: Migrant perspectives. *Social Policy and Administration,* 40(1): 67-87.

Bloch, A. 2008. Gaps in protection: Undocumented Zimbabwean migrants in SA. *Migration Studies Working Paper Series,* 38: 1-19.

Bloch, A. 2010. The right to rights? Undocumented migrants from Zimbabwe living in SA. *Sociology*, 44(2): 233-250.

Boeije, H. 2010. *An analysis in qualitative research.* London: Sage Publications Ltd, pp. 75-92.

Bosniak, L. 2004. 'Human rights, state sovereignty and the protection of undocumented migrants. In B. Bogusz, R. Cholewinski, A. Cygan & E. Szyszczak (eds) *Irregular migration and human rights: Theoretical, European and international perspectives*. Leiden: Martinus Nijhoff.

Bouillon, A. 1996. "New African immigration to SA." Paper presented at South African Sociological Association Conference, Durban.

Bourdieu, P. 1991. *Language and symbolic power*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Brown, B.B. 1983. The impact of male labour migration on women in Botswana. *African Affairs*, 82(328): 367-388.

Burkner, H.J. 2012. Intersectionality: How gender studies might inspire the analysis of social inequality among migrants. *Population, Space and Place,* 18: 181-195.

Camlin, C.S. Snow, R.C. & Hosegood, V. 2013. Gendered patterns of migration in rural SA. *Population, Space and Time,* 20(6): 1794.

Camlin, C.S. Snow, R.C. & Hosegood, V. 2014. Gendered patterns of migration in rural SA. *Population, Space, And Place*, 20(6): 528-551.

Camlin, C.S. Snow, R.C. & Hosegood, V. 2014. Gendered patterns of migration in rural SA. *Population, space, and place,* 20(6): 528-551.

Campbell, H. Law, R. & Honeyfield, J. (1999). '"What it means to be a man": Hegemonic masculinity and the reinvention of beer'. In R. Law, H. Campbell and J. Dolan (eds) *Masculinities in Aotearoa/New Zealand*. Palmerston North: Dunmore Press, pp. 166–186.

Carciotto, S. 2020. *Making asylum seekers more vulnerable in SA: The negative effects of hostile asylum policies on livelihoods*. International Migration.

Carling, J. 2005. Gender dimensions of international migration. *Global Migration Perspectives,* 35(1):1-26.

Casale, D.M. & Posel, D.R. 2002. The continued feminisation of the labour force in SA: An analysis of recent data and trends. *South African Journal of Economics,* 70(1):156-184.

Centre for Development and Enterprise (CDE). (2008). *Migration from Zimbabwe numbers, needs, and policy options.* [Online] Available: http://www.cde.org.za/images/pdf/Migration%20from%20Zimbabwe.pdf (September 25, 2020)

Charmaz, K. 2006. *Constructing grounded theory: A practical guide through qualitative analysis.* London: Sage.

Chauke, G. 2008. *Residents protest against planned relocation*. Tshwane Sun Atteridgeville.

Chekero, T. & Ross, F.C. 2018. "On paper" and "having papers": Zimbabwean migrant women's experiences in accessing healthcare in Giyani, Limpopo province, SA. *Anthropology Southern Africa*, 41(1):41-54.

Chinyakata, R. Raselekoane, N.R. Mudau, T.J. & Mapaya, M.G. 2019. Intersectional factors contributing to the vulnerability of young Zimbabwean female immigrants in Johannesburg. *African Renaissance,* 16(2):143-163.

Chinyakata, R. Raselekoane, N.R. Mudau, T.J. & Mapaya, M.G. 2019a. The vulnerability of young Zimbabwean female immigrants in Johannesburg, SA. *African Journal of Gender, Society & Development*, 8(3):251.

Chiumia, S. & Van Wyk, A. 2015. *Factsheet: The new special dispensation permit and what it means for Zimbabweans in SA.* africacheck.org.

Chiweshe, M.K. Chakona, L. & Kelliker, K. 2014. Patriarchy, women, land, and livelihoods on a1 farms in Zimbabwe. *Journal of Asian and African Studies,* 50(6):716-731.

Choane, M. Shulika, L.S. & Mthombeni, M. 2011. An analysis of the causes, effects, and ramifications of xenophobia in SA. *Insight on Africa*, 3(2):129-142.

Chogugudza, P. 2005. *Race, gender, class, sexuality, and culture: The lives of Zimbabwe women under patriarchy*. The University of Texas at Dallas.

Chogugudza, P. 2008. Politics of the diaspora-gender, politics, and the truth about the diaspora: The Zimbabwe experience. In *NAAAS Conference Proceedings* (p.1822). National Association of African American Studies.

Chow, E.N.L. Segal, M.T. & Lin, T. (eds.) 2011. *Analysing gender, intersectionality, and multiple inequalities: Global-transnational and local contexts*. Bingley: Emerald Group Publishing.

Cited in Physicians for Human Rights, Health in Ruins: *A man-Made Disaster in Zimbabwe*. (Cambridge, Massachusetts: PHR, January 2009), 5, at http://physiciansforhumanrights.org. [Accessed, 9/1/21].

Clifford, J. 1994. Diasporas. *Cultural Anthropology* 9(3): 302-338.

Collins, P.H. & Bilge, S. 2020. *Intersectionality: Key concepts*, 2nd ed. Cambridge: Polity.

Collins, P.H. 2019. *Intersectionality as critical social theory.* Durham: Duke University Press.

Collis, J. & Hussey R. 2009. *Business research: A practical guide for undergraduate and postgraduate student, 3rd* ed. London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Consortium for Refugees and Migrants in SA (CoRMSA). 2010. *Incidents of violence against foreign nationals.* Retrieved from cormsa-database-of-violence-against-foreign-nationals.pdf [accessed 2 January 2020] Available at: http://www.cormsa.org.za/wp-content/uploads/2009/05/.

Cope, D.G. 2014. Methods and meanings: Credibility and trustworthiness of qualitative research. *Oncology Nursing Forum* 41(1):89-91.

CORMSA. (2008). *Protecting refugees, asylum seekers & immigrants in SA.* CORMSA, 18 June History [online]. Available at http://www.lhr.org.za/sites/lhr.org.za/files/Cormsa08-Final.pdf. [Accessed 3 May 2021].

Cornelissen, S. 2009. Migration regimes and the politics of difference in contemporary Southern Africa. *The Round Table,* 98(402):347-360.

Cote, D. 'State fails in obligations to refugees'. *Business Day (BD) Live, SA*, 24 April 2015, p.2. Available from: http://www.bdlive.co.za/opinion/2015/04/24/state-fails-in-obligations-to-refugees. [Accessed, 20 January 2020].

Cox, R. & Watt, P. 2002. Globalization, polarization, and the informal sector: The case of paid domestic workers in London. *Area*, 34(1):39-47.

Crenshaw, K. 1991. Race, gender, and sexual harassment. *S. Cal. L. Re.* 65:1467.

Crenshew, K. 1989. Demarginalizing the intersection of race and sex: A black feminist critique of antidiscrimination doctrine, feminist theory, and antiracist politics. In *University of Chicago Legal Forum*, 140(1):139-167.

Creswell, J.W. 2013. *Steps in conducting a scholarly mixed methods study*. (Online) Retrieved from:http://digitalcommons.unl.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1047&context=dberspeaker. Accessed 21st May 2021).

Creswell, J. W. (2009). Editorial: Mapping the field of mixed methods research. *Journal of Mixed Methods*, 3(2):95-108.

Crisp, J. & Kiragu, E. 2010. *Refugee protection and international migration: A review of UNHCR's role in Malawi, Mozambique, and SA*. Geneva: UNHCR.

Crush, J. & Chikanda, A. eds., 2015. *Mean streets: Migration, xenophobia, and informality in SA*. Southern African Migration Programme.

Crush, J. & McDonald, D.A. 2000. Transnationalism, African immigration, and new migrant spaces in SA: An introduction. *Canadian Journal of African Studies/La Revue Canadienne des Études Africaines*, 34(1): 1-19.

Crush, J. & McDonald, D.A. 2001. Introduction to special issue: Evaluating South African immigration policy after apartheid. *Africa Today*, 7:1-13.

Crush, J. & McDonald, D.A. eds. 2002. *Transnationalism and new African immigration to SA*. Southern African Migration Project, and Canadian Association of African Studies.

Crush, J. & Skinner, C. 2017. *Rendering SA undesirable: A critique of refugee and informal sector policy* (No. 79). City: Southern African Migration Programme.

Crush, J. & Tawodzera, G. 2011. *Medical xenophobia: Zimbabwean access to health services in SA*.

Crush, J. & Tawodzera, G., 2014. Medical xenophobia and Zimbabwean migrant access to public health services in SA. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies, 40*(4):655-670.

Crush, J. & Tawodzera, G., 2017a. South-south migration and urban food security: Zimbabwean migrants in South African cities. *International Migration, 55*(4): 88-102.

Crush, J. & Tevera, D.S. eds. 2010. *Zimbabwe's exodus: Crisis, migration, survival*. African Books Collective.

Crush, J. & Tshitereke, C. (2001). 'Contesting migrancy: The foreign labor debate in post-1994 SA. *Africa Today*, 48: 49-70.

Crush, J. & Williams, V. 2005. International migration and development: Dynamics and challenges in south and Southern Africa. In *United Nations expert group meeting on international migration and development* (pp. 6-8).

Crush, J. 1992. Power and surveillance on the South African gold mines. *Journal of Southern African Studies, 18*(4):825-844.

Crush, J. 1997. *Covert operations: Clandestine migration, temporary work, and immigration policy in SA*. Southern African Migration Project (SAMP).

Crush, J. 1999. The discourse and dimensions of irregularity in post-apartheid SA. *International Migration, 37*(1):125-151.

Crush, J. 2008. The perfect storm: The realities of xenophobia in contemporary SA. *SAMP Migration Policy Series*, 50:401.

Crush, J. 2011. *Complex movements, confused responses: Labour migration in SA*.

Crush, J. 2017. *Informal migrant entrepreneurship and inclusive growth in SA, Zimbabwe, and Mozambique* (No. 68). Southern African Migration Programme.

Crush, J. Chikanda, A. & Tawodzera, G. 2015. The third wave: Mixed migration from Zimbabwe to SA. *Canadian Journal of African Studies (49)*:363-382.

Crush, J. Ramachandran, S. Pendleton, W. 2013. *Soft targets: Xenophobia, public violence and changing attitudes to migrants in SA after May 2008 (rep., pp. i-73).* Waterloo, ON: Southern African Migration Programme.

Crush, J. Williams, V. & Peberdy, S. 2005. *Migration in southern Africa. Policy analysis and research programme of the Global Commission on international migration.*

Dahinden, J. 2010. The dynamics of migrants' transnational formations: Between mobility and locality. *Diaspora and Transnationalism: Concepts, Theories And Methods*, 6:51-71.

Daimon, A. 2010. Smuggling through fluid and porous African Borderlands and the state's response: The case of the Zimbabwe-SA Border. In *ABORNE Conference on Cross-border Trade in Africa: The Local Politics of a Global Economy, Basel*.

Dastile, N.P. 2013. Omalayitsha bayasithwala: Stories of women caught in the web of illegal cross-border migration. *Indilinga African Journal of Indigenous Knowledge Systems*, 12(2): 277-289.

De Jager, N. & Musuva, C. 2016. The influx of Zimbabweans into SA: A crisis of governance that spills over. *Africa Review*, 8(1):15-30.

de Villiers, R. & Weda, Z. 2017. Zimbabwean teachers in SA: A transient greener pasture. *South African Journal of Education*, 37(3).

de Villiers, R. & Weda, Z. 2017. Zimbabwean teachers in SA: A transient greener pasture. *South African Journal of Education*, 37(3):78.

Department of Home Affairs. 2018. *Annual reports 2003-2018.*

Desai, A. 2010. After the rainbow: Following the footprints of the May 2008 xenophobic violence in SA. *Review of African Political Economy*, 37(123): 99-105.

Dhliwayo, R. 2001. *The impact of public expenditure management under ESAP on basic social services: Health and education*. University of Zimbabwe: Department of Economics.

Dinbabo, M.F. & Carciotto, S. 2015. International migration in sub-Saharan Africa: A call for a global research agenda. *African Human Mobility Review*, 1(2):155-178.

Dodson B. 2000. Women on the move: Gender and cross-border migration to SA from Lesotho, Mozambique, and Zimbabwe. In: McDonald D.A. (ed.), *On borders: Perspectives on international migration in Southern Africa*. pp. 119-150. St. Martin's Press: New York.

Dodson, B. 2001. Discrimination by default? Gender concerns in South African migration policy. *Africa Today*, 48(3). 73-89.

Dodson, B. 2010. Locating xenophobia: debate, discourse, and everyday experience in Cape Town, SA. *Africa Today*, 56(3):2-22.

Dodson, B. 2018. Gender, mobility and precarity. *Gender, Work and Migration: Agency in Gendered Labour Settings*, 99:78-90.

Dodson, B. Simelane, T. Tevera, D.S. Green, T. Chikanda, A. & De Vletter, F. 2008. *Gender, migration, and remittances in Southern Africa*.

Draper, A.K. 2004. The principles and application of qualitative research. *Proceedings of the Nutrition Society*, *63*(4): 641-646.

