THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC COPING AND ADAPTATION MECHANISMS EMPLOYED BY AFRICAN MIGRANT WOMEN IN SOUTH AFRICA

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DECLARATION

I, Alice Ncube, declare that the thesis that I herewith submit for the doctoral degree **Doctor of Philosophy in Disaster Management** at the University of the Free State, is my independent work, and that I have not previously submitted it for a qualification at another institution of higher education.

I, Ncube Alice, student number 2006109975, hereby declare that I am fully aware of the University of the Free State's policy on research ethics and I have taken every precaution to comply with the regulations. I have obtained an ethical clearance certificate from the University of the Free State's Research Ethics Committee and my reference number is the following: UFS-HSD2016/0037.

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Alice Ncube   Date

To all the African migrant women all over the world who are making a difference in the host communities with their knowledge, skills and cultural values

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It was through God's will that this was made possible.

I would like to acknowledge the following people:

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

ACHPR	–	African Commission on Human and Peoples' Rights
ADRA	–	Adventist Development and Relief Agency
AU	–	African Union
CAR	–	Central African Republic
CBD	–	Central Business District
CCF	–	Community Capitals Framework
DFID	–	Department of International Development
DRC	–	Democratic Republic of Congo
ETD	–	Emergency Travel Document
FAO	–	Food and Agriculture Organisation
GCC	–	Gulf Cooperation Council
GCIM	–	Global Commission on International Migration
GCM	–	General Medical Council
GLOPP	–	Globalisation and Livelihood Options of People living in Poverty
HIV/Aids	–	Human Immunodeficiency Virus infection and Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
IFAD	–	International Fund for Agricultural Development
IFAD SL	–	International Fund for Agricultural Development Sustainable Livelihood
IFCR	–	International Federation of Red Cross
IFR/CRCS	–	International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies
ILO	–	International Labour Organisation
IOM	–	International Organization of Migration
ISDR	–	International Strategy for Disaster Reduction
ISIS	–	Islamic State of Iraq and Syria
IWIGIA	–	International Work Group for Indigenous Affairs
MDGs	–	Millennium Development Goals
NGO	–	Non-governmental Organisation
NR	–	Number of respondents
OECD	–	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
PhDs	–	Doctor of Philosophy
RDP	–	Rural Development Programme
RSA	–	Republic of South Africa

SA	–	South Africa
SADC	–	Southern African Development Community
SASSA	–	South African Social Security Agency
SAQA	–	South African Qualifications Authority
SDGs	–	Sustainable Development Goals
SLA	–	Sustainable Livelihood Approach
SLF	–	Sustainable Livelihood Framework
SSA	–	Sub-Saharan Africa
STATS SA	–	Statistics South Africa
UK	–	United Kingdom
UN	–	United Nations
UNECA	–	United Nations Economic Commission for Africa
UNEP	–	United Nations Environmental Program
UNDP	–	United Nations Development Programme
UNFCCC	–	United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change
UN-DESA	–	United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs
UNFPA	–	United Nations Fund for Population Activities
UN MDGs	–	United Nations Millennium Development Goals
UNPF	–	United Nations Population Fund
UNHCR	–	United Nations High Commission for Refugees
UNIDR	–	United Nations Institute for Disarmament Research
UNISA	–	University of South Africa
UNPD	–	United Nations Population Division
USA	–	United States of America
WHO	–	World Health Organization
ZDP	–	Zimbabwe Dispensation Programme

ABSTRACT

The main aim of this study was to explore the socio-economic coping and adaptation mechanisms employed by African migrant women in South Africa. The conceptualisation of the social capital theory and its relationship with the six livelihood capitals drawn from the Sustainable Livelihood Framework and elaborated by the Community Capitals Framework formed the basis of the exploration of the multiple variables that African migrant women employed to devise coping and adaptation mechanisms in South Africa.

A paralleled mixed method design was utilised in the study whereby both qualitative and quantitative methods of data collection were applied. The multiple stage sampling technique was employed for purposively selecting four out of the nine provinces in South Africa, namely Free State, Gauteng, KwaZulu-Natal and Western Cape. The ballot selection of the metropolitan cities in the provinces, namely Bloemfontein (Free State), Johannesburg, Pretoria and Ekurhuleni (Gauteng), Durban (KwaZulu-Natal) and Cape Town (Western Cape) followed by the random sample selection of 332 African migrant women from 23 sub-Saharan countries. A semi-structured questionnaire was used to collect both qualitative and quantitative data that was done simultaneously with informal observations and interviews. The data included the demographic and socio-economic characteristics of the migrant women which were critical in exploring the coping and adaptation mechanisms they employed in South Africa. The migrant women's initial and long-term survival mechanisms and the type of networks they had in the country were also explored in order to find out how these impacted on their coping and adaptation mechanisms. The livelihood capitals and the various identified livelihood capital factors were also evaluated, correlated, ranked and scored, using multi-attribute contingent ratings, Kendall's coefficient of concordance and Pearson's chi-square test to come up with the socio-economic coping mechanisms employed by the migrant women.

The study explored the importance of the pre-migration, transition period and post-migration capacities, capabilities and livelihood capitals and factors possessed by migrant women in the host country. The demographic and socio-economic characteristics of the migrant women played a significant role in the coping and adaptation mechanisms employed by migrant women. The human, social, economic, physical, political and cultural capitals were the broad livelihood capitals of coping and adaptation. Being in the productive age group, possessing marriage, economic power, education potential, strong linguistic capabilities, especially

English and local languages, residence statuses, entrepreneurial capabilities, and innovative aptitudes, made migrant women cope and adapt in South Africa. Support systems such as family and humanitarian support enabled the migrant women to cope and adapt on arrival in South Africa, and in the long term they utilised their employability prowess and enterprising abilities to adapt in the country. Strong networks and networking capabilities played a major role in their coping strategies. The utilisation of human, physical, cultural, social, economic and political livelihood capitals facilitated their coping and adaptation in South Africa the host country.

The study recommended that the South African government needs to have a clear policy on the receipt, treatment and settlement of international migrants, especially African migrants, as reflected by the migrant women. There should be a clear policy that protects the local labour force from foreigners in order to prevent conflict. The documentation of the international migrants needs to be improved to be able to avoid conflict and reduce illegal migrants that are "perceived" to be also causing societal problems among communities. This could be done by introducing the latest technologies that are efficient, such as the biometric systems of identification. Refugees and asylum seekers need to be given the rights enshrined in the Geneva Conventions and, in turn, they also need to take responsibility that goes with the rights afforded them. The South African education system also needs to be aligned more to entrepreneurial skilling of locals so that they can compete with the migrants who do not rely on the state social security systems. Training, education and awareness campaigns need to be rolled out to grassroots level so that they understand the international migration and the benefits it brings to host countries. The government could clarify policies on businesses ownership, especially small businesses by foreigners to avoid conflict.

Keywords: international migration, livelihood capitals, migrant women, socio-economic coping and adaptation, sub-Saharan Africa, South Africa

Chapter 1

BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

1.1 INTRODUCTION

Globalisation and human movement show the consistency and the pace of the up-to-date contemporary humanity (O'Loughlin, 2004). The complex movement of people is experienced on a daily basis all over the world. (Kuo, 2014). Migration of people in search of a better life, livelihood or seeking refuge in the face of natural and man-made hazards and disasters, is as old as humankind (Araia, 2005). In 2013, the International Organization for Migration (IOM) reported that close to 214 million people were accounted for as migrants. This number spiralled to 40% as compared to 2000. This translates to 3.1% of the world population bringing the ratio to 1:33 of the migrant population (United Nations [UN], 2013). These figures are conservative considering the recent mass migration flows from the Arab world that is driven by the conflict among the Syrian and neighbouring states which has caused immense refugee pressure on the geopolitical landscape of the European Union countries and United States of America (USA), including Canada.

Migration can be viewed as a general social interaction process that diffuses and reshapes human cultures, as well as the distribution of power and wealth (Harper, 2012). Migration is also considered as increasing the resilience of migrants as it assists migrants to maintain or even expand their livelihoods and survival mechanisms. Furthermore, migration is probably one of the oldest coping and adaptation mechanisms used by people in dealing with hazards and adversities (Çakir, 2009). As argued by Scheffran, Marmer and Sow (2012), migration is a surviving tactic that curtails overpopulation, reduces pressure on scarce resources, promotes safe living and enhances resilience of communities. Conversely, migration can imply the reduction in rich human capital, economic capital and social well-being of a community (Scheffran et al., 2012). They further argued that migrant societies tend to establish new interrelationships with their host communities and their kins, hence the coping and adaptation process is continually nurtured. These migrant societies further abstract some of their resilience capacities that they could not be in a position to utilise in their countries of origin due to anthropogenic and exogenous forces beyond their control. On arrival in the host countries the resilience capacities and capabilities are then developed, improved and transferred or even

utilised in order to initiate a livelihood and thereby enabling the migrants to survive in a better environment than their home countries. The manifestation of various essential resilience capacities enables migrants to survive in host environments that may possibly be assumed to be hostile even to the local communities who may be struggling to survive under the same conditions. The unprecedented expansion and complexity of international migration have resulted in many stimulating prospects, and also fresh problems for both receiving and sending countries and local people.

The region of sub-Saharan Africa (SSA) is depicted as that of people who are very mobile (IOM, 2005). Initially, it was mostly unskilled workers who migrated (Taeuber, 1947), but notably since the 1980s, African skilled personnel and professionals, and even African women, joined the flow of migration internationally (Adepoju, 2007). It is worth observing that the much earlier research on migration conducted globally, yielded less of the African perspective. Ricca (1989) observed that a century of research on migration in Africa had produced limited and disjointed data. According to Ratha and Shaw (2007) most studies on international migration usually concentrated on South[1]–North[2] flows, disregarding the fact there are more South–South flows of migrants. A total of 14.5 million international migrants are Africans and of these, 10 million moved within the SSA region, including South Africa, that is the focus country of this study. Migration within the African continent is also not easy to document because of the artificiality of the borders which have separated relatives from each other, and their movement can be hardly included as international because they can belong to one or more countries. According to Ratha and Shaw (2007), almost 28% of the 14,4 million Africans migrated to high-income countries that are members of the Organisation of Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), and half a million to high-income non-OECD countries.

The highest number of African international migrants is from West Africa, mainly because of the geopolitical factors, culture, transport infrastructure and the strained regional economy (Adepoju, 2003). In South Africa, most migrants are from Zimbabwe (Statistics South Africa [Stats SA], 2012). The government report indicated that Zimbabweans in South Africa account for the lion's share mainly because of Zimbabwe's proximity to South Africa and other reasons such as ethnic connections, similarity of culture and the current socio-economic and political situation of Zimbabwe. The results of the current study also showed that 187 out of 332

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[1]The South is countries in Africa, Latin America, parts of Asia and the Middle East.
[2]The North is North America, Western Europe and developed countries of East Asia.

respondents were from Zimbabwe. Former colonial links also facilitate African international migration, making it easier for the movement and settling of people. However, with globalisation, people are extending their migration destinations as the world has become increasingly smaller and easily accessible (Rodrigue, Comtois and Slack, 2013). South Africa has also been well-known as a preferred destination of the majority of African migrants because it is 'perceived' as a thriving and vibrant economy (Campbell, 2007). This was reiterated by Adepoju (2006) who mentioned that international migration in SSA is vibrant and not easy to understand as most of the migrants are heading to South Africa that is considered or perceived the most developed economy in Africa. Like in other less-developed regions, notably South America and developing Asian states such as Nepal, Indonesia, Korea, Malaysia and Pakistan, migration in SSA is directly linked to poverty (Adepoju, 2006). In concurrence with Adepoju, Adams (2003), posited that migration in Africa could be viewed as poverty-limited and poverty-driven, since the need for migration depends on the migrants' resources in their home countries. Disadvantaged and deprived people see opportunities outside their own localities, and then decide to migrate. Migration is also undertaken by the people who have raised aspirations, have acquired some financial possessions and valuable information, and are not willing to be categorised as part of a deprived population anymore (Hatton and Williamson, 2003). Migrants generally are characterised by various socio-economic characteristics such as educational level, marital status, and age. Therefore, many people who migrate have some form of survival mechanisms that is inherent livelihood capacities or capitals to cope and adapt in host countries, namely human capital, social capital, economic capital, political capital, physical capital, and even cultural capital. These livelihood capitals, coupled with the socio-economic characteristics, information and improved technologies, result in the expansion of people's choices and can enable them to migrate globally (Bertucci and Alberti, 2003).

The movements and configurations of international migration in SSA, like anywhere else in the world, are triggered by many factors such as rapid population and excessive human capital, unstable politics, accelerated tribal intolerance, dysfunctional governments caused by unjustified democratisation processes, downward economic development, and retrenchment of civil servants because of structural adjustment processes, poverty, and finally but not least, environmental deterioration (Mills and Herbst, 2014). According to Carling (2005) the causal factors of migration are the three Ds, namely development, demographics and democracy. Alonso (2011) further explained this dimension as resulting from relative depravation which generates a lack of development, resulting in pressurising the available resources and jobs due

to increasing population, and at the same time, oppressive governments that exclude and victimise some sectors of the population.

A number of SSA countries such as Nigeria, the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), Cameroon, Kenya, Sudan, Zimbabwe, Mozambique and Lesotho, are exposed to a wide array of anthropogenic and biophysical challenges, including political conflicts in the form of civil wars and/or uprisings, economic meltdowns, and natural disasters (such as floods and droughts) that are drivers of international migration (Krampe, 2013; Swain et al., 2011). In this study, the 332 respondents from 23 SSA countries are part of the affected migrants. Ultimately, these challenges contribute to erosion of people's livelihood capabilities and also depletion of their resilience. Once their resilience levels get to a point where they find it difficult to make ends meet in the home country, people resort to international migration. International migration can also be regarded as a catalyst in raising the resilience levels of the migrants in the host communities where they migrate to. Bilger and Kraler (2005) suggested that migration has become a norm in dealing with these anthropogenic and biophysical challenges as it is a way in which people's livelihoods can be revived, enhanced and sustained, and thereby replenishing and increasing people's resilience.

In SSA, migrant women have generally remained overshadowed in the migration discourse (Morokvašić, 2014). The nature, extent and impact of their migration have only recently been recognised. This, for instance, is evident by the migration literature of the 1960s and 1970s that largely excluded references to the migration of women (Saggar et al., 2012). It was only in the 1980s that the literature on migration started to become more visibly gendered (Stølen, 1991). Women have for a very long time been migrating as single and married, uneducated and educated entities, dependently and independently in search of livelihoods in other countries (Martin, 2004). Female migration behaviour is not any different to that of migrating men but is influenced by the gendered nature of life. Some would even argue that coping and adaptation is dependent on the gender dynamics of the migration process (Piper, 2007). Boyd (2006) noted that migration is neither gender-blind nor gender-neutral but gender-sensitive. Migrant women need to be treated as independent agents of migration; hence, the socio-economic coping and adaptation mechanisms employed by these African migrant women will be discussed in this study.

According to the Chammartin (2006), between 1965 and 1990 there was a bigger growth of female migrants than male migrants. This was mainly witnessed in major receiving countries.

These receiving countries are mainly the USA and the United Kingdom, and developing countries such as South Africa and Botswana (Chammartin, 2006). In agreement, the World Bank (2006) stated that approximately 50% of all international migrants today are women, notably migrating for the same purposes as men, such as job opportunities, education, and escaping resilience corroding anthropogenic forces and self-actualisation. It is also noted that women are no longer staying behind while men are migrating in search of opportunities (Caritas Internationalis, 2004). Hence, studying the feminisation of migration – globally, and in SSA in particular – has become topical and is of interest to many scholars. Migrant women are discussed as independent agents of migration in this study.

It is against this background that the study tried to explore the socio-economic coping and adaptation mechanisms employed by African migrant women in South Africa. The various demographic and socio-economic characteristics, survival skills and options, the livelihood capitals and other means that facilitate their lives, including their well-being in South Africa, were evaluated. The various intrinsic and accomplished resilience mechanisms were also examined and evaluated to see how they enhanced the coping and adaptation mechanisms of migrant women.

1.2   DYNAMICS OF MIGRANT WOMEN IN HOST COUNTRY

According to Bengi-Arslan, Verhulst and Crijnen (2002), challenges related to migration such as social separation, lack of livelihood, and feeling of loss have been observed as traumatic life events that demand a drastic mind set shift by the migrants in communities. The continuum of vulnerability in migration can impact negatively on migrant women in host countries. On the other side of the coin, the continuum of resilience can have a positive impact on the same migrant women in the same space (Sudmeier-Rieux, 2014). The coping mechanisms of individuals are weakened by the change in a person's physiological and social environment (Çakir, 2009). Some people experience physical and mental distress (Kuo, 2014). However, some migrants have strong capabilities and hence they hardly experience any acculturative stress and other problems in migration (Çakir, 2009; Kuo, 2014). According to Kuo and Roysircar (2004), acculturative stress is associated with the reduction in health status of an individual who is experiencing acculturation. Acculturative stress differs from individual to individual depending on status such as age, gender, education, attitudes and cognitive styles (Bhugra, 2004).

While some individuals fail to cope with physical, cultural, social, psychological and economic factors in migration, others may cope and adapt well in host communities. In migration, some people do not only experience acculturative stress but also come across opportunities paving way for better coping and adaptation (Çakir, 2009). Migrants can bring their energy, determination and enterprise into the host countries. They can also be dynamic and innovative through social establishments and can utilise these together with interchanging their experiences with the host communities. Some migrants possess talents which they can utilise on arrival in the host environments. They are equipped with some inherent ways of earning a livelihood that they may have acquired in their home countries.

In the past, research on the coping and adaptation mechanisms of migrants tended to focus on people ecologies and victimisations among migrants, thus skewed toward the vulnerability aspects. However, the emphasis of the study by Kramer and Bala (2004) on resilience and positive coping and adaptation of migrants has highlighted the positivity of migration. They concluded that the resilience and positive aspects brought by migration into the host countries have started to surface as confirmed by Kuo (2014) who found that migrants have resilience aspects that enhance their immediate coping and long-term adaptation in the migration process.

Both female and male migrants, encounter *new-born* conditions and difficulties in a new host milieu. They are in the new environment as individuals or with other people close to them, but still they will experience the new environment as a single being. Some of these difficulties could be more hurting for migrant women, especially if they migrate to the host country as dependents or independents, with *less* education, unprepared, encountering discrimination, and above all, lacking the necessary language skills (Çakir, 2009). It is worse if these migrant women are trafficked into the host country against their will as they may be beginning another life of modern-day slavery, which has been witnessed in various parts of the world. According to Çakir (2009), Turkish migrant women in the United Kingdom are double disadvantaged by the mere fact that they are female migrants, and at times are triple disadvantaged when issues of ethnicity, race, class or religion are brought to the fore. However, such vulnerabilities differ from woman to woman depending on certain factors, namely their resilience mechanisms and the physiognomies they possess. Migrant women may utilise the livelihood capitals they possess in order to cope and adapt in new environments. Conversely, they may find difficulty in negotiating their general well-being (Gsir, 2014). They might encounter relationship losses, lower life status and isolation which make life unbearable for them (Bhugra and Becker, 2005).

The gendered nature of their countries of origin will create challenges for them to cope and adapt in the host country. According to the UN survey in 2006, unjust legislations made it difficult for women to migrate. These laws included those that denied women rights to be accompanied by their spouses and children. They were subjected to pregnancy tests before permitted to move and could not consent to anything without their guardians, who in some cases were the husbands (United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs [UN-DESA], 2006). The patriarchal arrangements might also be a hindrance to women's coping and adaptation as men may not be willing to join their wives as dependents in host countries.

According to Jolly (2005), migration brings a window of opportunity for women to better their lives and break the glass ceiling imposed by the gendered nature of the society. Migration can also empower women economically and increase their independence, improve their self-esteem and their general well-being (Raimundo, 2009). The fact that even certain forms of forced migration of women, for example resulting from conflict, can lead to modifications in existing gender roles and duties to women's benefit (Wells et al., 2013). Conversely, migration can also imbed traditional roles and disparities and expose women to new vulnerabilities as the result of precarious legal status, exclusion and segregation (Adepoju, 2006).

The levels of resilience vary from woman to woman due to their demographic and socio-economic characteristics. The adversity factors due to the gendered nature of migration can also be taken as a disempowering experience, which can result in a particular physical or social vulnerability for individual migrant women. For instance, factors such as educational level (Berry and Sam, 2006), language aptitude (Beiser and Hou, 2001), and host country residence status (Bollini and Siem, 1995) can be taken as important contributing factors for migrant women's positive adjustment, while lack thereof are characteristics of women who do not adapt to the host environment well. It is yet to be seen, through this research and more to come, how these negative factors are converted into positives by migrant women in host communities in order to enhance their resilience so that they can be able to cope and adapt.

1.3   COPING AND ADAPTATION MECHANISMS OF MIGRANT WOMEN

Folkman and Moskowitz (2004) described coping as the principles and activities used to accomplish the inner and exterior stresses of conditions that are considered as difficulties. Adaptation is similar to coping but entails long-term adjustments to situations (Brooks, 2003). These can also be termed survival skills, which can be learned by individuals or a group of

people to survive in a positive manner. There can be both positive and negative mechanisms that people may employ to survive. These coping mechanisms may at times fail as people may not always be able to cope in the prevailing environment, but people may need some protection or buffers that can shield them from the hostilities that will hinder survival. These may be in the form of policies and legislation, including institutions that promote basic human survival such as the human rights laws and country constitutions that give people rights to life (UN, 1951). It is therefore inevitable that migrants need to identify positive mechanisms, build on them and utilise the available structures to enhance their resilience, hence their coping and adaptation in host communities. Resilience refers to the ability of a person to withstand a challenge, overcome adversity or make a positive adjustment to the situation (Kaplan, 1999). According to Luthar, Sawyer and Brown (2006), resilience cannot be taken as a feature that is present or absent in an individual or a group of people, but as a process that varies across circumstances and time. For instance, migration from home countries involves bringing in types of livelihood capitals such as human, social, economic, physical, cultural, and political capitals that can be increased and expanded due to new environmental opportunities allowing migrants to acquire more resources (Carney, 1998; Flora, Flora and Fey, 2004). These inherent capitals tend to assist migrants to expand their livelihood options and, in the process, enhance their resilience that will result in increased coping and adaptation. Resilience is an aspect that is not fixed and can be manipulated for the good of an individual or individuals to suit their needs.

Manyena et al. (2011) offered another dimension of resilience that becomes of interest in this study. They stated that resilience is the ability to bounce forward following a disaster or an emergency. The migrant women's inherent resilience factors may play transformative roles as they may result in their coping and adaptation in host countries. Tugade and Fredrickson (2004) reiterated to this when they stated that resilience is associated with positive adaptation in the face of challenging situations. The new environment in host countries, with the perceived expectations of a better life, may contribute to the bouncing forward by migrant women, hence positive coping and adaptation of migrant women. The resilience factors will be derived from the livelihood capitals as described in the Sustainable Livelihood Framework (SLF) together with the added capital in the Community Capitals Framework (CCF) (Carney, 1998; Flora et al., 2004). Adaptation, is a process of fitting into new situations (Berry et al., 2002).

1.4   RESEARCH PROBLEM

South Africa is among the few developing countries that are targeted by African migrants as an attractive international migration destination. South Africa is seen as filled with promises and as a successful country offering opportunities for advancement (Gebre, Maharaj and Pillay, 2011). McDonald et al. (2000) added that foreigners in South Africa are attracted by its advanced social, economic, and political environment that is not available in other African countries. The pace of arrivals increased after the country's independence in 1994, when the progressive Constitution allowed more people to look for better opportunities in South Africa. The all-round positive picture about South Africa painted to the outside world is the main reason for the huge inflow of the migrants into the country.

South Africa, although perceived by many foreigners as a land of milk and honey, is faced by a plethora of socio-economic challenges, including unemployment which stands at 25% according to Stats SA (2015). Other notable challenges are the actual and systematic socio-economic exclusion of foreigners from the South African social security system (Brockerhoff, 2013), and social assistance offered by the government of South Africa to its citizens (Nyenti, Du Plessis and Apon, 2007). This is regardless of the fact that South Africa, being a party to the Geneva Convention on refugees and their status, are supposed to provide the refugees and asylum seekers certain rights. One such example is the access that approved refugees to be entitled to social grants through the South African Social Security Agency (SASSA). Local South Africans also make it hard for foreigners to access these services because they feel that the foreigners are not entitled to these benefits. The migrants are making a success of their lives in South Africa despite all the challenges that bedevil the country and its citizens.

South Africa is also well known for its inequalities which was initially attributed to the discriminatory policies of the previous Apartheid government. Recently, these inequalities have been attributed to poor governance compounded by systematic corruption, nepotism and cadre deployment principles, and low skills levels of the majority of South Africans. Poverty and inequality in South Africa have direct links to race, gender, spatial distribution and age of the population (Frye, Farred and Nojekwa, 2011). The poverty-stricken population are the majority of the black South Africans, women, the black unemployed youth and those living in the rural areas (Triegaardt, 2008). According to Tibaijuka (2008), South African cities are considered the world's most unequal cities and the disparities are clearly visible. The inequalities are continuing unabated due to organisational conditions of urban planning that has gone

unchallenged. Triegaardt (2008), further stated that in 2008 it was reported that income inequalities in South Africa were the highest since the demise of Apartheid. Finally, South Africa's *Gini co-efficient* is the highest in the world, standing at 0.62, which according to Rawson (2012), indicates that there are many individuals that are advantaged and relatively comfortable, while many people are living below the poverty line. South Africa's human development barometer has remained poor and the society has remained schizophrenic, caught up between the Third and First Worlds (Mills and Herbst, 2014). Mills and Herbst (2014), further mentioned that 15.1 million South Africans were receiving state welfare grants in 2011. This number has since increased due to the subdued employment prospects in the country and the substandard education and training institutions that are said to be incompatible with the industry and commerce of the country.

Despite being subjected to ridicule and xenophobic attacks, the influx of migrants to the country is continuing unabated. The recurrent xenophobic attacks date back to 1935, and again in 2008, and the latest sporadic attacks that started in 2015 in Durban and spread throughout the country (UNHCR, 2009). In February 2017, xenophobic attacks also spread through Pretoria where African migrant women, including Somalian women, stood ready to defend themselves (Skuy, 2017). (See Figure 1.1.) Ojedokun (2015) stated that mainly African migrants in South Africa are being discriminated against and are subjected to xenophobic attacks which had links to the institutionalised racism of the time due to Apartheid. This shows that the risk factor is high for migrants in South Africa, despite the numbers of arrivals every day.

Source: Skuy (2017).

Figure 1.1   Somalian women ready to defend themselves from xenophobic attacks in February 2017

Some African countries have in the past developed strong human capital bases that would be valuable in uplifting the development of the particular countries. These African countries have failed to utilise the human capital bases they have grown and invested in because of poor economic policies that are compounded by bad political climates prevailing in the countries. A good example is Zimbabwe, whose citizens make up a bigger share of the skilled workforce in South Africa. Marthur (1999) described human capital as the "accumulated stock of skills and talents, and it manifests itself in the educated and skilled workforce in the country". South Africa could possibly be benefiting from this human capital, as evidenced by its migration regulation that has made provision for special work permits for certain skills (Dzvimbo, 2003).

Migrants to South Africa are from labour-centred communities in contrast to South Africa's mainly social grant-based communities (Tati, 2008). In this instance, many South Africans are supported by the government with grants and pensions through the Department of Social Welfare. All South Africans above the age of 60 years receive government pension, and children aged below 18 years and are disadvantaged and from poor backgrounds, are entitled to child support (Bhorat, Poswell and Naidoo, 2004). These benefits are not known in most of African countries. However, many migrants, inclusive of migrant women and their dependents in South Africa, are mostly excluded from these benefits. In the author's opinion, those who manage to register for such because they qualify, are subject to abuse by the local officials who do not like foreigners. The migrants end up forfeiting these benefits and resort to working in order to survive. Caritas Internationalis (2004) identified a trend where migrant women have replaced men in the household position, resulting in the change in both their social and economic activities in the household or even in the family. Women participation in migration has become a family survival strategy and has redefined the role of women in the family (Adepoju, 2006). Migrant women in South Africa engage in various activities ranging from formal employment to entrepreneurial activities.

Despite the social, economic and political challenges the South African community are facing, it is yet to be seen how the African migrant women will be coping and adapting in South Africa. Regardless of being deliberately excluded from the basic rights they are entitled to as enshrined in the international human rights laws and the Constitution of the country, it is yet to be explored what resilience mechanisms these migrants already possess to be able to succeed in the prevailing socio-economic environment.

1.5   SOCIO-ECONOMIC COPING AND ADAPTATION CONCEPT AND THEORY

The social capital theory was used as a benchmark to explain why analysing the socio-economic characteristics and other livelihood capitals of migrant women should be considered to determine how they cope and adapt in the face of adversities. The social capital framework has been utilised to explain the importance of various social components that form the basis of the human, social, economic, physical, political and cultural components in coping and adaptation in host environments. The theory is looked at in the context of Bourdieu's (1986) explanation of social theory that stated that social capital is the collection of the physical or possible resources which are connected to ownership of social resources through strong networks that are accompanied by mutual respect and trust. Economic and social benefits from the cooperation and trust issues of migrant women became focal points of reference in exploring their coping and adaptation mechanisms in this study. The social capital theory is integrated with the SLF as articulated by Carney (1998) and the list of livelihood capitals as portrayed in the CCF crafted by Flora et al. (2004). The detail graphical representation of the framework will be presented in Chapter 2.

1.6   RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The following primary research question was addressed in this study:

- What is the main role of the different livelihood capitals in building coping and adaptation mechanisms for migrant women in South Africa?

The secondary research questions to unpack the primary research question were the following:

- How do migrant women cope in South Africa?
- How do migrant women adapt in South Africa?
- What are the livelihood capitals that enhance the coping and adaptation of migrant women?
- What are the livelihood capital factors of resilience that inform the different livelihood capitals?

1.7   RESEARCH OBJECTIVES

The primary objective of the study was to explore the socio-economic coping and adaptation mechanisms employed by African migrant women in South Africa.

The sub-objectives were the following:

- To explore the inherent socio-economic coping and adaptation mechanisms.
- To identify and analyse the socio-economic coping and adaptation mechanisms utilised by African migrant women in South Africa.
- To determine factors that influence the choice of socio-economic coping and adaptation mechanisms of African migrant women.
- To examine and evaluate various intrinsic and accomplished resilience mechanisms that enhance the migrant women's coping and adaptation mechanisms.
- To propose relevant policies which would aid policymakers to improve the existing policies pertaining to international migration in host countries.

1.8 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY AND DESIGN

The study used both quantitative and qualitative methods. The multi-stage sampling technique was employed in this study. The first stage was the selection of provinces. Only four provinces (Free State, Gauteng, KwaZulu-Natal, and Western Cape) were selected from the nine provinces of South Africa. Three of the provinces were selected because they are the economic hub of the country and most of the migrant women stay in these provinces; however, the Free State Province was selected because of its proximity and availability of respondents for the researcher. The second stage involved random selection of metropolitan cities in the provinces, using a ballot method. The metropolitan cities selected were Johannesburg, Pretoria and Ekurhuleni from Gauteng, Bloemfontein from the Free State, Cape Town from the Western Cape, and Durban from KwaZulu-Natal. In total, 322 migrant women were randomly selected from 23 sub-Saharan countries. The largest part was from Zimbabwe, compared to other countries due to the proximity of Zimbabwe to South Africa. The survey data were collected during the months of February and March 2016, using a semi-structured questionnaire. The selected SSA countries were Angola, Benin, Burundi, Cameroon, Congo, DRC, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Ghana, the Ivory Coast, Kenya, Lesotho, Malawi, Mauritius, Mozambique, Nigeria, Rwanda, Senegal, Somalia, Tanzania, Uganda, Zambia and Zimbabwe.

1.9 SIGNIFICANCE AND CONTRIBUTION OF THE STUDY

It was envisaged that the findings of this study would have significant contributions to migration literature, and interrelations between foreigners and locals in general and in South Africa, in particular. Most of the literature on international migration usually focusses on the South–North flows (from developing and underdeveloped to developed countries), disregarding the fact that

there is more South–South flows. South Africa is one country that is host of huge South–South international migrants. International migration and mobility is an important part of many human events in the modern world. With globalisation, the African perspective of international migration will make a valuable contribution to the migration discourse. Currently migrant women form a huge portion of the total migration figures in the form of refugees and other types of migrants and their contribution cannot be ignored.

Discussions on migrant women were documented by gendered aspects, whereby women are described as vulnerable and susceptible to various forms of harassment. It is envisaged that with the findings of this study, these negatives will be dispelled as the socio-economic coping and adaptation mechanisms they employ in a host country could indicate them being individuals who can look after themselves. Although migration may expose migrant women to various threats and challenges for coping and adaptation in their destination countries, this study may facilitate the refocus on the positive aspects of coping and adaptation that is brought about by migration.

In the past, research on international migrants' coping and adaptation tended to focus on the human ecologies and vulnerabilities among migrants, hence focusing on the negative aspects of migration. Knowing about the socio-economic mechanisms and other factors contributing to the coping and adaptation in host countries, can bring about new insights to the expansion of social policies that may foster the resilience of migrant women. The positive aspects of migration to the host countries are illuminated in this study. Knowing more about the process of social and economic coping and adaptation and characteristics of migrant women and the resilience matrix, will assist in demystifying the anti-foreigner ideas that have resulted in xenophobic attacks, particularly in South Africa. It was envisaged that this study will assist in demystifying the perception that migrants are those that come to a host country to take local jobs and put pressure on local resources. The study hoped to change the above mentality to that which positively look at migrants from an angle of contribution to the development agenda of local communities. The study would assist in understanding how the resilience of individuals or groups can be enhanced and utilised as coping and adaptation mechanisms in host countries.

Finally, studying the feminisation of migration internationally and particularly in SSA have become topical and is of interest to many scholars. The focus was to present migrant women as independent agents of migration in this study, and the lessons learnt from this study could possibly be duplicated in other parts of the world.