Du Plessis, T.E. 2009. *South African expatriates as potential entrepreneurs: An exploratory study* (Doctoral dissertation, North-West University).

Dugbazah, J. 2012. *Gender, livelihoods, and migration in Africa.* Bloomington: Xlibris Publishing Corporation.

Dumba, S. & Chirisa, I. 2010. "The plight of illegal migrants in SA: A case study of Zimbabweans in Soshanguve extension 4 and 5." *International Journal of Politics and Good Governance* 1:1–20.

Duponchel, M. Gindrey, V. Landau, L. Misago, J. & Polzer, T. 2010. *Vulnerability, mobility, and place: Alexandra and central Johannesburg pilot study*. Johannesburg: ACMS.

Dzingirai, V. Mutopo, P. & Landau, L.B. 2014. *Confirmations, coffins, and corn: Kinship, social networks, and remittances from SA to Zimbabwe.* Migrating out of Poverty Research Consortium Working Paper 1. Sussex: University of Sussex.

Dziva, C. Dube, B. & Manatsa, P., 2013. A critique of the 2008 government of national unity and human rights protection in Zimbabwe. *International Journal of Humanities and Social Science Invention*, 2(8), 57-78.

Dzvimbo, K.P. 2003. The international migration of skilled human capital from developing countries. In *A case study prepared for a regional training conference on improving tertiary education in Sub-Saharan Africa: Things That Work* (pp. 23-25).

Eddin, N.N. 2011. *The intersectionality of class and gender: Women's economic activities in East and West Amman* (Doctoral dissertation, University of Warwick).

Edwards, M. 2009. Hospital and home rehabilitation did not differ for functional competence in activities of daily living. *Evidence Based Nursing*, 12(3):84. doi:10.1136/ebn.12.3.84.

EL-Mikawy, N. 1999. The informal sector and the conservative consensus: A case of fragmentation in Egypt. In: Afshar, H. & Barrientos, S. (eds.) *Women, globalisation and fragmentation in the developing world.* London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Eppel, S. 2009. A tale of three dinner plates: truth and the challenges of human rights research in Zimbabwe. *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 35(4):967-976.

Erdal, M.B. & Oeppen, C. 2013. Migrant balancing acts: Understanding the interactions between integration and transnationalism. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 39(6): 867-884.

Eskom Illegal Connections. 2020. Available,https://www.eskom.co.za/AboutElectricity/PubSafety/Pages/Connections.aspx. [Accessed 13 January 2020].

Etikan, I. Alkassim, R. & Abubakar, S. 2016. Comparison of snowball sampling and sequential sampling technique. *Biometrics and Biostatistics International Journal*, 3(1):55.

Everatt, D., 2011. *Xenophobia, civil society, and SA.* South Africa.

Faist, T. 1998. Transnational social spaces out of international migration: Evolution, significance, and future prospects. *Archives Europeanness de Sociologie/European Journal of Sociology/Europäisches Archiv für Soziologie*, 213-247.

Farley, A. 2019. South African migration policy: A gendered analysis. *Policy Insights No 70.* South African Institute of International Affairs.

Field, D.N. 2017. God's Makwerekwere: Re-imagining the church in the context of migration and xenophobia. *Verbum et Ecclesia*, 38(1):1-8.

Fine, J. 2014. Migration and migrant workers in the post-apartheid era. *Global Labour Journal*, 5(3):56.

Fish, J.N. 2006. Engendering democracy: Domestic labour and coalition-building in SA. *Journal of Southern African Studies, 32*(1):107-127.

Flahaux, M.L. & De Haas, H. 2016. African migration: Trends, patterns, drivers. *Comparative Migration Studies*, 4(1):1-25.

Foreman W.S, (n.d.). *ATLAS.ti. Introduction.* PhC Office for Nursing Research School of Nursing, University of Washington.

Freeman, L. 2020. Defying empirical and causal evidence: Busting the media's myth of afrophobia in SA. In *Mediating Xenophobia in Africa* (pp. 17-41). Cham: Palgrave Macmillan.

Gabaccia, D.R. 2016. Feminization of migration. *The Wiley Blackwell Encyclopaedia of Gender and Sexuality Studies*, 1-3.

Gadzikwa, J. 2017. *Beyond homeland crisis: Identity negotiation of Black Zimbabwean women migrants in the South African metropolis of Johannesburg* (Doctoral dissertation: University of Kwazulu Natal).

Gaitskell, D. Kimble, J. Maconachie, M. & Unterhalter, E. 1983. Class, race, and gender: domestic workers in SA. *Review of African Political Economy*, 10(27-28):86-108.

Garatidye, S., 2014. *An exploration of the experiences of Zimbabwean women informal cross-border traders at the Zimbabwean/South African Beitbridge border post* (Master's thesis: University of Cape Town).

Giorgio, M. Townsend, L. Zembe, Y. Guttmacher, S. Kapadia, F. Cheyip, M. & Mathews, C. 2016. Social support, sexual violence, and transactional sex among female transnational migrants to SA. *American Journal of Public Health*, *106*(6):1123-1129.

Global Commission on International Migration. (2005): *Migration in an interconnected world: New directions for action. Report of the Global Commission on International Migration.* Geneva.

Gordon, S. 2010. Migrants in a 'state of exception'. *Transcience Journal* 1(1):3–21.

Gordon, S. Roberts, B. & Struwig, J. 2012. *Foreign exchange: Monitoring xenophobia in SA*. South Africa.

Gouws, A. & Stasiulis, D. 2015. *Gender and multiculturalism: North-South Perspectives.* London: Routledge.

Gouws, A. 2010. The feminisation of migration. *Africa Insight*, 40(1):169-180.

Gqola, P.D. 2008. Brutal inheritances: Echoes, negrophobia and masculinist violence. *Go home or die here: Violence, xenophobia, and the reinvention of difference in SA*, pp. 209-222.

Graaff, K. & Heinecken, L. 2017. Masculinities and gender-based violence in SA: A study of a masculinities-focused intervention programme. *Development Southern Africa*, 34(5):622-634.

Green, R. P. & Pick, J. B. 2006. *Exploring the urban community: A GIS approach.* Pearson: Prentice Hall Series in Geographic information Science.

Griffin, G. 2011. *An ideal model of inter-organizational collaboration: Evaluating the collaborative relationship of domestic violence service providers and child welfare agencies in Texas*. (Masters dissertation: Texas State University-San Marcos).

Groenmeyer, S. 2010. *Living in the shadow of the moon: Approaches to Women and Migration in Contemporary Post-Apartheid SA.* South Africa.

Guarnizo, L.E. Portes, A. & Haller, W. 2003. Assimilation and transnationalism: Determinants of transnational political action among contemporary migrants. *American Journal of Sociology*, 108(6):1211-1248.

Guarte, J.M. & Barrios, E.B. 2006. Estimation under purposive sampling. *Communications in Statistics-Simulation and Computation*, 35(2):277-284.

Guest, G. MacQueen, K. & Namey, E. 2012. *Applied thematic analysis*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Guest, G. MacQueen, K.M. & Namey, E.E. 2012. *Validity and reliability (credibility and dependability) in qualitative research and data analysis. Applied thematic analysis*. London: Sage Publications.

Guest, G. Namey, E. & McKenna, K. 2017. How many focus groups are enough? Building an evidence base for non-probability sample sizes. *Field Methods*, 18(1):59-82.

Habasonda, L.M. 2016. Regional dynamics of fragile states: Zimbabwe in the Southern Africa Region. In *State Fragility and State Building in Africa* (pp. 113-131). Cham: Springer.

Haggerty, K.D. 2004. Ethics creep: Governing social science research in the name of ethics. *Qualitative Sociology*, 27(4):391-414.

Hammerstad, A. 2012. Securitisation from below: The relationship between immigration and foreign policy in SA's approach to the Zimbabwe crisis. *Conflict, Security, & Development*, 12(1):1-30.

Handmaker, J. & Berkhout, R. 2010. *Mobilising social justice in SA: Perspectives from researchers and practitioners*. Pretoria: Pretoria University Law Press (PULP).

Hanke, S.H. & Kwok, A.K. 2009. On the measurement of Zimbabwe's hyperinflation. *Cato Journal*, 29:353.

Hanke, S.H. 2008. *Zimbabwe: From hyperinflation to growth*. New Zanj Publishing.

Harington, J.S. McGlashan, N.D. & Chelkowska, E.Z. 2004. A century of migrant labour in the gold mines of SA. *Journal of the Southern African Institute of Mining and Metallurgy*, 104(2):65-71.

Harris, N. 1995. *The new untouchables: Immigration and the new world worker*. London, United Kingdom: Sage.

Harrison, P. & Zack, T. 2012. The power of mining: The fall of gold and rise of Johannesburg. *Journal of Contemporary African Studies*, 30(4):551-570.

Hemson, C. 2019. Informal settlements. *Perspectives in Education*, 36(2): 61-74.

Henning, E. 2004. Agency, resilience, and innovation in overcoming educational failure. *Finding your way in qualitative research.* City: Van Schaik.

Hiralal, K. 2017. Women and migration-challenges and constraints a South African perspective. *Nordic Journal of African Studies*, 26(2):1-18.

Hlanganisa, H. & Izwi, I. 2020. *South African domestic workers' vulnerabilities to (and experience of) GBV in the workplace.* South Africa.

Hlatshwayo, M. 2019. Precarious work and precarious resistance: A case study of Zimbabwean migrant women workers in Johannesburg, SA. *Diaspora Studies*, 12(2):160-178.

Hlatshwayo, N. & Wotela, K. 2018. Social capital as survival strategy for immigrants in SA: A conceptual framework. *Immigration and Development*, 7:109-135.

Hoang, L.A. & Yeoh, B.S. 2011. Breadwinning wives and "left-behind" husbands: Men and masculinities in the Vietnamese transnational family. *Gender and Society*, *25*(6):717-739.

Hollweck, T. 2015. Robert, K. & Yin. 2014. Case study research design and methods. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Human Rights Watch (HRW). 2019. '*They have robbed me of my life': Xenophobic violence against non-nationals in SA.* Johannesburg: Human Rights Watch.

Human Rights Watch (HRW). 2020. *SA: Widespread xenophobic violence.* Available from: https://www.hrw.org/news/2020/09/17/south-africa-widespread-xenophobic-violence [Accessed 11 May 2021].

Humanitarian Academy for Development. 2013. *SA: Informal settlements status*. Johannesburg: HDA.

Humanitarian Academy for Development. 2018. *Department of Home Affairs*. Available from: http://www.dha.gov.za/index.php/34-bids-received/1228-dha29-2018. [Accessed 14 May 2021].

Humera, S. & Ambreen, F. 2017. Factors influencing migration of female workers: A case of Bangladesh. *IZA Journal of Migration 7* (1):654. https://doi.org/10.1186/s40176- 017-0090-6.

Hungwe, C. & Gelderblom, D. 2014. Understanding the social exclusion of Zimbabwean migrants in Johannesburg, SA. *Journal of Community Positive Practices,* (1):75-91.

Hungwe, C. 2013. Survival strategies of Zimbabwean migrants in Johannesburg, *Journal Practical Community Positive*, 13(3):52-73.

Hunter, M. & Posel, D. 2012. Here to work: The socioeconomic characteristics of informal dwellers in post-apartheid SA. *Environment and Urbanization*, 24(1):285-304.

Huq, E. & Miraftab, F. 2020. We are all refugees: Camps and informal settlements as converging spaces of global displacements. *Planning Theory & Practice*, 21(3):351-370.

Idemudia, E.S. Williams, J.K. & Wyatt, G.E., 2013. Migration challenges among Zimbabwean refugees before, during and post arrival in SA. *Journal of Injury and Violence Research*, 5(1):17.

Ilgit, A. & Klotz, A. 2014. How far does 'societal security 'travel? Securitization in South African immigration policies. *Security Dialogue*, 45(2):137-155.

Incremental Interventions. 2009. *Upgrading informal settlements | part 3 (of the national housing code*. Available from: http://www.dhs.gov.za/sites/default/files/documents/national_housing_2009/4_Incremental_Interventions/5%20Volume%204%20Upgrading%20Infromal%20Settlement [Accessed 5 April 2020].

Institute for Economics and Peace. 2018. *Global peace index 2018: Measuring peace in a complex world*. Available from: http://visionofhumanity.org/reports. [Accessed, 4 January 2020]

International Organisation of Migration. 2019. *Part 1. The determinants of migrant vulnerability*. Available from: https://www.iom.int. [Accessed 9 January 2021].

International Organization for Migration (IOM). 2021. *The socioeconomic contributions of migrant business owners in SA's informal urban settlements and inner-city areas: A case study of the city of Johannesburg.* IOM: Pretoria.

Isike, E.M. 2017. An analysis of African female migration to SA: The case of Mozambican female migrants in Mpumalanga. *Gender and Behaviour*, *15*(2):8545-8559.

Jacelon, C.S. & O'Dell, K.K. 2005. Analysing qualitative data. *Urologic Nursing*, 25(3):217-220.

Jamela, T. 2013. *Experiences and coping strategies of women informal cross-border traders in unstable political and economic conditions: The case of Bulawayo (Zimbabwe) traders*. (Master's dissertation: University of Johannesburg).

Jayachandran, S. Biradavolu, M. & Cooper, J. 2021. *Using machine learning and qualitative interviews to design a five-question women's agency index*. Massachusetts Avenue Cambridge: National Bureau of Economic Research.

Jinnah, Z. 2013. *Unfinished journeys: An exploration of agency within Somali women's lives and livelihoods in Johannesburg* (Doctoral dissertation: University of Kwazulu Natal).

Joffe, H. & Yardley, L. 2004. Content and thematic analysis. *Research Methods for Clinical and Health Psychology*, 56:68.

Johnston, D. 2007. Who needs immigrant farm workers? A South African case study. *Journal of Agrarian Change*, *7*(4):494-525.

Kabwe-Segatti, A.W. 2010. Regional integration policy and migration reform in SADC countries: An institutional overview of power relations. *African YB International Journal*, 16(1):53-77.

Kambarami, M. 2006. *Femininity, sexuality, and culture: Patriarchy and female subordination in Zimbabwe.* SA: ARSRC.

Kanayo, O. Anjofui, P. & Stiegler, N. 2019. Push and pull factors of international migration: Evidence from migrants in SA. *Journal of African Union Studies*, 8(2):219.

Kane, A. & Leedy, T.H. (eds). 2013. *African migration: Patterns and perspectives.* Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Kankonde, P. B. (2010). Transnational family ties, remittance motives, and social death among Congolese migrants: A socio-anthropological analysis. *Journal of Comparative Family Studies* (forthcoming).

Katzenellenbogen, S.E. 1982. *SA and Southern Mozambique: Labour, railways, and trade in the making of a relationship*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.

Kerner, I. 2009. Intersectionality and feminist theory: Reflections on the current debate in Europe. UK: Sage.

Kibria, N. (1998). *Becoming a garments worker: The mobilization of women into the garments factories of Bangladesh.* Geneva: United Nations Research Institute for Social Development. Available from: .http://www.unrisd.org/unrisd/website/document.nsf/ab82a6805797760f80256b4f005da1ab/523115d41019b9d980256b67005b6ef8/$FILE/opb9.pdf (accessed on 21.02.21).

Kihato, C. 2010. Now you see me, now you do not: Methodologies and methods of the interstices. *Gender and Migration: Feminist Interventions*, 7:141-163.

Kihato, C.W. 2007. Invisible lives, inaudible voices? The social conditions of migrant women in Johannesburg. *African Identities*, 5(1):89-110.

King, N., 2004. Using templates in the thematic analysis of text. *Essential Guide to Qualitative Methods in Organizational Research*, 5:*256*.

King, R. & Zontini, E. 2000. The role of gender in the south European immigration model. *Papers: Revista de Sociología*, 3:35-52.

Kirshner, J.D. 2012. "We are Gauteng people": Challenging the politics of xenophobia in Khutsong, SA. *Antipode*, 44(4):1307-1328.

Kiwanuka, M. & Monson, T. 2009. *Zimbabweans migration into SA: New trends and responses.* Johannesburg: Wits University Forced Migration Studies Programme.

Kiwanuka, M. 2010. For love or survival: Migrant women's narratives of survival and intimate partner violence in Johannesburg. In: Palmary, I., Burman, E., Chantler, K. and Kiguwa, P. (Eds.). *Gender and migration: Feminist interventions*. London: Zed Books, pp. 163-179.

Klaaren, J. & Ramji, J. 2017. Inside illegality: Migration policing in SA after apartheid. In *Immigration* (pp. 133-146). Routledge.

Koch, T. & Harrington, A., 1998. Reconceptualising rigour: The case for reflexivity. *Journal of Advanced Nursing*, 28(4):882-890.

Koch, T. 2006. Establishing rigour in qualitative research: The decision trail. *Journal of Advanced Nursing*, 53, 91-100.

Kruse, R.J. & Tyner, J.A. 2008. *How Dwarfs experience the world around them: The personal geographies of disabled people.* Edwin Mellen Press: New York.

Lagardien, A. & Muanda, C. 2014. An approach towards developing technical sanitation solutions for informal settlements. *Water Research Commission, Gezina, SA*, 6:16-18.

Landau, L. & Polzer, T. 2008. Working migrants and South African workers: Do They Benefit Each Other? *South African Labour Bulletin, 32*(4):43-45.

Landau, L. 2011. *Contemporary migration to SA: A regional development issue*. New York: World Bank Publications.

Landau, L.B. & Freemantle, I. 2010. Tactical cosmopolitanism and idioms of belonging: insertion and self-exclusion in Johannesburg. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 36(3): 375-390.

Landau, L.B. & Jacobsen, K. 2004. Refugees in the new Johannesburg. *Forced Migration Review*, (19):44-46.

Landau, L.B. & Segatti, A.W.K. 2009. *Human development impacts of migration: SA case study*. South Africa.

Landau, L.B. 2012. *Exorcising the demons within: Xenophobia, violence, and statecraft in contemporary SA.* SA: Wits University Press.

Landau, L.B. 2019. *Temporality, informality and translocality in Africa's urban archipelagos*. Accra: University of Ghana**.**

Landau, L.B. Ramjathan-Keogh, K. & Singh, G. 2005. *Xenophobia in SA and problems related to it*. Johannesburg: University of the Witwatersrand.

Lee, R. 2009. *African women and apartheid: Migration and settlement in urban SA.* London: IB Tauris (Tauris Academic Studies).

Lee, S. & Piper, N. 2013. *Understanding multiple discrimination against labour migrants in Asia.* Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung.

Leliveld, A. 1997. The effects of restrictive South African migrant labor policy on the survival of rural households in southern Africa: A case study from rural Swaziland. *World Development*, *25*(11):1839-1849.

Lennep, V. 2019. *Migration II: The South African migration policy landscape*. South Africa.

Levitt, P. & Schiller, N.G. 2004. Conceptualizing simultaneity: A transnational social field perspective on society 1. *International Migration Review*, *38*(3):1002-1039.

Levko-Everett, K. 2005. Voices from the margins: migrant women's experiences in southern Africa. *South African Migration Project, Migration Policy Series*, 5:46.

Liedeman, R. Charman, A. Piper, L. & Petersen, L. 2013. Why are foreign run spaza shops more successful? The rapidly changing spaza sector in SA. *Sustainable Livelihoods Foundation*, 6:543.

Lincoln, Y.S. & Guba, E.G. 1985. Establishing trustworthiness. *Naturalistic Inquiry*, 289(331): 289-327.

Longhurst, R. 2003. Semi-structured interviews and focus groups. *Key Methods in Geography*, 3(2):143-156.

Lubbers, M.J. Verdery, A.M. & Molina, J.L. 2020. Social networks and transnational social fields: A review of quantitative and mixed methods approaches. *International Migration Review*, 54(1):177-204.

Machecka, S. Lunga, W. & Musarurwa, C. 2015. Illegal migration by Zimbabweans into SA: Is lack of documentation becoming a new humanitarian challenge. *Journal of Emerging Trends in Educational Research and Policy Studies* 6(3):250-256.

MacPherson, D.W. & Gushulak, B.D. 2001. Human mobility and population health: New approaches in a globalizing world. *Perspectives in Biology and Medicine*, 44(3):390-401.

Magidimisha, H.H. 2018. Gender, migration, and crisis in southern Africa: Contestations and tensions in the informal spaces and 'illegal labour' market. In *Crisis, Identity and Migration in Post-Colonial Southern Africa* (pp. 75-88). Cham: Springer.

Maharaj, B. 2002. Economic refugees in post-apartheid SA–Assets or liabilities? Implications for progressive migration policies. *Geo-Journal,* 56(1):47-57.

Maharaj, B. 2004. "*Immigration to post-apartheid SA".* Geneva: Global Commission on International Migration.

Mahere, F. 2019. *We were promised change, but corruption and brutality still rule in Zimbabwe.* Available from: https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2019/aug/19/corruption-brutality-zimbabweemmerson-mnangagwa-protesters. [Accessed, 18/ 3/2021]

Makina, D. & Kanyenze, G. 2010. The potential contribution of the Zimbabwe diaspora to economic recovery. Comprehensive economic recovery in Zimbabwe. In Sahoo, S. and Pattanaik, B.K., 2014. *Global diasporas and development*. UK: Springer.

Makina, D. (2010). Zimbabwe in Johannesburg. In J. Crush & D. Tevera (eds.) *Zimbabwe's exodus: Crisis, migration survival.* Kingston and Cape Town: Southern African Migration Programme (SAMP), pp. 225-243.

Makina, D. 2012. Determinants of return migration intentions: Evidence from Zimbabwean migrants living in SA. *Development Southern Africa*, 29(3):365-378.

Makina, D. 2013. Migration and characteristics of remittance senders in SA. *International Migration*, 51:148-158.

Makumbe, J. 2009. *The impact of democracy in Zimbabwe: Assessing political, social, and economic developments since the dawn of democracy*. Johannesburg: Centre for Policy Studies.

Manguvo, A. Whitney, S.D. & Chareka, O. 2011. The crisis of student misbehaviour in Zimbabwean Schools: Teachers perceptions on impact of macro socio-economic challenges. *International Journal of Education, Administration and Policy Studies*, 2(4):40-44.

Manjowo, L. 2019. *Feminised poverty and gendered livelihoods: An exploration of Zimbabwean migrants' experiences in Yeoville, Johannesburg*. SA: University of Johannesburg.

Maphosa, F. 2007. Remittances and development: the impact of migration to SA on rural livelihoods in southern Zimbabwe. *Development Southern Africa,* 24(1):123-136.

Mariano, C. (1995). The qualitative research processes. In L.A. Talbot (Ed.), *Principles and practice of nursing research* (pp. 463-491). St. Louis, MO: Mosby Incorporated.

Mario Matsinhe, D. 2011. Africa's fear of itself: The ideology of Makwerekwere in SA. *Third World Quarterly*, 32(2):295-313.

Marks, D.F. & Yardley, L. (eds.) 2004. *Research methods for clinical and health psychology*. London: Sage.

Marlowe, J. 2019. Transnational crisis translation: Social media and forced migration. *Disaster Prevention and Management: An International Journal.* 29(2):200–213.

Martin, C.J. Platt, S.D. & Hunt, S.M. 1987. Housing conditions and ill health. *Br Medicine Journal), 294*(6580):1125-1127.

Maruca, L. Schindler, R.A. & Henry, S. 2003. Plagiarism and its (disciplinary) discontents: Towards and interdisciplinary theory and pedagogy. *Issues in Interdisciplinary Studies*, *(21): 74-97.*

Masanja, G.F. 2012. The female face of migration in Sub-Saharan Africa. *Huria: Journal of the Open University of Tanzania,* 11:80-97.

Masenya, M.J. 2017. Afrophobia in SA: A general perspective of xenophobia. *Bangladesh Sociological Society*, 14(1):81.

Masuku, T. 2006. Targeting foreigners: Xenophobia among Johannesburg's police. *South African Crime Quarterly, 3*(15): 34-56.

Matsa, W. 2020. Gender and the Nature of Migration: Absence of One or Both Parents. *In Marginality, Migration and Education* (pp. 21-32). Cham: Springer.

Matsinhe, D.M. 2009. Cleaning the nation: Anti-African patriotism and xenophobia in SA. *Space And Culture* 12 (1), 116-135.

Maunganidze, O. & Formica, J. 2018. *Freedom of movement in Southern Africa: A SADC (pipe) dream? Research methods for criminal justice and criminology.* City: Cengage Learning.

Mazars, C. Matsuyama, R. Rispoli, J. & Vearey, J.O. 2013. The well-being of economic migrants in SA: Health, gender, and development. *International Organization for Migration Working paper for the World Migration Report, 7:*1-46.

Mazuru, P. 2014. *The impact of government debt on economic growth in Zimbabwe from 1985 to 2012* (Doctoral dissertation, BUSE).

Mbiba, B. 2010. Burial at home? Dealing with death in the diaspora and. *Zimbabwe's new diaspora: Displacement and the cultural politics of survival*, (31):144-163.

Mbiyozo, A.N. 2018. Gender and migration in SA: Talking to women migrants. *ISS Southern Africa Report,* (16):1-36.

McDuff, E. 2015. Women's voices from the Zimbabwean diaspora: Migration and change. *Ìrìnkèrindò: A Journal of African Migration*, *8*: 10-52.

McFarlane, C. 2008. Sanitation in Mumbai's informal settlements: State, 'slum', and infrastructure. *Environment and Planning A*, 40(1):88-107.

McGregor, J. & Pasura, D. 2014. Introduction: Frameworks for analysing conflict diasporas and the case of Zimbabwe. *African Diaspora,* 7(1):1-13.

McGregor, J. & Primorac, R. (eds.) 2010. *Zimbabwe's new diaspora: Displacement and the cultural politics of survival.* New York: Berghahn Books.

McGregor, J. 2007. Joining the BBC (British Bottom Cleaners): Zimbabwean migrants and the UK care industry. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies,* 33(5):801-824.

McNay, L. 2000. *Gender and agency: Reconfiguring the subject*. *Feminist and Social Theory*. Cambridge: Polity.

Meth, P. 2017. Informal housing, gender, crime, and violence: The role of design in urban SA. *The British Journal of Criminology,* 57(2):402-421.

Mid-year Population Estimates. 2010. *Statistics SA.* Available from: https://www.statssa.gov.za › publications.