1.10 DELINEATION AND LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

The study identified African migrant women in South Africa who have migrated to the country from 23 SSA countries only. These women were all 18 years and older and have some form of livelihood and they entered the country using various forms of permits, including illegal means. The 18-year-old age was valuable for the research because they were all consenting adults who would decide on their own to participate or not. The data collection ensued in Bloemfontein, moved to Pretoria, Johannesburg, Ekurhuleni, Cape Town and finally Durban, the economic hubs of South Africa.

1.11 DEFINITION OF TERMS AND CONCEPTS

To maintain consistency in the study, the key concepts used were defined as the following:

Adaptation – is the process of adjustment to actual or expected conditions. In human systems, adaptation seeks to moderate or avoid harm or exploit beneficial opportunities. In some natural systems, human intervention may facilitate adjustment to expected climate and its effects (IPCC, 2007).

Capital – refers to a valuable resource of a particular kind such as human capital, social capital, economic capital, physical capital, cultural capital and political capital (Oxford Living Dictionaries (2017).

Coping capacity – refers to the way people use existing resources to achieve various beneficial ends when times are hard, and they are faced with antagonistic situations of a disaster event or process. The strengthening of coping capacities usually constructs resilience to withstand the effect of natural or human-induced hazards (UN-ISDR, 2004).

Deskill – refers to reduction in levels of skills required in order to carry out a task or a job (Oxford Living Dictionaries, 2017).

Migrant – refers to a person (woman) who makes a free decision to migrate for reasons of personal convenience because of either forced or voluntary migration. The woman moves to South Africa to improve her physical or social conditions and better the prospects for herself and/or her family (Foresight, 2011).

Migrant woman – refers to the migrant woman from any of the 23 SSA countries.

Upskill – refers to increase the levels of skills by both engaging in further education and training or on-the job training in order to carry out a more paying task or job (Oxford Living Dictionaries (2017).

1.12 CHAPTER OUTLINE

The research was organised into seven chapters that are connected by the flow of the style and presentation of the research. **Chapter 1** provides the background of the study, including the general purpose of the study, the problem statement, research questions, general aim and objectives, significance of study, delineation and limitations of the study. **Chapter 2** outlines the theoretical foundations in which the research is rooted. **Chapter 3** reviews related literature on the international migration, history, trends and migration dynamics. **Chapter 4** explains the socio-economic coping and adaptation mechanisms of international migrant women. **Chapter 5** presents the data and data source, research design and methodology applied and the ethical consideration to be considered in the study. **Chapter 6** presents the results and discussion. The summary, conclusion and recommendations are presented in **Chapter 7.**

Chapter 2

CONCEPTUAL AND THEORETICAL FOUNDATIONS

OF THE STUDY

2.1 INTRODUCTION

There are several theories and frameworks that can be used to assess the socio-economic coping and adaptation mechanisms employed by African migrant women in South Africa. This study made use of the social capital theory together with the two preferred frameworks, that is the SLF (Department for International Development [DFID], 1999) and the CCF (Flora et al., 2004). The choice of this mix of theory and frameworks arose from the realisation that the inherent power of social relationships is vital in bridging gaps in societies for better survival (Rasmussen, Armstrong and Chazdon, 2011). Such relationships bring about resilience of individuals and communities who can pull their capacities and resources together for better survival. Social resilience can be described as the talent of different kinds of resources/capitals such as economic capital, physical capital, natural capital and human capital (Sakolapolrak, 2015). African migrant women possess some inherent social resilience which, together with various livelihood capitals, can enhance their coping and adaptation in South Africa.

2.2 THE SOCIAL CAPITAL THEORY

The social capital theory is used to explain why exploring the social and economic benefits of individuals or groups should be considered (Coleman, 1990). This can be derived from migrants' utilisation of their social capabilities, their cooperation and trust of institutions and the host country resources available to them. The importance of the various socio-economic factors that include other related capitals and their interactions with each other is portrayed in the SLF (Ashley and Carney, 1999). The socio-economic factors can easily facilitate the coping and adaptation of migrant women in a host country.

The idea of social capital has been discussed by authors such as Coleman (1988), Foley, McCarthy and Chaves (2001), Putnam (2000), Sampson (2001) and Warren, Thompson and Saegert (2001), who referred to it as consisting social networks, connections/relationships and sociability. Nam (2011) defined social capital as social networks and skills owned by

individuals and used to facilitate specific actions. Similarly, various studies regarded social capital as the social characteristics of a person (Carpenter, Daniere and Takahashi, 2004; Glaeser, Laibson and Sacerdote, 2002; Karlan, 2005).

Krishna (2004) and Putnam (2000) regarded social capital as public property that facilitates collective action for shared benefits by the whole population. Thus, social capital can be viewed from an individual perspective (micro) and group perspective (macro), with the possibility of generating added value. Social capital is part and parcel of communities and households, together with the formal institutions of government, the public sector and private organisations (Moser et al., 2010).

In social capital discourse, people or groups of people are not passive, they possess social resources that have been acquired, developed, improved and transferred across generations and societies (Wolff and Moser, 2009). Importantly, the social capital theory recognises that social networks are built upon values, norms, knowledge, social learning and information sharing that are essential in coping and adaptation discourse. In realising the importance of social capital, studies have concentrated on examining the broad relationships between social capital and other variables such as coping in unfamiliar environments and adapting in such situations.

The important component of social capital relevant to this study relates to knowledge, skills, information sharing and social learning within and between networks of individuals and households (OECD, 2001). Social networks are built upon vital skills and knowledge that are shared as individuals benefit from information sharing in a reciprocal manner. Individuals can accumulate knowledge and skills and learn through formal and informal institutions. Schuller (2001) regarded this as the human capital component of social capital[3], thus the overlap between the human and social capitals. While Woolcock (2001) attempted to dissociate the knowledge and skills embedded in social networks by defining social capital as 'who you know than what you know', Coleman (1988) and Lester et al. (2008) supported the fact that there is a fine line dividing social and human capitals and hence it is not easy to separate and isolate one from the other. The other capitals such as the physical, financial, political and cultural capitals, are all products of social and human capitals that are embedded in the social capital theory. The social

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[3]Human capital refers to variables that include expertise, experiences, knowledge, stature and prowess of individuals (Becker, 1964; Coleman, 1988). Human capital is more inclined to the utilisation of these components to enhance productivity and earn more income. Social capital is more concerned with the construction of these variables and their sharing within the social networks to influence or benefit individual members.

capital has therefore allowed for the incorporation of the SLF and the subsequent CCF that are built on the capitals that people possess (see Figure 2.7).

2.3   THE SUSTAINABLE LIVELIHOOD FRAMEWORK

The opinion on sustainable livelihoods was borne out of Agenda 21, a comprehensive action plan implemented at the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development in 1992, also known as the Rio de Janeiro Earth Summit. Agenda 21 aimed at creating an atmosphere that all human beings have the right to a sustainable livelihood (Krantz, 2001). The idea of livelihood thinking was originally proposed by Robert Chambers in the 1980s (Chambers, 1986), and adapted by the DFID in 1997 for its development corporation programme (Kollmair and Gamper, 2002). Although the SLF has relations with the neo-Marxist and neo-Liberalist perspectives (Davies, 2001), one of its most noticeable effects is the rise of the human development concept of the 1980s that was driven by the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) through their Human Development Report in 1990 (UNDP, 1990). Though the framework was initially for the rural poor, its applicability to this study is drawn from its emphasis on the vulnerability of people, institutions and to some extent the environment. The vulnerable people derive their livelihoods on the various capitals and hence its applicability to this study (Norton and Foster, 2001). The migrant women leave their home countries, embark on the migration processes and when they get to host countries they derive their survival on what they possess or try and make something from what is available to them. They experience restrictions because they are not citizens of the countries they have moved to. The various livelihood capitals and other demographic and socio-economic characteristics that the people possess or are able to nurture and develop when resources are made available, can enhance their coping and adaptation (Hugo, 2005).

Figure 2.1 is a diagrammatic representation of the SLF that shows how the vulnerability context shapes people's ability to survive and earn a living, and which may result in them engaging in migration. However, the vulnerability context can also be influenced by the livelihood capitals such as the human, natural, social, financial and physical capitals. The people may lack certain capitals and, together with how they are exposed to hazards, this can determine if they will be able to survive in the current situation or may be forced to migrate. In this same light, the policies, processes in the form of government and other structures in place, laws, regulations and the culture of the specific community also have an influence on the survival and overall well-being of the people. These policies and institutional processes also affect the coping and

adaptation strategies devised, therefore having an influence on the ultimate livelihood outcomes of a community (Hugo, 2005).
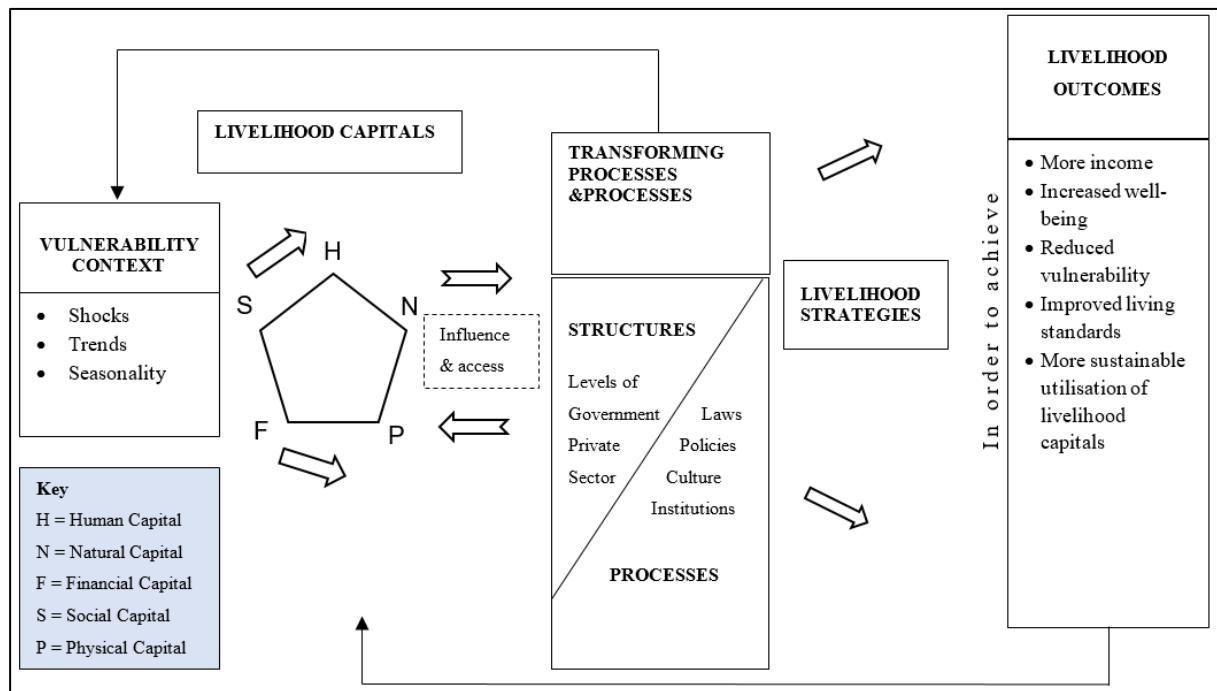
Source: Adapted from DFID (1999a).

Figure 2.1: Sustainable Livelihood Framework

The SLF basically conceptualises causes of people's poverty, their access to different types of resources and their socio-economic livelihood activities at local, regional and international levels (Krantz, 2001). Its emphasis is on the strategy for poverty reduction, survival and prosperity that is dependent on the ability of individuals or a community to capitalise on the opportunities and resources at their disposal. These livelihood activities may be in the form of socio-economic goods and services (Adato, Meinzen and Suseela, 2002). The flexibility of the SLF makes it ideal for this study as it can be adapted and modified to suit the situation.

Majale (2002) and Scoones (1998) stated that the SLF is versatile as it can be applied from individual, household, community, region or country level. According to Globalisation and Livelihood Options of People living in Poverty (GLOPP, 2008), the strength of the SLF rests on its flexibility and adaptability to specific local settings. Another strength of this framework is its emphasis on people. The consideration is that the SLF builds on the notion that communities have various capitals (Carney, 1998; Flora et al., 2004). These capitals may be inactive, or they may be enhanced to create more livelihoods for the people or even a community. In this study, the emphasis was on the livelihood capitals, the livelihood strategies

and the livelihood outcomes informed by the migrants' capabilities and capacities in the host country.

2.3.1 The fundamental principles of the Sustainable Livelihood Framework

The SLF is based on eight central principles as discussed by Sneddon (2000), namely:

- *People-centred*: The survival means applied by people is analysed by taking into consideration that survival means can change over time and place. People are involved in the process. The impact of the policies and institutional arrangements are looked at from the view of how they affect the people. It also promotes the resilience of the people in order to better their livelihoods.

- *Holistic*: All stakeholders are brought together and multiple livelihood strategies are negotiated together. It also considers different factors that may promote survival opportunities or constrain them.

- *Unit of analysis*: A distinguishable social group and social separations may include those relating to religious affiliation, age group, origin and gender.

- *Dynamic*: Change is inevitable and so whatever inputs come into being variations of these inputs need to be considered.

- *Building on strengths*: The people's resilience is the central focus and not their vulnerabilities.

- *Macro–micro links*: International perspectives are considered and applied to the local levels of operation.

- *Sustainability*: The focus is resilience enhancement in order to prevent vulnerabilities but also considers the long-term impacts of these decisions.

- *Extensive stakeholder participation*: Wider consultations that is inclusive of all stakeholders in order to move towards long-term development.

This study is about the various ways how migrant women are managing to survive in South Africa, and hence the people-centred nature of the SLF fitted perfectly with the study.

2.3.2 The vulnerability context

Evidence from literature on the vulnerability of migrant women in their home countries, caused them to embark on international migration. Vulnerability levels are highly dependent upon the social, economic, political, physical, and to some extent, the environmental status of individuals, communities and nations (ISDR, 2004). Various social, physical, economic and environmental challenges result in diminished human safety nets (O'Brien and Leichenko, 2007). With the diminished safety nets, the people are left with limited choices, and the one which is realisable is migration. Social vulnerabilities of people make them more susceptible to various risks as indicated in Figure 2.2. According to Wisner et al. (2004), social vulnerability refers to characteristics of people in relation to their ability to expect, deal with, withstand and improve themselves when affected by a hazard. Aspects such as level of literacy and education, peace and political stability, observance of human rights by those in power, good governance and respect of people' culture, customs and traditions are some of the aspects that will reduce people's vulnerability.

The various levels of vulnerability are determined by factors such as their coping capacities that are directly linked to their coping and adaptation (ISDR, 2004). Social factors include gender, age, health status and physical ability of individuals. Public health is a critical aspect of social vulnerability (Wisner et al., 2004). For instance, exaggerated exposure to communicable diseases, and lack of proper and well-resourced health care facilities also increase vulnerability (Ward and Shiverly, 2011). In many societies women are among the most vulnerable as they carry the burdens of domestic work, provision of shelter and primary care in cases of disasters and other emergencies (Lu, 2010). Illiteracy among women and the poor, traditional oppressive systems and lack of knowledge and training on disaster risk reduction measures, make people more susceptible to hazards and therefore more vulnerable (ISDR, 2004). Addressing the governance issues which is the root of all vulnerability, educating the people and promoting progressive indigenous knowledge systems can create great cohesion and better regulations that will improve the coping capacities of people as indicated in Figure 2.2.

Social vulnerability

Exposure and susceptibility

Age

Gender

Health systems

Physical ability

Public health

Poor governance

Patriarchal burdens

Coping capacity

Educational levels

Livelihood capitals and capital factors

Good governance

Progressive indigenous knowledge
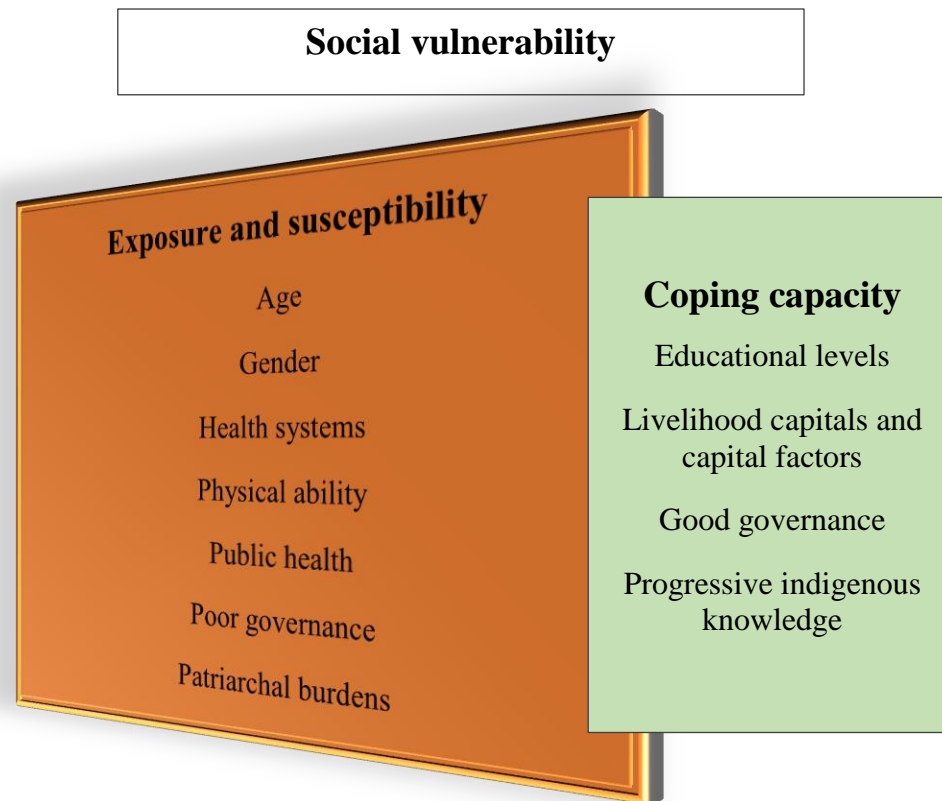
Source: Adapted from Muyambo, Jordaan and Bahta (2017).

Figure 2.2:   Social vulnerability

Economic vulnerability is also the result of the social vulnerability of the people as their levels of vulnerability depend upon their economic status (ISDR, 2004). The most vulnerable are the poor and minority groups. The poor tend to lose everything that they have worked for in their entire lives in the event of a calamity. They find it difficult to recover from the events. Economic vulnerability consists of individual or people's economic resources, such as their property, savings, loans, bankability and insurability (Cutter, Mitchell and Scott, 2000). Lack of diversity in an economy results in vulnerability as one livelihood can be too risky in the event of a disaster. Once the livelihood is impacted by a disaster, the economy faces total collapse. Absence or inadequate critical infrastructure and basic services such as electricity, communication networks, portable water, and health care, result in disaster for the communities. According to Philip and Rayhan (2004), economic factors include level of income, access to bank loans, sources of income, and other critical services. They further stated that the economic status of a community plays a role in level of vulnerability, where the poor are the most vulnerable. People are for several reasons forced to live in hazard-prone areas, some being unable to afford to buy houses in safer areas due to low income and unemployment.

When vulnerabilities are high, an unprecedented number of people migrate to other countries (Alonso, 2011). The livelihoods of people are depleted to levels where they cannot afford basic needs. The resilience levels are reduced to levels where it becomes difficult for them to survive. According to Werner and Smith (1982), resilience is an innate quality which means that they are hardly invulnerable. However, Masten (2001) differed with Werner and Smith on invulnerability as he posits that no human being is immune to injury and wounds or even damage. Hence the notion that resilience is not fixed but an alterable set of processes that can be fostered and cultivated. When the susceptibilities become too much, the people are pushed out of their usual environments and eventually out of their countries of origin. They migrate to other areas within their communities, their countries and eventually internationally.

The institutional processes, such as the legislations and regulations in host countries also impact migrants' coping and adaptation measures affecting their resilience in the host environment (Leighton, 2011). The examples are the migration regulations governing the migrants' stay in the host countries. People are restricted from crossing international borders without legal documentation.

2.3.2.1 The vulnerability context as portrayed in the Sustainable Livelihood Framework

Vulnerability context focuses on the shocks, trends and seasonality which are exogenous and uncontrollable factors that influence people's livelihood capitals and their livelihood opportunities (DFID, 1999). The people's livelihoods are destroyed or created due to the prevailing developments, shocks and timelines (DFID, 1999). Different people or communities with different ways of livelihood are affected differently by shocks (DFID, 1999). Shocks caused by an array of exogenous forces contribute to the vulnerability of people who opt to move out and migrate to countries such as South Africa. Philip and Rayhan (2004) also mentioned that people may lack resources, and efforts need to be put in place to reduce their vulnerabilities. These shocks can manifest themselves in various forms such as both man-made and natural induced disasters (Wisner et al., 2004), rapid shift in populations due to urbanisation (Satterthwaite, 2010), and high unemployment levels resulting from poor governance of states by democratically elected leaders (Cilliers and Siski, 2013). Other shocks are climate change emanating from global warming (Swim et al., 2009) and diseases that affect humans, livestock and crops due to outdated agricultural activities (Salami, Kamara and Brixovia, 2010). One example of a clear shock is poor governance which is witnessed in many SSA countries (Alonso, 2011), that has resulted in people migrating internationally and many of them to South

Africa. These same shocks can also erode the livelihood capital base of the migrants and for them to survive, there will be a need for them to act, and migration is the best option for them under such circumstances. Some people tend to relocate, while others start disposing of some of their disposable and fixed capitals (Swanepoel, 2008). These circumstances can force people to relocate or dispose of their capital (DFID, 1999). Another relevant instance is the 2002 to 2008 economic meltdown that occurred in Zimbabwe, a shock that led to hyperinflation. The consequences were that most of the Zimbabwean livelihoods were eroded or diminished to critical levels. Their resilience was also depleted, resulting in unprecedented international migration of the rich human capital. They migrated mostly in search of better livelihoods and until today, debate is ongoing that most Zimbabweans are economic refugees and not refugees as defined by the United Nations (Nyanga, Mpala and Chisamba, 2012). The vulnerability context is explained in Figure 2.3 as the *push factors* that drive women to emigrate from their countries and immigrate to other countries such as South Africa. These push factors are listed as poverty, unemployment, drought, social injustices, conflict and poor governance (Ashley and Carney, 1999).
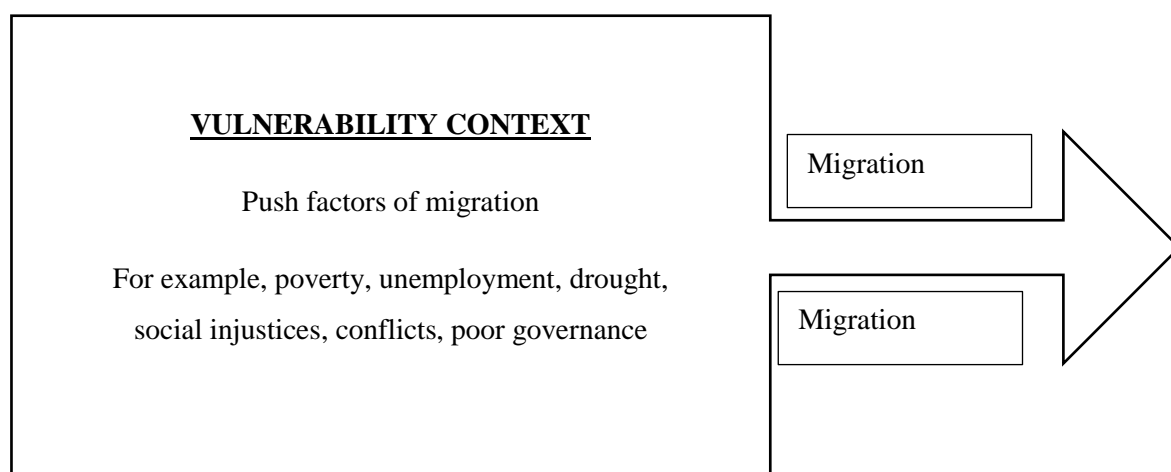
Source: Author's own (2017).

Figure 2.3: Vulnerability context of migrant women

The trends in the governance framework of societies and politics influence how income and other livelihood capitals are distributed (Cannon, 2008). It is therefore inevitable that to a certain extent vulnerability of a community can be determined by the leaders who have the power to make decisions about their situation. Advancement of technology can also force people against their will to change their culture and adapt to the new order demanded by technology (Clark, 2015). The abundance of technology makes it easier for people to make informed decisions such as migrating when vulnerability levels increase. A good example is

the introduction of cell phones that have revolutionised the world leading to global technological addictions (Griffiths, 2000, 2005), such that even in some of the remotest areas people are using cell phones. People can avoid further vulnerabilities by migrating to their already existing networks that are easily accessible through these technologies (Ogunlesi and Busari, 2012).

Social, economic and resource developments impact on the way people pursue their livelihoods. Unanticipated events such as conflicts, economic shocks, droughts and technology failures can also affect the pursuit of livelihoods by people. Finally, drastic changes in employment patterns due to events such as droughts and lack of markets for commodities can result in communities losing their livelihoods (Alinovi et al., 2010). The above instances will have a direct impact on the people's resilience levels, thereby affecting their long-term survival. It is at this point that many people decide to migrate. In the host countries migrants have very little control on the policies, institutions and processes prevailing. The migrants need to devise ways of enhancing their existing coping and adaptation mechanisms for them to be resilient to these trends, shocks and seasonality.

2.3.3 The livelihood aspects of the Sustainable Livelihood Framework

A livelihood is defined in the Oxford Living Dictionaries (2017), as "[a] means of securing the necessities of life". The DFID (1999a) defines livelihood as the "capabilities, assets … and activities required for a means of living". The livelihood capitals, the livelihood strategies and the livelihood outcomes as portrayed in the framework can expedite the coping and adaptation processes of people. A livelihood can be considered sustainable if it can withstand the pressure, bounce back from the multiple challenges and retain its capabilities and capitals over time and also manage to retain the natural resource base (Hossain, 2005). The livelihood capitals and the resilience of the migrants can be put side by side to see how migrants make use of these in the host environment. The key foundations of social resilience, such as in livelihood capitals, lie in the basic variation of the types of migrant groupings and where they settle in the host country (Farrington, 2002). South Africa is a preferred destination for most of the African migrants because of the perceived positive socio-economic situation of the country. Migrants feel that there are better health systems for all, freedom of speech, people are given free housing in the form of the Rural Development Programme (RDP), and that the poor and elderly are entitled to public social safety nets in the form of grants and pensions. The social support systems that are provided by South Africa give hope and expectations to migrants who come into the country.

Such support systems are not available in many African countries, and the perception created is that of hope, and when equipped with some capitals, the migrants come into the country and utilise the space to gain a livelihood which they hope to convert into sustainable livelihoods. A means of support that can survive and improve their lives in the face of the challenges indicates the resilience factor of the livelihood and therefore of the people concerned (Krantz, 2001).

A sustainable livelihood is when the community or individuals are able to survive and bounce back from shocks, as well as to preserve or improve its capabilities and capitals during the shock or stress and in the future. Migrants experience an array of shocks and stresses in their countries of origin and on arrival in South Africa. In the context of this study, the shock or stress is associated with the social, economic, physical and environmental vulnerabilities experienced by African women in their home countries that resulted in them migrating to South Africa. The vulnerability context influences the livelihood capitals of the community. Transforming structures and processes are the institutional elements that, positively or negatively, influence the creation of livelihood strategies. It is also important to consider that the structure and processes can influence the livelihood capitals available, depending on the access the people have to them. The livelihood strategies are used to achieve the outcomes of the community or individual from its livelihood (Cannon, Twigg and Rowell, 2001).

2.3.3.1 Disasters, hazards and livelihoods

Disasters and hazards have adversely affected humans since the dawn of existence and with globalisation the effect is felt and communicated more widely (Coppola, 2011). However, people have managed to withstand and adapt to the adversities and changed their livelihood strategies, hence resilience of the people (Osbahr, 2007). Osbahr (2007) further said that people become vulnerable due to external factors that are beyond their control and these factors such as climate change and governance issues influence the livelihoods of the people. Communities and individuals have devised some measures to manage, live with and survive with these disasters and hazards as they are mostly an unavoidable part of life (International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies [IFRCRCS], 2002). The calamities and hazards have resulted in the increase in people's vulnerabilities, which require that the human development be accelerated as coping and adaptation are closely linked to resilience (Pelling, 2010).

2.3.3.2   Livelihoods and resilience of people

Resilience is the ability of a system, community or society exposed to hazards to resist, absorb, accommodate and recover from the effects of a hazard in a timely and efficient manner (ISDR, 2009a).

The current discourse of disaster risk management has been recognised by 168 countries who committed themselves to first implement the Hyogo Framework for Action (2005–2015), and recently the Sendai Framework of Action (2015–2030). These countries committed themselves to *Building the Resilience of Nations and Communities to Disasters* and *Disaster Risk Reduction and Resilience*. The ISDR (2012) clarifies the link it makes between disasters (vulnerability context encountered by migrants) and resilience. Resilience is therefore a quality of people's livelihoods and also a process that can be utilised to cope and adapt.

Migrants ought to build on what they already have in order to enhance their resilience. They need to develop adaptive capacities, be innovative to cope and adapt in the host community of South Africa (Pelling, 2010). In exploring the migrant resilience, it is not advisable to consider predictive outcomes, but it is necessary to build on what is already known, that is the various livelihood capitals to cope and adapt in a host country. As alluded to by Carpenter (2006) and Folke, Colding and Berkes (2003), the adaptive capacities analysis method does not require estimating outcomes, but instead it suggests capitalising on various capitals and enhances adaptive capacity to cope with upcoming eventualities. Sustainability entails meeting the current needs without compromising the future needs of the coming generation (DFID, 1999). The human well-being is enhanced, social justice is advanced, and environmental integrity is protected (Leach, Scoones and Stirling, 2010).

Resilience can be developed to encourage greater well-being (Ozbay et al., 2008). Resilience is therefore not inherent in a person, but it is a process which takes time to develop and depends on individual circumstances (Luthar, Sawyer and Brown, 2006). Masten (2001) reiterates that resilience is not a static feature but an alterable attribute that can be fostered and nurtured. It is therefore necessary to assess how much of the livelihood capitals the migrants possess and how they are utilising them to enhance their coping and adaptation mechanisms in South Africa. The way migrant women possess and have access to the capitals will enable them to respond positively, or not, to the institutional structures and processes in the host country (Carney, 1998), and thereby positively enhancing their resilience to cope and adapt better. For this study, resilience is viewed as the capacity of the migrant women to experience the shocks, while

remaining steadfast in their work, operative capability, retaining their functions, identity, responses and their capabilities (Walker et al., 2004). However, all the survival efforts pursued are dependent on the host community or country's policies, institutions and the processes in place at the time.

2.4   POLICIES, INSTITUTIONS AND PROCESSES IN RELATION TO LIVELIHOOD CAPITALS

Government policies, laws and decrees, together with the contribution of other stakeholders such as non-governmental organisations (NGOs) and private institutions, can influence the development of the resilience of the migrant women in a positive or negative way, thereby impacting on the coping and adaptation mechanisms employed (Cannon et al., 2003). Shankland (2000) agrees with Cannon et al. that these structures and processes are of vital importance as they are influential at all levels and are directly responsible for the effective access, types of livelihood capitals and the returns to a given livelihood strategy. It is crucial to understand the structures, institutions and the processes, such as the regulations controlling the transformations in order to evaluate the impact of the capitals possessed by the people and to understand how they are coping and adapting with the life they wish to live (Carney, 1998; Scoones,1998).

The laws and regulations in the host country directly affect the livelihoods of migrant women like any other migrants in a host country (DFID, 2001). These can be government institutions which identify the operational frameworks of migrants. Examples are the Department of Home Affairs of the Republic of South Africa (RSA) as empowered by the Immigration Act, Act 13 of 2002 (RSA, 2002) that looks at the type of migrants' entry statuses and their residence in the country. If these institutional structures are not functioning well or are repressive, then the coping and adaptation of the migrants will be affected. Migrants may end up devising some unethical means of survival, which might be engaging in prostitution, brothels, selling of drugs, car hijackings and heists. Access to, and the possibility to control the available resources at their disposal, will be influenced by these institutional arrangements.

Policies enable migrant women to utilise, enhance and build on what they already possess. The application of the policies and regulations also directly determine resilience enhancement through choices and decisions the migrant women make and this impacts on their coping and adaptation. The existing policies and regulations impact heavily on the migrant women's

livelihood capitals, their utilisation and the overall impact on the livelihood outcomes in the host countries. One example is what is currently happening in the USA where the country's incumbent president is implementing new executive laws and policies that will affect migrants in that country. Such regulations may have an impact of the utilisation of the livelihood capitals that the migrants have at their disposal, such as their qualifications and skills.

Figure 2.4 illustrates some of the institutional provisions such as the laws on immigration, entrepreneurship and employment opportunities that can impact on the coping and adaptation of migrant women.
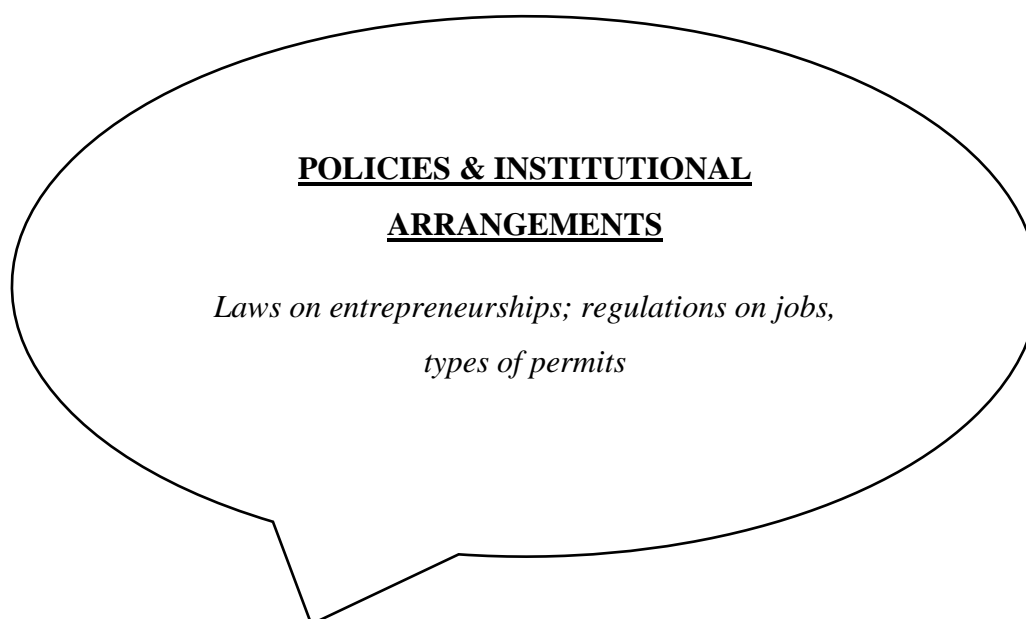
Source: Author's own (2017).

Figure 2.4:   Policies and institutional arrangements impacting on migrant women

The policies and institutional arrangements will determine how the migrant women manage to fit into the new environment in South Africa. These constitute the way in which structures and individuals operate and interact (DFID, 1999). Being many, the processes and institutional arrangements are complicated, important, overlapping and at times conflicting (DFID, 1999). There is, therefore, a need to understand and correctly interpret these processes and institutional arrangements in line with the possible livelihood strategies to be adopted.

2.5   LIVELIHOOD STRATEGIES IN RELATION TO LIVELIHOOD CAPITALS

Livelihood strategies are dynamic processes in which an individual or people make choices in order to realise the livelihood goals. Similarly, the dynamic processes are potential resilience factors that are ideal for the enhancement of the coping and adaptation mechanisms. People survive differently in different socio-economic environments (Fernando, 2012). Nussbaum (2000) and Sen (1984) both stated that the idea of measuring people's well-being needed to shift from the measurement of conventional resource-based factors as their means of survival. These authors further reiterated that resources must instead be taken as necessary enablers that help human beings in achieving functional ends. The conventional resources measured were tangible in nature such as economic, natural and physical resources. However, intangible resources such as social, cultural and political resources also play a crucial role in people's coping and adaptation.

Migrant women should consider the resilience factors they possess in a host environment and consider how to manipulate resilience indicators to enhance their coping and adaptation. For instance, Carney (1998) categorised the livelihood strategies / resilience indicators such as human resource base, migration, social networks and remittances as necessary for coping and adaptation. In host countries, migrant women need to utilise the available capital factors in their possession or within their reach in the endeavours to adjust to the host environment. Conforming to the regulations governing their residence in the host country is necessary as well (Scoones, 1998). The livelihood strategies can be both complex and dynamic as the regulations and policies directly impact on whether migrant women would survive or fail (DFID, 2000). The more diverse the livelihood strategies that people employ, the better the chances of coping and adapting in the host environment. The SLF makes it possible to identify both the positive and negative resilience factors that people make use of (Walker and Donaldson, 2011). The livelihood strategies shown in Figure 2.5 are in the form of livelihood capital factors such as educational levels, health status, networks and financial support.

LIVELIHOOD STRATEGIES

Demographic and socio-economic characteristics

For example, age, educational levels, type of permit,
position in the household

Livelihood capitals

For example, human, social, economic, physical,
cultural and political
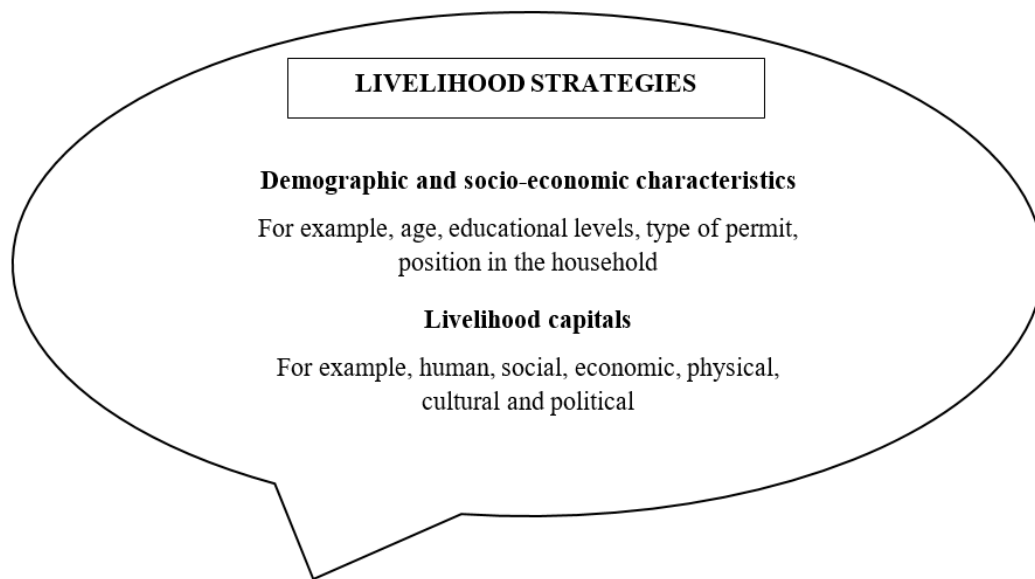
Source: Author's own (2017).

Figure 2.5   Livelihood strategies of migrant women

The livelihood capital factors impact on the livelihood strategies employed and therefore the determination of the livelihood outcomes of the people that enhance their coping and adaptation mechanisms in the host community.

2.6   LIVELIHOOD OUTCOMES IN RELATION TO LIVELIHOOD CAPITALS AND STRATEGIES

Livelihood outcomes are the objectives to which people hope to achieve through pursuing their livelihood strategies (Alinovi et al., 2010). Migration is taken as a positive livelihood strategy that is dependent on the typical resilience factors identified. These outcomes are the achievements of the various livelihood strategies adopted, using the livelihood capitals at the people's disposal. These can be in the form of more incomes, increased well-being such as confidence, being healthy, access to services and sense of belonging, enhanced resilience through improvement in capital status and, to some extent, participating in sustainable use of physical resources, for instance having the right to own property (Cannon et al., 2003). Livelihood outcomes directly influence the livelihood capitals and they are responsible for the dynamic characteristics of the livelihood capital as indicated in Figure 2.6.
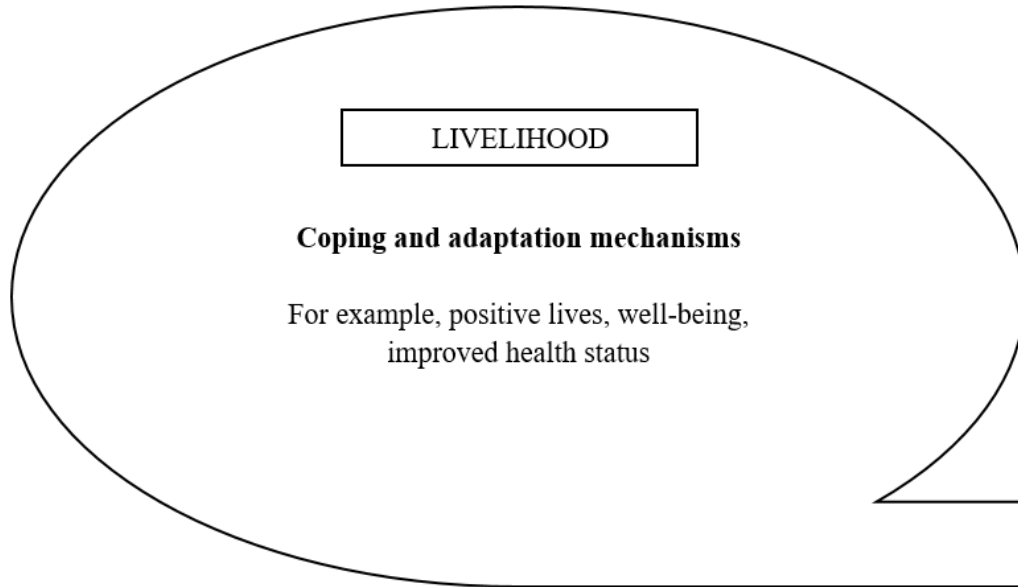
Figure 2.6   Livelihood outcomes of migration to a host country.

This results in innovative coping and adaptation by migrant women whereby they enjoy positive lives and improved health statuses. With the utilisation of the available and accessible livelihood capitals, the migrant women will be able to take advantage of the favourable host environment to transform their livelihood strategies that they have positively identified to achieve the outcomes they desire. The migrant women can take advantage of the positive social and economic atmosphere prevailing in the host environment to develop, improve and enhance their resilience factors in order to cope and adapt in South Africa.

2.6.1   The livelihood options of the migrant women in a host country

The SLF is grounded on the understanding that the livelihood capital base of the vulnerable people is ideal in understanding the options available to them, the strategies being pursued in order to achieve certain livelihoods standards, the aspired outcomes and the vulnerability situation under which they operate (Timalsina, 2012). Although South Africa may be a hostile environment to migrant women in terms of entry regulations, employment opportunities and other issues of securing a livelihood, better options exist for them than in their home countries. However, many social injustices prevail in the country post-1994. Migrants are subjected to stringent immigration laws, employment conditions and some of them find it hard to settle in the country. Some migrants are even subjected to xenophobic attacks due to the social injustices perpetuated in South Africa, even after democracy was attained (Mills and Herbst, 2014). The

status of migrant women can be determined by analysing their livelihood capital position and how they utilise these livelihood capitals in South Africa. Analysing the livelihood capitals, identifying all other possible resilience factors, and also the impact of being foreign, result in overall coping and adaptation in the host environment (Carney, 1998). The resilience factors shape the type of livelihoods in the host countries. According to the SLF vulnerabilities interact with the livelihood capitals and the coping and adaptation of the migrant women can then be assessed. The main aim of the framework is to build resilient communities (Manyena, 2009). Other aspects of the livelihood capitals were identified by Flora et al. (2004) as outside the pentagon of capitals. In their CCF they added the political and cultural capitals to the pentagon of capitals.

2.7 THE COMMUNITY CAPITALS FRAMEWORK: LINK WITH THE SUSTAINABLE LIVELIHOODS FRAMEWORK

According to Flora et al. (2004), the multiplicity of capitals is being perceived as a variety of resources available in the community. The resources include capacities, community strengths, skills, and opportunities. The livelihood capitals if wisely utilised interchangeably, and exchanged could create more and better community resources. The migrant women can utilise their resources in the form of livelihood capitals to cope and adapt to the new environment in the host country. The concept of community capitals is useful for the identification of the diverse capitals as shown in the SLF. Instead of looking at the five capitals as portrayed in the SLF, the CCF looks at seven capitals, including culture and political capital. Culture is an important part of people or a group of people as cultural resources define people's traditional ways of surviving, habits and attitudes towards destiny. On the other hand, political capital drives the world and the political sphere impacts on everything that happens around people. Being politically connected means having access to resources, leverage, and influential in one's quest to attaining goals. For the purposes of this study, the natural capital was excluded as it is taken that migrant women have no control on natural capital in a host environment. The six livelihood capitals that were the focus of this study are social, human, physical, economic, political and cultural capitals which are discussed in the next section.

2.8 THE SIX LIVELIHOOD CAPITALS

According to the Red Cross Annual Report (2011), livelihoods are made up of the capabilities, livelihood capitals, and activities needed to earn an income and be able to earn a long-term

livelihood. Sustainable livelihoods refer to people's ability to earn and maintain their livelihoods and improve their own well-being, as well as those of future generations (Krantz, 2001). A viable livelihood is supposed to make people cope and bounce back from shocks and stress. Six capitals, namely natural, human, economic, social, physical, cultural and political capitals, represent the livelihoods that people need to have access to. In this study, the six capitals will be discussed intensively.

2.8.1   The livelihood capitals of coping and adaptation of migrant women

The livelihood capitals are useful in the explanation of the coping and adaptation of migrant women in the host countries. According to Bebbington (1999), the community capital strengths should be analysed to ascertain how they may be converted into positive livelihood outcomes in preparation for specific disasters. According to Chambers and Conway (1992), it is critical to assess the people's levels of resilience by measuring their capital strengths. Livelihood capitals are the core of the livelihood analysis and in this instance the livelihood capital factors (resilience) will be derived from the livelihood capitals. The livelihood capitals, according to Chambers and Conway (1992) and Flora et al. (2004), were grouped into six categories, namely human, financial, social, physical, political and cultural livelihood capitals which is presented in Figure 2.7.
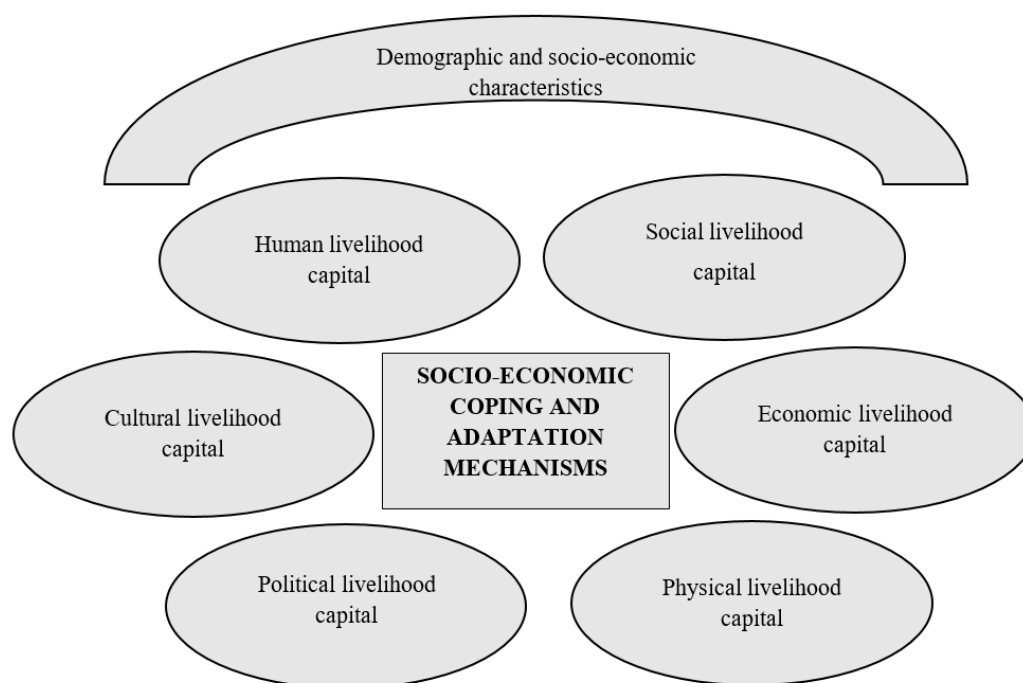
Source: Author's own (2017).

Figure 2.7   Livelihood capitals framework

In an ideal situation, all people need to have adequate capitals in order to live a life they desire They need all the livelihood capitals in order for them to be resilient in the face of any disasters or hazards (Sen, 1984). Figure 2.7 represents the availability of all the capitals to the people depicting a zero vulnerability so that people can withstand any hazardous situations that may befall them. However, this is not usually the case considering that not all people in this world have access to a complete basket of resources to live the life they desire (Sen, 1984). People try and balance the resources that are at their disposal. In other instances, they go without many things they dream about just to survive. In some instances, people should consider the opportunity cost of having one capital at the expense of the other (Igoe, 2006). In such instances, they look at options to see how much of the livelihood capitals they can have to live a life they desire.

2.8.2 Human capital

According to Rodriguez and Loomis (2007), human capital is described as the knowledge, skills, capabilities and qualities in individuals that enable the formation of personal, social, and economic well-being of the individual. Human capital is the most important capital in enhancing resilience as all the other capitals depend on it (Becker, 2009). Promotion of human capital is essential for the maximisation of the other capitals (Goodwin, 2003). People with different capitals can combine them and be able to live a life they desire (Sen, 1984). Examples of human capitals that are the backbone of people's livelihoods, include but are not limited to skills, knowledge, experience, good health and ability to labour (DFID, 2000).

2.8.2.1 Education as a human capital factor

One human capital that has been proven to be necessary in people's prosperity is the education of the population (Bergheim, 2005). It is also stated that education is the key engine of growth in any society (Almendarez, 2013). Most successful economies such as India, China and Malaysia have made heavy investments in education which is manifesting in the growth of their economies (Bergheim, 2005). The quality of education in any country has a bearing on the availability of skills needed in a country for development, as well as for individuals, with the skills to cope and adapt at any given time and place in the face of challenges. The view that a strong educational base is vital for development, is supported by the studies carried out by Barro (2000) in India when it was discovered that the economic growth for the period 1960 to1995 was positively related to secondary and higher levels of education. South Africa has a challenge

when it comes to human capital development, especially the educational-driven aspect (Mills and Herbst, 2014) and according to Ramdas (2009), this problem has escalated since the dawn of independence in 1994. Basically, when human capital in a community is poor, it will affect the livelihoods of the people, for example low education and limited skills will affect development and economic empowerment (Tilak, 2002). The identified human capital factors are education, health, knowledge and skills that are inherited or acquired through education and training, and the capacity to work as illustrated in Figure 2.8.
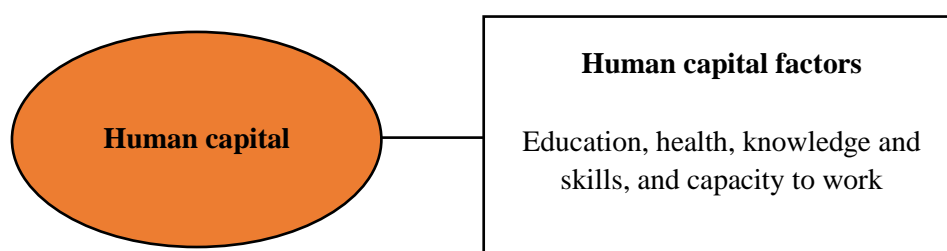
Figure 2.8   Human capital factors

2.8.2.2   Health as a human capital factor

Human capital can also be accumulated not only in terms of educating individuals, but also through medical and public health advances. Access to health services is essential to building a sound human capital base. The health status of a person or a group of people should be improved to enhance the human capital of people. The life expectancy of people in a country, or community, availability of health facilities and incidences of diseases such as cancer, diabetes and HIV/Aids can be determinants of the level of the human capital of any society. Other determinants are the proportion of the population that is covered by the public health care system (World Health Organization [WHO], 2007). A good example is the public health system of South Africa that many participants praised for its accessibility and affordability to them as well.

2.8.2.3   Knowledge and skills, and capacity to work

Through education and training individuals acquire knowledge and skills (Alan, Altman and Roussel, 2008). According to the Global Agenda Council on Employment report (2014), skills are an essential necessity for businesses, countries and individuals as the imbalance in skills may have an impact on development in any economy. Skills development is fundamental to

improving productivity of individuals and, thus, productivity is imperative in improving living standards and the general well-being of people (ILO, 2008). It is therefore essential for the migrant women to possess some knowledge and skills and also have the capacity to work in the host countries in order to cope and adapt. Knowledge and skills can also be acquired through individual experiences. These skills result in individuals increasing their productivity and hence their capacity to work as well as better coping and adaptation (Sidorkin, 2007). Highly productive individuals are preferred employees and also have better livelihood capacities than low productive employees.

2.8.3 Social capital

Social capital is defined as measurement of community immaterial resources such as networks, cultural quests, trust, connections, and commitment to local well-being and shared morals and values (Beeton, 2006). Social capitals are social resources upon which people rely on for their livelihood outcomes (DFID, 1999). With social capital, a community can be able to absorb shocks, exploit opportunities and positively look toward to the future. Social capital facilitates the social cohesion and coordination of economic activities of people (Goodwin, 2003). Social capital enables individuals and groups to act collectively. Social capital factors can enhance coping and adaptation mechanisms of migrant women in host countries. The social livelihood capital factors consist of social resources, networks and connections, patronage, neighbours, reciprocity, kinship, relations, trustworthiness, formal and informal groups, leadership, and collective representation, sanctions and rules governing the people's cooperation and support (International Fund for Agricultural Development [IFAD], 2003; Kollmair and Gamper, 2002). In host countries, migrant women can depend on one another for both material and moral support. According to Drabek (2005) each of the above types of social capitals are important in times of disasters, need or mishaps as identified in Figure 2.9.
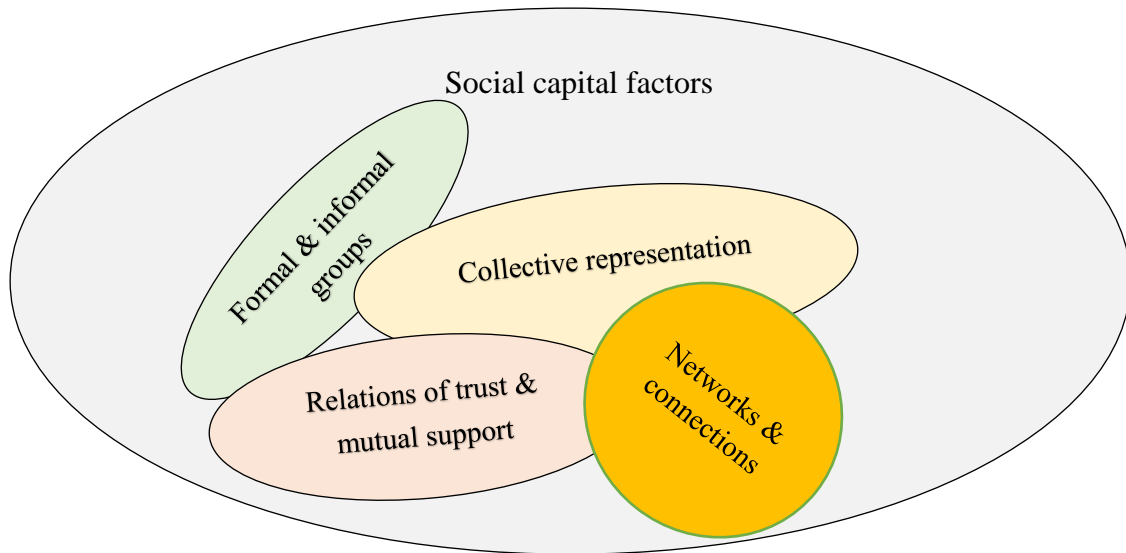
Figure 2.9   Social capital factors

2.8.3.1   Networks and connections as social capital factors

In the Honduras, soon after Hurricane Mitch, the community of Choluteca relied on their strong kin and neighbours to respond to the catastrophe (Barrios, 2014). Cooperation and fellowship between the community and its members is the one factor that can cause most communities to be self-reliant despite the hardships they face. Unity is also one aspect which plays an important integral part to lessen the burden on affected members of the community, for example if there is a funeral in a community, some members of the community will go around from household to household collecting mealie meal and vegetables and deliver it to the bereaved family as assistance (Mataranyika, 2010). Local members of the community will also assist in digging the grave, fetching water and collecting firewood.

2.8.3.2   Relations of trust and mutual support

People's trust and ability to cooperate, or formal and informal membership groups, may bring about trust and mutual agreements on issues that affect a particular community. Hence, mutual agreements can facilitate cooperation, create favour and provide informal safety nets among a group of people (UNDP, 2014).

These social capitals are interrelated, for example, being a member of a group or association can result in the individual's access to and influence on other institutions, resulting in trust being developed among the people of the same kinship or country of origin (Williams and Durrance, 2008). These structures and processes are the formal institutional procedures that

govern the relations in a community. The social capitals that the people possess result from these structures and methods that may contribute to their sense of well-being, which is through identity and sense of belonging (DFID, 2000). The migrant women's social capitals are what they will utilise in order to enhance their resilience, thereby coping and adapting in the host country. The social capital factors indicated in Figure 2.9 are networks and connections, relations of trust, formal and informal groups and collective representation.

2.8.4 Economic capital

According to Carney (1998), economic capital represents the financial resources available to individuals and households, for example savings/wages/incomes, lines of credit, remittances and informal financial facilities that afford opportunities for the pursuit of different livelihood choices. The economic capital factors are said to be the most versatile of all the capitals as they can be converted into any type of capital or used to achieve any required livelihood (Kollmair and Gamper, 2002). Economic capital, although very important, is not readily available to the less privileged members of the society, migrant women being one of them (Kollmair and Gamper, 2002). The economic capital factors that are shown are savings, wages, incomes, credit, pensions, marriage, *Stokvels* and burial societies as illustrated in Figure 2.10.

Economic capital

Economic capital factors

Savings/wages/income, credit, pension, marriage, *Stokvels*/burial societies
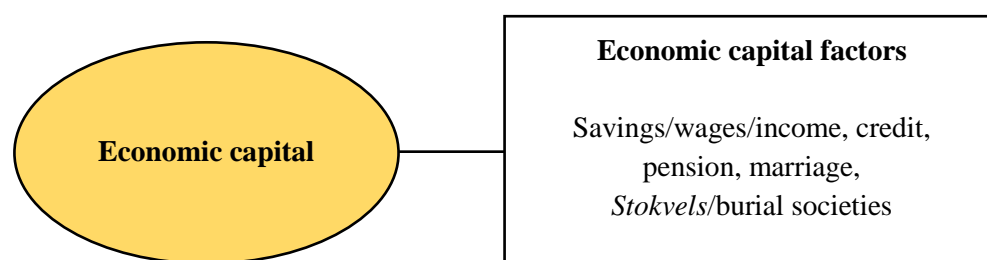
Source: Author's own (2017).

Figure 2.10   Economic capital factors

2.8.4.1 Savings/wages and incomes

Savings are one risk-coping strategy that is available to well-off households who employ them as an *ex-ante* strategy to cushion themselves from challenges (Dercon, 2002). When a disaster strikes people with savings would turn to their savings. Those with jobs use their wages and salaries. Others with insurances make claims and will start depending on insurance payments for survival. The people who do not have savings, are unemployed or have no insurance will

start depleting their physical assets. Such actions make the people more vulnerable and prone to any livelihood threats, and migration becomes one option to cope and adapt.

2.8.4.2 Marriage

Marriage is included under the economic capital factors because women may marry for economic reasons, as explained by Becker (1974) as two principles, namely the theory of preferences and a *market* in marriages principle. According to Becker (1974), these two principles explain why most adults, migrant women included, are married and why selection of mates by wealth, education and other attributes is similar in different situations. Migrant women in South Africa are also utilising marriage for coping and adaptation. A total of 231 respondents indicated in this study that they valued marriage as a coping and adaptation mechanism in South Africa.

2.8.4.3 *Stokvels* and burial societies

Stokvels are social groupings that are informally constituted by people who share a common link such as friends, relatives, neighbours and work colleagues with a purpose of financially saving together on a time-frame basis (Moloi, 2011).

2.8.4.4 Credit facilities

Studies in middle, lower and low-income SSA countries indicated that borrowing and selling assets were some of the coping strategies of the communities. These strategies were adopted especially for coping with unforeseen health expenses that needed immediate attention (Amendah, Buigut and Mohamed, 2014). Formal and informal lines of credit are utilised in such instances and are therefore used for coping by migrant women. The formal credit lines are, however, not easily available to migrant women.

2.8.5 Physical capital

Physical capital is a collection of material infrastructure and man-made equipment (Krantz, 2001). According to Flora et al. (2004), physical capital constitutes what could not be noticed until the availability of this type of capital disappears or their existence deteriorate in form. Communities and individuals expect physical capital to be at their disposal all the time. Physical capital enables people to become productive. The availability of the physical capital, however, does guarantee economic health and well-being of people if it is utilised productively. With infrastructure and producer goods in place, such as the type of their dwelling homes, roads,

communication infrastructure and general development in the area, tools and equipment that can be used for the enhancement of the livelihood of the communities is taken into consideration (DFID, 1999; Flora et al., 2004; Kollmair and Gamper, 2002; Scoones, 1998). The type of dwellings can determine the vulnerability of the community. For example, if most of the dwellings are thatched and made from pole and dagga, they are more likely to be damaged by fire than those with corrugated iron sheets and made of bricks (Chirisa, 2013). Conditions of the roads and transport services available can also determine the accessibility to the area and amount of revenue that can come to the area (Kollmair and Gamper, 2002). Availability of water supply and sanitation facilities and electricity are considerations under physical capital as they help or determine the livelihood of the communities. Communication systems such as telephone, cellular networks and internet services enhance access to information since the world is now a global village (IFAD, 2003). Poor water supply, housing and communications negatively impact on the livelihood of the communities. Tools of trade such as agricultural equipment and any other forms of equipment used for production purposes form part of physical equipment. Fertilisers, seed and pesticides available are included under equipment (IFAD, 2003). The physical capital factors identified are shelters, such as housing, basic services such as water and sanitation, communication services such as transport systems, technology such as cell phones as indicated in Figure 2.11.

Physical capital

Physical capital factors

Shelter/houses, amenities (basic services), communication services (vehicles, transport networks), technology (internet, emails, cellphones)
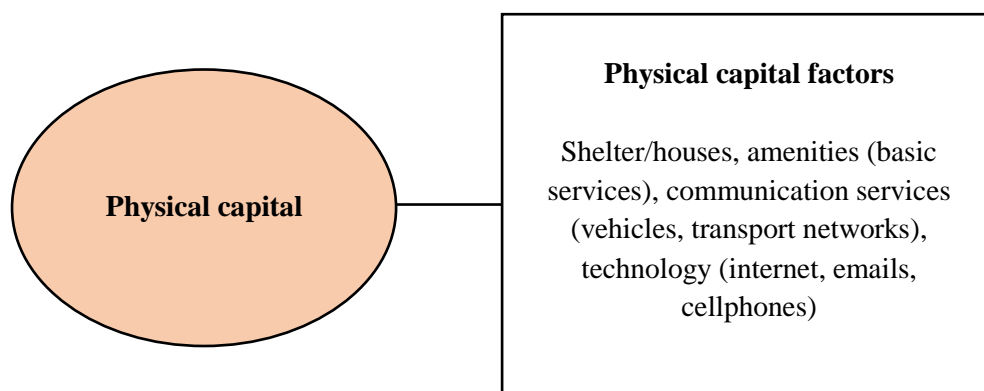
Source: Author's own (2017).

Figure 2.11   Physical capital factors

2.8.6 Political capital

In a public domain, political capacity is viewed from two perspectives. Political capital can be viewed as a personal attribute or a resource (Bennister and Worthy, 2012). This is in reference to politicians who wield power of their constituencies, that is, their ability to gain trust and

mobilise people for their own ends. Political capital also represents the power and connections the people have because of their relationship with politicians (Bennister and Worthy, 2012). Politicians utilise this resource when they need to manipulate people for their own ends or to assist the communities in solving controversial issues. According to Bourdieu (1986), political capital can be viewed as an alternative of social capital. This alternative social capital is taken as a credit based on belief recognition.

From the community perspective, political capital is the ability of the citizens or community members to translate the social capital into material benefits. Syed and Whiteley (1997) stated that political capital is the variety of social capital which functions vertically in the social order rather than horizontally, and is also a result of relations between people and government. On individual capacity level, political capital involves the level of access of the person, the person's capability in making a difference and perception (Sørensen and Torfing, 2007). If an individual has the capacity she/he can use this capital to empower herself/himself by utilising the political connections and resources at her/his disposal. Sørensen and Torfing (2007) made the following distinction:

> While social capital refers to trust-building through social interaction in civil society, political capital on the other hand refers to the individual powers to act politically that are generated through participation in interactive political processes.

Resources are central to the political capital on which political power is based. Having political power entitles one to access these resources. People can accumulate political capital by establishing political connections with politicians and community leaders in their communities and beyond. The political capital factors for this study are: relationships with political authorities, political networks, interactions with politicians and business relations with politicians. Personal relations with powerful government officials gives one a chance of getting a better livelihood because politicians 'make things happen'. As individuals or groups, migrant women can exercise their political power by approaching various stakeholders to assist in their survival in the host countries. Migrant women need to know the political capital that is at their disposal in the host countries in order to utilise it (Bennister and Worthy, 2012). According to Flora et al. (2004), political capital may not be accessible to everyone in a community and those lacking it may feel excluded and the principle of 'us versus them', can manifest in such a community. The migrant women should know the political capital at their disposal or understand how it functions. If they are discriminated against in the community because of their

nationalities they will feel excluded and then may decide to do things 'their way'. Being deprived of the political capital may result in anger, frustration and lack of trust of authorities (Putnam, 1995). Political capital is strongly affected by the social capital (Jacobs, 2007). Increase in lack of political capital can result in weakened social capital. An example is the community of Louisiana in the USA, that was devastated by a hurricane (Czajkowski and Done, 2014). The community felt neglected by the government and lost trust of the government, hence their political capital was negative. Under the political capital factors are issues of relationships and networks with the political authorities, both in the home countries and host countries, and business relations with politicians as shown in Figure 2.12.
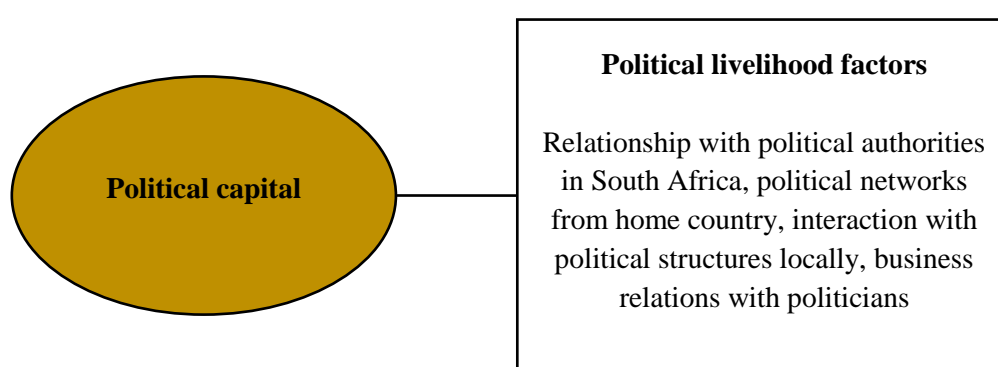
Source: Author's own (2017).

Figure 2.12   Political capital factors

2.8.7   Cultural capital

Cultural capital is the shared identity of people. People make use of the cultural capital to unite and guide the young generations (Jacobs, 2007). It can be further understood that cultural capital is what shapes people's lives, their families, spirituality, history, and ethnicity. This makes the people unique as they understand each other better under common themes that can be celebrated in festivals (Jacobs, 2007). Born of the same ethnicity may make these people culturally connected. According to Daskon (2010), culture can be well-maintained, transferred, and put into good use through generations so as to better the prospects, outcomes and viability of the lives of these people. They may also have similar human capitals such as skills in hairdressing or hospitality acumen. This may be the result of being from the same country or community who are historically known to be experts in those attributes; a good example is Ghanaians who are known to be good hairdressers. Some of the identified cultural capital factors are gender, traditional beliefs, work ethics, and respect for authority (Sullivan, 2000).