Migration Data in the Southern African Development Community (SADC). 2010. Available from: https://migrationdataportal.org/search?text=regional-data-overview-southern-africa-. [Accessed 10 January 2021].

Migration Data Portal. (2021). *Migration data in the Southern African Development Community (SADC).* Available at: https://migrationdataportal.org/regional-data-overview/southern-africa. [Accessed 5 June 2021].

Minow, M. 1997. *Not only for myself: Identity, politics, and the law*. New York: New Press.

Mlambo, A. S. 2013. "From education and health for all by 2000 to the collapse of the social services sector in Zimbabwe, 1980–2008." *Journal of Developing Societies, 29*(4):355–378.

Mlambo, D.N. 2019. A South African perspective on immigrants and xenophobia in post-1994 SA. *African Renaissance,* 16(4):1744-2532.

Moagi, M. Wyatt, G. Mokgobi, M. Loeb, T. Zhang, M.& Davhana-Maselesele, M. 2018. Mozambican immigrants to SA: Their xenophobia and discrimination experiences. *Journal of Psychology in Africa*, 28(3):196-200.

Monson, T. Takabvirwa, K. Anderson, J. Ngwato, T.P. & Freemantle, I. 2012. *Promoting social cohesion and countering violence against foreigners and other 'outsiders'*. USA: Sage.

Monson, T.J. 2015. Collective mobilization and the struggle for squatter citizenship: Rereading "xenophobic" violence in a South African settlement. *International Journal of Conflict and Violence,* 9(1):39-55.

Mora, I.R. Kiwanuka, M. Psaroudakis, S. Kihato, C. Ismail, S. Middleton, J. Gould, C. & Zavos, A. 2013. *Gender and migration: Feminist interventions*. London: Zed Books Ltd.

Morokvasic, M. 1983. Why do women migrate? Towards understanding of the sex-selectivity in the migratory movements of labour. Studi emigrazione. *International Journal of Migration Studies,* 20(70):132-141.

Morreira, S. 2015. "You can't just step from one place to another": The socio-politics of illegality in migration from Zimbabwe to SA. *Migration Letters, 12*(1):67-78.

Morris, A. 1998. 'Our fellow Africans make our lives hell': The lives of Congolese and Nigerians living in Johannesburg. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 21(6):1116-1136.

Mosselson, A. 2010. 'There is no difference between citizens and non-citizens anymore': Violent xenophobia, citizenship, and the politics of belonging in post-apartheid SA. *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 36(3):641-655.

Moyo, I. & Nshimbi, C.C. 2019. Border practices at Beitbridge border and Johannesburg inner city: Implications for the SADC regional integration project. *Journal of Asian and African Studies*, 54(3):309-330.

Moyo, I. (2016). Changing migration status and shifting vulnerabilities: A research note on Zimbabwean migrants in SA. *Journal of Trafficking, Organised Crime and Security*, 2(2):108-112.

Moyo, I. 2020. On borders and the liminality of undocumented Zimbabwean migrants in SA. *Journal of Immigrant and Refugee Studies*, 18(1):60-74.

Muanda, C. Goldin, J. & Haldenwang, R. 2020. Factors and impacts of informal settlements residents' sanitation practices on access and sustainability of sanitation services in the policy context of free basic sanitation. *Journal of Water, Sanitation and Hygiene for Development*, 10(2):238-248.

Mubaiwa, K. 2020. *A passport is a privilege in Zimbabwe.* Available from: https://africanarguments.org/2020/07. [Accessed, 17/02/21]

Mulu, N.N.T. & Mbanza, K. 2021. COVID-19 and its effects on the lives and livelihoods of Congolese female asylum seekers and refugees in the city of Cape Town. *African Human Mobility Review*, 7(1):46-66.

Munyaneza, Y. & Mhlongo, E.M. 2019. *Medical Xenophobia: The voices of women refugees in Durban, KwaZulu-Natal*. SA: *BioRxiv*.

Mupedziswa, R. & Gumbo, P. 2001. *Women informal traders in Harare and the struggle for survival in an environment of economic reforms*. SA: Nordic Africa Institute.

Musoni, F. 2010. Operation Murambatsvina and the politics of street vendors in Zimbabwe. *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 36(2):301-317.

Mutale, J., Gaunt, C.T. & Konjic, T. 2012. Electricity service requirements in rural areas for domestic consumption and for productive use and services. South Africa.

Mutambara, V. & Maheshvari, N. 2019. The human security implications of migration on Zimbabwean migrant women in SA. *AFRICAN Human Mobility Review*, 8:1774.

Mutambara, V.M. & Naidu, M. 2021. Probing the Context of Vulnerability: Zimbabwean Migrant Women's Experiences of Accessing Public Health Care in SA. *African Human Mobility Review*, 7(1):123.

Muzondidya, J. 2008. *Majoni-joni: Survival strategies among Zimbabwean migrants in SA.* (Paper presented at the International Conference on the Political Economies of Displacement in Zimbabwe, Wits University, 9-11 June).

Muzondidya, J. 2010. Makwerekwere: Migration, citizenship, and identity among Zimbabweans in SA. In McGregor, J., & Primorac, R. (Eds.). (2010). *Zimbabwe's New Diaspora: Displacement and the Cultural Politics of Survival*. Berghahn Books.

Muzvidziwa, V. 2001. Zimbabwe's cross-border women traders: Multiple identities and responses to new challenges. *Journal of Contemporary African Studies*, 19(1):67-80.

Muzvidziwa, V. 2001. Zimbabwe's cross-border women traders: Multiple identities and responses to new challenges. *Journal of Contemporary African Studies*, 19(1):67-80.

Ncube, A. & Mkwananzi, F. 2020. Gendered labor migration in SA. A capability approach lens. In Seiger, F-k., Timmerman, C., Salazar, N.B and Wets, J. (Eds.) *Migration at work: Aspirations, imaginaries, and structures of mobility*. Leuven: Leuven University Press, pp.65-90.

Ncube, A. 2017. *The socio-economic coping and adaptation mechanisms employed by African migrant women in SA* (Doctoral dissertation, University of the Free State).

Ncube, A. Bahta, Y.T. & Jordaan, A.J. 2019. Job market perceptions of African migrant women in SA as an initial and long-term coping and adaptation mechanism. *Journal of International Migration and Integration*, 7:1-21.

Ndinda, C. & Ndhlovu, T.P. 2016. Attitudes towards foreigners in informal settlements targeted for upgrading in SA: *A gendered perspective. Agenda*, 30(2):131-146.

Neocosmos, M. 2010. *From foreign natives to native foreigners. Explaining Xenophobia in post-apartheid SA: Explaining Xenophobia in post-apartheid SA: Citizenship and nationalism, identity and politics*. SA: African Books Collective.

Ngan-Ling, E. Wilkinson, D. & Baca Zinn, M. 1996. *Race, class & gender.* Thousand Oaks, Calif: Common Bonds, Different Voices.

Nkuna, P.M. 2019. *Undocumented migrants and the right to fair labour practices* (Doctoral dissertation, University of Pretoria).

Nshimbi, C.C. & Fioramonti, L., 2014. The will to integrate: SA's responses to regional migration from the SADC region. *African Development Review*, 26(S1):52-63.

Nwonwu, F. 2010. The neo-liberal policy, free movement of people and migration: Patterns in the southern African development community. *Africa Insight*, 40(1):149-168.

Nyakabawu, S. 2021. Liminality in incorporation: Regularisation of undocumented Zimbabweans in SA. *Anthropology Southern Africa,* 44(1):1-15.

Nyamnjoh, F.B. 2005. *Africa's media, democracy, and the politics of belonging*. New York: Zed Books.

Nyamnjoh, F.B. 2006. *Insiders and Outsiders: Citizenship and xenophobia in contemporary SA.* Dakar: Codesria.

Nyamnjoh, F.B. 2006. *Insiders and outsiders: Citizenship and xenophobia in contemporary Southern Africa*. New York: Zed Books.

Landau, L.B. 2012. Exorcising the demons within: Xenophobia, violence and statecraft in contemporary South Africa. Wits University Press.

Nyangairi, B. 2010. *Migrant women in sex work: Trajectories and perceptions of Zimbabwean sex workers in Hillbrow, SA* (Doctoral dissertation, University of Witwatersrand).

Nzima, D. Duma, V. & Moyo, P. 2017. Migration and local development: The multiplier effect of migrant remittances on non-recipient households in Tsholotsho, Zimbabwe. *Migracijske I Etnicke Teme*, 33(2):45-66.

Ojong, N. Simba, A. & Dana, L.P. 2021. Female entrepreneurship in Africa: Areview, trends, and future research directions. *Journal of Business Research,* 132:233-248.

Ojong, V.B. 2006. The socio-economic impact of African migrant women's entrepreneurial activities in SA. *Africanus,* 36(2):142-153.

Ojong, V.B. 2012. Career-driven migration: A new transnational mosaic for African women. *Loyola Journal of Social Sciences*, 26(2):209-227.

Ojong, V.B. 2017. The economics of hairdressing and its implications for gender power in Durban, SA. *Journal of Social Development in Africa*, 32(1):91-111.

Ojong, V.B.A. 2002. *The study of independent African migrant women in KwaZulu-Natal (SA): their lives and work experiences* (Doctoral dissertation, University of Zululand).

Olivier, M. 2011. Enhancing access to South African social security benefits by SADC citizens: the need to improve bilateral arrangements within a multilateral framework (*Part I). SADC Law Journal,* 1:234..

Olufemi, O. 2000. Feminisation of poverty among the street homeless women in SA. *Development Southern Africa,* 17(2):221-234.

O'Neil, T. Fleury, A. & Foresti, M. 2016. *Women on the move: Migration, gender equality and the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development*. South Africa.

Oosthuizen, M. & Naidoo, P. 2004. *Internal migration to the Gauteng province. development policy research unit*. SA: University of Cape Town.

Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development /International Labour Organisation. 2018. *How immigrants contribute to SA's economy*, OECD Publishing, Paris. http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/9789264085398-en.

Otoo-Oyortey, N. & Pobi, S. 2003. Early marriage and poverty: Exploring links and key policy issues. *Gender and Development, 11*(2):42-51.

Paddon, E. & Lacaille, G. 2011. *Stabilising the Congo, forced migration policy briefing no. 8.* USA: University of Oxford.

Palmary, I. 2017. *Gender, sexuality, and migration in SA: Governing morality*. Springer.

Parreñas, R.S. 2001. Mothering from a distance: Emotions, gender, and intergenerational relations in Filipino transnational families. *Feminist Studies,* 27(2):361-390.

Paton, B. 1995. Zimbabwe: The maintenance of a 'labour account surplus'. In *Labour Export Policy in the Development of Southern Africa* (pp. 107-138). London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Peberdy, S. 2016. *International migrants in Johannesburg's informal economy*. Cape Town: Southern African Migration Programme.

Pécoud, A. De Guchteneire, P. & Guchteneire, P.F. (eds.) 2007. *Migration without borders: Essays on the free movement of people*. New York, Oxford: Berghahn Books.

Pessar, P. 2005. *Women, gender, and international migration across and beyond the Americas: inequalities and limited empowerment.* Mexico City: UN Population Division.

Physicians for Human Rights. (2009). *Health in ruins: A man-made disaster in Zimbabwe.* Cambridge, MA: PHR.

Pineteh, E. 2008. Cultural associations, clothing, and food as markers of cultural identity in testimonies of Cameroonian forced migrants in. *African and Black Diaspora: An International Journal*, 1(1):87-99.

Pineteh, E.A. 2010. Haven or Hell? Discordant representations of Johannesburg in testimonies of Cameroonians forced migrants. *African Identities, 8*(1):69-80

Pineteh, E.A. 2011. Spaces of inclusion and exclusion: The dynamics of Cameroonian associations in Johannesburg, SA. *African Identities*, 9(4):401-416.

Pineteh, E.A. 2017. Moments of suffering, pain, and resilience: Somali refugees' memories of home and journeys to exile. *Cogent Social Sciences*, 3(1):1372-1480.

Pineteh, E.A. 2017a. Illegal aliens and demons that must be exorcised from SA: framing African migrants and xenophobia in post-apartheid narratives. *Cogent Social Sciences*, 3(1): 139-158.

Polit, D. & Beck, T. 2012. *Nursing research: Generating and assessing evidence for nursing practice*, (9th ed.). Philadelphia: Lippincott Williams & Wilkins.

Polzer, T. & Takabvirwa, K. 2010. 'Just crime': Violence, xenophobia, and crime: Discourse and practice. *South African Crime Quarterly*, 33:3-10.

Poore, P. 2005. Migration: A threat or an asset to health? In *International migration and security: Opportunities and challenges*, Guild, E., Van Selm J. (eds.). Routledge: New York, 191-216.

Pophiwa, N. 2014. The drivers and outcomes of feminization of Migration in Africa June 2014. *Pambazuka News*.

Portes, A. 1997. Immigration theory for a new century: Some problems and opportunities. *International Migration Review*, 31(4):799-825.

Portes, A. 2003. Conclusion: Theoretical convergencies and empirical evidence in the study of immigrant transnationalism. *International Migration Review*, 37(3):874-892.

Posel, D. 2006. Moving on: Patterns of labour migration in post-apartheid SA. In Tienda, M. (2006). *Africa on the move: African migration and urbanisation in comparative perspective.* Johannesburg: Wits University Press. pp. 217-231.