Cultural differences may cause conflicts in communities. At times people may decide to work with people with similar cultural backgrounds for progressive outcomes (Guiso, Sapienza and Zingales, 2006). Culture influences economic capital in this instance. Cultural capital may be present when there are two different people living together, with different backgrounds, pasts and ideals. A community's cultural capital can be enriched by new migrants or a minority tribe if the particular community embraces their differences and celebrate coexistence (Jacobs, 2007). Determining the type of cultural capital factors available in a community can enhance social networks, unity, and build the future development of community identity. The notable cultural capital factors are gender issues, traditional beliefs, work ethics, and respect of authority as indicated in Figure 2.13.
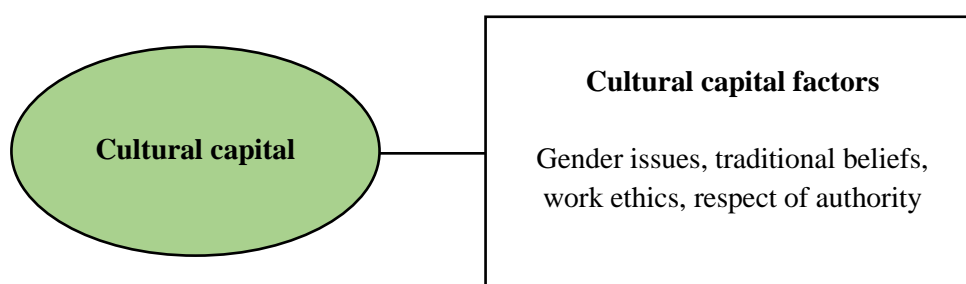
Source: Author's own (2017).

Figure 2.13 Cultural capital factors

2.9   THE AVAILABLE LIVELIHOOD CAPITALS

Jacobs (2007) indicated that capitals can be viewed as a community store with six facets. Each of the six facets being human, social, physical, economic, political and cultural are within the community members and in various levels. The capabilities, strengths and levels of these capitals can each be utilised depending on how the individuals choose to utilise them. These capitals are complementing each as they tend to influence each other. In order for individuals to cope and adapt in host countries there is a need for them to employ the capitals in order to cope and adapt.

According to the SLF, the shape and size of the livelihood capitals vary between communities or groups of people in the same environment. For example, the migrant women may not have access to financial and physical capitals on arrival in the host country. This may mean that their financial and physical capitals may be very low. The livelihood capitals available for the migrant women may be limited in the host country. The migrant women should utilise the capitals that they possess on arrival in order to cope and then adapt. The evaluation of the

various capitals will indicate how the capitals are complementing each other, and hence the coping and adaptation of the migrant women in South Africa. Krantz (2001) indicated that it is necessary to assess the extent to which people have access to these different capitals and so will be their resilience levels that impact on their coping and adaptation. Carney (1998) also reiterated that people's access and control over capitals give them the ability to take advantage of the institutional structures. It is important to consider that what can assist migrant women to cope in the host communities (their capitals, institutions and policies) can still be the same factors constraining their adaptation in the long run (Hugo, 2005). Such can impact on their coping and adaptation.

2.10 CRITIQUE OF THE SUSTAINABLE LIVELIHOOD FRAMEWORK

One of the criticisms of the SLF is that it is too broad and that it brings up many components to be addressed at once. This makes it difficult to focus on specific issues in detail (Clark and Carney, 2008). It therefore becomes difficult to apply. However, the livelihood capitals will be isolated for the assessment of the migrant women's coping and adaptation mechanisms.

The SLF is, however, considered useful in this study as it puts most of the emphasis on the micro level of the society which is the local community (Krantz, 2001). What affects the migrant women within the communities they live in, is the result of the national, regional and international social, economic, political and environmental dynamics. When considering the structure and processes that impact on the livelihood capitals of the migrant women, the macro level is important, and these structures are determined by the laws, regulations and institutions of the macro level (Petersen, 2010). The legality of the migrant women residing in host countries is influenced by the macro level and there the relationship between the two is recognised.

The demographic information and socio-economic characteristics, together with the various capital factors identified for each of the capitals, were used in the study to come up with the socio-economic coping and adaptation mechanism employed in South Africa. The typical socio-economic factors derived from the six capitals were identified as they suited the South African situation and were therefore used to assess how migrant women cope and adopt in South Africa as host country. The vulnerability factors, policies, institutions and processes that determine the strategies and outcomes of the migrant women were also assessed through interviewing these women. The study will discover how migrant women are trying to mobilise

resources and utilising opportunities to come up with various combinations of livelihood strategies to suit the context, which is the prevailing policies, institutions and processes in a host country in order to cope and adapt in South Africa.

2.11 SUMMARY

The social capital theory indicated that the social capital is the backbone of the social and economic benefits of individuals or groups. The SLF together with the CCF gave an indication of the interrelationship of how the vulnerability of the people, the presence or absence of various livelihood capitals, and the impact of the institutional structures make it possible for the migrant women to adopt certain livelihood strategies to gain certain livelihood outcomes. This facilitates the coping and adaptation mechanisms of the migrant women in a host community. People or groups of people are not passive, they possess socio-economic capitals that have been acquired, developed, improved and transferred across generations. The human, social, economic, physical, cultural and political capitals influence the coping and adaptation mechanisms of the migrant women. Various capital factors are identified and explored, and the complementarity of the factors result in the coping and adaptation of the migrant women. These factors are applicable, together with the demographic variables and other socio-economic characteristics that the women possess at arrival, settlement and long-term adaptation in the host country. The following chapter will explore the history of international migration. The trends and current migration dynamics will also be discussed to see how the African migrant women in South Africa come into the whole international migration discourse.

Chapter 3

INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION: HISTORTY, TRENDS AND CURRENT MIGRATION DYNAMICS

3.1 INTRODUCTION

The process of migration and the coping and adaptation of migrants in host environments have been a part of human history for centuries. Migration has always played an important part in sustaining and widening people's livelihoods (De Haan, 2002). The movement of people also involved accessing untapped natural resources such as land, minerals, water, fauna and flora (Bakewell, 2009). Migration also provided accessibility of untapped sources of labour and markets which is clearly shown by the European colonial expansion and its reliance on cheap labour, firstly of slaves and then of contract/apprentice workers prior to the twenty-first century (Castles and Miller, 2009). According to Yaro (2008), migration has also involved invading other people's spaces which has resulted in conflicts, political turmoil and war due to competition of resources. International migration will continue for a long time to come because of demographics, politics, wars and economic inequalities prevailing in the world today (Martin, 2013).

3.2 INTERNATIONAL HISTORY OF MIGRATION

The origins of mankind in the East African Rift Valley marks the onset of human migration. By 5000 BC, the movement of people was primarily towards Europe and later to other parts of the world (Bar-Yosef and Belmaker, 2011). Another wave of international human migration was between 1666–221 BC that was linked to the Mesopotamian, Inca, Indus and Zhou empires (Koser, 2007). The other international migration was that of the Greek colonisation and the expansion of the Roman Empire (Koslowski, 2002).

During the eighteen and nineteenth centuries, the involuntary international migration of slaves emerged (Lovejoy, 2006). The slave trade became the order of the day and 12 million people were estimated to have been slave-traded, mainly from West Africa to the developed world (Davidson, 1997; Mannix, 1962). A sizeable number of slaves were taken to Europe. The exact number of slaves traded to Europe remains unknown. British traders made 10 000 journeys to

Africa to purchase slaves. A total of 1 150 journeys were undertaken by British merchants from other parts of the British Empire (Clarkson, 2009). After the collapse of the slave trade, labour migration became more pronounced from China, India and Japan to European countries (Northrup, 1995).

Another wave of international migration occurred during the colonisation era in the nineteenth century when European nations moved to expand their territories globally and particularly to Africa (Abbattista, 2011). Countries such as Britain, France, the Netherlands and Spain colonised and partitioned African countries such as Congo, Ghana, Kenya, Nigeria, Senegal, Zambia and Zimbabwe, and made it possible for their populations to settle in these newly established colonies as workers, peasants, dissident soldiers, convicts and orphans (Abbattista, 2011).

Decolonisation and independence of many countries, mostly on the African continent, later also influenced migration patterns (Adepoju, 1984). With the anti-colonial movements in the nineteenth century, there was, for example, a trend of migrants returning to their countries of origin, such as with the *pied noirs* where many French nationals migrated back to France from Algeria (Chiviges, 2000). The rise of the industrialised USA was also part of this wave of international migration. Millions of workers from stagnant European economic regions, victims of the Irish famine of the 1850s and oppressive political governments in southern and Eastern Europe migrated to the USA (Koser, 2007). The movement of labour migrants from these stagnant European economies to the USA was only halted in the 1930s when the Great Depression set in.

After the World War Two, Australia, Europe and North America needed labour to support their booming post-war economies. After the war, Australia needed high numbers of immigrants as the war had depleted the country's population; the government adopted a slogan of *populate or perish* (Price, 1998). Australia preferred immigrants from Belgium, Denmark, France, Great Britain and Netherlands, but later opened up to migrants that were recommended by the International Labour Organisation (ILO) (Koser, 2007).

During the twentieth century, globalisation contributed to widespread international migration for various reasons and to any destination (Haferkamp and Smelser, 1992). According to Martin (2013), three types of revolutions, namely communication, transportation and rights revolutions facilitated the increase in international migration. With the improvement in transportation

systems, communication and ever improving technology people were able to migrate anywhere and anytime and more and more people ended up living in countries that they were not born in (Muñiz-Solari, Li and Schmeichel, 2010). In the globalised world, wars, including civil wars, socio-geopolitical challenges and environmental degradation often created social chaos that encouraged a flood of immigrants and refugees. Some people were trafficked for modern slavery and other unethical forms of exploitation (Thompson, 2014). In addition to these forced forms of migration, people also voluntarily migrated in search of improved social and economic well-being (Hugo et al., 1996).

3.3 DRIVERS OF INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION

Castles (2013) described drivers of migration as "the factors that increase the likelihood that people will decide to leave their homes in search of a better life". This does not only refer to aspects that encourage cross-border migration but also the factors that control the methods taken by migration. According to Martin (2013), two major inequalities drive men and women to migrate. These are demographic and economic inequalities. According to Flora et al. (2004), scarcity of human and financial capitals can result in people migrating to other places. Men and women embark on migration as a strategy to move away from their home countries, either as a result of socio-economic factors such as low income, poverty, unemployment and limited economic opportunities, or as a result of political conflict, violence, fearing for one's life and group insecurity due to belonging to a minority ethnic group or being affiliated with a political party. Hence, people voluntarily and involuntarily decide to migrate to other destinations to survive. Voluntary migrants, also described as 'economic migrants', consist of all other international migrants who moved out of free will without any cohesion (Hansen, 2003). However, there are other voluntary migrants such as pensioners and business people who decide and choose for themselves where they want to migrate to. These are freely moving people who are enjoying freedom of movement.

Migration is not gender-neutral, and the experience of migration is unquestionably gendered (Caritas Internationalis, 2004; Piper, 2007). Men and women encounter differences in their migration behaviours, encounter different prospects and are exposed to diverse hazards and challenges. Migrant women are, for example, more exposed to human rights exploitations, discrimination and specific health risks than men (Caritas Internationalis, 2004). According to Siantz (2013), migration can expose women to new vulnerabilities and health risks due to their resident status in the host country. Conversely, migration can also offer women better

opportunities in the host environments that is free from the institutional arrangements of the country of origin, especially family rules pertaining to women.

International migration in Africa, including SSA, is identical to the rest of the world. In the last century, and currently, migration has manifested in the following engendered forms from SSA to South Africa:

- Men and women migrate independently.
- Migrants can be accompanied by family.
- Migrants have become permanent residents, due to the post-apartheid policies.
- Migrants are offered permanent jobs because of their skills (Adepoju, 2006).

The researcher is of opinion that these drivers of migration can be attributed to the factors such as poverty, war and civil strife, population growth, rapid urbanisation, environmental degradation and climate change which have exacerbated the mobility of people of all social statuses globally and within the African continent. There is ongoing debate on developmental impact that has resulted in increasing international migration in Africa.

This chapter focuses on the international migration trends and drivers and the consequent types of migrants that arrive in host countries with the aim of investigating the socio-economic coping and adaptation mechanisms migrants employ in host countries. South–South migration is also the focus migration from African countries to South Africa. This chapter also discusses pull factors that enable migrants, especially women, to cope and adapt in host countries. Women are migrating independently and can survive in host countries. In many societies in their countries of origin, women have major responsibilities regarding domestic life, providing essential shelter and basic needs for their families. Such responsibilities result in women being more vulnerable than their male counterparts in times of crisis (Mokomane, 2012). Women anticipate some form of reprieve from the home country burdens in the new environment. ILO (2014) reported that in 2013 alone, out of a total of 21 million targets of forced labour, 11.4 million were women and girls. Ninety-eight percent (98%) of the 4.5 million forced sexual exploitations were women and girls.

3.4 INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION TRENDS

International migration is associated with major global events such as rebellion, ethnic wars, nation-building and political revolutions such as conflicts, persecutions and dispossessions (Koser, 2007). Movements of people as international migrants have always been more notable

from South–North since the South is made up of poorer nations. It has been observed that the movement also happens within the regions such as North–North and South–South. South–South migration between developing countries has also gained momentum (Castles, 2008; Ratha and Shaw, 2007).

Approximately one in seven people today is classified as an international migrant (IOM, 2013). This figure represents both voluntary and involuntary migrants. A total of 232 million people are international migrants, representing 3.2% of the world population (Rango and Laczko, 2014). This number shows an increase of 65% to the global north and 34% to the global south since 1990 (UN-DESA, 2014). The global share of international migrants per country varies widely across countries. For instance, it is estimated that there is over 50% of international migrants in the total country population of the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) states such as Bahrain (55%), Kuwait (60%), Qatar (74%) and the United Arab Emirates (84%). This figure is relatively higher than in countries such as Australia (28%) and Canada (21%) (Rango and Laczko, 2014). It means that the GCC has more migrants than own citizens. This may be an important point to illuminate why these countries have such high numbers of international migrants and the benefits they get from the migrants.

African international migrants numbered about 14.5 million, with 10 million of them moving between and among other SSA countries (Oucho, 2009). Four million African migrants migrated to high-income OECD countries and half a million to high-income non-OECD countries (Ratha and Shaw, 2007). Since attaining independence in the 1960s, most SSA countries have been caught up in conflicts in the form of civil wars and/or uprisings, socio-economic challenges and natural and man-induced disasters that ultimately have contributed to a large-scale migration of people internally and internationally across international borders (United Nations Economic Commission for Africa [UNECA], 2012). The highest number of countries per square kilometre in the world is in SSA countries (Ndulu et al., 2007), and many of these countries' borders were indiscriminately imposed by colonialists. This makes the borders easily reachable and therefore porous; hence people migrate freely within the region. During the partitioning of Africa, ethnically and culturally connected people were separated making it difficult for the networks to be maintained. However, many such networks are maintained by people legally and illegally crossing the borders to visit or be united with their relatives. Such movement results in higher international migration in the region (Adepoju, 2007). The distances between countries are also small and some of the people do not need a lot

of resources to embark on the migration process. The situation makes policy decisions difficult and complicated among African states.

In SSA, circular migration is prevalent (Núñez, 2009). Circular migration is the continuous interface between sending and receiving countries that is generated and sustained by migration and transnational linkages (Faist, 2008). Most African migrants tend to retain diverse socio-cultural, political and economic links to their countries of origin (Waite and Cook, 2011). Waite and Cook (2001) focussed mainly on Zimbabweans, Sudanese and Kenyans who, despite having stayed in the diaspora for long, still have strong emotional attachments to their home countries. Hence, these migrants always return to their home countries after spending time in host societies. Africans also have very strong cultural beliefs that compel them to migrate back and forth their home countries. The highly fragmented nature of nation states in SSA due to the artificiality of the borders is also conducive to circular and step migration. Most of the migration from African nations get confined to the continent, as migrants are often compelled to migrate due to economic and socio-political factors. They, however, indicate their intentions to return to their countries of origin when the conditions improve. The circular migration can assist in human and social capital acquisition (Carney, 1998), thereby creating employment in host countries as individuals make use of their migratory experience and transnational links to increase their human capital, social capital and generate financial capital in the host countries (Núñez, 2009).

All SSA countries have reported high numbers of international migrants within the region due to geopolitics, culture, politics, infrastructural links and the state of the countries' economies (Adepoju, 2005; Oucho, 2009). South Africa, a relatively new independent country that was supported by many African countries during its liberation struggle, has been and still is a preferred destination for African migrants for many years (Wentzel, Viljoen and Kok, 2006). With the demise of apartheid in 1994, the country established a stable, democratic government under a constitution that is viewed as one of the most progressive in the world (UNECA, 2012). Historically, South Africa is known to be a receiving country in terms of international migrants (Tati, 2008). The country has fared well in terms of economic development compared to other countries in SSA, which makes it a destination of preference for many of its neighbours (Tati, 2008). South Africa is also perceived by many to be one of the few industrialised and developed economies in SSA (Massey, 2003). Other SSA countries that have made huge socio-economic strides are Ghana, Kenya, Nigeria and Botswana (Bloom, Canning and Chan, 2006). The

perceived abundant wealth in South Africa becomes a pull factor for migrants into the country (Brink, 2012).

3.5   THE FACTORS CONTRIBUTING TO INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION

People voluntarily and involuntarily migrate due to various socio-economic and geopolitical reasons. According to Marco and Rath (2010), voluntary and involuntary migration can easily represent four broad categories, namely:

- *Migrants who migrate freely because they want to get better education, to retire in a nice environment and want to be united with their families.* In this study, a total of 22 respondents migrated to South Africa for education purposes. Eleven of them were from Zimbabwe, seven from Cameroon, and two each from Kenya and Nigeria. There is one Nigerian migrant woman who decided to retire in South Africa. There are nine other migrant women who migrated freely because they had to join their spouses. Five others had to migrate to be united with their families who were also in South Africa. One migrant woman to claim her birth right in South Africa.

- *Migrants who were driven out of their countries by unemployment, low wages and incomes.* Four highly skilled and one skilled migrant women came to South Africa to look for better opportunities. Four migrant women migrated on business permits. One woman had to use an emergency travel document to access the country because she needed to get to South Africa to look for a livelihood.

- *Migrants migrate because of extreme poverty, environmental degradation, political disorder and ethnic deprivations*. The 194 migrant women who indicated that they entered South Africa on a visitor's permit were all engaged in some economic activity in order to survive in the country or to repatriate the proceeds to their home countries. Thirty of the migrant women had to illegally cross the border. They stated that they border-jumped into South Africa, a common term used mainly by Zimbabweans in South Africa. One of the migrant woman used a fake passport.

- *Migrants who are trafficked for various exploitations, displaced by political instabilities, fear of persecution by authorities*. Forty-three respondents fled their countries of origin for fear of their lives. Hence, they used refugee/asylum permits to enter into South Africa. One of these migrant women from Ghana indicated that she left her country for South Africa

because she was running away from the tradition of genital mutilation that is still practiced in that country.

Other migrant women who used various ways to get into the country did not want to disclose what kind of permits they utilised to enter into South Africa. A total of 16 migrant women chose not to say anything on this.

It is not easy to clearly differentiate the four types of migrants as some freely migrated to attend and get an education and then later decided to stay on because of economic challenges affecting their countries of origin. Both voluntary and involuntary migrants can even use clandestine border-crossing and can similarly impact the host countries the same way (Gsir, 2014). However, the coping and adaptation mechanisms of the two categories may differ as indicated from research that was conducted in Ethiopia that most voluntary migrants are materially better off than most involuntary migrants (Gebre, 2002). It is, however, not easy to draw the line between types of voluntary and involuntary migrants because of various reasons and relationships detecting migration (Gebre, 2002).

While geographers emphasise place, time and distance as significant drivers of migration, economists place monetary benefits to migration (Thet, 2014). According to neoclassical economists, people choose to migrate with the expectations of higher wages and better economic opportunities in host countries. International migration carries more economic value than the geographical disadvantages (Kurekova, 2011). The income differences between poor and rich countries from a neoclassical economic perspective is sufficient reason to make a rational choice to migrate (Castles, 2010). Many people living in poverty-ridden countries engage in international migration in order to escape poverty (Ravallion, Chen and Sangaraula, 2009). Poverty is another contributing factor to migration although it can also constrain people from migrating as migration entails having resources to do so (De Haas, 2010).

In Asia, migrants are migrating in order to escape poverty. Some examples of poverty-stricken migrants are found across Southern Asia where migration is from Bangladesh, Nepal and Pakistan to the northern part of India and in Eastern Asia (Deshingkar and Grimm, 2004). In South Africa, significant poverty-induced cross-border flows are from Malawi, Mozambique, Lesotho, Swaziland, Botswana and Zimbabwe. A mix of skilled and unskilled migrants, refugees and even children migrate into South Africa, while others come across the border through illegal trafficking (Tati, 2008). High human capital migrants into South Africa result in brain gain to the country's economy (Tati, 2010). The migrants seek to utilise their human

capital in order to boost their economic and social capitals (Alonso, 2011). It becomes complicated as migration into South Africa puts pressure on the country's resources, resulting in tensions between citizens and migrants (OECD, 2013).

Some migrants migrate to host countries to take up any available livelihood that they come across with on arrival or in the long-term. In SSA migrants come to South Africa to take up any type of job to survive and also remit some to their families in their home countries (Adepoju, 2008). The poor members of the society are driven by population pressure, financial deprivation, ecological and socio-political isolation in their natural habitats. The majority of the poor are mainly from the rural areas where economies are stagnant with no source of livelihood and creeping desertification which is exacerbated by poor land management and lack of rainfall (Rutten, Leliveld and Foeken, 2008). Highly skilled professionals and educated African migrants are taking up any type of job to survive (Boyo, 2013). This brain drain affects the home countries badly as the human capital is depleted and governments fail to receive back when from investing in human capital development. A good example is Zimbabwe's brain drain because the country's employment rate is at its lowest (Boyo, 2013). According to Shinn (2008), between 70% and 90% of Zimbabwe's university graduates are employed outside the country. It was also reported that Zimbabwe has lost 50% of its health professionals.

African migrant women arrivals to South Africa has spiralled post-1994. This is due to the accommodative Constitution of the Republic of South Africa that was promulgated in 1996 (Bhorat, Oosthuizen and Poswell, 2005). A massive brain drain was experienced from other parts of Africa to South Africa (Alonso, 2011). Skilled people also migrate due to absence of opportunities in their home countries. They are attracted by better opportunities in South Africa. For example, the collapse of the Nigerian oil-led economy in the 1980s led to the human capital loss due to mass migration by Nigerian and Ghanaian professionals to South Africa (Adepoju, 2003). This influx of migrants was initially to the South African homelands in the pre-independence period and later to the main economy of the country after 1994 (Fine, 2014). Much human capital has been lost from Kenya, Ethiopia, Nigeria, Ghana, Zimbabwe and Swaziland to South Africa since the 1980s (Shinn, 2008). This is due to economic meltdowns in those countries as they became independent from their former colonialists. After 1994, South Africa relaxed the entry laws, especially for neighbouring Zimbabweans, in order to attract skilled peopled such as through the introduction of quota permits to Zimbabweans (Leibbrandt et al., 2010). Lack of opportunities, corruption, low wages and recurrent droughts resulted in

poverty among many Africans, which resulted in many resorting to migrating internationally, including to South Africa (King and Lawrence, 2005).

3.5.1 Poverty in Africa

Poverty has been directly linked to migration in Africa. Scholars have, however, argued that poverty limits migration as the process of migration needs resources which the majority of poor Africans do not have (Faist, 2008; De Haas, 2010; Skeldon, 2008; Tapinos, 1990; Van Hear, Bakewell and Long, 2012; UNDP, 2009). From this study, 194 respondents entered South Africa using visitor visas and 30 without any documentation. These 30 respondents were desperate to enter the country. A number of African migrants have been found walking thousands of kilometres for days up to months to reach their destinations. Some have embarked on dangerous means of travelling such as hanging on trains and vehicles to reach their destination. Population pressure, competition for scarce resources, relative and overall poverty characterise the African population that end up migrating and usually to destinations outside their countries (UNDP, 1990). Many people lack essential human capabilities, such as being literate or adequately nourished, and others are living on less than $2.00 per day (Ravallion et al., 2009). In Africa, the migration of the poor people to low-income jobs in other countries becomes the opportunity to exit poverty. The most common type of international migration by poverty-ridden men and women is the South–South migration, mostly to South Africa. In Africa, poverty has driven people to move within the continent with or without permission. Other examples of poverty-stricken migrants are found across Southern Asia where people moved from Bangladesh, Nepal and Pakistan to the northern part of India, and also in Eastern Asia (Deshingkar and Grimm, 2004).

Poverty among the developing African countries alleviates the labour shortages in the industrialised and middle-income economies, as the labour is abundant in the developing countries that are riddled with unemployment. These migrants take up any jobs available to them regardless of their skill levels. They take up any job that the local population normally shun because of poor remuneration or low-skill. The migration of these people, if properly managed by good policies, may assist in supporting the achievement of the United Nations Agenda 2030 (ISDR, 2015). The issue of remittances improves living conditions of most poor people in developing countries. Feminisation of poverty in Africa directly leads to women migrating for better income opportunities and better livelihood abroad. Women become empowered and become victors on their own destinies (Caritas Internationalis, 2004).

Poverty has driven people to migrate to areas that are unknown and unfamiliar to them (Thieme and Ghimire, 2014). They do so because of expectations and hope for survival in those areas. Some migrate internally to urban areas and across international borders to look for a better life and to support their families. Poverty can also be the result of poor governance and ill-management of natural resources (Surkin, 2011). This is noticeable in vast areas where forests have been cleared for cultivation purposes, mining activities and even settlements. The geography and agro-ecology of SSA is susceptible to drought and flooding and these, catalysed by inefficient farming technologies and support, result in environmental degradation, pest infestation and substandard inputs (UN-DESA, 2012). In addition, many African communities, especially in the rural areas, are dependent on rain-fed agriculture for their main livelihoods (Wani, Rockstrom and Oweis, 2009). This further results in diminished outputs or harvests and threatens security for the population.

The agricultural failure is another poverty driver in Africa and this is transferred to not only immediate households but also the wider rural communities, thereby compromising national well-being and stability in the affected countries (Blaikie et al., 2014). The long-term effect is that people start selling their livelihood assets[4] as a coping strategy. An example is the food crisis that was experienced in southern Africa during 2001–2003 (Wiggins, 2005). Too much rain in the 2001 rainy season also resulted in crop failure. This threatened an estimated 16 million people and their livelihoods in mainly poorer countries in the Southern African Development Community (SADC) (Maunder and Wiggins, 2007; Wiggins, 2005). This has resulted in massive migration internally and internationally. Poverty due to state failure to create a conducive atmosphere for its citizens, may result in a scramble for resources in few places where there are livelihood options like in South Africa. South Africa is currently faced with a problem of overburdened infrastructure and urbanisation pressures in many of its metropolitan cities. Metropolitan cities of South Africa are high employment zones because they house many corporate head offices, commercial headquarters, business services and industries, national and regional departments, universities and major health institutions (Turok, 2012). In this study, a total of 225 respondents who used visitors' permits (194), faked passport (1) s, border jumpers and/or illegally entered the country (30) are taken as driven by poverty from their countries of origin.

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[4]Livelihood capitals refer to the resource base of the community and of different categories of households.

3.5.2 Conflicts in the African continent

The Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (FAO) (2009) noted that recent or previous conflicts in the continent are strongly associated with food insecurity and crises. For instance, the USA security policy is widely incorporating the thinking about non-state actors and the new wave of conflicts and instability, such as the *Al-Qaeda* and the many affiliate groups such as *Boko Haram* in Nigeria, *ISIS* in Libya and Egypt, and *Al Shabaab* in East Africa. These groups are exacerbating vulnerabilities of people, resulting in them neglecting or abandoning their livelihoods and many opting to migrate internationally (UNDP, 2014).

Conflict is another key driver of African migration. In this study, 43 respondents used the refugee/asylum permits to enter the country. When the survey was conducted there were a total of 108 respondents who were holders of the refugee/asylum permits in South Africa. These people are fearing for their lives in their countries of origin due to conflict, civil wars and discrimination. The respondents who entered South Africa on refugee/asylum permits were from Zimbabwe (15), DRC (8), Ghana, (8), Burundi (3), Ethiopia (2), Rwanda (2), and Kenya, Benin, Somalia, Cameroon and Zambia (each with 1). One of the respondents from Ghana claimed that she left her country and sought asylum in South Africa because of fear of genital mutilation.

There has been a noticeable drop in the number of civil wars globally over the past three decades. This has, however, not been the case in Africa where conflicts are actually increasing (Collier and Hoeffler, 2004). Africa is experiencing more fierce coups, protracted civil strife and instability than anywhere else in the world. Some of these, such as the violence in Darfur, have been of high profile, but there are numerous smaller conflicts. Numerous conflicts between herders and cultivators in East Africa were reportedly vicious in nature (UNECA, 2008). The recent sporadic conflicts in Mali, between Ethiopia and Eritrea, Central African Republic (CAR), Nigeria and DRC are testimonies of the volatility of the continent. According to the UN Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) Report (2005), between 1994 and 2003 at least one out of every three deaths in Africa was due to conflicts. These conflicts have forced more African people to migrate than anywhere else in the world. Forty percent of the refugees and internally displaced persons globally are found in Africa (Ferris, 2012). Many of these displaced people are found in camps such as Dadaab in Kenya and other cities and towns and live in inhuman environments. The 2005–2015 MDGs reported that conflict prevented many countries from achieving the MDGs and creates a distinct link between conflict, poverty and disasters:

Efforts to eradicate poverty and hunger are frequently set back by conflict and natural disasters. Hunger and poverty, in turn, can provide fertile ground for conflict, especially when combined with factors such as inequality, and make being prepared to cope with disasters more difficult (United Nations, 2005).

It is yet to be seen if the political landscape will change post-2015 with the newly launched Sustainable Millennium Goals (SDGs). Livelihoods are affected by conflicts, resulting in vulnerability and eventually in disasters. These disasters destroy the lifelines of the poor. Some of these poor people are already vulnerable as they are affected by diseases such as HIV/Aids and they are rendered incapable of earning livelihoods. Wars and conflicts destroy markets, agricultural, economic and health systems. The destruction of the essential services leads to more vulnerabilities and displacements and the resultant migration (Jaspars, 2006).

Another interesting observation is Somalis who are migrating to southern Africa in large numbers. This is due to the political economy of conflict and insecurity prevailing in Somalia (Long, 2010). According to Van Hear et al (2012), human insecurity experienced by the Somalis due to endemic conflict and insecure livelihoods resulted in them migrating. The ongoing conflict is due to the interaction of several different political, economic and cultural factors within Somalia exacerbated by underdevelopment and environmental factors. Somalis used to migrate to Kenya and reported to the *Dadaab* Refugee Camp, but they later extended their migration through Malawi and Zimbabwe into South Africa where they are enjoying 'political conflict of opportunity' (Weiss, 2008).

Conflict and political tensions are key drivers of migration in SSA (Flahaux and De Haas, 2016). The International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies (IFRCRCS) (2012) reported that more than 20 million forced migrants remain in protracted displacements. Twenty-six African countries are accounting for seven million refugees, and 13 million internally displaced persons. Violence against civilians and mass displacements are rampant in the Great Lakes region of Africa where there is political instability and lawlessness. A country like DRC has been in war for the past two decades (IFRCRCS, 2012). Currently, the USA security policy is cognisant of the exacerbation of the problem caused by the non-state actors such as *Boko Haram* in Nigeria, *ISIS* in Libya and *Al Shabaab* in East Africa as role players in instability and conflict (Cleary, 2014). The study had 43 migrant women who entered into South Africa as refugees or were seeking asylum.

3.5.3 Governance issues in Africa

Africa is known for its bad governance and corruption which results in leadership and governance failures (Owoye and Bissessar, 2012). Most of these countries are bedevilled by post-independence leadership and institutional failures. For example, in this study, 194 respondents who indicated that they entered South Africa on a visitor permits were in reality not visitors because they had changed their residence statuses or were engaged in some form of economic activity in order to survive in the country. Thirty of the respondents illegally entered South Africa and 43 used refugee/asylum permits. This is an indication of bad governance and social and political decay in home countries that pushed the people to migrate. Governments in many African countries display dictatorial leadership that is typical of autocratic leadership (Ayittey, 2012). This facilitates them to enrich themselves and their immediate families and friends, thereby side-lining all the other people. This has resulted in massive brain drain and international migration by the masses to countries that promise to offer them better opportunities. Due to poor governance, the surveyed migrant women chose to study in South Africa (22), to join their spouses (9), to unite with their families who left their countries for various reasons (5), to retire in South Africa (1) and to reclaim the birth right of being born in South Africa (1).

3.5.4 Environmental degradation, desertification and climate change in Africa

Variations in the climate are already leading to drastic change in the ecosystems, agriculture, sea level rise, food production and access to water resources (Hansen et al., 2013). The issue of climate change and environmental challenges cannot be underplayed in the international migration discourse. For instance, Africa is predominantly an agro-based continent, and all 332 respondents who participated in the study where indirectly driven out of their countries due to reduction in agricultural activities. The decline in agricultural activities makes it difficult to survive and people resort to migration.

Environmental issues are making lives unbearable in the African continent. Firstly, desertification and environmental degradation are already huge problems in Africa and this has resulted in the new discourse about environmental refugees (Bogumi, 2012). With more than 65% of Africa's land estimated to be already degraded, affecting at least 485 million people, environmental depletion is a cause for concern in Africa (UNECA, 2008). Examples are Nigeria and Ghana that are reportedly losing 2 168 km^2 grazing land and 20 000 ha of cropland to

desertification yearly, respectively (UNECA, 2008). Poverty is the main cause of land degradation and desertification, particularly where the livelihood is rain-fed agriculture that is practiced in unsustainable conditions. A report UNECA (2008) summarised the above issue in the following way:

> Without alternatives poor people are forced to exploit land resources including fragile lands, for survival (food production, medicine, fuel, fodder, building materials and household items). Given that most dry lands in Africa are poverty hotspots as well, the risk of desertification is high in many of these areas, as the poor inevitably become both the victims and willing agents of environmental damage and desertification.