Potts, D. 2006. 'Restoring order'? Operation Murambatsvina and the urban crisis in Zimbabwe. *Journal of Southern African Studies,* 32(2):273-291.

Potts, D.H. 2010. *Circular migration in Zimbabwe and Contemporary sub-Saharan Africa.* Boydell & Brewer.

Pretorius, A. & Blaauw, D. 2015. Getting to know the amakwerekwere: The socio-economic circumstances of Zimbabwean day labourers in SA. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 38(5):808-823.

Pursell, R. 2004. Accessing health services at Johannesburg's clinics and hospitals. In Landau (Ed.), *Forced migrants in the New Johannesburg: Towards a local government response*. Johannesburg: The Foundation for Human Rights.

Quinney, L. Dwyer, T. & Chapman, Y. 2016. Who, where, and how of interviewing peers: Implications for a phenomenological study. *Sage Open*, 6(3):215-244.

Ranga, D. 2015. Gender differences in the migration of Zimbabwean teachers to SA. *Eastern Africa Social Science Research Review*, 31(1):43-62.

Rapanyane, M.B. Sethole, F.R. & Tirivangasi, H.M. 2020. Politics, economy and financial prosperity beyond repair: Is Mnangagwa, Zimbabwe's renounced savior of the day in the post Mugabe-era? *African Renaissance,* 17(2):161-182.

Rasool, F. Botha, C.J. & Bisschoff, C.A. 2012. Push and pull factors in relation to skills shortages in SA. *Journal of Social Sciences,* 30(1):11-20.

Refugees Amendment Bill. 2015. *Act No. 130 of 1998,* 6 August 2015, p. 8.

Republic of SA. 1997. *Draft green paper on international migration. Government Gazette 383 (18033). Notice 849 of 1997.* Pretoria: Government Printer.

Ressia, S. Strachan, G. & Bailey, J. 2017. Operationalizing intersectionality: An approach to uncovering the complexity of migrant job search in Australia. *Gender, Work and Organization,* 24(4):376-397.

Richards, R. O'Leary, B. & Mutsonziwa, K. 2007. Measuring quality of life in informal settlements in SA. *Social Indicators Research*, 81(2):375-388.

Richter, M. Chersich, M.F. Vearey, J. Sartorius, B. Temmerman, M. & Luchters, S. 2014. Migration status, work conditions and health utilization of female sex workers in three South African cities. *Journal of Immigrant and Minority Health*, 16(1):7-17.

Rogerson, C.M. & Rogerson, J.M., 2015. Johannesburg 2030: The economic contours of a "linking global city". *American Behavioural Scientist*, 59(3):347-368.

Rogerson, C.M. & Visser, G. (eds.) 2007. *Urban tourism in the developing world: The South African experience*. SA: Transaction Publishers.

Rugunanan, P. & Smit, R., 2011. Seeking refuge in SA: Challenges facing a group of Congolese and Burundian refugees. *Development Southern Africa,* 28(5):705-718.

Rulashe, P. 2010. *Urban refugees struggle to make ends meet in SA*. Pretoria: United Nations Higher Commission on Refugees.

Russell, A.M. 2014. "Victims of trafficking": The feminisation of poverty and migration in the gendered narratives of human trafficking. *Societies, 4*(4):532-548.

Rutherford, B. 2013. The uneasy ties of working and belonging: The changing situation for undocumented Zimbabwean migrants in northern SA. In *Irregular Migrants* eds (pp. 43-59). Routledge.

Sachikonye, L.M., 2011. *When a state turns on its citizens: 60 years of institutionalised violence in Zimbabwe*. Sunnyside, Auckland Park SA: Jacana Media.

Sandelowski, M. 1986. The problem of rigor in qualitative research. *Advances in Nursing Science,* 8(3):27-37.

Schierup, C.U. 2016. Under the rainbow: Migration, precarity and people power in post-apartheid SA. *Critical Sociology,* 42(7-8):1051-1068.

Schiller, N.G. Basch, L. & Blanc-Szanton, C. 1992. Transnationalism: A new analytic framework for understanding migration. *Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences,* 645(1):1-24.

Schmidt, E.S. 1992. *Peasants, traders, and wives: Shona women in the history of Zimbabwe, 1870-1939*. Harare: Baobab.

Schmitter Heisler, B. 2008. The sociology of immigration: From assimilation to segmented assimilation, from the American experience to the global arena. *Migration Theory: Talking Across Disciplines*,5: 83-111.

Segatti, A. 2011. 'Reforming South African immigration policy in the post-apartheid period (1990-2010). In Segatti, A. and Landau, L.B. (eds.) Contemporary *Migration to SA: A Regional Development Issue.* Washington, DC: Agency Francaise de Development and the World Bank, pp. 34-58.

Shoniwa, T.T. & Thebe, V., 2020, December. Informal and unserviceable: The state, informal settlement residents, and sanitation management in Western Tshwane City, SA. *Urban Forum*, 31(4):533-547. Netherlands: Springer.

Sibanda, O. 2010. Social ties and the dynamics of integration in the city of Johannesburg among Zimbabwe migrants. *Journal of Sociology and Social Anthropology*, 1(1-2):47-57.

Siddique, M.A.B. 2004. *South African migration policy: A critical review*. Australia: The University of Western Australia, Department of Economics

Sigsworth, R. 2010. *Double jeopardy: Foreign and female*. Cape Town: HBS.

Sigsworth, R. Ngwane, C. & Pino, A. 2008. *The gendered nature of xenophobia in SA.* Johannesburg: Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation.

Sinclair, M.R. (n.d.). Solidarity and survival: Migrant communities in SA. *Indicator SA*, 7:66-70.

Singh, G. 2007. Paradoxical payoffs: Migrant women, informal sector work, and HIV/AIDS in SA. New solutions. *A Journal of Environmental and Occupational Health Policy,* 17(2):71-82.

Siziba, G. 2014. Language and identity negotiations: An analysis of the experiences of Zimbabwean migrants in Johannesburg, SA. *Journal of African Cultural Studies*, *26*(2):173-188.

Smit, R. & Rugunanan, P. 2014. From precarious lives to precarious work: The dilemma facing refugees in Gauteng, SA. *South African Review of Sociology*, 45(2):4-26.

Smit, R. & Rugunanan, P. 2015. Transnational forced migration and negotiating emotional well-being: the case of women refugees in SA. *Social Dynamics*, 41(1):184-203.

Solomon, H. & Kosaka, H. 2013. Xenophobia in SA: Reflections, narratives, and recommendations. *Southern African Peace and Security Studies,* 2(2):5-30.

Solomon, H. 2001. Contemplating the impact of illegal immigration on the republic of SA. *Southern Journal for Contemporary History,* 26(1):1-29.

Solomon, H., 2000. *Contemplating the impact of illegal immigrants on the Republic of South*. Africa (Working Paper), University of Pretoria.

Statistics SA (StatsSA). 2012. *Stats SA Library Cataloguing-in-Publication (CIP) Data Census 2011 Statistical release – P0301.4.* Pretoria.

StatsSA. 2011. *Formal census.* Pretoria: Pali Lehohla.

Steenkamp, C. 2009. Xenophobia in SA: what does it say about trust? *The Round Table,* 98(403):439-447.

Steffen, E., 2016. Ethical considerations in qualitative research. *Analysing Qualitative Data in Psychology*, 2:31-44.

Stulgaitis, M. 2015. A *Transnational family-friendly state? The position of transnational families in the context of South African law and society*. USA: Sage.

Tafira, K. 2011. Is xenophobia racism? *Anthropology Southern Africa*, 34(3-4):114-121.

Tawodzera, G. 2014. Household food insecurity and survival in Harare: 2008 and beyond. In *Urban Forum,* 25(2): 207-216. Netherlands: Springer.

Tayah, M.J. 2016. *Decent work for migrant domestic workers: Moving the agenda forward.* Geneva: International Labor Organisation.

Tevera, D. & Chikanda, A. 2008. *Migrant remittances and household survival in Zimbabwe* (No. 51). Cape Town African Books Collective.

Tevera, D. & Zinyama, L., 2002. *Zimbabweans who move perspectives on international migration in Zimbabwe*. Idasa and Queens University.

Thebe, V. & Mutyatyu, S. 2017. Socially embedded character of informal channels of remittances: Omalayisha in the SA/Zimbabwe remittance corridor. *Remittances Review,* 2(1):5-22.

Thebe, V. 2011. From SA with love: The malayisha system and Ndebele households' quest for livelihood reconstruction in south-western Zimbabwe. *The Journal of Modern African Studies,* 49(4):647-670.

Thebe, V. 2018. 'Men on transit' and the rural 'farmer housewives': Women in decision-making roles in migrant-labour societies in north-western Zimbabwe. *Journal of Asian and African Studies*, 53(7):1118-1133.

Theodore, N. Blaauw, D. Pretorius, A. & Schenck, C. 2017. The socioeconomic incorporation of immigrant and native-born day labourers in Tshwane, SA. *International Migration*, 55(1):142-156.

Thoka, M. & Geyer, H.S. 2019. Migration and labour force participation: An analysis of internal economic migrants in Gauteng, SA, 2011. *South African Geographical Journal,* 101(3):307-325.

Tittensor, D. & Mansouri, F. 2017. *The feminisation of migration? A critical overview*. *The Politics of Women and Migration in the Global South*. UK: Palgrave Macmillan.

Trimikliniotis, N., Gordon, S. & Zondo, B. 2008. Globalisation and migrant labour in a 'rainbow nation': A fortress SA? *Third World Quarterly*, 29(7):1323-1339.

Tshabalala, X. 2019. Hyenas of the Limpopo: "Illicit labour recruiting," assisted border crossings, and the social politics of movement across SA's border with Zimbabwe. *Journal of Borderlands Studies,* 34(3):433-450.

Tsuda, T. 2010. Ethnic return migration and the nation-state: Encouraging the diaspora to return 'home'. *Nations and Nationalism,* 16(4):616-636.

Tsuda, T. 2012. Whatever happened to simultaneity? Transnational migration theory and dual engagement in sending and receiving countries. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 38(4):631-649.

Turrell, R.V. & Vicat, T.R. 1987. *Capital and labour on the Kimberley diamond fields, 1871-1890* . New York: Cambridge University Press.

Ulicki, T. & Crush, J. 2000. Gender, farm work, and women's migration from Lesotho to the new SA. *Canadian Journal of African Studies/La Revue Canadienne des Études Africaines,* 34(1): 64-79.

United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs. 2017. Available from: https://www.un.org/en/development/desa/population/migration/data/estimates2/estimates17.asp. [Accessed, 18 November 2020].

United Nations-Habitat. 2015. Informal settlements–UN-Habitat. *United Nations Human Settlements Programme.* Available from: https://unhabitat.org/habitat-iii-issue-papers-22-informal-settlements/.

Valentine, G. 2007. Theorizing and researching intersectionality: A challenge for feminist geography. *The Professional Geographer*, 59(1): 10-21.

Valji, N. 2003. *Creating the nation: The rise of violent xenophobia in the new SA.* (Unpublished Master's Thesis, York University).

Vambe, B. 2008. Murambatsvina's assault on women's legal and economic rights. In: M. Vambe, ed. *The Hidden Dimensions of Operation Murambatsvina in Zimbabwe.* Harare: Weaver Press. pp. 75-86.

Vanyoro, K.P. (2019a). Regularising labour migration of Zimbabwean domestic workers in SA. *ACMS Policy Brief.* Zimbabwe.

Vanyoro, K.P. 2019. *Zimbabwean migrant domestic worker activism in SA.* Zimbabwe.

Vaught, S. 2006. Azanian: Zandi Zwane talks about being black, lesbian, and activist in Cape Town. *Journal of Gay & Lesbian Issues in Education*, 3(4):83-86.

Vearey, J. 2011. *Migration and health in SA: Implications for development. Contemporary Migration to SA.* Washington, D.C: World Bank Group.

Vearey, J., Richter, M. Núñez, L. & Moyo, K. 2011. South African HIV/AIDS programming overlooks migration, urban livelihoods, and informal workplaces. *African Journal of AIDS Research*, 10:381-391.

Vertovec, S. 2004. Cheap calls: The social glue of migrant transnationalism. *Global Networks*, 4(2):219-224.

Victims of Crime Survey. 2017/18. Available from: http://www.policesecretariat.gov.za/downloads/Victims%20of%20crime%20survey%202017 18. [Accessed, 6 May 2021]

Vigneswaran, D. 2011. *Migration control, documentation, and state transformation. Contemporary Migration to SA: A regional development issue.* Washington DC: Agence Française de Development and the World Bank, pp.105-120.

Warner, C. Finchilescu, G. & Finchelescu, G. 2003. Living with prejudice: Xenophobia and race. *Agenda*: *Empowering Women for Gender Equity*, (55):36-44.

Wentzel, M. & Tlabela, K. 2006. Historical background to South African migration. *Migration in South and Southern Africa: Dynamics and Determinants*, 7:71-96.

Whittemore, R., Chase, S.K. & Mandle, C.L., 2001. Validity in qualitative research. *Qualitative Health Research*, 11(4):522-537.

Wiles, R. Crow, G. Heath, S. & Charles, V. 2006. *Anonymity and confidentiality*. USA: Sage.

Willig, C. 2001. *Introducing qualitative research in psychology.* Buckingham: Open University Press.

Wilson, F.M. 2017. *Organizational behaviour and gender*. New York: Routledge.

Wojczewski, S. Pentz, S. Blacklock, C. Hoffmann, K. Peersman, W. Nkomazana, O. & Kutalek, R. 2015. African female physicians and nurses in the global care chain: Qualitative explorations from five destination countries. *PloS One, 10*(6): 129-264.

World Bank Group. 2019. *Profiting from parity: Unlocking the potential of women's business in Africa*. New York: World Bank.

Yeoh, B.S. & Huang, S. 2000. "Home" and "Away": Foreign domestic workers and negotiations of diasporic identity in Singapore. *Women's Studies International Forum*, 23(4):413-429.

Yin, R.K. 1984. *Case study research: Design and methods.* Beverly Hills, Calif: Sage Publications.

Yin, R.K. 2009. *Case study research: Design and methods*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Yin, R.K. 2014. *Case study research: Design and methods*, (5th ed.). London: Sage.

Zvisinei, M. & Juliet, P. 2018. Globalisation and experiences of Zimbabwean female migrant teachers. *Journal of Educational Studies*, 17(1):76-93.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1: Ethics Clearance Letter

UNIVERSITEIT VAN PRETORIA
UNIVERSITY OF PRETORIA
YUNIBESITHI YA PRETORIA

Faculty of Humanities
Fakulteit Geesteswetenskappe
Lefapha la Bomotho

Humanities 100
Since 1919

3 March 2021

Dear Miss TK Chiwaya

Project Title:	The vulnerabilities and survival mechanisms of undocumented female migrants: A case study of Zimbabwean female migrants in Jeffsville, Pretoria.
Researcher:	Miss TK Chiwaya
Supervisor(s):	Dr PE Angu
Department:	Anthropology and Archaeology
Reference number:	14082587 (HUM053/1020)
Degree:	Masters

I have pleasure in informing you that the above application was **approved** by the Research Ethics Committee on 26 November 2020. Data collection may therefore commence.

Please note that this approval is based on the assumption that the research will be carried out along the lines laid out in the proposal. Should the actual research depart significantly from the proposed research, it will be necessary to apply for a new research approval and ethical clearance.

We wish you success with the project.

Sincerely,

Prof Karen Harris
Acting Chair: Research Ethics Committee
Faculty of Humanities
UNIVERSITY OF PRETORIA
e-mail: PGHumanities@up.ac.za

Fakulteit Geesteswetenskappe
Lefapha la Bomotho

Research Ethics Committee Members: Prof I Pikirayi (Deputy Dean); Prof KL Harris; Mr A Bizos; Dr A-M de Beer; Dr A dos Santos; Ms KT Govinder; Andrew; Dr P Gutura; Dr E Johnson; Prof D Maree; Mr A Mohamed; Dr I Noomé; Dr C Puttergill; Prof D Reyburn; Prof M Soer; Prof E Taljard; Prof V Thebe; Ms B Tsebe; Ms D Mokalapa

APPENDIX 2: Semi-Structured Interview Questions

Semi-Structured Interviews

At the beginning of the interview, all participants' were asked biographical/demographic information. The participants were also asked the questions relating to the four sub-topics for the research, namely: key reasons for migrating to SA,social and economic challenges/experiences whilst living in an informal settlement /SA, how feel migrants exercise their agency as they deal with social and economic challenge and participants knowledge of migration policies and rights.

Appendix: Semi-structured interviews

1. Biographical/demographic information

- How old are you?
- What is your main language?
- Are you married?
- Are you currently living with your partner?
- Do you have any kids or dependence living with you?
- What is the highest grade that you passed at school?
- How long have you been living in SA?

2. Key reasons for migrating to SA (feminisation of migration)

- Why did you migrate to SA?
- Did you use any network connections to migrate to SA?
- Who did you migrate with?
- Did your family approve of you migrating to SA?
- What were your expectations when relocating to SA?
- Do you think your experiences are different from male migrants?
- Given the factors that influenced you to migrate to SA would you migrate if they were non-existent?

3 Socio and Economic challenges faced by the labour migrants

- Are you formally employed?
- How do you make income?
- Do you work within this informal settlement?
- How much do you earn per day?
- What job do you have in the informal settlement?
- Do you have anyone else financially assisting you?
- Do you have legal documentation? (If "no" why?)
- What are your social challenges when living and working in SA?
- What are the social and economic challenges you face as a black, female, undocumented Zimbabwean labor migrant?
- Why do you choose to stay in Jeffsville over other settlements?

4 Agency and survival mechanisms adopted by female migrants

- How impactful has been migrating to SA been in sustaining a livelihood?
- How much do you spend per day?
- What has changed for you since migrating to SA?
- Why do you choose to stay in Jeffsville overstaying in Zimbabwe?
- How do you deal with the vulnerabilities associated with being a black undocumented Zimbabwean female migrant?

4. Undocumented and non-critical skills female labour migrants' knowledge of migration policies

- Are you aware of the current migration policies?
- What would you recommend enhancing your experiences as non-critical skills labour migrant?
- Will acquire appropriate documentation in the future? (If yes or no, why?)
- Are you content with the life you live in SA?
- Do you have any other comments?

THANK YOU

APPENDIX 3: Focus Group Questions

Focus Group Questions

Core Would you please briefly talk about your (their) experiences of being and undocumented Zimbabwean female labor migrant
Probe 1 What is your (their) job before migration?
Probe 2 How about your (their) financial situation before migration?
Probe 3 Can you describe your (their) reason for leaving Zimbabwe to work in SA ?
Probe 4 How long have you been in Jeffsville , why did you choose to stay in Jeffsville over another place ?
Core Can you tell me about your (their) daily life in Jeffsville? Question 2
Probe 1 At the very beginning when you arrived in the city, what was your impression of SA?
Probe 2 What is the difference between Zimbabwe?
Probe 3 Are there any obvious differences between Zimbabwe and SA, in terms of environment, food, custom and interpersonal relationship? Please give some examples.
Probe 4 Facing these differences, how do you (they) adjust to the new life in SA?
Probe 5 What are your (their) main challenges in adapting to the new life in SA?
Probe 6 How do you (they) get along with local workers and local residents?
Probe 7 Did you (they) have any experiences of being looked down upon by local people? If yes, please describe your (their) experience.
Probe 8 Would you please describe your (their) current living condition?
Probe 9 What do you (they) do at your (their) spare time?
Core Survival mechanisms? Question 3
Probe 1 How often do you (they) contact your (their) family and friends?
Probe 2 How do you navigate your way around the social and economic challenges ?
Probe 3 Do you report and criminal acts or violations towards you ?
Probe 4 Do you feel protected by the government of SA
Core How do you (they) define your current identity in Jeffsville SA? Question 4
Probe 1 How long will you (they) plan to stay in SA? If you (they) want to stay permanently, can you (they) achieve this goal successfully?
Probe 2 Compared to the life in Zimbabwe (their) origin, can you tell me some differences between you (them) and them (Zimbabwean people), i.e., lifestyle, eating habits, and way of thinking?
Probe 3 Do SAn people have any prejudice on you (them)? If yes, please give me at least two examples.
Core Can you describe your (their) current job? Question 5
Probe 1 How much is your (their) income? Are you (they) satisfied?
Probe 2 Do you have the same social benefits with the locals ?
Probe 3 What is the living environment in Jeffsville like?
Probe 4 How good are the relationships that you (they) have with your (their) locals?
Probe 5 What are the disciplines against you (them) in Jeffsville?
Probe 6 Do you see yourself achieving your goals as labor migrant?
Core Would you like to add anything else? Question 6

APPENDIX 4: Sample Transcript

1. Biographical/demographic information

Q: How old are you?

A: 24

Q: What is your main language?

A: Shona

Q: Are you married?

A: No

Q: Are you currently living with your partner?

A: No

Q: Do you have any kids or dependence living with you?

A: Yes, I have one child who is six years.

Q: What is the highest grade that you passed at school?

A: Form 2

Q: How long have you been living in SA?

A: I have been living in SA for 6 years.

2. Key reasons for migrating to SA (feminization of migration)

Q: Why did you migrate to SA?

A: I was looking for employment as a domestic worker, so that I would make enough money to go back to school and finish my education, I wanted to further my studies and I was looking for a better life than that at home. My life in Zimbabwe was difficult, because I was single mother and trying to make ends meet. Things in the rural areas of Zimbabwe are hard, especially when you already come from a poor household like me.

Prob Q: What was your life at home like?

A: My life was a struggle. I lost my mother and father when I was only two years old, my uncle was the one looking after me, and he wasn't paying school fees for me all the time because he compared me to his daughters grades and said I didn't deserve to go to school. It was an abusive life, I was not eating properly. I would cook for them pap and meat and I was made to eat pap and water. Also, they would make me go to school late, because they would demand that I do house chores before living for school.

Q: Did you use any network connections to migrate to SA?

A: Yes, I had a boyfriend in SA who helped me migrate through the *malayisha a* who he paid in advance. The *malayisha* transported us from my rural home to my boyfriend's house in Jeffsville. The *malayisha* also helped us cross into SA illegally. My boyfriend was my other connection, before I migrated to SA, we would talk all the time and we kept contact and he would come back to Zimbabwe during the holidays, especially in December. He motivated me to migrate to SA. I was happy to migrate, because I thought this was the beginning of a new life for me. I was also not afraid to migrate, because I was counting on my boyfriend to help me settle in and start a new life in SA.

Prob Q: Are you and him still together? (If not, what happened)

A: No, during the time I arrived in SA, I decide to live with a boyfriend, he was the one working. when I needed anything, he would go buy the things I needed but he never gave me cash. He also did not allow me to work, because he said that if I worked, I would lose respect for him, so he refused for me to work whenever I initiated it. Eventually, I decided to work by force, and then he stopped coming home and loving me. He also said that because I was now working, I should also start paying half of the rent, and from then on, he completely stopped supporting me and my child. He also would beat me up, if I were coming from work late, even when I would explain to him my reasons for coming late. For example, one-night I got off a taxi a from work and group of men approached me trying to steal my phone and inappropriately touching me, I managed to escape, but it was a scary experience for me. I had to leave that job because even after confiding in my employer about how I nearly lost my phone and life, she let me go home early for a few weeks and then it went back to me leaving late. Leaving situations is my solution in SA when a boyfriend becomes abusive, when my employer becomes abusive, I leave. I have no one to protect me in SA and because I am undocumented the police are not an option. I do not want to get deported.

Q: Who did you migrate with?

A: Yes, I migrated with my daughter, she was one year and seven months.

Prob Q: Can you please tell me more about your journey to SA with a *malaisha* and your daughter?

A: Although I had a passport, my daughter did not have any documentation. The journey was scary and tiring for me especially because I was migrating with my daughter who was undocumented. We were sitting at the back of the bakkie with other travellers, the journey was so uncomfortable my back hurt considering the long drive and the bad roads in Zimbabwe. I barely managed to sleep for the entire journey, because we were sitting with men who I didn't know, and I feared that if I slept I would end up in an inappropriate sleeping position and expose myself to harm. I also needed to make sure my daughter was fine and was not exposed to any harm from those strangers. When we got to the border, the *malaisha* stopped at growth point just outside the border and he opened the truck gate where we were sitting, and he said all those without documents should get out of the truck. Even though I had a passport, I had to go out because my daughter did not have any form of documentation. We were told to live anything that was valuable and our shoes because we going to cross the river. Once we got out of the truck a big, tall, and dark guy came (the gumaguma) the *malaisha* told us to go with him. It was the 6 of us 2 women, 3 men and my daughter. We disappeared into the bushes and the *gumaguma* told us to walk in a straighline with our bodies against each other for security reasons such a rape and crimes that maybe be committed by other *gumagumas* in the bush. It was so uncomfortable for me having to carry my baby and have a random man pressing on my back. Once we got to the other side we waited at the fence on the SAn side. The *malaisha* parked his car on the side of the road and we all ran to the truck for our lives fearing arrest and deportation. For me it was even harder because I had to run with my daughter and I also got cut trying to jump that fence. Crossing to SA was a bad experience for me.

Q: Did your family approve of you migrating to SA?

A: My grandmother was not fully supportive of me coming, because she thought it was unsafe for me to come, because she said that it was far and she said the boyfriend who had invited was already abusive to me when he was around what more when I was would go there. She also mentioned that he might be a thief, and he might sacrifice me for spiritual reasons. But because I wanted a better life, she just allowed me to go, since I had made up my decision and I was old enough.

Q: What were your expectations when relocating to SA?

A: I thought my life would be great ,since the money there had more value because growing up, I always saw people go to SA for work and I thought I would get a job instantly. Also, I did not think I would arrive and stay in a *mukhukhu*. I thought I would stay in a beautiful house, because of what I had heard about SA. Personally, I expected my boyfriend, who had helped, would also help me better my life especially through going back to school, but that did not happen, because of his fear of me becoming educated and independent.

Q: Do you think your experiences are different from male migrants?

A: Yes, because being a female migrants is more painful, because when a female works her money is for the family, whilst the man spends the money on what he wants such as a beer etc., I think in terms of employment all Zimbabweans are suffering maybe those with degrees have it better, but I think we are all suffering, but also for women we have to resort to selling our bodies, whilst men can easily get piece jobs for a day or two, and be in a better position than us. In terms of crime, I think SAn criminals target females more than men. Thus, making us more vulnerable.