Land productivity is compromised, leading to an increase in food insecurity, water scarcity, reduced biodiversity, resulting in damage of ecosystems, increase of unpalatable plant species and finally reduced biomass efficiency. The people will resort to migration to survive in the face of these natural-induced hazards and disasters (Drabo and Mbaye, 2011).

Secondly, the current weather volatility in Africa which is attributable to global warming and climate change, is making communities living in drier parts of Nigeria and Sudan poorer as their livelihoods are depleted (Leary et al., 2005). Sea level rise, and coastal volatility leading to erosion, salt water intrusion and flooding, impacts negatively on the respective environments. The African Commission on Human and Peoples' Rights and International Work Group for Indigenous Affairs (ACHPR/IWGIA, 2005) projected that a sea level rise of half a metre could submerge more than 2 000 km^2 of land in Tanzania.

Climate change has become more visible in Africa as most of the Africans are vulnerable to multiple stresses (O'Brien and Leichenko, 2007). It was estimated that up to a quarter of a million people in Africa suffer from water and food insecurity and rising sea level in low-lying coastal areas (United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change [UNFCCC], 2007). This is even though less than 1% of Africa's land is coastal, as this supports 12% of the African urban population. Most of the population in SSA is in the lower altitudes and the areas are fast experiencing hotter temperatures, prolonged dry seasons and water scarcity (UNFCCC, 2007).

It was also predicted that the twenty-first century will be characterised by environmental migrants, as predicted by Brown (2008) who stated that both internal and international migrants will increase tenfold by 2050, and some ambitiously put the figure at one billion (Myres, 2005). These two authors argued that the reason for the high numbers of environmental migrants is because the environmental drivers are combined with socio-economic and developmental

factors that impact on the climate change aspect. On the flip side is drought, flooding and diseases together with conflicts (UNFCCC, 2007). With the above affecting the migrant women, 10 of the respondents decided to migrate with their high skills, business and utilisation of an emergence travel document to leave their home countries and exploit better opportunities in South Africa.

With poverty, conflicts, governance crises, environmental degradation, desertification and climate change in Africa contributing to migration, voluntary and involuntary migrants enter host countries and begin to survive and earn a living among the local communities. Women are among the affected populations who embark on international migration. The socio-economic coping and adaptation mechanisms they employ in the host countries could be influenced by their migration status.

3.6 INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION OF WOMEN

During the 1960s and 1970s men were the primary active participants of migration, and women together with children, were regarded as passive followers of men (Dhar, 2010). In the 1980s very little was done to raise the barometer on women migration, except to stress the privileges women enjoyed as accompanying spouses which afforded women to break away from the traditional gender roles in host countries. This brings to the fore the misconception about the gender paradigm that highlights sexual differences and the societal expectations of men to be breadwinners (Haferkamp and Smelser, 1992).

Women migrate for different economic reasons. Some women migrate as primary caregivers from single parent homes, while other women migrate alone in order to gain personal autonomy and escape the traditional gender roles in their countries of origin. Others follow their husbands to reunite as a family (Llácer, 2007). Economic and social upheavals can drive women to migrate, for instance educated women who experience discrimination in the work environment in the home country migrate to find better jobs in line with their education and skills (Njogu and Orchardson-Mazrui, 2008). Scrutiny by communities and masculine traditions can, however, deny women opportunities and freedom in the home country. Hence women may decide to migrate to claim their deserved opportunities and freedom in host countries where social systems are non-prescriptive (Eisenstadt, 2002). Some women will migrate to escape abusive marriages, domestic violence and desire for equal opportunities with men (Dako-Gyeke, 2013). Socio-economic inequalities in home countries such as discernment against

certain women such as single mothers, single women and widows lead women to migrate to new locations to start a new life without the usual community judging them based on their gender identities (Caritas Internationalis, 2004).

Some women migrate as wives and others do so in order to get married. Some women enter into arranged marriages, a common feature in some cultures, for example on the Indian subcontinent (Allendorf and Ghimire, 2013). Some of these marriages are considered forced marriages as the concerned parties may not be involved in the whole process (Hester et al., 2007). A good example is *mail-order bride* businesses which have become common and is often a frontage for illegal recruitment and trafficking of women (Cao, 1987). On the migration journey such women may fall victim to traffickers because of misinformation obtained in their home countries. Some women may be deceived to believe that they are migrating to better their lives. Women may be subdued to specific risks such as getting into abusive relationships, forced to work in bad environments and also deprived of freedom to make choices about the life they desire to live (Vissanddjee et al., 2013). They encounter an array of risks and dangers as they migrate to host countries. Women get subjected to abuse such as sexual abuse perpetrated by transporters, fellow male travellers and even border authorities. Some are issued with fake documents that result in them getting into trouble with law enforcement agencies (Taran and Chammartin, 2002). In cases where migrants are displaced due to conflicts and disasters they leave suddenly and are not properly informed on the safer travel arrangements for themselves and their families. In such instances, women are more vulnerable to sexual violence while on transit and even at refugee camps and host communities (Zetter, 2011).

In summary, international migration involves both men and women from various walks of life and all their journeys end in the host countries. Women should enter the host countries with permission from the host countries, unless otherwise arranged; hence, the issue of visas and permits becomes important if the analysis of their coping and adaptation mechanisms in host countries is pursued.

3.7   TYPES OF INTERNATIONAL MIGRANTS FOUND IN HOST COUNTRIES

When international migrants arrive in the host countries they are either voluntary or involuntary migrants (Koser, 2007). In the study, the migrant women were categorised as given in Table 3.1:

TABLE 3.1   CATEGORISATION OF RESPONDENTS

Category	NR	Category	NR	Category	NR
Highly skilled migrants	4	Poverty	225	Voluntarily	48
Accompanying migrant (spousal permit & family unification)	14	Conflict	43		
Skilled migrants	1	Poor governance	38	Involuntarily	268
Student migrants	22	Environment	10	Others	16
Business migrants	4	Others	16		
Refugees/asylum seekers	43				
Retired	1				
Visiting migrants (trading & occasional work)	194				
Illegal migrants (fake passport & border jumping)	31				
Others (born in South Africa, used ETD and did not want to disclose how they entered the country)	16				
Total	332		332		332

Note: ETD = Emergency Travel Document; NR = Number of respondents; Voluntary = Skilled + Business + Retired + Students + Spousal permit + Family unification + Born in South Africa; Involuntary = Visitors + Trafficked/illegal + Border jumpers + Refugee/asylum

Source: Survey (2016).

The discussion focuses on voluntary and involuntary migrants as categories that shed light on some mechanisms and challenges (Oucho, 2009) that the migrants have in order to enter host countries and to see how this impact on their coping and long-term adaptation. In this study, the migrant women were asked about how they entered South Africa, and this also showed if their migration was voluntary or involuntary. As mentioned earlier, it is not easy to draw the line between voluntary and involuntary migrants. The two broad categories are described below.

3.7.1   Voluntary migrants

A voluntary migrant is one who migrated without being coerced. These can be highly skilled, skilled, business people, family unification and visitors to enable people to migrate to another country. In the study, for example, 14 respondents decided to migrate to join their spouses and unite with their families in South Africa. Voluntary migration is mainly labour migration, and it is a result of opportunities arising from different market conditions prevailing in the home

and host countries. Migration flows respond to economic opportunities such as employment opportunities (Núñez, 2009).

Voluntary migration is also associated with business persons capitalising on available opportunities abroad. Skilled and highly skilled people migrate to better paid employment prospects that are not available in their home countries (Solimano, 2006). Four migrant women also decided to come to South Africa to open businesses. The voluntary migrants make independent decisions and basic freedoms are endorsed on them when they leave their home countries.

Labour migrants or economic migrants do voluntarily migrate to other countries because of lack of economic capital due to socio-economic challenges in their home countries. Migration is voluntary because the migrants need to economically empower themselves. Some migrate in order to retire in host countries as the host countries may offer lucrative retirement opportunities (Alonso, 2011). One female migrant chose to retire in South Africa. Such migrants are usually skilled and are valuable to the receiving countries and they migrate voluntarily to the host countries.

3.7.1.1 Skilled migrants

Skilled migrants are an example of voluntary immigrants who migrate to host countries to take up specific jobs according to their skills and qualifications (Caritas Internationalis, 2004). Skilled migrants are usually specifically targeted by host countries who devise policies that recruit them in response to the country's labour market needs (Parsons et al., 2015). These migrants can easily integrate with the receiving communities, at the same time causing labour gaps in their home countries (Hugo, 2005). In the study, four respondents from Zimbabwe possessed high skills permits and one respondent from the DRC possessed a skills permit when they decided to come to South Africa.

3.7.1.2 Business/entrepreneur migrants

Business people or entrepreneurs also migrate voluntary to the host country to open a business or to operate already existing businesses. Four migrant women from Zimbabwe who participated in the study, migrated to South Africa to open businesses in the country. Such migrants come to the host country voluntarily as they have enough resources before they leave their home countries and are also assured of a better life in the host country.

3.7.1.3 Retirees and family unification

In South Africa, for instance, a migrant can decide to come and retire in the country, provided the migrant have adequate financial resources. There was one respondent from Rwanda who possessed a retirement permit. Family unification is also a voluntary type of migration that is recognised, and this can either be marriage unification or relative unification. In this study, there were nine respondents who migrated to South Africa on spousal permits and they were from Zimbabwe (3), Cameroon (2), Nigeria (3) and Rwanda (1). Five of the respondents utilised the family reunification permits. They were joining their parents in South Africa. They were from Zimbabwe (2), Nigeria (2) and Zambia (1). One Nigerian decided to retire in South Africa. Various countries have various legislative arrangements that need to be met for one to be entitled to reside in a host country.

3.7.2 Involuntary international migrants

Involuntary migrants are international migrants who migrate to another country because of being displaced from their home countries, fear of persecution or are forced to migrate (Castles, 2006). Forced migrants are those who leave their home countries to due to conflict, persecution due to religious beliefs or belonging to a minority tribe or political party (UNHCR, 1951a). Some migrate due to environmental degradation, droughts or famine (Jónsson, 2010). A general term for such migrants is 'refugee' although the official definition of refugee excludes environmentally-induced forced migrants (UNHCR, 1951b). Terms such as 'environmental migrants' and 'economic migrants' have merged outside the UN definition. Other people are trafficked into another country. In this study, 43 of the migrant women used refugee/asylum permits to enter South Africa, as indicated in 3.5.2 above.

3.7.2.1 Undocumented and trafficked migrants

Another group of forced migrants is the undocumented migrants. These migrants can enter a country without proper authority either through clandestine entry or with fraudulent documents, migrants who enter with authority, but overstays at the expiry of the legal permit and migrants who utilise the asylum system to enter the host country (Uehling, 2004). Koser (2007) added another group to the undocumented migrants: those migrants who are smuggled or trafficked into the host country. These undocumented migrants expose themselves to hazards and risks during the journey and even in the host country (GCIM, 2005). There is a possibility of such a migrant to slip in and out of irregular status due to the visa requirements of the countries they

pass through. This transit migration is not only limited to irregular migrants, but cuts across all migrants (Cassarino and Fargues, 2006).

When the undocumented migrants make it to their intended destinations they take up any kind of job for survival purposes and are also prone to exploitation (Van Hear et al., 2012). Some will, especially in high income economies, take up any jobs that are shunned by local people because of their inferiority (Ruhs, 2006). They will be found in agriculture, timber, plantations, heavy industry, construction and domestic service employment as these industries are low-paying, have little if any job security and above all are low-status jobs (Colic-Peisker and Tilbury, 2006). This has been witnessed by Colic-Peisker and Tilbury (2006) that these recent refugees have found a niche in these low jobs that are shunned by local Australians. Because undocumented migrants are not authorised to be in the host country, they are prone to exploitation by both employers and landlords (GCIM, 2005). GCIM (2005) further stated that irregular migrants are not able to optimise their skills and experience in the host countries. Some are subject to physical and psychological violence. One Nigerian woman used a fake passport to enter South Africa. Seventeen Zimbabweans illegally crossed the border into South Africa, while 10 came from the DRC, one each from Uganda, Nigeria and Mozambique. A total of 31 respondents were undocumented migrants when they arrived in South Africa.

3.7.2.2   Refugees and asylum seekers

Refugees and asylum seekers are also categorised forced migrants. According to the Refugee Law of 1951, asylum seekers can be granted refugee status or can be denied such, and in such instances, are forced to return to their home countries (UNHCR, 1951a). The global geography of refugees has broadened and has become complex due to, but not limited to, the Arab Spring that has resulted in the influx of refugees globally, the Syrian conflict that has recently brought a deluge of refugees to the European Union and has created a policy challenge for this European grouping, the extremism globally of *ISIS* and *Boko Haram* and post-independent conflicts characterising SSA, which led to economic meltdown of country economies soon after their independencies.

When refugees arrive in host countries they are either housed in refugee camps such as in Kenya, Ethiopia, Botswana, Namibia, Yemen, Lebanon and other countries (Smith, 2004), or they are self-settled in host country such as Britain, USA, Canada and South Africa. Putting refugees in camps or letting them settle freely in the host communities has both merits and

demerits for them. Refugees in camps can benefit from protection services provided by the camp. They also receive centralised assistance and aid. Another school of thought (Smith, 20014) has shown that instances of violence and sexual abuse are frequently reported in refugee camps. Refugees also tend to develop a dependency syndrome because of being provided with all services in an enclosed environment. The refugees are also prone to negative psychological effects due to confinement to the camp life. These camps can vary widely in size, socio-economic structure and political structure and these refugees are often deprived of basic freedoms and have inadequate living spaces (Crisp and Jacobsen, 1998). These people can also be overcrowded because of the limited space available for the camp.

However, the refugees living in self-settlements may have inadequate housing structures, or may face xenophobia and discrimination in their host communities (Connor, 1989). Issues of xenophobia are also very prominent, for instance in South Africa, and this applies to all migrants regardless of the migration status. However self-settled refugees enjoy some level of autonomy, unlike the camp dwellers. The living conditions of the migrants may foster new threats to psychological well-being of refugees as the settlement patterns may drastically differ from their usual ones. They may be confined and even if they are safe from persecution they may still be psychologically threatened by the surroundings of the camp (Ryan, Dooley and Benson, 2008).

In the case of self-settling, refugees can easily assimilate and integrate in the host communities. It is, however, a challenge in SSA, as some governments and locals tend to resist migrants due to their numbers and limited resources available in host countries (Koser, 2007). This was evidenced in South Africa in 2008 and 2015 when sporadic xenophobic attacks took place that raised regional and international concerns on how South Africa and other stakeholders are dealing with refugees and other migrants (Misango, Freemantle and Landau, 2015). In the developed world such as in Europe, the United Kingdom, for instance, allows refugees to apply for citizenship seven years after receiving refugee status (Campbell, 2014). As indicated in 3.5.2 the refugees/asylum seekers can from a number of African countries. South Africa's current policy framework on refugee security is centred on urban self-settlement with an array of socio-economic rights for refugees and asylum seekers, including seeking employment in the private sector or even open their own businesses (Makhema, 2009).

The gender-segregated job markets in some host countries influence employment opportunities, earnings, and threats of exploitation for migrant women (Boyd, 2006). Many migrant women

resort to taking up unregulated and wage sector jobs that are subjecting them to exploitation. These jobs include, but are not limited to, childminders and prostitution. Migrant men dominate regulated job sectors, for example construction, mining and agriculture (Jolly, Reeves and Piper, 2005).

3.8 SUMMARY

International migration has been in existence for a very long time and with globalisation it has evolved. International migration has been a feature of human kind for a very long time. It has evolved over time, and in the earlier times people migrated to Europe from the East African Rift Valley to venture into new territories such as Europe. Others migrated because wars, disease outbreaks, civilisations, slavery, and later colonisation which changed the direction of migrants to countries in Africa and America. Migrant are either moving voluntarily or involuntarily depending on their situations. Business people, retirees, students, labour force, refugees and trafficked migrants are some of the people who cross international borders to host countries for various reasons. Some move for shorter periods of time while others decide to settle permanently in the host countries. This has resulted in the complex nature of migration and the migration flows are not easy to describe.

In SSA migration, besides being South–North, it is South–South, where many migrants have arrived in South Africa over the past three decades. With natural-induced hazards, coupled with man-made hazards such as insecure politics, ethnic clashes, religious clashes, poverty and fast-growing populations in home countries, international migration becomes the only option to escape from the vulnerability situation. Many of these migrants are seeking better economic opportunities in South Africa. It is therefore prudent to explore their coping and adaptation mechanisms in host countries with a view to find out the mechanisms they employ in various countries.

Chapter 4

SOCIO-ECONOMIC COPING AND ADAPTATION OF INTERNATIONAL MIGRANTS

4.1   INTRODUCTION

In the theoretical chapter, the livelihood capitals and the identified factors of these capitals showed the possibility of migrant women coping and adapting in host environments after migrating. The pull factors identified have a bearing on their coping and adaptation as well as their resilience aspects. On arrival in the host country, migrants need to cope with the new environment regardless of their entry status. Challenges and opportunities are encountered in the host country and survival strategies need to be devised daily to move forward and adapt to these challenges. The utilisation of the socio-economic characteristics, livelihood capitals and the capital factors that the migrant women possess and are exposed to, will determine their coping and adaptation mechanisms.

According to Rugunanan and Smit (2011), some migrants in Johannesburg, South Africa, engage in informal work, petty trading and hawking to provide for their basic needs such as food and accommodation. Migrants who enter the host country with a skills permit and already have jobs, cope and adapt better than those who are illegal, for instance as their entry statuses offer them some mechanisms of coping and adaptation in the host country. In the study, a total of six, four highly skilled migrant women – one with a work permit, one who intended retiring in South Africa and four who possessed business permits – had better coping and adaptation than others. Refugees may struggle to cope in the short term, while they are still trying to regularise their stay and gain formal refugee status in the host country. An example can be drawn from the contextual analysis of a Sudanese refugee who flees war-torn Sudan and enters South Africa to seek asylum, and a business woman from a stable country who voluntarily migrates to the same country to enhance her wealth. Such contextual situation will influence the coping and adaptation mechanisms of these migrants (Reich, Zautra and Hall, 2010). A woman migrant with a job will cope and adapt better than an asylum seeker or refugee who must first regularise her stay before she can strive to earn a livelihood. The forty-three migrant

women in this study are such people who were and are still trying to regularise their stay in the country and, hence, they find it difficult to cope and adapt.

Migration of women is frequently described from a family context (Kraler et al., 2011), while migration of men is defined from an employment perspective. If women are included in the discussion they are portrayed as passively accompanying their husbands, and therefore their coping and adaptation is regarded to be dependent on men. Some of the women who migrate independently are portrayed as vulnerable to economic and sexual exploitation (Caritas Internationalis, 2004; Timur, 2000). Muslim women, for example, are perceived as exploited victims because of how their culture place them in society in relation to men (Korteweg and Yurdakul, 2009). This is no different when these Muslim women decide to migrate. In this study, the Muslim migrant women from Somalia were found at Bellville in Cape Town, but most of them were reluctant to participate in the survey.

4.2 LIVELIHOOD CAPITALS AS COPING AND ADAPTATION MECHANISMS OF MIGRANTS

Coping, according to Folkman and Moskowitz (2004), is the beliefs and actions used to manage the internal and external demands of situations that are considered as stressful. Migrants will experience some form of stress in a new environment in the host countries (Bhugra and Becker, 2005). Adaptation, too, is a process of change and adjustment to new environmental conditions (Berry et al., 2002). Adaptation of migrants can be defined as the process of fitting into the society of settlement and functioning successfully in a new environment (Ward, 2001). Coping mechanisms take effect on arrival in the host country (Berry et al., 2002) and adaptation happens as the migrants adjust and settle in the host country (Gsir, 2014). Coping and adaptation is a form of resilience (Kuo, 2014), which is an ability to bounce back and effectively handle adversities. Hence the migrants have to assume ways of coping and adaptation in the host environment where there are many new cultural situations (Kuo, 2014).

Resilience can be used to explain the characteristic of resisting future negative events whereby the people have migrated to avoid these events. Resourcefulness of the individuals who utilise their available capacities to cope and adapt makes them survive better in hard times, and maintain and adapt when things get bad (Reivich and Shatte, 2002). The resilience skills prepare people to deal with difficulties, reach out for opportunities and establish healthy relations (Turner and Brown, 2010). These people will be displaying self-efficacy and realignment

abilities in host countries, resulting in their coping and adaptation (Reivich and Shatte, 2002). The human, social, economic, physical, political and cultural capitals are discussed below.

4.3 HUMAN CAPITAL AS INFLUENCING COPING AND ADAPTATION OF MIGRANT WOMEN

According to Flora et al. (2004), human capital is characteristics of people that contribute to their capability to earn a living, to support the community, and add to community organisations, their families and self-improvement. Migrant women need to have some form of human capital in the host country. Promotion of human capital is essential for the maximisation of the other capitals. People with different capitals can combine them and be able to live a life they desire (Valdés-Rodríguez and Vazquez, 2010). Some of the human capital factors are skills, educational levels, preferred language of business and local language skills.

4.3.1 Migrants skills as a human capital

Refugees from Ethiopia, and irregular migrants from Zimbabwe, Mozambique, Congo and the DRC, engaged in informal trading, vending and piece jobs in the inner city of Johannesburg when they arrived in South Africa (Tati, 2008; Zack, 2015). This type of survival does not apply to the migrants who come here with work permits, study permits, business permits, or retirement permits, as these migrants are guaranteed better lives in the host country. In this light, refugees, asylum seekers and irregular migrants may engage in what is termed 'deskilling' as a survival mechanism in the absence of any suitable job at the particular time. According to Meraj (2015), highly qualified and skilled professionals in developed countries are often obliged to accept jobs below their educational ranks after they migrate to those countries and may experience a downhill shift both in their career and in their quality of life. They have no choice but to deskill themselves as a coping mechanism. Others may be forced to go back to school in to augment their qualifications and skills so that they can fit better in the host society, hence the deskilling and reskilling of migrants.

4.3.1.1 Individual deskilling of migrants

The Oxford Living Dictionaries (2017) define 'deskill' as follows: "Reduce the level of skill required to carry out (a job)." According to Bakan (1987), the direct urge of the individual's experiences in trying to move from an underdeveloped region of the world to a developed one may lead to deskilling. This is because of the impact of discriminatory forms of inequality

grounded on class, gender, racial and national characteristics prevailing in the particular society or community. In traditional host countries such as Australia, Canada, New Zealand and the USA, preference is given to higher educated migrants who have the skills and professional training which they can transfer to their host countries. It is, however, common for migrant professionals, especially those from less-developed or developing countries, to experience 'deskilling' or occupational downward mobility (Siar, 2013). Siar further reiterates that deskilling can be viewed as a host country's way of filling up labour shortages in the secondary market by capitalising on the cheap labour of these migrants as they transition to the expectations of the host country, or as a deliberate discrimination move.

Even though the professional migrants are admitted in the host countries based on the immigration policies of the host countries, many migrants are relegated to lower statuses and lower paying jobs in host countries. This is due to non-recognition of their foreign qualifications and prejudices pertaining to foreign education and credentials in host countries. However, in South Africa, for instance, all foreign qualifications are subjected to the grading process of the South African Qualifications Authority (SAQA). Some host countries feel that the migrants do not have enough experience, cultural know-how and, above all, English proficiency or local language skills suitable to the country's needs (Siar, 2013).

There are some migrants who already have the relevant education but may not always be able to benefit from the educational capabilities acquired in their home countries. In such instances, such migrants may opt to cope and adapt outside the range of their educational skills by taking up any form of employment in the host country. Such migrants resort to deskilling in order to cope and adapt as high-skilled and relatively educated workers that used to undertake medium-skilled jobs, become content with taking up lower-skilled occupations in order to survive. A Vancouver-based study with immigrants from the People's Republic of China reveals that most new migrants came to Canada with tertiary education. Despite the fact that some entered Canada with master's and doctoral degrees, they encountered serious obstacles in their transition to the Canadian labour market. They could not find jobs matching their original professions because their Chinese qualifications and work experiences were not recognised by the Canadian authorities and employers (Guo and DeVoretz, 2006).

The studies carried out by the University of Toronto from 2009–2014 revealed that some of the migrant women who migrated to Canada under the Family Unification Program, were often alleged as dependents of their husbands and, therefore, not guaranteed remunerative

employment. It was, however, economically challenging for the families of these migrants as the income of their spouses often did not adequately meet their needs. Migrants in Canada, particularly those from Africa, are often confronted with the depreciation of their foreign credentials and work experience attained from their home countries. African migrant women are subjected to deskilling, and are forced into risky positions which are low-paid, part-time, and flexible, with no security or benefits. These women should lower their qualifications and accept lower jobs in the racialised and gendered Canadian labour environment (Galabuzi, 2006). The migrants' well-being is negatively impacted as their qualifications and skills fail to cushion them economically as they envisaged when they migrated.

Some migrants resort to unskilled, risky employment in the host country in order to gain *Canadian experience* and to survive. This is, however, contrary to Canadian policies that stipulate that entry into Canada for highly skilled workers who will be employed and integrated into the society (Li, 2003). The real situation is that most of the education and skills acquired outside Canada are undervalued and the migrants experience deskilling in this labour market (Li, 2003, Reitz, 2003). Li (2003) further noted that the undervaluation of qualifications, relative to white, native-born Canadian qualifications, is greater for migrant women of colour with foreign qualifications and there is a remuneration gap for women who earned their degrees in Canada. The number of migrant women who find employment in the engineering sector in Canada, is growing disproportionately to that of men and Canadian-educated women engineers, especially at the upper level of the profession.

Deskilling means that educated migrants, especially women, should rely on their hands rather than minds to earn a living and that prolonged periods of deskilling is prevalent to migrant women who are also disadvantaged by policies in the countries of origin, for instance the permit determines if the migrant women should use their hands rather than mind to cope and adapt in the host country. Some migrant women experience deskilling due to policies in the migration process that only consider the principal applicant's skills, and in most cases, it will be the men. Some mothers end up looking for alternatives to augment their family incomes such as small businesses operated from their family basements (Creese and Wiebe, 2012). The deskilling of migrant skills results in lower wages and hence they are taken as providing lower human capital. Some migrants, when they notice that their skills are considered inferior or inadequate in host countries, decide to upskill themselves to fit into the host environment. This can be done to counter the perception that migrants are providing lower or inferior human capital.

4.3.1.2 Upskilling of migrants

Upskilling is acquiring extra training or education to become employable or become better at the current job. Through the acquisition of country-specific human capital, particularly education and language proficiency, migrants can increase their income and bargaining power, get better pay and benefits as well as improved general working conditions (Dustmann, 2003). Some migrants try to advance their situation and reskill themselves through the formal re-education processes by going back to university to gain a qualification from the host country. In Canada, for instance, several migrants have gone back to school and university to acquire local qualifications to fit into the job market of the country (Creese and Wiebe, 2012).

Many migrants, especially in South Africa, personally engage in upskilling themselves. In this study, many migrant women used study permits to come to South Africa where they obtained their qualifications. It was observed that many of these migrant women continued to enrol for further qualifications such as a master's and doctoral degree. This is a form of upskilling. This does not become an employer burden and it is common that employers would prefer such people for employment in their organisations. The upskilling process is used by migrants as a coping and adaptation mechanism in host countries.

In some countries, mandatory courses and integration tests are required from migrants. For example, in Greece a high-level test on Greek language, culture and history is a prerequisite for migrants who want to take up employment in that country (Liapi, 2008). In countries such as the UK, migrants need to attend local courses to be recognised or given permission to be employed in the skills they brought from the host countries. For instance, medical doctors who migrate to the UK must comply with the standards set by the General Medical Council (Slowther et al., 2012). Migrant medical doctors practicing in South Africa are expected to work for the government or public sector for a minimum of two years before they can join the private sector (Sidley, 2000).

4.3.2 Levels of education as a coping and adaptation mechanism

Education transforms one's attitude, and teaches skills and social standards through modernisation of individuals (Bunoti, 2012). Education can enhance the acculturation process of a migrant in a host country (Bhugra and Becker, 2005). Education forms a strong human capital foundation for acculturation and therefore enables easy coping and adaptation of migrants in host environments (Dayton-Johnson et al., 2009). When educated people migrate

they will be experienced enough to make informed decisions and be able to adjust and also accomplish a better life in the situation. As education affects behaviour, it will also impact positively on the migrant in the host country with a new culture and other practices, in addition to the wealth of human capital they bring into the country. A migrant's status can transform his income level, access to resources and acquisition of information. Chinese migrants in Canada, for example, were found to be able to cope and adapt better because most of them had tertiary education and they were also conversant with the English language which is the language used in Canada (Dion, Dion and Pak, 1992). These Chinese migrants obtained better jobs than the less-educated Chinese migrants and, hence, their improved coping and adaptation capacities. Chinese people, especially those who are educated, migrate to Canada as the country operates on a 'points' system, which allows immigrants to come in if they are graduates, trained, have start-up capital for new businesses and have relevant language abilities (Li, 2010). The Chinese were previously capitalising on the Commonwealth of Nations to enter and live in Canada. Economically they are on a better standing than their uneducated compatriots. Turkish women in Sweden were found to be more resilient than others because of their low educational levels as compared to the Swedish people and other migrants (Eskin, 2003). They, however, had positive attitudes and were prepared for the life in the host country regardless of their educational levels (Eskin, 2003).

Education has an empowering effect that results in positive coping and adaptation regardless of the migration status. Refugees from Sudan who were separated from parents and migrated overseas felt that if they accessed education in the host countries they would become 'somebodies' (McDonald-Wilmsen and Gifford, 2009). These migrants did not let their statuses as refugees deter their abilities to cope and adapt. They used education to empower themselves. They knew that they would get jobs and be able to help themselves and their kinsmen left behind if they get an education. Young Sudanese refugees in Kenya are some of those migrants who place so much importance on education as they consider education to be gateway to a brighter future (Goodman, 2004). In this study, a total of 115 migrant women had a tertiary level education, which was a certificate (25), diploma (36), technikon qualification (5), university degree (18) and postgraduate qualification, including a doctoral degree (31).

Migrants with low educational levels may also find that their coping and adaptation capabilities are reduced, and they become prone to social, economic or even health risks in the host country. However, lowly educated migrants may utilise their inherent talents to cope and adapt, such as

hairdressing and basketry. On the other hand, skills of irregular migrants may not count without proper documentation as employment regulations define the conditions of employment of all people, including migrants. Illegal migrants resort to lowering their educational levels and taking up any available jobs in order to cope and adapt in host countries (Sabates-Wheeler, Natali and Black, 2007). In this study, many migrants who had tertiary education were not utilising their education due to the stringent labour and migration regulations prevailing in South Africa. Most of them found low-paying jobs as undocumented migrants, or unskilled jobs as casual or contract workers since they are not protected by employment regulations.

In Greece, for instance, migrants are expected to have satisfactory knowledge of the Greek language as a prerequisite for any foreign national who wants to enter into a Greek university (Article 68 of Law 3386/2005). With massive efforts of various governments and institutions towards improving the education of girls, the number of educated women with secondary and tertiary education has grown in leaps and bounds. Challenges emerge as disproportionate difficulties are experienced by women in trying to find jobs that are proportionate with their education and professional experience after relocating to a new country. Issues such as recognition of foreign qualifications and work experience, as well as labour market dynamics, often limit migrant women to work in low-skilled occupations. Migrant women reskill in various ways so that they retain their human capital status they brought from their home countries. Some women take it upon themselves to go back to school in order to align themselves with the job market (Hugo, 2005).

4.3.3 The English language as a human capital

The language, especially English that the migrants would have acquired in the home countries through education would enable them to easily cope. In this study, 311 of the migrant women surveyed were proficient in the English language. These migrants are from SSA countries that use English, French, and Portuguese as business language in their countries of origin. English language proficiency for most migrants assists them to cope and adapt in host countries. Adolescent Pakistan migrants in the USA who are able to read, write and understand English are coping better than older migrants (Khuwaja et al., 2013). Being conversant in the host country's language is also a crucial dimension of coping and adapting in the host country. Migrants' functioning in the host country is enhanced as they will be able to communicate their needs, interact with others and with institutions when looking for employment and other entitlements that are due to them. They will be able to get good jobs, secure better residence

status and be in a position to live a better life in the host country (Beiser and Hou, 2001). Language proficiency facilitates social contact with the host community and also reduces over-dependence on others for a worthy life. New social resources and inventory of individual's coping and adaptation mechanisms are widened. Migrant women can also extend their self-confidence with the language they use to communicate with the rest of the host society.

Mexican migrants in the USA, for instance, are subjected to high stress levels as they find it tough to assimilate and integrate in the host society due to lack of English language skills (Rodriguez et al., 2002). These Mexican migrants fail to express themselves. Lack of language skills brings about insecurity in migrants as the case with young Chinese students in the USA who could not communicate with anyone who was not Chinese. They could not complete school tasks and they therefore failed academically (Yeh et al., 2008). Berry et al. *(2006a)* noted that language of the host country was a major barrier to prospects of finding jobs in the early days of Turkish migrants in Canada.

4.3.4 Other language(s) acquisition as a human capital

If a migrant is not conversant in the host language, then the coping and adaptation strategies can be compromised. They may not be able to communicate on anything pertaining to their stay in the host country. According to Çakir (2009), competence in the host language facilitates easy cultural acquisition, reduces stress that goes with accessing public facilities, finding employment and enhances chances of expanding one's social network. Being competent in the local language, such as Turkish migrant women in the UK, reduces migrant cultural alienation and makes migrants feel part of the mainstream society. This enhances the migrant capacity to venture and explore options of survival such as opening businesses in the host country.

In Africa, most migrants, especially to South Africa, are conversant in English. However, there are challenges with the other 10 official languages of South Africa. This therefore affects even the migrant women in getting jobs, setting up businesses and also integrating into the host society, as some activities such as businesses need a local language to thrive. In South Africa, however, one would find a number of businesses of foreigners who may not be conversant in the local languages but can only converse in English. A good example is Ethiopian business people who come into the country and then employ South Africans who can communicate well with costumers. This is helping in growing their businesses as the customers are well looked after. In this study, the migrant women understood local languages to varying degrees, ranging

from speaking to just understanding some of the ten local languages. It was observed that the level of understanding of these local languages was based on the place of residence of the migrant women. For example, the respondents in Bloemfontein spoke and understood Sotho and elementary Afrikaans; in Durban, it was Zulu; in Cape Town Xhosa and in Johannesburg, Pretoria and Ekurhuleni it was a variety of the local languages because of the cosmopolitan nature of these metropolitan cities.

Language incompetency is also influenced by the age at which a migrant would have arrived in the host country. Research by Khuwaja et al. (2013) revealed that when people migrate at younger ages they will be able to adapt well in the host country as their mother language would not have developed that much. Migrants who migrate at old age may find it difficult to learn the host country language, thereby finding it tough to cope and adapt in the host country. The dilemma of learning a local language may also be that older people cannot enrol in the mainstream schooling system in order to learn the local languages.

4.4 SOCIAL CAPITAL AS INFLUENCING COPING AND ADAPTATION OF MIGRANT WOMEN

Social capital can be described as the cement that holds a community together. Social capital can be one of the biggest community resources that is necessary for coping and adapting. Social capital can also be developed and built by a community in order to better their lives, and combined with other capitals, life becomes manageable. The key elements of social capital that can enhance coping and adaptation are networks of various kinds which brings about trust and collective access to resources (Schneider, 2004).

4.4.1 Network support systems

Social networks are critical in the coping and adaptation of migrants in the host countries. However, it is said that network functioning is strongly dependent on the human capital criteria of the migrants themselves (Hugo, 2005). The sociodemographic factors such as professional status, occupation, and education may influence the process of integration into the destination country's social and cultural life, along with the labour market. According to Lempa et al. (2008), in the relational social network analysis the social networks can be used by individuals to pursue their own goals and interests. The strength of the social interactions among migrant communities and the host communities correlates with the migrants' social and cultural capital and also their capacities to maintain and strengthen the communitarian ties (Galabuzi and

Teelucksingh, 2010). Social networks provide strong ties within a social group; a sense of belonging, identity and social support; and strong ties to other outside groups that can bring in additional socio-economic or political resources (Cloete, De Villiers and Roodt, 2009).

In this study, the networks were pillars of many migrant women as will be elucidated in Chapter 6. The main network systems in this study were connected to family support, entrepreneurial support, employment connections and humanitarian support. These successful networks can cement relationships portraying a common shared interest, as well as having coping and adaptive functions. Information and resources can easily be shared among social networks; emotional and practical support that is built can result in inclusivity in diversity among the network members. These networks can be formal as well as informal. The availability of support networks in host countries is important in assisting migrants to cope with and adapt to the host environment (Gladden, 2013). An example can be drawn from Ghanaians in Bloemfontein who have a very strong social network. The Ghanaians own a number of saloons and shops in Bloemfontein. They mainly employ Ghanaians from Ghana and other nationalities. This is the same with Nigerians in Bloemfontein although it has been observed that Nigerians are also dominating the formal employment sector.

4.4.2   Formal and informal networks

It is very rare to find a migrant in isolation in a host community. Migrants always migrate to environments where they already have relatives or fellow country men and women (Hugo, 2005). Formal networks have important social, psychological, cultural, religious and economic functions in host countries. Some countries take it upon them to form networks that will assist newly migrated citizens to cope and adapt in host countries. An example is the USA government that availed medical and psychological support and paired in-country employees with new arrivals in facilitating meeting, greeting and orienting the new arrivals from Turkey (Bikos et al., 2007). Robertson et al. (2006) stated that many refugees from Somalia and the Oromo state in Ethiopia utilise the formal networks of services of physicians or nurses for medical problems. Some of the refugees have to medicate themselves in order to calm down on arrival in the host country. Formal supports that are used by migrants include health clinics, psychiatric clinics, social workers and other workers that provide paid-for services (Robertson et al., 2006). The Sudanese refugees in the Kakuma Refugee Camp in Kenya, for instance, make use of the United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR) as the primary form of formal network support (Sinclair, 2001). They receive food, building supplies, blankets, mats and

cooking items from this organisation. Even orphans in this refugee camp manage to cope and adapt very well because of the presence of the UN organisation in the camp (Gladden, 2013). Other migrants who need the above formal support need to pay for these services in order to access them in host environments.

Another formal network is the family and friends network in the host environment. The presence of family and friends in host countries can psychologically assist migrants to cope with and adapt to the new surroundings (Bhugra and Becker, 2005). Some would argue that friends are informal networks, although some friends become like relatives over time. The migrants' neighbours, friends and relatives may voluntarily come to the migrant's assistance on arrival in the host country. It will be easier for migrants, as the already established interpersonal relations will make the new arrival not feel much loss of social support and resources by moving to a host country, including their usual kin, familiar food and regular behaviour which the new support of these systems readily provides (Abuzahra, 2004).

Migrant women can also have their own networks with other local and compatriot women and they utilise them both to migrate and to settle in a new country. This indicates the strong social capital derived from social networks that migrant women possess in host countries (Carney, 1998). For instance, migrant mothers may lose the family support of collective child nurturing by grandparents, other relatives, and siblings after leaving their countries of origin (Erel, 2002). However, in host environments they can be supported by neighbours and friends who form the extensions to the usual social capital at home countries and hence they are able to cope with the conditions in the host communities. The availability of social capital in terms of these support systems for the migrant women in host countries becomes a valuable coping and adaptation mechanism for them (Hugo, 2005). This also assists the migrant women to be able to increase their other capitals such as financial and physical capital as they will be able to take up employment knowing that their children are in the good hands of neighbours and friends. Studies of expatriate wives in Turkey also revealed that support systems rendered on arrival in host countries assisted migrant women to cope and adapt in the host country. The Turkish migrant women in the UK, for instance, have social origins characterised by interdependence and interconnectedness and these networks result in their empowerment and resilience in the host country's new cultural milieu (Bikos et al., 2007). This is also the case with other women from across the world. Muslim women in the USA, for example, are coping very well because of spousal support, flexible gender roles, and presence of other family members in the USA

(Offenhauer and Buchalter, 2005). This becomes a deviation from the norm of Muslims in their countries of origin where gender roles are not flexible.

Adolescent migrants rely on parents, teachers and friend networks to cope with challenges they encounter in host countries. According to Berk (2000), adolescents are considered among the most vulnerable groups that experience stress due to migration. This is because the adolescent stage is considered a critical period of personality and social development. Positive attitudes towards intercultural environment existing in the host country, such as the USA, is also used by adolescent migrants to cope (Phinney, 2001). It is important to assimilate and integrate in the host environment. Pluralism of host societies can greatly assist adolescents in coping and adapting (Berry, 2011). For instance, the Pakistan adolescent migrants in the USA confirmed that the pluralism of the society was a positive opportunity for them to adapt in the host country. In this instance, schools and friends played a vital role in promoting the multicultural environment to the adolescents.

Marriage is another network that migrants utilise in a host environment to cope and adapt in host countries. The marriage institution, including intermarriage, is another formal social network that can facilitate coping and adaptation in host environments. Migrants who migrate as spouses use their spouses to network in the host countries (Gsir, 2014). For instance, Asian migrant women in Korea used marriage networks since they married Korean men in order to have access to South Korea (Choi et al., 2014). They took advantage of South Korea's low birth rate, ageing society and rural–urban migration of Korean females to fit into the host environment by marrying their men in the rural areas. Asian women migrated to South Korean rural areas to marry men there and raised the birth rate, thereby creating a young population and help curb male rural–urban migration. This resulted in formation of multicultural families (Kim, Kim and Joh, 2015). These migrant women were assured of migration safety, coping and adaptation nets in Korea. Thai migrant women married Dutch men, and this facilitated their movement and assimilation in the Netherlands (Suksomboon, 2009). Muslim Pakistanis in Britain who favoured endogamous arranged marriages, facilitated the Pakistan migrant women passage to Britain and this put them in a better coping and adaptation status than single Pakistan migrant women (Gsir, 2014).

In this study, the concept of marriage was exploited as a survival mechanism, as well as an economic capital. Many migrant women expressed varied opinions in terms of marriage as a survival mechanism. A total of 173 migrant women indicated that they were married. However,

241 expressed the value of marriage as a coping and adaptation mechanism in South Africa. They valued marriage to a large extent (58), to some extent (55), to a moderate extent (25) and to a small extent (103).

4.5 ECONOMIC CAPITAL AS INFLUENCING COPING AND ADAPTATION

The economic capital is all issues related to the financial standing of the migrant women (Flora et al., 2004). Very few migrants will possess the economic capital when they migrate to host countries, except if they have business permits or intending to retire in the host country. Economic capital may be an important capital, but it is not readily available, especially to the less privileged people such as migrants in a host country. Some migrant women can bring with them economic capital such as savings from investment, pensions and salaries from their home countries. These may sustain the migrants in the short term as economic capital needs to be grown. Migrants start accruing economic capital in host countries. In this study, the migrant women who came into the country with student permits had economic capital with them as they were required to have adequate medical cover, financial capacity to study and live in the country for the duration of their studies stipulated in the Immigration Act (RSA, 2002). Twenty-two of the migrant women in the current study met these requirements. The retirees are also expected to have enough financial resources in order to be allowed to retire in a host country.

4.6 PHYSICAL CAPITAL AS INFLUENCING COPING AND ADAPTATION

When migrants arrive in the host countries, their physical capital may be at the lowest. Most of the physical resources or capitals are likely to be acquired in the host country. According to Goodwin (2003), physical capital is the product of application of the human capital to the natural situation to produce goods and services. There are very few physical capitals that can be brought into host countries. Most of the physical capital will be accrued in host countries.

4.7 POLITICAL CAPITAL AS INFLUENCING COPING AND ADAPTATION

The political capital at the disposal of the migrants is very limited in the host countries. The refugees, for instance, appeal to the host governments who have to extend the olive leaf to the refugees and asylum seekers in their countries as stipulated by the Geneva Conventions (UNHCR, 1951a).

4.8 CULTURAL CAPITAL AS INFLUENCING COPING AND ADAPTATION OF MIGRANT WOMEN

The migrants should learn the new culture and fit in. The Dictionary of Sociology (Jary, 1991) defines culture as codes of behaviours, clothes, language, belief, rites, and norms of conduct such as the law and morality, and systems of belief. Various acculturation strategies must be devised by migrants in the host country to survive and fit into the system. Some of them are acculturation aspects and gender dynamics of the host environment.

4.8.1 Acculturation

Acculturation is a process of change from one culture to a new culture that involves learning, development and competence in adjusting to the new culture and facing new challenges (Berry et al., 2006b). According to Bhugra and Becker (2005), migrants go through a culture shock when first arriving in a host country. Their cultural capital is adversely affected at this juncture. This culture shock can have significant consequences for migrants' well-being, including the loss of cultural customs, spiritual customs, and alteration of social support structures to a new culture and deviations in identity and concept of self (Flora, 2004). Learning a culture can be exciting, personally fulfilling and stimulating for migrants. Migrants may need to modify their culture as they come in contact with various cultures (Hugo, 2005). During the process of acculturation some cultural features are altered which may lead some migrants to experience stress of varying degrees depending on their migration circumstances. Other migrants may experience negative emotions while coping and adapting to the foreign culture. Migrants may need to respond and manage stressful adjustment in the host environment. This psychological adjustment is crucial as migrants are likely to suffer from emotional distress and poor mental health in a new environment (Berry et al., 2002). Some may be excited and later be depressed as the fear of the unknown aspect sets in. Culture shock is experienced by all migrants, although it is in varying degrees as they begin to acculturate psychologically and socio-culturally in the host country (Bhugra and Becker, 2005).

Four acculturation processes are identified that may influence the migrants' coping and adaptation in host countries. These are: (i) separation, (ii) assimilation, (iii) integration and (iv) marginalisation (Berry et al., 2002). According to Berry et al. (2002), migrants may separate from the host community by deciding to hold onto their original culture and disregard other cultures that are in the new environment. They may assimilate by disregarding their own

cultural identities and opt for the cultures of the host country. They may integrate by deliberately deciding to maintain their original cultures and simultaneously interact with other ethnic groups in the new environment or they may show no interest in maintaining either their original culture or the host country, thereby getting marginalised. It is up to individuals to cope and adapt in the best possible manner using the available cultural capitals at their disposal; however, this happens in the face of the host country's statutory requirements such as permits issued and other institutional policies such as getting employment and conditions prevailing at the time. This includes settlement policies, and cultural livelihood acquisition mechanisms at their disposal (Ashley and Carney, 1999; Berry et al., 2006b).

David, Okazaki and Saw et al. *(*2009) stated that the most adaptive acculturation approach that is applied by many migrants in host countries is integration. Integration is a reciprocal process and is regarded as an important element in guaranteeing sustainable results because it is a long-term process and it also involves both parties, that is, the immigrants and the host society (Krumm and Plutzar, 2008). This process of integration makes it possible for both parties to have a new shared ground for coexisting, respecting the already established identity. This gives migrants a chance to make use of the various capitals they bring with them and to expand their identity, acquiring new concepts and a new language; at the same time, the host country will view the migrants as elevating its linguistic and cultural scopes.

According to Berry et al. (2006b), evidence of migrants integrating the host country easily, manifests in those migrants who have certain levels of education which is the rich human capital, and other factors such as residence status and language proficiency. Educational levels of migrants are an important human capital and therefore are ideal coping and adaptation mechanism that migrants can use to acculturate in the host country. The relationship between educational level and acculturation outcomes has also been investigated and it has been found that better-educated cross-cultural migrants showed stronger involvement with the host culture and better sociocultural and psychological adaptation due to their relative resourceful cultural learning than the less educated migrants (Jayasuriya, Sang and Fielding, 1992). The level of education was also indicated as a positive association with self-esteem (Pham and Harris, 2001).

4.8.2 Gender dynamics prevailing in the host environment

Gender is another aspect that enhances the integration of migrants in host countries. Migrant men and women integrate differently in host countries. Migration entails economic betterment

for the individuals concerned, both men and women. However, getting a job in the host country and earning a livelihood may be dependent on gender dynamics. Gender dynamics, ethnic and racial discrimination can lead to triple disadvantage for migrant women in host environments (Piper, 2006). It has been proven that women are more confident of their culture of origin and take more time to adjust to the host culture than men (Ghaffarian, 1987; Harris and Verven, 1996; Ting-Toomey, 1981). Other demographic factors that also influence the process of acculturation are accompanying children, religion, financial situation, marital status (single), length of stay and level of social support (Ma et al., 2010). The research on generation status, that is the first, second, third or later generations, and acculturation patterns indicates the existence of alterations in cultural patterns over time in the host countries. Migrants were also seen to develop stronger ties with host cultures over many generations (Schimmele and Wu, 2015). It has also been shown that this trend does not necessarily mean disconnection from one's culture of origin. Maveras, Bebbington and Der (1989) reported that second-generation Greeks in the UK indicated stronger associations with the host culture than did their parents, but were still linked to their own culture of origin. This resulted in the second generation balancing their loyalties to home and host cultures.

The age of a migrant has been reported to be considerably, although inconsistently, linked to acculturation effects. Beiser et al. (1988) argued that youth and old age are high-risk periods compared to other periods in the acculturation process. Youth is believed to be filled with emotional problems due to personality formation and development, while at the same time old age is believed to be fraught with learning difficulties that impair sociocultural adaptation (Blas, 2011). This in the end, jeopardise general satisfaction with life in the host environment and, hence, they find it difficult to cope and adapt.

4.9 COMMUNITY INSTITUTIONS AS PART OF CAPITALS FOR COPING AND ADAPTATION

In communities, there exist institutions and associations that can assist migrants to cope and adapt in the host environment. These can be religious and social associations. The spiritual belief systems of migrants are a form of a community institution that can facilitate the coping and adaptation in host countries. According to Karakoç and Başkan (2012), having a strong faith structure, which may include religion, social, or political affiliations may be a powerful common approach that allows individuals to confront or derive meaning from their stress and other life challenges, especially in a host environment. This may be applicable to migrants who

involuntarily migrated from war-torn countries such as Syria, Afghanistan, Libya, Egypt, Sudan, DRC, Rwanda and Somalia. These migrants benefit immensely from religious organisations, be it Christian, Muslim and any other religious organisation that come to their rescue to help them cope in the host countries. Voluntary migrants, for instance, the Muslim Malawians and Senegalese in KwaZulu-Natal, a province of South Africa, have benefited from their close ties with other influential segments of the local population such as the local Muslim welfare agencies and business elites which have provided access to employment opportunities, and are major sponsors of mosques that were built in Mariannhill near Pinetown (Vawda, 2010).

The beliefs such as Christian beliefs are strong tools that are utilised by migrants in host countries. For refugees, their strong religious beliefs assist them to cope with emotional issues in the host countries. Refugees from Sudan living in the Kakuma Refugee Camp in Kenya, seek solace from the church as they have no family and friends with them (Gladden, 2013). The Lao Hmong refugees in Canada use Christianity, which they consider as the religion of the Americans, to coordinate daily life in Canada just as they would use the Hmong religion if they were in Laos (Tapp, 1989). It is evident that being in Canada meant that the Lao migrants assimilated and integrated by changing their religious identity and participating in the host religion (Berry et al. 2006b). These Lao migrants became Christians but did not divorce themselves from their Hmong identity. The migrant religious conversion or affiliation with the Hmong Christian Church (Mennonite) becomes an important avenue of coping and adaptation in Canada. Despite being a model Christian in Canada, the Hmong migrants do not divorce themselves from their original *shaman* 'religion' (Ngo, 2015). Shamanism is an application of religious customs which has some religious fundamentals, but it does not contain the needed components of religion (Place and Guiley, 2009). The nature of this support mean running the scope from personal fulfilment and spiritual renewal to the reinforcement of Hmong institutions and values. The church also helps migrants deal with bereavement as the church comforts them from life's challenges and offer prayers they recon will usher better lives for them. For other migrants who do not have relatives or friends, especially widows, and those who migrated and left husbands and children in home countries, the church offers respite from loneliness and provides spiritual comfort. Migrants feel they are protected by God when they are away from home (Portes and Rumbaut, 2001).

Another good example of strong religious network is some of the Malawian migrants in South Africa. A great number of Malawians are found in Durban (Kaunda, 2010). According to

Kaunda's study, Malawians in South Africa stay in town or anywhere in the country and they are not selective, and all conditions suit them as they can survive with simply beans, salt and water. They have strong religious beliefs in God whom they consider to be the ultimate provider of all (Buijs and Rath, 2003).

Migrants also use the church as a social networking platform and a social interaction activity centre. The Hmong in Canada, for instance, did not have easy proximity to their workplace and also faced scarcity of affordable accommodation until the church helped them overcome isolation and made adaptation easier for them. The strong solidarity groupings are a coping and adaptation mechanism that migrants can rely on. Asian migrants come from diverse backgrounds and experiences, but they share a common history and contemporary reality of multiple segregation, including gender oppression, class and race (Li, 2010). For instance, the Asian migrant women in the USA have circumvented some of the gender oppressive laws, class differences and racial discrimination tendencies by becoming active political strategists. They struggle to achieve their goals through hard work, personal strength and female solidarity groups (Xia, Do and Xie, 2013). Some migrants attend mosques in their localities for prayers and this relieves them from stress and worries as they meet their relatives, friends and other family members. The adolescents who come to the mosques also feel relieved from stress as they happen to meet other kinsfolk from the same country or with the same beliefs, thereby strengthening their social networks. Another example is of Turkey migrant women in the USA who utilised fellow American organisations such as Ankara Foreign Women's Clubs where they met in ready-made social structures to cope and adapt in the USA (Bikos et al., 2007).

Another research that was conducted in 2002 in KwaZulu-Natal, a province of South Africa, also noted that African migrant women in South Africa, especially those who migrated independently, possess some survival mechanisms from their countries of origin such as professional skills and entrepreneurial skills (Ojong, 2002). Social networks can cushion migrant women during the early days of their settlement in the host countries. As time goes by, the migrant women have to find long-term coping and adaptation strategies in host countries.

4.10 SUMMARY

Migration has become an important socio-economic coping and adaptation mechanism employed by migrants, including women. This is also the case for migrants in SSA whereby an array of factors has led to this unprecedented flow of people to various destinations, one of

which is South Africa. Conflicts and wars together with a host of exogenous forces have resulted in this wave of migration. Factors such as environmental degradation, desertification and climate change, conflicts due to wars and civil strife, urbanisation and rapid population growth and poverty have resulted in this migration.

When migrants arrive in the host countries, coping and adaptation begins with the psychological adjustments such as acculturation that can be in the form of assimilation, separation, integration and marginalisation. Integration was noted as the most appropriate from of coping and adaptation for migrant women. However, the integration of the migrant women in the host country is dictated by the policies, institutional arrangements and processes of the host country.

Migrant women also utilise their resilience which includes the various assets they have acquired while in their home countries such as education, language, residence status, network support systems, marriage, belief systems, religions or spirituality of the migrant women. Social networking and socialisation also greatly assists the women, together with their educational capacity already possessed. There are instances whereby migrant women have to deskill themselves in order to cope and adapt in the host country. Others, however, take it upon themselves to reskill themselves and thereby cope and adapt. In SSA, notably in South Africa, the migrant women further employ informal strategies such as selling in the streets, short-term contract work and distribution of pamphlets by the traffic lights in order to cope and adapt in South Africa. This is regardless of the various challenges they encounter, including xenophobic attacks on foreigners that has gained momentum in recent years. The next chapter will provide the research and methodology that was applied in this research.

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Chapter 5

RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

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5.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter is divided into eight sections. The first section provides the research design used in the study. The second part illuminates the research questions; the third section gives a picture of the population and sampling procedures, followed by data collection and the data instrument procedures. The next sections explain the pre-testing of the structured questionnaire, the data analysis procedure as well as the validity and reliability of the research, finally ending with a conclusion.

5.2 THE RESEARCH DESIGN

A parallel mixed method research design was utilised in this study. Creswell and Clark (2007) stated that parallel mixed research design focuses

> *on collecting, analysing, and mixing both quantitative and qualitative data in a single study or series of studies. Its central premise is that the use of quantitative and qualitative approaches in combination provides a better understanding of research problems than either approach alone.*

In this study, an explanatory design was used in which a qualitative component was included within a correlational design to explore the socio-economic coping and adaptation mechanisms of African migrant women in South Africa. The qualitative data was then incorporated into the quantitative data since it was considered to be beneficial and complementary in explaining the coping and adaptation mechanisms and other factors that enhance migrant women's resilience in South Africa.

Figure 5.1 is an illustration of how qualitative and quantitative data were collected concurrently (Creswell and Clark, 2007; Watkins and Gioia, 2015). The two data sets were contained in the semi-structured questionnaire. Analysis of data was done separately, and the results were related and merged during the interpretation and/or discussion and analysis. Both qualitative and quantitative data were collected through the semi-structured questionnaire, analysed simultaneously and information was then correlated, interpreted and discussed.
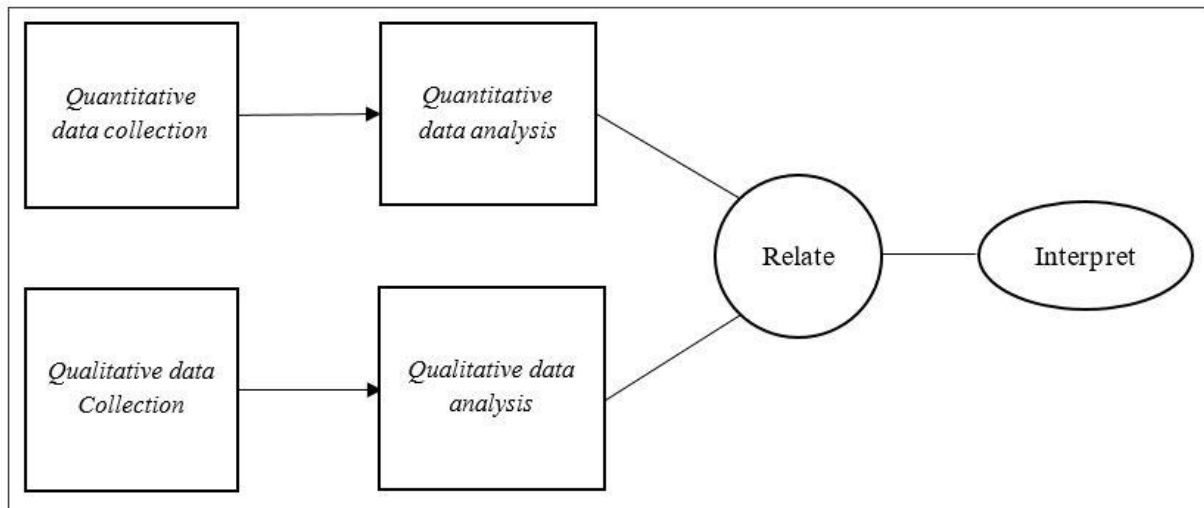
Source: Watkins and Gioia (2015).

Figure 5.1   Convergent parallel design mixed method

5.2.1   The quantitative design

The semi-structured questionnaire was used to collect the quantitative data. The quantitative questions included the length of stay in South Africa, their age, countries of origin, official language in countries of origin, place of residence in South Africa, primary position in the household, occupation, lowering of educational status, marital status, educational level, type of permit used to enter South Africa, current resident status, proficiency in English, understanding of South African languages, prioritisation of survival means, assistance gained from network connections, evaluation of the South African job market, the values of the livelihood capitals and the capital factors. The data from the quantitative questions helped in yielding highly reliable and valid scores (Creswell et al., 2003). Overall evaluation of the combined six main livelihood capitals was also done and a total of 100% was arrived at. This makes an assumption that 100% is the perfect position whereby all the livelihood capitals are optimally available to the participants. The migrant women are affected differently by their access and possession of different livelihood capitals.

These livelihood capitals were evaluated from South Africa's prevailing socio-economic situation whereby the migrant women and all other migrants are vulnerable to some extent, possess some capacities, and are limited to some degree by policies; institutional arrangements and processes. They also employ certain livelihood strategies in order to achieve livelihood outcomes in South Africa (DFID, 1999).

5.2.2 The qualitative design

The questionnaire had also a number of qualitative questions that allowed the participants to give the answers in their own words. The questions that required qualitative responses included how the migrant women managed more than one job at a time, how they lowered their qualifications in order to earn a livelihood, why they value marriage, how the migrant women communicate with locals in the absence of English language knowledge, list of other networks and connections, and advantages of the available networks, the migrant women's overall feeling about the job market in South Africa, their view of the job market from a women's perspective, and general comments of their coping and adaptation in South Africa. When used along with the quantitative method, the qualitative method assists the researcher to better understand and interpret the complex reality of a certain phenomenon and the inferences of quantitative data (Mack et al., 2005). Data collection in a qualitative study is time-consuming and it is therefore imperative that all useful information must be captured by suitable means. However, in this instance the diversity of the participants meant that the opinions and responses will assist in shading light on the migrant women's coping and adaptation mechanisms in South Africa. The factors that were not captured by the quantitative instrument were identified as spaces were provided for the participants to include some of the information they have on their socio-economic coping and adaptation in South Africa.

The migrant women's ability to cope and adapt in South Africa could have been dependent on the identified six capitals they already possessed or what they could have acquired as they resided in South Africa. The migrant women were asked to list some of the livelihoods factors that enabled them to survive in South Africa. To control the information, a list of these capitals was predetermined. These were derived from the theoretical framework, that is human, social, economic, physical, political and cultural capitals. The capital factors were also predetermined under each livelihood capital. The participants were requested to evaluate their situations in the host environment. Demographic and socio-economic characteristics of the migrant women were also solicited from the participants.

5.3   THE RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The main research question that was addressed was:

- What is the main role of the different livelihood capitals in building coping and adaptation mechanisms for migrant women in South Africa?

The research question was to determine the main role of the different livelihood capitals in building coping and adaptation mechanisms of African migrant women in South Africa. The demographic and socio-economic characteristics of the migrants selected made it possible to evaluate how well the livelihood capitals and the identified factors influenced the coping and adaptation of the migrant women in South Africa.

The general aim of the study was to investigate the socio-economic coping and adaptation mechanisms of African migrant women in South Africa. The intention was to determine the factors that made migrant women survive and how these factors enhanced their resilience in a host country by utilising the livelihood factors identified and the other factors that they suggested. There has been an influx of African migrants to South Africa, including women, and this trend has surged because of the social, economic, environmental and political volatile situations in most African countries as discussed in Chapters 3 and 4. The framework for data collection methodology was anchored on the demographic and socio-economic characteristics of the migrant women. The six livelihood capitals and the identified capital factors were discussed in the conceptual and theoretical foundations of the study in Chapter 2. The livelihood capitals portray the resilience of the migrant women. These six livelihood capitals reflect on the probable factors that may be the potential of enhancing the socio-economic coping and adaptation of migrants in host communities, bearing in mind that there are a number of socio-economic challenges facing South Africa. South Africa can implement some of the mechanisms the migrant women are employing to address the challenges among the local communities.

5.4   POPULATION AND SAMPLING PROCEDURES

A study conducted by the Forced Migration Studies Programme at the University of the Witwatersrand in 2005, corresponded with the norm that urban centres remain the primary destination for migrants. Most migrants are found in all urban settlements of South Africa such as Bloemfontein, Johannesburg, Pretoria, Cape Town and Durban. However, migrants in South Africa are also found all over the country, even in the remotest parts and rural areas. Johannesburg and Pretoria, for instance, had a migrant population increase from 4.8% in 1996 to 5.4% in 2001 (Singh, 2005). This number has risen sharply because of the continued inflows of foreigners into the country. According to the Stats SA (2001), national census figures for the city of Johannesburg indicated that the number of migrants grew from 65 205 in 1996 to 102 325 in 2001. These are conservative figures as many foreigners and migrants do not participate in censuses and there are also many illegal migrants in the city of Johannesburg.

5.4.1   Sampling and sampling procedures of metropolitan areas/cities

African migrant women in South African urban areas constituted the population of the study (De Vos et al., 2011). As indicated in Table 5.1, the migrant women from 23 of the 50 SSA countries who reside in the urban areas, especially the six metropolitan cities of South Africa, were the focus of this study. The study included migrant women in Bloemfontein, Johannesburg, Pretoria, Ekurhuleni, Durban and Cape Town who arrived in South Africa after 1994, who resided there and have livelihood. The metropolitan cities were the urban nodes where the study population was drawn from.

A total of 332 respondents successfully completed the questionnaires. The actual sample of the respondents by metropolitan cities of Bloemfontein (82), Cape Town (81), Durban (78), Ekurhuleni (24), Johannesburg (36), Pretoria (31) and their country of origin are indicated in Table 5.1.

The multiple stage sampling technique was employed in this study. First, four of the nine provinces of South Africa were selected. These were the Free State, Gauteng, KwaZulu-Natal and the Western Cape. Gauteng, KwaZulu-Natal and the Western Cape Provinces were selected because they were the economic hubs of the country. However, the Free State Province was selected because of its proximity and availability of the respondents to the researcher. The second stage was the ballot selection of the metropolitan cities. The six metropolitan cities were randomly selected. These were Bloemfontein from the Free State; Johannesburg, Pretoria, Ekurhuleni from Gauteng, Durban from KwaZulu-Natal; and Cape Town from the Western Cape Province.

The sample was drawn from the migrant women in the six metropolitan cities. The total number of international migrants in South Africa was not known due to multiple dynamics of migration issues in South Africa, let alone the exact number of migrant women. The information available from Statistics South Africa (STATS SA, 2014) office indicated that the numbers of people leaving South Africa is less than the arrivals as noted over a fourteen-year period. This means that more people are migrating into South Africa.

TABLE 5.1   NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS PER PROVINCE AND METROPOLITAN CITY

Province	Metropolitan area	Country of origin		Number of respondents	Percentage of total
Gauteng	Pretoria	Zimbabwe	18	31	9.4
		Nigeria	6		
		Malawi	3		
		Ghana	2		
		DRC	1		
		Cameroon	1		
	Johannesburg	Zimbabwe	21	36	10.8
		Zambia	2		
		Uganda	1		
		Nigeria	3		
		Mozambique	5		
		Malawi	2		
		Cameroon	1		
		DRC	1		
	Ekurhuleni	Zimbabwe	18	24	7.2
		Mozambique	3		
		Benin	1		
		Nigeria	1		
		Ivory Coast	1		
Free State	Bloemfontein	Zimbabwe	41	82	24.7
		Uganda	1		
		Rwanda	1		
		Nigeria	11		
		Lesotho	7		
		Kenya	2		
		Ghana	10		
		Ethiopia	1		
		Cameroon	6		
		DRC	2		
Western Cape	Cape Town	Zimbabwe	40	81	24.4
		Angola	1		
		Cameroon	8		
		Nigeria	6		
		Congo	1		
		DRC	16		
		Malawi	1		
		Senegal	1		
		Somalia	1		
		Rwanda	1		
		Mauritius	1		
		Tanzania	1		
		Zambia	1		
		Uganda	2		
KwaZulu-Natal	Durban	Zimbabwe	49	78	23.5
		DRC	15		
		Burundi	5		
		Eretria	1		
		Ethiopia	2		
		Nigeria	2		
		Kenya	1		
		Mozambique	2		
		Zambia	1		
Total				**332**	**100**

Source: Survey results (2016)**.**

The socio-economic coping and adaptation mechanisms employed by African migrant women in South Africa

Most of the African migrant women arrived and continue to arrive by road through popular borders such as Zimbabwe (Beitbridge), Lesotho (multiple entry points), Mozambique (Lebombo), Swaziland (multiple entry points), and Botswana (multiple entry points) (Tati, 2008). Other migrant women from other parts of Africa travelled and continue to travel by air and use airports such as O.R. Tambo International Airport in Ekurhuleni metropolitan city, Cape Town International Airport, and the King Shaka International Airport in Durban metropolitan city. According to the Department of Home Affairs in 2014, sea arrivals in South Africa have also been recorded and the entry ports vary, although the biggest ones are the Cape Town and Durban harbours. It should be noted that the information as supplied by STATS SA (2014) included tourist arrivals that came to South Africa for holiday but were not necessarily migrants to be considered for the study. This was observed during the data collection process because none of the participants said that they used sea transport to enter South Africa.