Q: Given the factors that influenced you to migrate to SA would you migrate if they were non-existent?

A: No.

Prob. Q: Why?

A: I mostly came here because I had no parents and the finances to continue my education. So, if my parents were still alive, I would be probably happier and finished my education.

3 Socio and Economic challenges faced by the labour migrants.

Q: Are you formally employed?

A: Yes.

Prob Q: How are you formally employed?

A: I work for a company that I clean for two days a week and I clean for an individual once a week. So, I have three days a week that I work. I also do piece jobs when I can get them.

Prob Q: Is your employer SAn and do they know you are undocumented?

A: Yes, for the company they are SAn, and they know I am undocumented. The individual is also a SAn who knows that I am undocumented.

Prob Q: Does your employer treat you any less because you undocumented?

A: Where I am formally employed and working with verbal agreement kind of contract, I am happy, but where I do piece jobs I am sometimes underpaid and mistreated. For example, the piece jobs are difficult, at one place they call me once a week to clean. Imagine a weeklong of laundry and a dirty house, I leave the place, late, tired, and sometimes I struggle to get transport, which makes me scared for my life, because worst things happen at night. One-night I got off a taxi a group of men approached me trying to steal my phone, I managed to escape but it was a scary experience for me. I had to leave that job, because even after confiding in my employer about how I nearly lost my phone and life, she let me go home early for a few weeks and then it went back to me leaving late.

Q: How do you make income?

A: I am a cleaner, that is how I make my income.

Q: Do you work within this informal settlement?

A: It depends, sometimes I work piece jobs in Jeffsville and sometimes I get jobs around Pretoria.

Q: How much do you earn per day?

A: For the both the places I work I get 220 whenever I go there.

Q: Do you have anyone else financially assisting you?

A: No, I do not have anyone else assisting me.

Q: Do you have legal documentation? (If not, why not?)

A: I had a passport when I arrived, but it was lost when I gave it to the bus people who were meant to get it stamped. My daughter does not have a passport, she came without one.

Prob Q: When you came did you have a visa or permit?

A: I didn't have a permit or asylum, because I was told that it would be fixed when I was in SA, I now don't have because I heard that it is expensive to apply for an asylum.

Q: What are the social and economic challenges you face as a black, female, undocumented Zimbabwean labor migrant?

A: Staying in a *mukhukhu* is extremely hard, especially rain season, because the rain seeps in the house and damages the property and makes us wet. The zinc structure is dangerous for us, because when it rains we are vulnerable to getting electrical shocks, and also because of the illegal connections things like our TV and refrigerators can die. All harsh weather element mean that a house can be easily destroyed by the wind or floods. There is no security for us here. Night times are the scariest, because some men in the can harass you, some men can even inappropriately touch you. Also, at night if those men know where you stay, they can come and rape you or if they know that you stay alone, they can come and steal from you. Our houses do not have proper doors and the structure itself is weak to secure, it is extremely easy for thieves or rapist to come in. The people here never sleep so if you come late from work these men can easily target you for rape or theft, and even if you scream noone will come and help you.

Q: Why do you choose to stay in Jeffsville over other settlements?

A: I choose to stay here because the rent is cheaper, there is no need to buy electricity because the illegal electricity is free. If I choose to move into a nice place, I can only afford to pay rent and not have money for personal use.

4 Agency and survival mechanisms adopted by female migrants

Q: How impactful has been migrating to SA been in sustaining a livelihood?

A: No, I am still suffering in SA, I thought I would have a marriage and a family for myself, but I am still suffering and single. The only difference I can is that here I can earn a little more to survive unlike if I was in Zimbabwe I wouldn't earn anything at all. But still here I do not earn enough money to say I am happy. I earn 2600 for me and my daughter enough to survive, but not a decent life.

Q: How much do you spend on per day?

A: I spend around 60 to 70 rands.

Prob Q: What do you do with that 70 rands?

A: I use 24 rands for transport, I buy bread 14 rands, cool drink 16 rands and then whatever my daughter wants I also buy for her.

Q: What has changed ever since migrating to SA?

A: Nothing has really changed for me besides the fact that I now work in SA. I do not see anything really that I can say has changed for the good. Maybe the only thing is that now that I am single, I make my own decisions without anyone else controlling me.

Prob Q: Why have those decisions that you can make for yourself?

A: If I want to go to church, I can go without anyone stopping me, I can freely go out with my friends and not be stopped or abused by anyone. Even now that I stay alone, I do not get abused by anyone; it ended when I was still living with my boyfriend.

Q: How do you deal with the vulnerabilities associated with being a black undocumented Zimbabwean female migrant?

A: I deal with my challenges through praying and going to church. The church I attend is the same church I attended growing up. Most people if not everyone in that church is Zimbabwean and from the same area in Matebeland. Going to church is a mental escape for me, because I feel like I am at home with my family, and I feel safe. When things get tough for me, I also ask my prophet to pray for me and he gives me holy water to keep me safe. Going to church every week for me renews my spirit and gives me strength to conquer all the challenges I face in SA since no one else can protect us here. For me, going to church and God is what have kept me safe in this country.

4. Undocumented and non-critical skills female labour migrants' knowledge of migration policies

Q: Are you aware of what you need to stay and work in SA?

A: Yes, I know… if you have valid documents such as a passport, asylum work permit you are safe and can be employed.

Prob Q: How you aware of them?

A: I was told when I was applying for my passport at the application in Gweru Zimbabwe.

Q: What would you recommend enhancing your experiences as non-critical skills labour migrant?

A: Nothing can make your life better than have the right documents to live in SA. This is because everywhere you try get employed, they ask for your papers and if you do not have them, they say they cannot help you. For me, I have already overstayed my 3 months visitors permit, and I know if I try get my passport stamped again, I will be deported and banned. My only option now is working in the informal sector, where they do not ask of bother us about documents.

Prob Q: Have you tried to get these jobs where you pay to the agency for employment?

A: Yes, I have but they never got back to me and I never got back my 400 rands.

Prob Q: What nationality was the agency owner?

A: The agency people were SAn.

Q: Will you acquire appropriate documentation in the future? (If yes or no, why?)

A: No, I wish…

Prob Q: Why?

A: I do not have the money for it. The money I make is not enough to even try.

Q: Do you intend on going to Zimbabwe?

A: No, I do not intend on going back to Zimbabwe, I hear it is impossible to live in Zimbabwe now... the bond has no value, and I will just suffer more. Where I come from in Zimbabwe, we eat what we plough only and do not will have the money to buy things like rice etc. In Zimbabwe I will suffer extra... I will go visit but I will not stay there.

Q: Do you have any other comments?

A: SA is a better than my country and a lot of people from different countries come to SA looking for help and I think they get some form of help even though it might not be the best.

Transcript 2; ZimF03

2. Biographical/demographic information

Q: How old are you?

A: 38.

Q: What is your main language?

A: Ndebele.

Q: Are you married?

A: Yes.

Q: Are you currently living with your partner?

A: Yes.

Q: Do you have any kids or dependence living with you?

A: Yes, I have one child who is 4 years.

Q: What is the highest grade that you passed at school?

A: Form 4.

Q: How long have you been living in SA?

A: I have been living in SA for 12 years.

2. Key reasons for migrating to SA (feminization of migration)

Q: Why did you migrate to SA?

A: I migrated to SA in the year of 2009, because I was struggling to find employment in Zimbabwe. Prior to being unemployed. I worked in a factory and during those years I was content with my job, salary, and I had no intention to emigrate. That was until the factory closed down, because they could no longer afford to pay us and keep their business running. That is when the real hardships for me began. Since I had not furthered my education, I struggled to find employment opportunities. Furthermore, the job sectors I could work for were mostly retrenching or closing down, such as farms and factories it seemed impossible for me to get employed again. I resorted to piece jobs, but the money I made was not enough to look after my family and myself. I had to come to SA, because at least the rand has a value in Zimbabwe, most people that work in SA their families in Zimbabwe are doing considerably well.

Q: Did you use any network connections to migrate to SA?

A: Yes, my aunt helped me come to SA, She is the one who paid for my journey and assisted me to find employment in SA.

Prob Q: How was it living with your aunt?

A: She was a pleasant person to stay with, but I only stayed with her for a week until she got me a job as a stay-in domestic worker in another area.

Prob Q: How was your experience working as domestic worker in SA?

A: It was a hard time for me, because my employers did not give me time to rest and they would wake me up, during night times for work. The also did not pay me well enough, they paid me 1800 every month and, I only had an off day once a month. I really felt abused, so I decided to leave the job after two months.

Prob Q: How did your aunt take it?

A: My aunt understood, because I used to tell her what was going on. When I left my job, I moved in with a female friend, because I also wanted to be independent since my aunt was also living with her man.

Q: Who did you migrate with?

A: I migrated alone.

Prob Q: What was your experience migrating alone to SA, which mode of transport did you use?

A: My journey to SA, was fine, I used a bus, and I had a passport although it is now expired. When you travel with a passport and a bus the journey is not as tiring or stressful as without.

Q: Did your family approve of you migrating to SA?

A: My parents were happy for me to migrate because they thought I could better their living standards due to the fact that things at home are bad. They were not concerned about safety, because my aunt was already living in SA and she also came alone, so I think that is what put them at ease. Though they also advised me to maintain traditions and not to cohabit with a male partner before marriage.

Prob Q: So, are you and the man you are living with traditionally or legally married is he Zimbabwean?

A: No, he has not paid lobola and we are not legally married. However, my family knows we are staying together although they wish that he would also pay something towards my lobola.

Q: What were your expectations when relocating to SA?

A: To be honest, the only thing I was expecting was to find a job and be able to look after my family. I can say I did not expect to come live in a *mukhukhu* house, it was my first time seeing and hearing about such a housing structure. The way they bath in a bucket in the one room in front of others was shocking for me, and sharing the toilet with many other people was shocking. I thought my aunt was living a better life than what I witnessed on the day I arrived.

Q: Do you think your experiences are different from male migrants?

A: Yes, I think female migrants are more determined on achieving their goals as labour migrants, most female migrants you see here in SA are hustling and trying to make ends meet, unlike male migrants. You see some of the men migrants here just wake up to bask in the sun and drink beer. You wonder where they get the money, because you don't see them go to work, but have money to drink and spend on women. I think half of the men migrants are thieves and the other ones are lazy. Women migrants in SA work harder than men, they try their best to make an honest living, which sometimes results in us being exploited or abused unlike men. Furthermore, although us females experiences are better, we are more vulnerable to a lot of things because most employers know Zimbabwe is struggling and us females are desperate for employment opportunities for men are more than females. For example, there is a lot of construction happening in this country, and Zimbabwean males and other undocumented African migrants easily get jobs. As for us undocumented females, I think we have a handful jobs markets we can enter, such as domestic work, cleaning services, street vendors and as hairdressers… but men! I cannot even begin to count the jobs opportunities they have… there are many! However, I do understand that although the jobs for men are a lot there are also underpaid if they are undocumented.

Q: Given the factors that influenced you to migrate to SA, would you migrate if they were non-existent?

A: No.

Prob Q: Why?

A: I did not come to SA to live a lavish life, I came to SA to find employment and if Zimbabwe had more employment opportunities I would have worked and provided for my family in Zimbabwe.

5 Socio and Economic challenges faced by the labour migrants

Q: Are you formally employed?

A: No, I just do piece jobs.

Prob Q: What kind of piece jobs are you doing?

A: I work as a cleaner for a company that does cleaning services for companies, houses and renovated houses or newly built house.

Prob Q: What nationality is your employer - do they know you are undocumented?

A: They are SAn and yes! They know I am undocumented, and they even take advantage of the fact that I do not have papers. [laughs]

Prob Q: In what way do they take advantage of you?

A: It all starts with the money [laughs!]. They say because you said you want money you cannot say how much you want or complain about overtime because they will say isn't you said you wanted a job and money? (insinuating that it does not matter at what cost). They also verbally insult you when you have done something wrong or not really understood what they require from you. Sometimes when we are on site, I wish I can just pack my bags and go if they start shouting at us like slaves. This is because we are sometimes verbally abused or threatened to be beaten up by our boss. So, walking away from the job is my first instinct since I cannot defend myself or I risk being deported or reported my legal status to the SAn authorities. The way I am treated at my workplace genuinely affects me and my mental wellbeing, I sometimes feel like an animal that has no rights and undeserving or kindness.

Prob Q: Are you working with any other nationalities and how is the work treatment?

A: Heeeee! [laughs] my employer only employs undocumented Zimbabwean migrants, because they know that we come from a poor country and are very desperate for money and jobs. Thus, they can exploit and abuse us because they know we have nowhere else to go. I face a lot of challenges with my employer. They treat us bad because they can see we have nothing. I feel exploited most of the time because I work hard only to get paid peanuts. They

pay us 170 rands after a hard day of labour. We spend the day without eating. The money they pay us is meant to be for transport and work. I spend 70 rands on transport and sometimes I am only left with a 100 rands after a hard day of work. Hmm!!! [sighs] one time she called me for work to babysit her daughter, her friend asked her why she had not offered me food, since I had been working the whole day at her house. I overheard her say to her friend "these ones don't eat; they can spend the whole day without eating". That really hurt me, because I realised, they knew that they were making us suffer and abusing us.