Many African migrants are also found in Bloemfontein, Cape Town, Durban and Port Elizabeth. These are mostly economic migrants (Bartram, 2013), refugees and asylum seekers from the DRC, Burundi, Rwanda, Somalia, Nigeria, Cameroon and Sierra Leone. According to Singh (2005), the migrants in Cape Town are not concentrated in the inner city such as in Johannesburg and Durban, but are scattered in nationality-based clusters all over Cape Town. In this study, the migrant women were categorised as voluntary migrants and involuntary migrants. Voluntary migrants constituted skilled (5), business people (4), a retired person (1), students (22), those joining their spouses (9), those uniting with their families (5) and born in South Africa (1). Involuntary migrants were refugees/asylum seekers (43), visitors who apparently were not visiting but to seek a livelihood (194), border jumpers/illegal or trafficked (30). The information from the literature study assisted the researcher to reach the migrant nodal zones in the various metropolitan cities. For instance, in Durban the migrant women were concentrated in the inner city, in Cape Town many migrants tend to live close to the railway routes between Cape Town and Wynberg (as in Observatory); Rwandese were found in Retreat, a suburb in Cape Town; Somalians in Bellville, and Angolans in Elsies River, Goodwood and Parow (Singh, 2005).

5.4.2 The sampling procedures

Purposive sampling or the judgemental procedure was used in the study. This sampling was exclusively based on the judgement of the researcher in that the sample should be made up of elements that contain the most characteristics, representative or typical attributes of the

population that best serve the purpose of the study (De Vos et al., 2011). The one main criterion was that the migrant women must be from SSA. Only 332 migrant women who were willing to participate in the survey.

The first part of the sampling involved the purposive sampling of foreign women in Bloemfontein. Having resided in the Free State Province in Bloemfontein for more than five years, it was easy for the researcher to navigate the area and also access the participants. The initial plan was to survey African migrant women who have been in South Africa for five years and longer, but during the survey it was discovered that some of the women stated that they had only arrived recently on their second or third trip to the South Africa. This highlighted that circular migration is also very rampant in SSA. Some of them have resided in South Africa longer than in their countries of origin because they had visitor visas that allowed them to come and go as they would like. Since the study was about their coping and adaptation mechanisms in South Africa it made sense to include them. It became clear that the timeframe of being in the country, later did not matter much.

During the data collection process, some of the participants decided not to proceed further with completion of the questionnaire. Some were very emotional because of their experience during the recent 2015 xenophobia attacks, especially in the Durban metropolitan city, and therefore were not willing to participate. This was typical of some of the challenges that the researcher came across and since the initial target was 400 participants, this number was reduced to 332, an 83% response rate. In Johannesburg and Ekurhuleni, the participants were very sceptical about the survey. They stated that they were being harassed by the law enforcements agents regardless of their residential statuses. The Somali community in Cape Town was very reluctant to talk and hence very few participated. Some migrant women were resentful to the researcher and the research assistants and only wanted to sell their goods and services. It was interesting to come across a Somali lady who mentioned that she was 29 years of age, have resided in a refugee camp in Dadaab, Kenya, all her life and then decided to move to South Africa about five years ago. This lady was illiterate, having not been able to attend school.

With the information from the literature that migrant women are found in various places of the selected cities, a number of trips were made to those areas. Snowballing was thereafter utilised as one participant would identify fellow citizens and relatives, or even other foreigners from nearby areas. According to Alston and Bowles (2003), snowballing was ideal as it was evident that without utilising this method it would have been difficult to access appropriate participants

for the intended study. The African migrant women in the other metropolitan cities were also easily identified and located through walk-ins in their businesses or offices as some were known to the researcher personally. Professional women would identify other women in their networks since qualitative and quantitative data were solicited from the consenting participants.

Bloemfontein is the major city in the Mangaung Metropolitan Municipality which is in the heartland of South Africa. It is also the provincial capital of the Free State Province. This city was selected because of its convenience and proximity to the university where the study was based. The researcher had no problem locating the migrant women, mostly in the Central Business District (CBD) and surrounding residential areas because the researcher was familiar with the town and its environment.

A total of 82 respondents were sampled from Bloemfontein. Questionnaires were administered to the women and, simultaneously, the informal face-to-face interviews were conducted with the participants. Verbal consent was sought from the participants to complete the questionnaires. Some of the participants were busy with their jobs, especially the hairdressers and shop assistants, and the questionnaires were therefore completed on their behalf. Questions were read out to them and they gave the responses. Some of the women were busy with their children and the researcher waited for participants to attend to the children and then completed the questionnaire. This resulted in them taking longer to complete the questionnaire or they alternatively asked the researcher to complete the questionnaires on their behalf.

In Bloemfontein, the University of the Free State and the Central University of Technology, the CBD, and residential areas such as the Brandwag suburb, the Rocklands, Phahameng and Namibia locations were visited. In the business premises where these migrant women worked or operated from, permission was sought from the owners of the businesses to grant permission to interview the participants.

Johannesburg has been, and remains a node of trade and continues to be seen as a hub of economic opportunities by locals and internationals. Migration to this city was initially fuelled by the mining industry, and remained so till today. It is also preferred by African migrants and also migrant women because of its centrality and livelihood opportunities that the city affords (Thompson, 2012). There were many other migrants who were not employed but who reside in Johannesburg and are mostly engaged in the informal sector. The researcher met with a few of them at Park Station, a popular railway and road transport. Park Station is the central railway

station in Johannesburg and is a link to other cities and places in South Africa. It is also the largest railway station in Africa. There is also a reliable road station for travellers to and from other SADC countries. Refugees and asylum seekers in Johannesburg are mainly from the DRC, Somalia, Ethiopia, Burundi, Zimbabwe, and Angola and tend to live in congested apartments of the inner city (Makhema, 2009). In Johannesburg, the participants were drawn from the CBD, Hillbrow, Yeoville and Park Station. Out of 36 respondents from Johannesburg, 21 of the respondents were from Zimbabwe, 2 from Zambia, 1 from Uganda, 3 from Nigeria, 5 from Mozambique, 2 from Malawi, 1 from Cameroon, and 1 from the DRC.

Pretoria is the capital city of South Africa. In the study, the places visited were the CBD near the main train and bus stations, Sunnyside, Pretoria East (Lynwood), Centurion and Olievenhoutbosch Township. Out of 31 respondents from Pretoria, 18 were from Zimbabwe, 6 from Nigeria, 3 from Malawi, 2 from Ghana, 1 from the DRC and 1 from Cameroon.

Ekurhuleni, being another major metropolitan city of the Gauteng Province is home to the biggest international airport in South Africa, the O.R. Tambo International Airport, which is the port of entry of migrants from all over the world. The areas visited were Kempton Park, Midrand, Tembisa and Esselen Park. Out of 24 respondents from Ekurhuleni, 18 of the surveyed migrant women were from Zimbabwe, 3 from Mozambique, 1 from Benin, 1 from Nigeria and 1 from the Ivory Coast.

A total sub-sample of 91 respondents were sampled from the Gauteng Province. A few women in Pretoria decided to rather speak, than to complete the questionnaire by hand because of the dynamics of immigrants in South Africa. One woman of Nigerian origin said:

> *I employ a lot of South Africans in my business. I pay taxes to the government and I also contribute a lot to this economy, however still there is no good attitude towards Nigerians.*

The refugees and asylum seekers that mostly resided in Cape Town were from the DRC, Burundi, Rwanda, Angola, Somalia, Nigeria, Cameroon and Sierra Leone. Unlike in Johannesburg and Durban, these migrants are dotted in nationality-based groups all over Cape Town. Most of these live close to train routes between Cape Town and Wynberg. The Rwandese were congregated in Retreat, Somalis in Bellville, and Angolans in Elsies River, Goodwood and Parow. There were also Zimbabweans, Nigerians, Cameroonians, and Zambians that were living in Cape Town and its suburbs (Singh, 2005). During the data collection process, many Somalis were found in Bellville. Zimbabweans, Nigerians, Cameroonians, Angolans and

Zambians were found in Bellville and in other places such as Parow, Delft and the CBD, popularly known as *MaContainer* (the area of containers), where many foreigners own shops made out of container structures.

A total of 81 respondents were randomly surveyed in Cape Town. In Cape Town, the participants were found in the CBD, Parow, Delft Bellville, Rosebank and Brooklyn. This resulted in a total sample size of 332. Out of 81 respondents from Cape Town, 40 were from Zimbabwe, 1 from Angola, 8 from Cameroon, 6 from Nigeria, 1 Congo, 16 from the DRC, 1 from Malawi, 1 from Senegal, 1 from Somalia, 1 from Rwanda, 1 from Mauritius ,1 Tanzania, 1 from Zambia, and 2 from Uganda.

Durban is a home to a number of economic migrants, refugees and asylum seekers mainly from the Great Lakes region (DRC, Burundi, and Rwanda), Somalia, and Ethiopia, Zimbabwe, Zambia and other African countries because of many economic opportunities available in the city. Most migrants choose to stay in the city, particularly around Point Road and St George and West Streets in the city centre. It is yet to be explored what socio-economic mechanisms are available to the migrant women in these locations. These areas were considered to be close to their respective country communities and their residences (Singh, 2005). Using Singh's information, the collection of data was centred in those areas. There was a number of Zimbabweans and Congolese migrant women along Beatrice Road in the CBD. This is one of the biggest commuter transport terminals and small factories where people order goods and services for resale in various parts of Durban and beyond. What caught the attention was the *shelters* that accommodated these migrant women. These shelters were named *MaNdebvu* (long beard), after an Indian owner who rented his premises to these women. Payments were done daily as the women moved from place to place to sell their products. These shelters, however, looked very unsafe and the numerous open electric connections that were visible could expose the residents to a possible disaster.

Seventy-eight respondents were surveyed in Durban. The areas visited in Durban were the CBD, especially the Beatrice Road area where mostly Zimbabweans and other SADC migrants were found, and the Point, a commercial area very close to the Durban beach where mostly West African and East and Central African migrants work and reside. Out of 78 respondents from Durban, 41were from Zimbabwe, 15 from the DRC, 5 from Burundi, 1 Eritrea, 2 from Ethiopia, 2 from Nigeria, 1 from Kenya, 2 from Mozambique, and 1 from Zambia.

5.5   DATA COLLECTION

The data was collected between March and May 2016 by the researcher and two research assistants who were trained and familiarised with the survey process. The survey was conducted both over weekends and during the week. It entailed face-to-face interactions with all the participants through door-to-door shop visits for those that were at their businesses or at their jobs, and also house-to-house visits during weekends for some of the participants. The direct contact with the participants enabled the researcher to get first-hand information and was also be able to observe the coping and adaptation mechanisms of the participants.

5.6   DATA INSTRUMENTS

5.6.1   The questionnaire

Data were collected all at once using a semi-structured questionnaire (see Appendix A). The use of a questionnaire enabled the researcher to collect data by engaging in a distinct type of dialogue with respondents (Olsen and George, 2004). The researcher asked questions relevant to how the women were coping and adapting in South Africa. The socio-economic survival strategies the migrant women were utilising on arrival, soon after arriving and in the long term in the host country, were interrogated. The semi-structured questionnaire was designed such that it was more quantitative than qualitative. The socio-economic variables were demographic characteristics such as period of stay in South Africa, age, educational level, primary position in the household, occupation, marital status and entry permit used. These socio-economic and demographic characteristics had an impact on their overall coping and adaptation in South Africa. The predetermined livelihood capital factors from the six livelihood capitals (human, social, economic, physical, political and cultural) were also put forward for the participants to evaluate. This made the questionnaire to contain both qualitative and quantitative information. The questionnaire was given to the participant to complete, or alternatively, the interviewers would ask the questions and complete it on behalf of the participants. This assisted a lot as some of the participants were busy with their work while answering the questions.

5.6.2   The informal observations and interviews

The idea of observation as suggested by Creswell et al. (2006) was also used as a way of getting information that might not have been captured in full by the questionnaire. The observation that could not be captured by the questionnaire. The involvement of the participants in their work

environment, in their businesses and in their homes, was observed as reiterated by Kawulich (2005). Yogi Bera, an American philosopher, emphasised this aspect by saying that "You can observe a lot by just watching" (Spiegel, 2017). A notebook was used to record the observations during data collection. Notes were jotted down in the process. The participants were interviewed during the questionnaire completion process. Instances where some participants explained that they came to South Africa on a different permit and have since converted to another, the researcher had to further probe as to how the current status assisted in their coping and adaptation in South Africa. Some migrants were making confessions such as "I crossed the border illegally and here I am I have my refugee status, I am registered with the South African Social Security Agency (SASSA). My children are getting child grants and I am happy." These notes were reference points of the participants' emotions that impacted on their coping and adaptation in South Africa. However, the fact that some participants may have dramatised their story was considered strongly, and some observations were therefore not jotted down. No pictures were taken during observation as many migrants were not comfortable that pictures be taken.

5.7 PRETESTING OF THE STRUCTURED QUESTIONNAIRE

Pre-tests for the structured questionnaire was conducted in Bloemfontein with a number of identified migrant women that were easily accessible to the researcher due to its proximity and convenience for the researcher. After the pre-test, adjustments were accordingly made to the questionnaire. Data collection was then first completed from the few individuals easily accessible in Bloemfontein before the researcher embarked on the trips to Johannesburg, Pretoria, Ekurhuleni, Cape Town and Durban. The location of the respondents was determined from the literature study which gave an indication of the concentration of the migrant locations in various metropolitan cities in South Africa. It was interesting to find that the places mentioned in the literature were the same places where most of the migrants were found.

5.8 DATA ANALYSIS

After the data collection, the collected data were first cleaned before entry into an IBM SPSS Statistics template designed in line with the semi-structured questionnaire. During the design of the data template, quantitative information and livelihood capitals and capital factors were coded; numerical variables were left in a continuous form, while open-ended questions were captured as stated by the respondents. The qualitative responses on the inherent socio-economic

coping and adaptation mechanisms used by migrant women were subjected to the thematic analysis as outlined in the Chapter 6.

The qualitative data on socio-economic coping and adaptation mechanisms used by migrant women were assigned labels to summarise the information obtained into four themes for indexing and categorisation. These four themes are: family support, entrepreneurial support, employment and humanitarian support. Quantitative descriptive statistics such as mean, frequencies and percentages were used to describe the socio-economic characteristics such as age, marital status, and duration of stay in South Africa, level of education, country of origin and official languages of the migrant's home country. These statistics were presented in tables, pie charts and radar charts.

To determine the most prominent socio-economic coping and adaptation mechanisms for African migrant women, multi-attribute contingent ratings of the identified survival mechanisms were conducted using mean scores estimated from the sampled respondents. Similarly, the multi-attribute contingent ratings using mean scores were used to determine factors that influence the choice of socio-economic coping and adoption mechanisms of African migrant women. This rating approach was used to rate the human, social, economic, physical, political and cultural capitals to identify the most prominent indicator that influences African migrant women's coping and adaptation. The ratings of the various capitals were presented in tables and radar charts. An evaluation of the job market in South Africa was done using Kendall's coefficient of concordance. Kendall's evaluation uses the means from the individual responses to rank the various indicators considered under the South African job market.

Cross-tabulations with Pearson's chi-square test of association was used to find the association between the identified short- and long-term survival mechanisms and the socio-economic characteristics of the migrant women. The survival mechanisms were cross-tabulated with socio-economic characteristics such as age category, educational level, official language and marital status. IBM SPSS Statistics 23.0 was utilised in the analysis.

5.9   VALIDITY AND RELIABILITY OF THE RESEARCH

There is debate on using validity and reliability when using qualitative methods for research. Some scholars said that validity and reliability should be ignored because they are aligned with quantitative research methods and that there are no agreed standards for validation (British

Psychological Society, 2011). Others argued that validity and reliability are critical to represent reality and truth for qualitative research (Fink, 2002).

For this study, validity that prevails on trustworthiness of the research was supported by triangulation through utilising the questionnaire, the informal interviews and observations while in the field. The prior knowledge of the areas and the understanding of the nuances of the migrant women made it easy to approach the participants. Furthermore, personal experiences of the researcher were relied on to ensure validity. Being a migrant woman, the researcher had knowledge and information on the dynamics and issues that were affecting the migrants in South Africa

5.10 SUMMARY

The study utilised the mixed method research design which incorporated both the qualitative aspects of the demographic information sought from the respondents and the quantitative method of evaluating the livelihood capital factors in order to come up with the best way to determine how the migrant women coped and adapted in South Africa. The population sample of the migrants was gained from the metropolitan cities of Bloemfontein, Johannesburg, Pretoria, Ekurhuleni, Durban and Cape Town that were randomly selected using the ballot method of selecting. Bloemfontein was chosen because of its convenience in the sample and the other cities were selected because of their economic standing in the South African economy. The research question and purpose of the research to discover how the African migrant women were coping and adapting in South Africa were explained. The sampled metropolitan cities and the number of respondents from each of the cities were explained. The data instruments which is the questionnaire and observations were used to gather the data in the sampled cities. The data collection procedures were also discussed as well as the data analysis process, the validity and reliability of the research. The next chapter explains the research results in detail.

Chapter 6

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

6.1 INTRODUCTION

The results of the study are discussed and analysed in this chapter. The observed coping and adaptation mechanisms, demographic and socio-economic characteristics are discussed at the beginning to set the stage for the exploration of the socio-economic coping and adaptation mechanisms that African migrant women employed in South Africa. As stated in Chapter 4, the respondents were drawn from four provinces, namely Gauteng, Free State, Western Cape and KwaZulu-Natal, and from the six metropolitan cities of Bloemfontein, Johannesburg, Pretoria, Ekurhuleni, Durban and Cape Town. In the Gauteng Province, 31 participants responded in Pretoria, 36 in Johannesburg, and 24 in Ekurhuleni. In the Free State Province, 82 respondents were surveyed from Bloemfontein, a city in close proximity to the researcher. In KwaZulu-Natal 78 respondents participated in Durban and finally, 81 respondents were surveyed in Cape Town in the Western Cape Province. A total of 332 respondents were surveyed. All the respondents migrated to South Africa and their settlement patterns and local experiences in South Africa differed depending on various factors, namely demographic and socio-economic characteristics, and coping and adaptation mechanisms that provided valuable insights on how migrant women cope and adapt in a foreign country.

6.2 EXISTING COPING AND ADAPTATION MECHANISMS IN SOUTH AFRICA

During the research, the researcher observed and took notes on how the migrant women were coping and adapting in South Africa. Although most of the observations took place in Bloemfontein, the observations were done throughout the country during March and April 2016 when the actual data collection took place. On arrival in South Africa, migrant women brought with them some skills, capacities and capabilities. Those were in the form of inherent talents, qualifications and skills. They brought with them some built-in coping mechanisms such as hairdressing, knitting, weaving and entrepreneurial skills which they nurtured in their home countries. These mechanisms facilitated their initial coping and also their adaptation and integration into the host societies. This was confirmed by Ojong (2002) that some African migrant women in South Africa possessed several acquired coping mechanisms from their

countries of origin such as handiwork, professional skills and entrepreneurial skills. The women who migrated to South Africa brought with them their culture, their traditional dresses and their food, which made them acquire both positive and negative identities. Their positive identities made them stand out as migrants who were hard-working or good at what they did, and conversely, negative identities made them easy targets for discrimination (Ojong, 2002). Migrant women from Nigeria, Cameroon, Senegal, Malawi, Ghana, DRC, Angola and Zimbabwe, for example, had talents such as handcrafting or basketry and hairdressing which they utilised in South Africa.

There were many hairdressers, fast-food outlets, furniture shops, grocery shops and designer clothing shops owned by women from Eritrea, Somalia, Ghana, DRC, Congo-Brazzaville, Nigeria and Zimbabwe. These entrepreneurs employed both their compatriots and local South Africans in their businesses. These migrants already had human, social and financial livelihood capitals, resilience and capacities that enabled them to set up businesses. They already had networks from their home countries and local South Africans that they utilised in South Africa.

It was also observed that Ghanaian migrant women hairdressers also recruited fellow countrymen/women in Ghana and facilitated their migration to South Africa to work in their hairdressing salons. Informal interviews in the salons in Bloemfontein revealed that there was a strong belief by South Africans and other African migrant women that Ghanaians were the best hairdressers and that they were very innovative with hairstyling, especially in natural African hairstyles. These Ghanaian migrant women had created an employment hub for their fellow countrywomen in South Africa.

It was further observed that Nigerian migrant women seemed to be capitalising on their numbers and networks in urban areas, especially in the metropolitan cities in South Africa. They had opened food shops where indigenous Nigerian, Ghanaian and Cameroonian foods, attires and medicinal products are sold to the migrant population. These shops were in strategic places for ease of access by the number of West African people in South Africa. Experience had also shown that in the formal business sector, migrant women were among the first black women to occupy certain positions which were previously occupied by white South Africans. Jobs such as supervision in catering departments in hospitals, lecturers and head of departments at universities were examples of the empowering contribution of migrant women to the South African society. Migrant women had resorted to working and studying in South Africa to obtain university degrees as another way of improving their financial situations. South Africa still had

the best economic prospects to offer to migrant women in the African continent (Adepoju, 2007). Migrant women from Mozambique, Angola and Lesotho were observed to be residing in the high-density suburbs in South Africa, usually termed black residential areas, where they had their own small businesses or were working in groups in hairdressing businesses.

Zimbabwean, Zambian and Tanzanian migrant women in South Africa had strong networks, associations and societies that had roots in their home countries. The Zimbabwean women who resided in Johannesburg, especially in the Hillbrow, Yeoville, Berea and other areas nearby Park Station, were popularly referred to as *Injiva* (simply meaning Zimbabwean(s) in South Africa). Trading of goods and services formed the biggest links that Zimbabweans had with their home country. This was also reiterated by Peberdy (2000) who explained the extent of these informal trading in Southern Africa that are hardly ever documented. Old and new entrants into these networks handled informal money transfers, movement of goods and passenger transport businesses all over Johannesburg. That type of trade was termed *malayitsha* business (meaning "one who carries a heavy load"). That trade facilitated easy socio-economic coping and adaptation of migrant women who referred to South Africa as their second home country.

Ethiopians, Somalis and Eritrean migrant women were observed to be mostly wives of rich business men from the same countries. They worked in their husbands' shops and/or had their own small businesses. It was again observed that Congolese from the DRC and Congo-Brazzaville usually had hairdressing businesses with some of them engaging in selling beauty products, especially skin lightening creams which are in great demand in South Africa. Other migrant women from the Ivory Coast, Kenya, Burundi, Rwanda, Mauritius, Uganda and Benin were also working and trading in their own business or formally employed in South Africa. This entrepreneurship mentality of the migrant women had a good advantage for local South Africans to learn from them and adopt for their own advantage, considering different policy advantages available for local South Africans.

6.3 DEMOGRAPHIC AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC CHARACTERISTICS OF THE RESPONDENTS

The demographic and socio-economic characteristics of the migrant women were the main determinants of coping and adaptation of migrant women in the host communities (Warfa et al., 2012). The participants were asked about their period of stay in South Africa, their ages,

countries of origin, official languages in their home countries, their places of residence in South Africa, their primary positions in their households in South Africa, their occupations, educational levels, marital statuses, their original entry permits and current resident statuses in South Africa, their proficiency in the English language and their knowledge of other local languages in South Africa, their initial coping mechanisms and long-term adaptation, and finally, the network systems that they are making use of in South Africa.

All the respondents were above 18 years of age, migrated to South Africa from 23 SSA countries and lived in the six metropolitan cities that were sampled for the study. The migrant women entered South Africa under various visas or permits, mainly visitor visas, study permits and some who have illegally entered the country. The migrant women who participated in the study were from the following 23 countries: Angola, Benin, Burundi, Cameroon, Congo-Brazzaville, DRC, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Ghana, Ivory Coast, Kenya, Lesotho, Malawi, Mauritius, Mozambique, Nigeria, Rwanda, Senegal, Somalia, Tanzania, Uganda, Zambia, and Zimbabwe. The actual number of respondents by country of origin is indicated in Table 6.1.

TABLE 6.1   RESPONDENTS BY COUNTRY OF ORIGIN

Country	Number of respondents	Percentage
Angola	1	0.3
Benin	1	0.3
Burundi	5	1.5
Cameroon	16	4.8
Congo-Brazzaville	1	0.3
DRC	35	10.5
Eritrea	1	0.3
Ethiopia	3	0.9
Ghana	12	3.6
Ivory coast	1	0.3
Kenya	3	0.9
Lesotho	7	2.1
Malawi	6	1.8
Mauritius	1	0.3
Mozambique	10	3.0
Nigeria	29	8.7
Rwanda	2	0.6
Senegal	1	0.3
Somalia	1	0.3
Tanzania	1	0.3
Uganda	4	1.2
Zambia	4	1.2
Zimbabwe	187	56.3
Total	332	100

Source: Survey results (2016).

The majority of the respondents were from Zimbabwe (187), followed by Democratic Republic of Congo (35) and Nigeria (29). Zimbabwean migrant women formed the majority of the respondents because they were the majority in South Africa which was attributed to their roots and Zimbabwe's proximity to South Africa (STATS SA, 2014). Zimbabweans were also the most willing group to participate in the survey, compared to the migrant women from the other 22 countries.

Since the study was not exhaustive of the African migrants in South Africa, it still confirms the South African open-door policy on all types of migrants from many different African countries and beyond.

6.3.1 Duration of stay of the respondents

The respondents were asked about the time they had lived in South Africa. The respondents indicated that they had been in South Africa from a few days to more than 20 years as indicated in Table 6.2. This means that the migration flows to South Africa date back to before the down of Apartheid in South Africa and continued to the time of the study. The majority of the respondents (320) arrived in South Africa after independence as backed by the literature which indicated that migration flows into the country increased post-1994 due to the progressive Constitution (McDonald et al., 2000). Two hundred and sixty-one (261) migrant women indicated that they had been in South Africa for up to nine years. Of these 261, 122 indicated that they had been in the country for between a few weeks and four years. They were from Zimbabwe (64), DRC (15), Nigeria (14), Ghana (8), Cameroon (6), Malawi (4), Uganda (3), Kenya (2), and one each from Benin, Ethiopia, Lesotho, Mozambique, Tanzania and Zambia. One hundred and thirty-nine respondents had been in the country for between five and nine years. They were from Zimbabwe (90), Nigeria (9), DRC (9), Cameroon (5), Lesotho (4), Mozambique (4), Burundi (2), Ethiopia (2), Ghana (2), Malawi (2), Rwanda (2), and one each from Congo-Brazzaville, Eritrea, Ivory Coast, Kenya, Mauritius, Senegal, Uganda and Zanzibar. Only 11.1% (37) of the respondents had been in the country for between 10 and 14 years. They were from Zimbabwe (14), DRC (8), Cameroon (4), Nigeria (4), Burundi (2), Mozambique (2), and one each from Lesotho, Somalia and Zambia. Seventeen of the respondents had been in the country for between 15 and 19 years. They were from Zimbabwe (8), DRC (2), Ghana (2), Nigeria (2), and one each from Angola, Burundi and Zambia. Out of the total number of respondents, only 3.6% (12) indicated that they had been in the country for 20 years and more. They were from Zimbabwe (7), Mozambique (3), DRC (1) and Lesotho (1).

Five of the respondents did not disclose when they arrived in the country. It was observed that some people who came to South Africa many decades ago had acquired citizenship and they no longer considered themselves as migrants and were therefore excluded in the survey.

TABLE 6.2   RESPONDENTS BY COUNTRY OF ORIGIN AND DURATION OF STAY IN SOUTH AFRICA

Country of origin	Duration in South Africa in years						
	0–4	5–9	10–14	15–19	20–24	Did not say	Total
Angola	0	0	0	1	0	0	1
Benin	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
Burundi	0	2	2	1	0	0	5
Cameroon	6	5	4	0	0	1	16
Congo-Brazzaville	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
DRC	15	9	8	2	1	0	35
Eritrea	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
Ethiopia	1	2	0	0	0	0	3
Ghana	8	2	0	2	0	0	12
Ivory Coast	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
Kenya	2	1	0	0	0	0	3
Lesotho	1	4	1	0	1	0	7
Malawi	4	2	0	0	0	0	6
Mauritius	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
Mozambique	1	4	2	0	3	0	10
Nigeria	14	9	4	2	0	0	29
Rwanda	0	2	0	0	0	0	2
Senegal	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
Somalia	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
Tanzania	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
Uganda	3	1	0	0	0	0	4
Zambia	1	1	1	1	0	0	4
Zimbabwe	64	90	14	8	7	4	187
Total	122	139	37	17	12	5	332

Source: Survey results (2016).

It was observed that getting legal citizenship in South Africa is not necessarily determined by the duration of staying in the country. There are migrant women who stayed more than 15 years, but they still do not have any legal status or correct papers in South Africa. They simply stay in the country by regularly renewing their asylum seeker papers within three to six months. Hence, the South African government should devise a clear policy such as is done by some European countries to legalise the status of the migrant women in order to utilise their human capital resources.

6.3.2 Age of the respondents

Table 6.3 indicates the age ranges of the respondents according to their countries of origin. One respondent from the DRC decided not to disclose her age and her wish was respected.

TABLE 6.3   RESPONDENTS AGES BY COUNTRY OF ORIGIN

Country	Age ranges in years						
	18–29	30–39	40–49	50–59	60+	Did not say	Total
Angola	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
Benin	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
Burundi	1	3	0	1	0	0	5
Cameroon	4	9	3	0	0	0	16
Congo-Brazzaville	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
DRC	10	17	6	1	0	1	35
Eritrea	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
Ethiopia	3	0	0	0	0	0	3
Ghana	5	4	3	0	0	0	12
Ivory Coast	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
Kenya	2	1	0	0	0	0	3
Lesotho	2	5	0	0	0	0	7
Malawi	2	3	1	0	0	0	6
Mauritius	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
Mozambique	2	7	1	0	0	0	10
Nigeria	8	13	7	1	0	0	29
Rwanda	1	1	0	0	0	0	2
Senegal	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
Somalia	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
Tanzania	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
Uganda	0	2	1	1	0	0	4
Zambia	2	2	0	0	0	0	4
Zimbabwe	67	86	24	8	2	0	187
Total	111	157	48	12	3	1	332

Source: Survey results (2016).

One hundred and eleven (111) respondents, which represents 33.4%, were between 18 and 29 years of age. They were from Zimbabwe (67), DRC (10), Nigeria (8), Ghana (5), Cameroon (4), Ethiopia (3), Kenya (2), Lesotho (2), Malawi (2), Mozambique (2), Zambia (2), Benin (1), Burundi (1), Rwanda (1) and Tanzania (1). One hundred and fifty-seven (47.3%) respondents were between 30 and 39 years of age. They were from Zimbabwe (86), DRC (17), Nigeria (13), Cameroon (9), Mozambique (7), Lesotho (5), Ghana (4), Burundi (3), Malawi (3), Uganda (2), Zambia (2), Angola (1), Eritrea (1), Kenya (1), Mauritius (1), Rwanda (1) and Senegal (1).

Forty-eight (14.5%) respondents were between 40 and 49 years of age. They were from Zimbabwe (24), Nigeria (7), DRC (6), Cameroon (3), Ghana (3), Congo-Brazzaville (1), Ivory Coast (1), Malawi (1), Mozambique (1) and Uganda (1). Twelve (3.6%) respondents were between 50 and 59 years of age and they were from Zimbabwe (8), Burundi (1), DRC (1), Nigeria (1) and Uganda (1). Only 3 (0.9%) of the respondents from Zimbabwe (2) and Somalia (1) were 60 years and above. A total of 157 respondents were between 30 and 39 years of age which were considered to be within the highly productive age group. That was indicated by the respondents' productivity capacities as would be seen by their contribution towards their coping and adaptation in South Africa.

More than 80% (268) of the respondents were in the age group 18–49 years. This group of migrants was part of the working-age share as defined by Bongaarts (2001) as the productive age. That reflected on the productivity of the migrant women in order to cope and adapt in South Africa. The high ratio of working-age people compared to the total population clearly impacted economic growth which could be an attribute of migrant women in that instance (Van der Ven and Smits, 2011). This implies that the respondents were able to earn a livelihood and managed to cope and adapt. They could work in any job, adjusted to any condition such as selling in the streets or even working at a salon in order to cope and adapt. That productive age could be useful to South Africa as it would assist in growing the economy. It would also be a worthy consideration by the policymakers to try and tape into such a productive capacity, especially if they may have skills that would be required for a developing economy like South Africa.

6.3.3 Marital status of migrant women

The marital status of the migrant women had impacted both negatively and positively on how they were coping and adapting in South Africa. More than half (173 or 52.1%) of the migrant women were married, 105 (31.6%) of them were single while the rest were either cohabiting (0.6%), engaged (0.3%), widowed (6.3%), divorced (2.7%), separated (2.4%), never married (3.3%) or decided not to disclose their statuses (0.7) as indicated in Table 6.4.

TABLE 6.4   RESPONDENTS' MARITAL STATUS BY COUNTRY OF ORIGIN

Country	Single	Married	Widowed	Never married	Divorced	Separated	Cohabi-ting	Engaged	Did not say	Total
Angola	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Benin	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Burundi	1	2	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	5
Cameroon	6	8	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	16
Congo-Brazzaville	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
DRC	5	22	4	1	1	1	1	0	0	35
Eritrea	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
Ethiopia	0	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	3
Ghana	7	3	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	12
Ivory Coast	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Kenya	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3
Lesotho	3	2	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	7
Malawi	3	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	6
Mauritius	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Mozambique	8	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	10
Nigeria	4	20	1	0	0	3	0	0	1	29
Rwanda	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
Senegal	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Somalia	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Tanzania	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Uganda	3	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4
Zambia	1	1	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	4
Zimbabwe	61	99	13	4	5	3	1	1	0	187
Total	105	173	21	9	8	11	2	1	2	332

Source: Survey results (2016).