Prob Q: How did you find this job?

A: My cousin helped me get this job.

Q: Do you work within this informal settlement?

A: No, I do not work within the informal settlement.

Q: How much do you earn per day?

A: They pay us 170 rands. We spend the day without eating. The money they give is meant to be for transport and work. I spend 70 rands on transport and sometimes I am only left with a 100 rands after a hard day of work. One time she called me for work to babysit her daughter, and I overheard her say to her friend " these ones don't eat, they can spend the whole day without eating". That really hurt me, because I realised they knew that they were making us suffer and abusing us.

Q: Do you have anyone else financially assisting you?

A: My boyfriend tries to financially assist me, although I can also see that things are not also going well for him.

Q: How is your relationship with your husband like?

A: To be honest, we are just cohabiting, because I think life is better for me this way since I do not have proper job. Things are not that great, but I think of what happens if I leave him and end up with someone who is worse and more abusive? I just have to be strong.

Q: Why do you not have legal documentation to stay and work in SA?

A: I have a passport, but I do not have permit because when I came to SA things were still ok and people were still finding jobs without documentation. I never thought I would need

one until now, things are getting hard, I wish I had a permit because at least the employers would not abuse and take advantage of me.

Q: What are the social and economic challenges you face as a black, female, undocumented Zimbabwean labor migrant?

A: I face a lot of challenges, for example, what I said about my current employer, they treat me bad, because they can see I have nothing. I feel exploited most of the time, because I work hard only to get paid peanuts. Furthermore, there are personal issues that I come across as a woman and I know that only the police can protect, but I cannot go because I am undocumented and fear deportation.

Prob Q: What about xenophobia, do you know what it means, and have you experienced it?

A: Yoh! I am scared of xenophobia… I just know when they say "*kwabalomsindo*!" [There has been noise] it means that they have started to target foreigners. I do not understand why we all cannot live together in peace as black Africans. When xenophobic violence begins, I just wish I can become invisible or I can be SAn. This is because they (SAns) can easily identify us (foreigners). Being easily identifiable means that you can easily get attacked and lose your life or the small property you have worked for. Living in this place is a curse, because you constantly have to hide you identity and try your best to blend in with SAns to survive. Hmmm [sighs] one-time xenophobic violence erupted, and they were head hunting foreigners in Jeffsville informal settlement. They were working with a referral system to identify anyone who was a foreigner. A lot of foreign men and women fell victim to violence, physical abuse, sexual abuse, and verbal abuse by those people. They identified foreigners by their association with other foreigners, their appearance (sense of dressing) and being heard speaking their native language such as Shona. Luckily for me, I am Ndebele, I do not really know how to speak Shona, and no one here knows that I am Zimbabwean. It has helped me a lot when it comes to xenophobia.

Q: Why do you choose to stay in Jeffsville over other settlements?

A: Money is the only reason why I choose to stay in Jeffsville, everything is cheaper and is not like staying in suburbs.

Prob Q: What is cheaper?

A: The rent is cheaper and groceries that I buy here are cheaper. Everything here is meant for people like us without money but need to make ends meet.

6 Agency and survival mechanisms adopted by female migrants

Q: How impactful has been migrating to SA been in sustaining a livelihood?

A: Migrating to SA is worse for me because jobs are hard to get for me, and I sometimes sleep on a hungry stomach, because the money I am making is not enough. Although I am managing to send some money home, it is bad. I send things just for the sake of doing so, because I do not make enough money for myself later on to support my family in Zimbabwe.

Q: How much do you spend per day?

A: I spend around 30 rands.

Prob Q: What do you do with that 30 rands?

A: I buy bread, vegetables, and tomatoes for supper.

Q: What has changed ever since migrating to SA?

A: Nothing has really changed, there is nothing that I have bought that I can say I have changed. Also, now that I have a husband and child is another thing. But I think people at home are in a better situation now and they can help me instead of me helping them.

Q: How do you deal with the vulnerabilities associated with being a black undocumented Zimbabwean female migrant?

A: I try to solve my own problems, because if I try share my problems with family at home, they might say I am the problem, and I talk too much, and I should know my place as a woman and a worker. For instance, currently I am staying with an abusive boyfriend. When he abuses me, and I call my family to complain or for support, they take his side instead, and say "he is not going to pay lobola for you if you keep acting like the man in the relationship". Here there is no one else to run to, sometimes I go to church for guidance and prayer when I meet challenges and sometimes my family is not supportive of me.

Prob Q: Give me an example of a small problem you solved?

A: Like one time someone asked for money, and I gave them, when I was asking for money back, they started running away. I went and took something equivalent to my money. That is how I solved it.

Prob Q: Was this person SA?

A: No, they are from Mozambique, tjooo! I would not dare do that to a SAn what if they report me? what if another episode of xenophobia in this informal settlement stems from our disagreement? I try my best to not associate myself with SAns.

ProB Q: Why do you not associate yourself with SAns?

A: When you are undocumented, you do not want to make friends with people that have an upper hand on your life. Minding your business and hiding your identity is key to survival in this informal settlement. This is because you risk being attacked in the likelihood of a xenophobic episode and being manipulated for their advantage.

4. Undocumented and non-critical skills female labour migrants' knowledge of migration policies

Q: Are you aware of what you need to stay and work in SA?

A: Yes, I am aware that some of documentation to work in SA.

Prob Q: How you aware of them?

A: I researched for myself and I now know what I need to work and live here.

Q: What would you recommend enhancing your experiences as non-critical skills labour migrant?

A: Money is a real issue that is stopping us from applying for a permit or asylum, because even if you go to Home Affairs, they want money. So, they should at least try make some of the permits free. So that we can work without being exploited and abused.

Q: Will acquire appropriate documentation in the future? (If yes or no, why?)

A: No, I do not wish for it. I am actually thinking of going back home next week, because my life here is not going anywhere. People at home seem to have it better than me now. For example, my brother was here but went home and is now Zimbabwe and is now living a better life than what he was living in SA.

Q: Do you intend on going to Zimbabwe?

A: Yes, I intend on going back to Zimbabwe, my life here is not good. I spend some days thinking about how miserable and poor I am here. Going back home has been on my mind lately and I am really thinking of going back home soon.

Q: Do you have any other comments?

A: Yes, for me I can say I have failed the life of being a labour migrant in SA.

Prob Q: Why?

A: The life here is hard. I do not like the way I am now living.

APPENDIX 5: Informed Consent for Semi Structured Interviews

UNIVERSITEIT VAN PRETORIA
UNIVERSITY OF PRETORIA
YUNIBESITHI YA PRETORIA

Faculty of Humanities
Department of Anthropology and Archaeology

Our Ref;Tiyese Chiwaya
U14082587@tuks.co.za
Cellphone:0680161462
Department of Anthropology and Archaeology

Informed Consent Form: Semi structured interviews

Title of the Study

The vulnerabilities and survival mechanisms of undocumented female migrants: A case study of Zimbabwean female migrants in Jeffsville, Pretoria.

Dear participant,

You are hereby invited to participate in a study that is carried out as part of a Master's in development studies programme by Miss Tiyese Chiwaya, a student at the University of Pretoria. The study will assist the researcher in understanding the vulnerabilities and survival mechanisms of undocumented Zimbabwean female migrants. Please take time to read through this letter as it gives information on the study and your rights as a participant.

Purpose of this study

This research aims to raise awareness to state actors, policy makers, non-governmental organizations, and other stakeholders about the vulnerabilities of undocumented Zimbabwean female migrants. Furthermore, there is potential subsequent reuse of data for further research to be added.

What will happen in the study?

The interviewer who will be the researcher will sit down with you for a 30-minute interview. The interviewer will gather your views on vulnerabilities and survival mechanisms of undocumented Zimbabwean female migrants through the use of a digital audio recorder. The

interview will take about an hour of your time and I will be writing down your answers to the interview questions. You can choose to have the interview in English or Shona.

Risks and discomforts

Even though there are no foreseeable risks or harm to you as an individual for participating in the interview process. The researcher will provide counselling from an identified non-profit organisation if the interview process raises discomforts that may affect participants in their day to day lives.

Are there any benefits for joining the study?

Your participation is purely voluntary, and you will not receive any payments in money or gifts for your participation. Your participation will assist in our understanding of the vulnerabilities and survival mechanisms of undocumented Zimbabwean female migrants, and you may benefit in terms of the vulnerabilities of undocumented female migrants being put at the fore in policy debates.

Participants' rights

You may decide against participation in the study, to withdraw from the study or opt not to answer certain question without ant prejudice or negative consequences to your person.

Confidentiality

Your information will be used for purposes of the master's dissertation and will be published in thesis form and as a scientific paper. Besides the published outputs, your information will not be shared with any undeserving person except my supervisor, whose contact are made available to you. The confidentiality of participants will be ensured by ensuring that no information will be used to reveal participants identity in the research thus participants will remain anonymous. Lastly, the interview process may occur at a safe place of your convenience.

Data storage and usage

All data will be stored in the application called ATLAS.ti. Furthermore, the dissertation and data will be stored at the Department of Anthropology and Archaeology in a password protected format for a minimum of 15 years. Your identity will not be made known to anybody and no identifying information will be disclosed. Lastly there will be potential subsequent reuse of data for further research be added.

Any questions?

If you have any questions or would want me to explain anything further, you are welcome to phone or sms me on 0680161462. You can also send me an email on the following address: u14082587@tuks.co.za

CONSENT DECLARATION

I …… ……..(Participant name) agree to participate in this study and I give you permission to voice record the semi structured interview. I the researcher will abide by all the confidentiality terms enlisted in this form ……... (researchers' signature)

APPENDIX 6: Consent Form for Focus Groups

Faculty of Humanities
Department of Anthropology and Archaeology

Our Ref; Tiyese Chiwaya
U14082587@tuks.co.za
Cellphone:0680161462
Department of Anthropology and Archaeology

Informed Consent Form: Focus group

Title of the Study

The vulnerabilities and survival mechanisms of undocumented female migrants: A case study of Zimbabwean female migrants in Jeffsville, Pretoria.

Dear participant,

You are hereby invited to participate in a study that is carried out as part of a master's in development studies programme by Miss Tiyese Chiwaya, a student at the University of Pretoria. The study will assist the researcher in understanding the vulnerabilities and survival mechanisms of undocumented Zimbabwean female migrants. Please take time to read through this letter as it gives information on the study and your rights as a participant.

Purpose of this study

This research aims to raise awareness to state actors, policy makers, non-governmental organizations, and other stakeholders about the vulnerabilities of undocumented Zimbabwean female migrants. Furthermore, there is potential subsequent reuse of data for further research to be added.

What will happen in the study?

The interviewer who will be the researcher will sit down with you and four other participants for a focus group interview for 60 to 90 minutes. The sole purpose of the focus group is for the researcher to gain in-depth understanding of the participants shared experiences. Furthermore, the condensed nature of a focus group makes it possible for the researcher to get feedback on

multiple aspects of the research without the time intensive process of individually soliciting interviews. The interviewer will gather your views on vulnerabilities and survival mechanisms of undocumented Zimbabwean female migrants through the use of a digital audio recorder. Therefore, participants will be invited to share their opinions on the vulnerabilities and survival mechanisms of being an undocumented Zimbabwean female migrant. The researcher will guide the discussion by asking the group to reflect on specific questions. You can choose to have the interview in English or Shona.

Risks and discomforts

Even though there are no foreseeable risks or harm to you as an individual for participating in the interview process. The researcher will provide counselling from an identified non-profit organisation if the interview process raises discomforts that may affect participants in their day to day lives.

Are there any benefits for joining the study?

Your participation is purely voluntary and you will not receive any payments in money or gifts for your participation. Your participation will assist in our understanding of the vulnerabilities and survival mechanisms of undocumented Zimbabwean female migrants, and you may benefit in terms of the vulnerabilities of undocumented female migrants being put at the fore in policy debates.

Participants' rights

You may decide against participation in the study, to withdraw from the study or opt not to answer certain question without ant prejudice or negative consequences to your person. Furthermore, there will be no coercion from the researcher and other participants to solicit information.

Confidentiality

Your information will be used for purposes of the master's dissertation and will be published in thesis form and as a scientific paper. Besides the published outputs, your information will not be shared with any undeserving person except my supervisor, whose contact are made available to you. In the focus group participants shared information may not be discussed outside the focus group meeting. The confidentiality of participants will be ensured by ensuring that no information will be used to reveal participants identity in the research thus participants will remain anonymous. Lastly, the focus group meeting will happen at an identified neutral and safe place for the participants.

Data storage and usage

All data will be stored in the application called ATLAS.ti. Furthermore, the dissertation and data will be stored at the Department of Anthropology and Archaeology in a password protected format for a minimum of 15 years. Your identity will not be made known to anybody and no identifying information will be disclosed. Lastly, there will be potential subsequent reuse of data for further research be added.

Any questions?

If you have any questions or would want me to explain anything further, you are welcome to phone or sms me on 0680161462. You can also send me an email on the following address: u14082587@tuks.co.za

CONSENT DECLARATION

I …….... (Participant name) agree to participate in this study and I give you permission to voice record the focus group discussions.I will abide by all the confidentiality terms enlisted in this study ……..(participants signature).

I the researcher will abide by all the confidentiality terms enlisted in this form……...
(Signature of researcher)