Marriage seemed to be a mechanism that assisted the migrant women in coping and adapting in South Africa. In Spain, research conducted among a number of migrants from developing countries indicated that endogamy was considered a better option of coping soon after arriving in Spain. Migrants from Morocco preferred endogamy most in comparison to others from Ecuador, Argentina, Romania and Colombia (Sánchez-Domínguez, De Valk and Reher, 2011). Educated women in this study did not prefer endogamous marriages but they had nothing against marriage. This correlated with the way the participants valued marriage as a copying mechanism. One hundred and two (102) respondents indicated that they valued marriage as a copying mechanism to a small extent, while 86 of them indicated that they did not value marriage at all as a survival mechanism because they did not benefit from marriage. Gsir (2014) confirmed that marriage could be useful for coping and adaptation because Pakistan migrant

women who migrated to Britain as spouses, utilised marriage to have safe passages to the host country. Evidence of utilisation of the marriage to cope and adapt was further portrayed by Asian women who migrated to rural South Korea to marry, helped with increasing birth rate and also helped with the ageing population gap (Kim et al., 2015). Those migrant women were assured of better welfare, safety and better coping and adaptation. In the Netherlands, marriage to local men by Thai women assisted them to assimilate better into the Dutch society (Suksomboon, 2009). As indicated in Table 6.4, the majority (52.1%) of the women were married. Marriage could therefore be a coping and adaptation mechanism that the migrant women are employing in South Africa. However, the marriage issue will be discussed later to assess how marriage as an institution and also an economic livelihood factor impacts the coping and adaptation of the migrant women in South Africa.

Asked whether being a woman hindered their chances of getting jobs or coping and adapting in South Africa, 130 of the respondents indicated that they were affected and 198 indicated that they were not affected, as indicated in Table 6.5.

TABLE 6.5   IMPACT OF MARITAL STATUS ON JOB SEARCH

Impact of marital status on jobs	Number of respondents	Percentage
Yes	130	39.2
No	198	59.6
Neutral (no comment)	4	1.2
Total	332	100

Source: Survey results (2016).

Those who were affected were from Zimbabwe (74), Nigeria (16), DRC (13), Cameroon (7), Malawi (3), Lesotho (3), Ghana (3), and Mozambique (3), Burundi (2), Zambia (2) Ethiopia (1), Angola (1), Uganda (1) and Rwanda (1). The 198 respondents who indicated they were not affected, were from Zimbabwe (111), DRC (22), Nigeria (13), Ghana (9), Cameroon (8), Mozambique (7), Lesotho (4), Malawi (3), Kenya (3), Burundi (3), Uganda (3) Zambia (2), Ivory Coast (1), Ethiopia (1), Congo-Brazzaville (1), Benin (1), Somalia (1), Eritrea (1), Tanzania (1), Senegal (1) Rwanda (1), and Mauritius (1). Four of the respondents – two from Zimbabwe, and one each from Ethiopia and Cameroon – did not answer the question as they preferred to remain neutral.

The marital status of an individual migrant and the gender aspect could also be limitations to chances of women getting jobs, or devising coping and adaptation mechanisms. Since the

majority of the respondents indicated that their marital status had nothing to do with their getting jobs in the country, that meant marriage had no big influence on getting jobs. Other factors such as educational level, skills and networks had more influence than marital status. This finding was concurrent with Goodman (2004) who indicated that young Sudanese refugees in Kenya prioritised education above getting married and that made them cope and adapt better than others. The positive policies in South Africa that promote gender equality, could be useful for migrant women who are in South Africa to gain economic independence and to break the glass ceiling usually associated with being a woman in the work situation, besides the policymaker should further enforce the policy in pursuance of inclusive approach to nurture equality of all migrants regardless of their marital status.

6.3.3.1 Marriage as a coping and adaptation mechanisms

The issue of marriage as a coping and adaptation mechanism that migrant women could have utilised in the host country was also evaluated. The respondents were required to evaluate their view on marriage as a coping and adapting mechanism. Only 58 (17.7%) respondents indicated that they valued marriage to some extent as a survival mechanism in South Africa. These respondents were from Zimbabwe (34), Nigeria (9), DRC (6), Mozambique (3), Malawi (2), Kenya (1), Cameroon (1), Zambia (1) and Uganda (1). The eighty-seven (26.5%) respondents who indicated that they valued marriage to a large extent as a survival mechanism in South Africa, were from Zimbabwe (50), DRC (9), Nigeria (6), Cameroon (4), Ghana (3) Ethiopia (3), Rwanda (2), Burundi (2), Benin (1), Angola (1), Ivory Coast, Somalia (1), Eritrea (1), Uganda (1), Tanzania (1) and Senegal (1). One hundred and three of the respondents indicated that they did not value marriage at all as a survival mechanism in South Africa. These respondents were from Zimbabwe (53), Nigeria (8), DRC (7), Ghana (7), Cameroon (6), Lesotho (6), Mozambique (5), Malawi (3), Zambia (3), Kenya (2), Burundi (2), and Mauritius (1). Twenty-five respondents (7.6%) indicated that they valued marriage to a small extent as a survival mechanism in South Africa and they were from Zimbabwe (15), DRC (3), Cameroon (3), Nigeria (2), Lesotho (1) and Mozambique (1). Fifty-five (16.8%) respondents indicated that they valued marriage to a moderate extent as a survival mechanism in South Africa and they were from Zimbabwe (31), DRC (10), Nigeria (4), Ghana (2), Cameroon (2), Uganda (2), Malawi (1), Congo-Brazzaville (1), Burundi (1) and Mozambique (1). Four Zimbabweans chose not to say anything on that issue.

It was interesting to note that only 87 respondents regarded marriage as an important coping and adaptation tool in a host country because they stated that they valued marriage to a large extent. However, that could be in contradiction to what came out of a study of Latin American migrant women in Switzerland who, by being married, were employed at levels either below their qualifications or were out rightly excluded from the job market (Riaño, 2003). That was due to the Swiss social practices and immigration policies that prevented migrant women from being integrated into the host community. The informal discussions with some of the respondents indicated that migrant women were not happy about their husbands who came to South Africa and getting into extramarital relationships with local women. Migrant women expressed diverse views about marriage as a coping and adapting tool. They were requested to elaborate on their evaluation. Some 52 migrant women indicated that they were not married so they could not say much.

A large number of migrant women stated during the interview that marriage to them meant varying things as indicated below by their words:

We both help and support each other.

We both contribute to the household.

My husband is taking care of me.

You don't necessarily need to be married to survive.

My husband is supporting me pursue my education to be more marketable.

When you get married you will have more responsibility.

Marriage doesn't help me at all.

It is a partnership more of companionship that comes with a purpose.

I can manage to survive with my husband I have a lot of problems in marriage. Some men are not supportive at all.

If you are married husband might restrict you from working.

My husband is my closest person and also provider.

Security, Provide. I married a local man so that I get citizenship.

You cannot say you have benefited in marriage because you face difficulties in marriage.

Marriage is important for children, pooling of financial resources to help in house front, two sources of income help with acquisition of assets e.g. house.

When you get married a lot of things are being done by men while we women do nothing.

Marriage as a survival strategy leads to women abuse and limited freedom.

I am making it alone, marriage is just for friendship.

I and husband contribute to the welfare. He brought me to S.A. Looks after our kids, money.

> *He helps me look after the children when I am not home, He also helps me in making stuff I bring to S.A. to sale. He is in Zimbabwe with kids.*
>
> *For us the fact that I have kids is a bonus. My children have quality education and my husband pays the bills here and there.*
>
> *My husband has been the sole bread winner at home for the past 4 years. Since I resigned from my job and moved to South Africa.*
>
> *It's better when you help each other in all aspects of life. Above all going home to someone who understands and appreciates you. Reliefs the overwhelming pressure of living in a foreign country.*
>
> *I did not need to marry to survive in South Africa. By the time I got married I was already working in a permanent position for 5 years. I had permanent residency, had bought a car, was renting a 3-bedroom townhouse. Moreover, I married a fellow migrant from my country not indigenous citizen. I married for companionship only.*
>
> *Marriage is a gift from God. You can survive better in a foreign land if you are married. A woman must be under a man, so if you are married you will have someone into supporting you.*
>
> *To survive better in S.A., you need a partner. Things are difficult you need a helper.*
>
> *I had never had a boyfriend who was responsible actually men were taking advantage of me, they want my money.*
>
> *In S.A. for you to survive better you need to be married otherwise you will end up doing prostitution.*
>
> *Men are troublesome, so you can't rely on men. Marriage is a burden at times but it's an institute you have to respect.*
>
> *My husband is taking care of me and children. He does 80% of household responsibilities at home.*
>
> *I got married at 15, being an orphan, he took advantage of me. When I had a miscarriage, and couldn't have kids he started abusing me. I had a heart attack then we divorced.*
>
> *He can protect me from danger and especially in town. He pays for school, accommodation and fees for children.*
>
> *If you are married, you can survive better in S.A., you can assist each other as husband and wife.*

Source: Survey results (2016).

The direct qualitative data from the respondents from three countries was quantified as follows. Two hundred and eighty respondents (251 from Zimbabwe, Nigeria and DRC while 29 were from other sampled countries) gave their opinions on marriage. A scenario of Zimbabweans, Nigerians and migrants from the DRC was used to explain what the respondents said about marriage as a survival tool because the respondents from the three countries contributed to the majority of the respondents.

The responses given by the respondents was summarised into five opinions (Table 6.6): The respondents felt that they contributed equally to the household survival in a marriage, the husbands are the pillars of the households, anything about marriage as a survival tool one can survive regardless of the marital status, marriage means more trouble and others did not want to say.

TABLE 6.6   OPINION ON MARRIAGE IN THE HOUSEHOLD

Opinion	Zimbabweans	Nigerians	DRC
Both of us contribute to household	56 (30%)	9 (31%)	14 (40%)
The husband is the pillar of the house	38 (20%)	3 (11%)	6 (17%)
One can survive regardless of marriage	29 (16%)	7 (24%)	6 (17%)
Marriage means more trouble	23 (12%)	5 (17%)	3 (9%)
No comment	41 (22%)	5 (17%)	6 (17%)
Total	187 (100%)	29 (100%)	35 (100%)

Source: Survey results (2016).

6.3.4   Position of the respondents in their households

Migrant women were asked about their positions in their households in South Africa. As indicated in Table 6.7 the respondents were divided into five categories, namely head/sole breadwinner, wife, mother, relative and other.

TABLE 6.7   POSITION IN THE HOUSEHOLD ACCORDING TO COUNTRY OF ORIGIN

Country	Head/sole breadwinner	Wife	Mother	Relative/ other	Did not say	Total
Zimbabwe	72	90	10	14	1	187
Malawi	2	3	0	1	0	6
Lesotho	3	1	0	3	0	7
Kenya	3	0	0	0	0	3
Ivory coast	0	1	0	0	0	1
Ghana	6	3	0	2	1	12
Ethiopia	0	3	0	0	0	3
DRC	10	22	1	2	0	35
Congo-Brazzaville	0	1	0	0	0	1
Cameroon	5	8	0	3	0	16
Burundi	3	2	0	0	0	5
Zambia	1	2	0	1	0	4
Benin	0	1	0	0	0	1
Angola	0	1	0	0	0	1
Somalia	1	0	0	0	0	1
Eritrea	0	1	0	0	0	1
Uganda	3	1	0	0	0	4
Tanzania	0	1	0	0	0	1
Senegal	0	1	0	0	0	1
Rwanda	0	2	0	0	0	2
Nigeria	6	19	1	3	0	29
Mozambique	6	2	0	2	0	10
Mauritius	1	0	0	0	0	1
Total	122	165	12	31	2	332

Source: Survey results (2016).

One hundred and twenty-two (122) respondents indicated that they were the heads of their households and also the sole breadwinners. They were from Zimbabwe (72), Malawi (2), Lesotho (3), Kenya (3), Ghana (6), DRC (10), Cameroon (5), Burundi (3), Zambia (1), Somalia (1), Uganda (3), Nigeria (6), Mozambique (6) and Mauritius (1). One hundred and sixty-five respondents indicated that they were wives. These women were from Zimbabwe (90), DRC (22), Nigeria (19), Cameroon (8), Malawi (3), Ghana (3), Ethiopia (3), Burundi (2), Zambia (2), Rwanda (2), Mozambique (2), Lesotho (1), Ivory Coast (1), Congo-Brazzaville (1), Benin (1), Angola (1), Eritrea (1), Uganda (1), Tanzania (1) and Senegal (1). Twelve (12) respondents indicated that they were mothers from Zimbabwe (10), DRC (1) and Nigeria (1). Thirty-one (31) of the respondents indicated that they were relatives in their respective households. These women were from Zimbabwe (14), Malawi (1), Lesotho (3), Ghana (2), DRC (2), Cameroon (3), Zambia (1), Nigeria (3) and Mozambique (2). One Zimbabwean and one Ghanaian woman decided not to disclose their positions in their households.

The position in the household also became an issue in terms of coping and adaptation of the migrant women. For instance, being the household heads, and therefore breadwinners of the family, meant that the woman had to make sure they devised coping and adaptation mechanisms regardless of skills, educational status or qualification. It was found that in Tanzania and Ethiopia women-headed households prefer to migrate to the urban areas because of wider income-generating opportunities in urban areas (Baker, 1995, 2012). This confirmed the results of this study, namely that urban areas offered more opportunities for women-headed household. The migrant women in this study were also utilising the variety of options such as informal trading or hairdressing that they can operate from their homes in the metropolitan cities in South Africa.

6.3.5 Education as a coping and adaptation mechanism

Levels of education were important to the coping and adaptation mechanisms employed by migrant women in South Africa. Education was an important human capital that was used as indicated in Table 6.8.

More than half of the respondents (193 out of 332) had a secondary education and 25 had certificates, 36 had diplomas, 5 had technikon qualifications, 18 had university degrees, and 31 had postgraduate qualifications. There was one woman from the DRC who had no education at

all. She was, however, being looked after by her five children who migrated with her from the DRC after fleeing political turmoil in that country.

TABLE 6.8   EDUCATIONAL LEVEL BY COUNTRY OF ORIGIN

Country	Lower primary*	Upper primary*	Secondary	Certifi-cate	Diploma	Technikon qualifica-tion	University degree	Post-graduate qualifica-tion	No education	Total
Zimbabwe	0	12	125	14	15	1	5	15	0	187
Malawi	0	1	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	6
Lesotho	0	2	2	3	0	0	0	0	0	7
Kenya	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	2	0	3
Ivory coast	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Ghana	0	0	9	1	0	0	2	0	0	12
Ethiopia	0	0	2	0	0	0	1	0	0	3
DRC	0	1	18	2	10	0	4	0	0	35
Congo-Brazzaville	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Cameroon	0	1	3	1	2	1	2	6	0	16
Burundi	1	0	2	0	1	0	0	0	1	5
Zambia	0	1	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	4
Benin	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1
Angola	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Somalia	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Eritrea	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
Uganda	0	1	2	0	1	0	0	0	0	4
Tanzania	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Senegal	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Rwanda	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	2
Nigeria	0	0	10	1	5	3	3	7	0	29
Mozambique	1	1	6	2	0	0	0	0	0	10
Mauritius	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Total	2	21	193	25	36	5	18	31	1	332

* Lower primary = Grade 3 (Standard 1); Upper primary = Grade 4–7 (Standard 2–5)

Source: Survey results (2016).

Table 6.8 indicates that the respondents' levels of education varied according to their countries of origin. The certificate qualifications, for instance, were possessed by respondents from Zimbabwe (15), Kenya (2), Rwanda (1) and Nigeria (7). Those with diplomas were from Zimbabwe (15), DRC, (10), Nigeria (5), Cameroon (2), Burundi (1), Eritrea (1), Uganda (1) and Rwanda (1). The five with technikon qualifications were from Zimbabwe (1), Cameroon (1) and Nigeria (3). Those with university degrees were from Zimbabwe (5), DRC (4), Nigeria (3), Ghana (2), Cameroon (2), Benin (1) and Ethiopia (1). Finally, those with postgraduate

qualifications were from Zimbabwe (15), Kenya (2), Cameroon (6), Rwanda (1) and Nigeria (7). The participants were asked if they made use of their education as a coping and adaptation mechanism. They were further asked if the levels of education they possessed impacted on their coping and adaptation in South Africa.

The respondents tended to take up any form of employment regardless of their educational levels. This applied especially for low-level employments such as housework, sales, hairdressing and informal trading. Some of the migrants had to portray a lower educational level in order to qualify for a specific job. This was confirmed by Adepoju (2008) that migrants from SSA come to South Africa to take up any available jobs. Boyo (2013) also reiterated this by stating that African migrant professionals anywhere in the world take up any available jobs in order to survive. The participants were asked if they portrayed lower educational levels in order to survive in South Africa. As indicated in Figure 6.1, 94 respondents indicated they had to lower their educational level in order to survive in South Africa. The majority of the respondents (238) indicated that they did not lower their educational level in order to survive in South Africa.
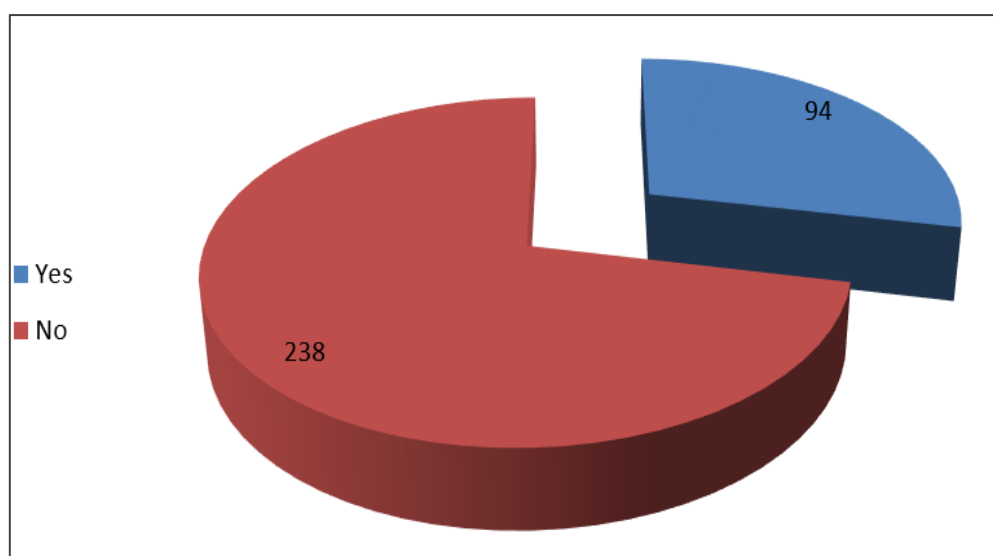
Figure 6.1   Respondents who lowered their educational levels

Table 6.9 shows the numbers of respondents who indicated that they portrayed lower educational levels in order to survive in South Africa. They were from Zimbabwe (53), Nigeria (13), Cameroon (7), Ghana (3), DRC (11), Lesotho (3), Uganda (1), Mozambique (1), Eritrea (1) and Benin (1).

TABLE 6.9   RESPONDENTS WHO PORTRAYED LOWER EDUCATIONAL LEVELS BY COUNTRY OF ORIGIN

Country	Number of respondents	Percentage
Zimbabwe	53	56.3
Nigeria	13	13.8
DRC	11	11.7
Cameroon	7	7.4
Ghana	3	3.2
Lesotho	3	3.2
Uganda	1	1.1
Mozambique	1	1.1
Eritrea	1	1.1
Benin	1	1.1
Total	94	100

Source: Survey results (2016).

The migrant women had to deskill or lowered their educational qualifications and skills in order to cope and adapt in South Africa. Meraj (2015) concurred when he stated that highly qualified and skilled professionals in developed countries are often obliged to accept jobs below their educational ranks after they migrated to those countries and may experience a downhill shift both in their career and in their quality of life.

Those who indicated that they lowered their educational levels in order to survive, were asked to elaborate on how they went about it during the lowering of their educational status.

Tried to register at UNISA but didn't work for masters, I am selling in the streets.

What I do, doesn't need qualifications, it is sort of like a hobby.

I am a fashion designer, but I am running a hairdressing shop, because I couldn't get designing job.

Teaching though I have an accounting qualification.

Started off at home-care before I could work here in town.

I was a teacher in Nigeria, but now I am selling in the streets.

I did pre-school nursing but couldn't get a job here.

I was a teacher in Zimbabwe, now I am a street vendor.

Engaged in lower job in order to get income, I am a qualified educator.

Took a job that require lesser qualification that mine, like hairdressing to feed my children.

I altered my CV to fit a post, did not put all my qualifications.

I work in the salon with my degree.

It was as a stepping stone, but it didn't last for long.

I am selling but I have a pre-school course.

Being a hairdresser.

I was a maid, yet I have high school education.

I have done what I wanted to do as a receptionist. I also did counselling in S.A.

I was a nurse. I had to do hair business.

I was selling things at the robots, but I was an accounts clerk back home.

When I came to S.A. despite having a degree I had to take up admin work sometimes selling items.

I am working as a domestic worker with my diploma.

I am a qualified, professional nurse but I can't practice nursing here. At one time I had to sell some goods in order to survive.

I removed my master's degree from my CV to apply for waitress job, I didn't get it any way due to the fact that I am not permanent resident.

I had to do what was better for my family.

I lowered myself to whatever was available.

I am a hairdresser, but I have an accounting qualification, business qualification. Because I couldn't find a job.

I had to settle for a low-level job because there are no jobs.

Had to do a lower paying job so that I manage to survive as well as raise friends for tuition as I still wanted to advance with my studies.

Sometimes I had to go to the robots to sell to make ends meet.

I was doing nursing at home, so I had to do hairdressing here.

I did domestic work, plating in the salon with my diploma qualification.

I had to work as a student assistant with a salary of R800 per month just to have some allowance for myself.

I am a Nurse, was told to go back to school but could not afford.

I was a trader with a degree.

I am doing nails now. I couldn't do job of choice with my diploma.

I once worked as a cashier at KFC.

I am working at the salon, but I have a university degree.

I am working at the salon, but I am a qualified teacher.

I worked as a waitress.

I was selling CDs for a year and half.

I am a qualified social worker, but I am doing waitressing to earn a living.

I can't further my studies because of finance. I have to survive.

Degree in sociology.

I have no job that goes with my education.

Table 6.10 indicates that how the migrant women deskilled in order to cope and adapt in South Africa. The migrant women possessed different levels of qualifications but were not able to put their qualifications into good use because they were foreigners (as a policy, first opportunity given for South Africans) and they did not have proper documentation. South Africa is a country with high levels of skills shortages. Qualifications such as accounting, teaching, nursing, early childhood teaching, and business management are some of the skills needed in the country (Erasmus and Breier, 2009). Mechanisms should be put in place so that the country tapes into these rich human capitals within its borders to promote development in the country.

TABLE 6.10 ELABORATION ON LOWERING OF ONE'S EDUCATIONAL LEVEL

Level of education/qualification	Acquired status	Country of origin
Fashion designer	Hairdresser	DRC
Chartered accountant	High school teacher	Nigeria
High school teacher	Street hawker	Zimbabwe
Early childhood development teacher	Housewife	Zimbabwe
University degree	Hairdresser	Ghana
Professional health nurse	Hairdresser	Zimbabwe
Business management and accounting professional	Hairdresser	Nigeria
Diploma in public administration	Nail manicurist	DRC
Master's degree	Waitress	Zimbabwe
Qualified social worker	Hairdresser	Zimbabwe
Bachelor of Science in Education	Street hawker	Nigeria
Diploma in secretarial work	Receptionist	Zimbabwe
High school teacher	Nanny/domestic employee	Zimbabwe

Source: Survey results (2016).

The government needs to assist these migrants to acquire the relevant permits in order for them to work in South Africa and contribute in terms of productivity and also financially since they will be paying income tax to the state. However, a clear policy guideline on how these skills can be utilised in the country must be formulated that it does not undermine the immigration policies on how migrants with skills can be regularised in South Africa.

6.3.6 The linguistic capabilities in the coping and adaptation of migrant women

It is important for migrants to have certain levels of linguistic capital in the language(s) of the host country to be able to communicate in the host country that they are migrating to (Madziva, McGrath and Thondhlana, 2016). English is one of the main languages used in South Africa. However, there are ten more official languages that are used in South Africa. Migrant

women have linguistic skills in various capacities, starting with the skills from their countries of origin. English language proficiency and knowledge of local languages are useful coping and adaptation mechanisms that migrant women could utilise in South Africa.

6.3.6.1 Official languages in the countries of origin

Knowledge of official languages can be perceived as an instrument for integration and acculturation (Celenk and Van de Vijver, 2011). This could also have assisted the migrant women in getting employment and acquiring the relevant papers needed to get employment or to start a business. Language was therefore seen as a unifying power. Five official languages were identified to be used in SSA. There may be other languages that could be used. These are English, French, Portuguese, Amharic (the official language of Ethiopia) and Tigrigna (one of the main languages in Eritrea). English, French and Portuguese had their origins in the historical links of those countries with their colonial nations such as Britain, France and Portugal (Stuchtey, 2011). As indicated in Table 6.11 most of the respondents (255) indicated that their official language in their home countries was English. French was the next language with 62 respondents, and Portuguese had 11 respondents. Amharic was used by three Ethiopians and Tigrigna by only one person from Eritrea.

The migrant women acquired their education in their home countries (although some extended their education capabilities in South Africa) using their countries of origin's official languages such as English, French, Portuguese, Amharic and Tigrigna. The distribution of the official languages of the migrant women is indicated in the Table 6.11.

TABLE 6.11 OFFICIAL LANGUAGE IN THE COUNTRY OF ORIGIN

Language	Country of origin	Number of respondents	Percentage
English	Zimbabwe, Malawi, Lesotho, Kenya, Ghana, Congo-Brazzaville, Zambia, Somalia, Uganda, Tanzania, Rwanda, Nigeria and Cameroon	255	76.8
French	DRC, Cameroon, Burundi, Benin, Senegal and Rwanda	62	18.7
Portuguese	Angola, Mozambique	11	3.3
Amharic	Ethiopia	3	0.9
Tigrigna	Eritrea	1	0.3
Total		332	100

Source: Survey results (2016).

The language that the migrant women used to acquire their educational qualifications in their home countries did not have much impact as the qualifications facilitated their migration to South Africa. The migrant women brought with them their qualifications regardless of the

language the qualifications were acquired in. The education was an important human capital that facilitated their coping and adaptation. As stated by UNESCO (2015), education can truly advance post-2015 development goals. The South African language policy should be inclusive of other languages, other than the 11 languages, in order to put South Africa on the global level of economic development. The various languages would also assist the country to participate in a wider global space by using the language capabilities of the migrant women for the development of the country. French, for instance, is one of the UN languages that is used globally.

6.3.6.2 English language as an official language of doing business

On arrival, the respondents had to cope and adapt by using English which is the main business language in South Africa, or learning some of the other 10 official languages of South Africa. Most of the Ethiopians and Eritreans in the country opened their own businesses and others were employed by their compatriots. Three hundred and eleven (311) respondents indicated that they were proficient in the English language and only 21 were not proficient, as shown in Table 6.12.

TABLE 6.12 PROFICIENCY IN ENGLISH LANGUAGE ACCORDING TO COUNTRY OF ORIGIN

Country of origin	Fluency in English
Angola	1
Benin	1
Burundi	2
Cameroon	1
Congo-Brazzaville	1
DRC	30
Eritrea	1
Ethiopia	2
Ghana	11
Ivory Coast	1
Kenya	3
Lesotho	6
Malawi	6
Mauritius	0
Mozambique	4
Nigeria	28
Rwanda	2
Senegal	1
Somalia	1
Tanzania	1
Uganda	3
Zambia	4
Zimbabwe	186
Total	311

Source: Survey results (2016).

The results on the migrant women's proficiency in the English language suggested that proficiency was a coping and adaptation mechanism. More than 70% of the respondents indicated that they used the English language and an official language in the countries of origin.

In South Africa, English has been the dominant language of the economy and government (Casale and Posel, 2010). Being proficient in the dominant language reduces transaction and information costs of an individual trying to negotiate the terms of employment and access to the job market (Casale and Posel, 2010). Besides being proficient in English, the respondents were able to speak and understand a number of other local languages, namely Afrikaans, Zulu, Xhosa, both Southern and Northern Sotho, Pedi, Ndebele, Venda, Tswana and Swati. This made the lives of the migrant women easier as they were able to integrate into the communities.

6.3.6.3 Knowledge of other South African languages

In their day-to-day lives, the migrant women were exposed to local languages of South Africa. It was observed that the migrant women spoke the local languages dominant in their resident metropolitan cities. For instance, the migrant women in Bloemfontein spoke and understood Southern Sotho and Afrikaans; in Durban, it was Zulu; in Cape Town, the migrant women spoke and understood Xhosa and in Johannesburg, Pretoria and Ekurhuleni they spoke and understood multiple local languages such as Northern Sotho, Zulu, Pedi, Ndebele, Tswana and Venda. The migrant women managed to acquire local language skills in various degrees such as speaking and understanding. Çakir (2009) explained that acquisition of local languages facilitated easy cultural acquisition, reduce stress as acculturation becomes easier. It became easier for the respondents to find employment or even engage in entrepreneurial activities among South African communities. It was also easy for them to set up businesses and to assimilate in the local community.

Being able to communicate in the language(s) of the host country can be a main driver of social and economic integration and assimilation for migrant women in South Africa. The study found that Ghanaians, Nigerians, Zimbabweans and Congolese migrant women, for instance, had their own businesses, especially in the hair dressing industry. Their main clients and employees were locals, especially black South Africans. The majority of those people do not use English at home and in other places, even at work. Understanding the local languages constituted a vital part of the migrant women's human capital. Other personal spheres were affected by knowledge of local languages, for instance, health, education, marriage, social integration and political

participation depended on the knowledge of local languages. Higher levels of local language proficiency correlated with the migrant women's socio-economic coping and adaptation in South Africa. The high levels of local language proficiency by migrant women was a strong mechanism for coping and adapting in South Africa. They were able to expand their networks, thereby being able to relate to locals and other migrant women in South Africa.

Those who were not proficient, however, managed to speak the dominant local language in their respective metropolitan cities. This was reiterated by Mzoma (2014) who observed that many Malawians in Durban spoke Zulu. In the Johannesburg, Ekurhuleni and Tshwane metropolitans the migrant women spoke Tswana, Northern Sotho, Sepedi and Zulu, the languages that are dominant in Gauteng Province. In Bloemfontein, Cape Town and Durban they spoke Southern Sotho, Xhosa and Zulu, respectively. Forty-five of the 78 migrant women in Durban spoke Zulu and they were from Zimbabwe (35), DRC (4), Burundi (3), Zambia (1) and Mozambique (2). In Cape Town, 32 respondents indicated that they spoke Xhosa and they were from Zimbabwe (26), DRC (4), Cameroon (1) and Nigeria (1). In Bloemfontein 48 of the 82 respondents indicated that they spoke Southern Sotho. They were from Zimbabwe (28), Lesotho (7), Ghana (5), DRC (1), Cameroon (2), Rwanda (1) and Nigeria (4). In Johannesburg, Pretoria and Ekurhuleni metropolitan cities, a number of local languages were spoken. For instance, 12 of the 15 who responded to speaking the Zulu language in Ekurhuleni, indicated that they spoke Zulu. Eleven of these respondents were from Zimbabwe and one from Mozambique. Thirteen of the nineteen respondents who indicated that they speak the Zulu language were all from Zimbabwe. Thirty-one of the 44 respondents in Johannesburg indicated that they speak Zulu and they were from Zimbabwe (22), DRC (1), Zambia (1) and Mozambique (7).

In all these metropolitan cities, the researcher listened to those women using slang words, which was acceptable to the communities. Those slang words are *mati* (Sotho) or *choma* (Xhosa), meaning friend. The migrant women were using such jargon to gain the acceptance of the locals who happened to be their main clients in business. Competence in the host language facilitated easy cultural acquisition, reduces the stress that goes with accessing public facilities, finding employment and enhances chances of a person expanding social networks (Hwang and Ting, 2008). Those migrant women indicated that they were unimpeded in their day-to-day activities as they understood both English and other local languages. As stated by Krumm and Plutzar (2008), migrants become aware that for them to fit and be accepted in host communities they

needed to understand local languages as well. They gave an example of being accepted in the work environment and also in situations where they sought health care in public health institutions in host countries. However, some who were not proficient in English managed to conduct business in South Africa. A question was posed to the respondents about how they were managing to earn a livelihood regardless of the language challenges. They expressed how they related and managed to build rapport with the host communities regardless of lacking local language skills. Twenty-one respondents indicated that they were not fluent in English. Table 6.13 indicates respondents' responses on how they conducted business considering that they were not proficient in English. Five respondents were from the DRC, three from Burundi, six from Mozambique and one each from Ethiopia, Ghana, Lesotho, Mauritius, Nigeria, Uganda and Zimbabwe.

TABLE 6.13 HOW THE RESPONDENTS ARE COMMUNICATING WITH CLIENTS

Ways of communicating with clients	Country of origin
I have basic knowledge of English	DRC
I use Tsonga and Zulu	Mozambique
I get translators	Nigeria, DRC
I can communicate with my customers	DRC
I understand a little	Mozambique
I speak Zulu and a bit of English	DRC
I use Zulu and Tsonga	Rwanda
I speak a little English (pigeon English)	Nigeria
Colleagues translate for me	DRC
I use Sotho	Ghana
My English is not very good, but I can communicate	Mozambique
I can communicate with customers	Rwanda
I speak Zulu and Xhosa	Rwanda
I speak to some extent, I can communicate with my clients	Ethiopia
I know small English for my clients at the salon	Mozambique
I can communicate in English and with my business skills I can do business	Burundi
For business, I can talk English	Burundi, Congo-Brazzaville
I have someone to interpret for me	DRC
I am trying but I do business in English	Burundi

Source: Survey results (2016).

In South Africa, local languages were the pride of the communities and it was an advantage for migrant women to be conversant with all the local languages. South Africa has 11 local languages, namely Afrikaans, English, Ndebele, Northern Sotho, Sotho, Swazi (or Swati), Tsonga, Tswana, Venda, Xhosa and Zulu. Though English was the language of doing business

in South Africa, speaking local languages also helped migrant women cope and adapt in the country.

When analysing the pooled data in Table 6.14, it indicated that Zulu is the most spoken local language by the respondents with 130 indicating so. Seventy-seven respondents indicated that they spoke Xhosa, 45 Northern Sotho, 62 Southern Sotho, 8 Afrikaans, 33 Tswana, 42 Ndebele, 19 Tsonga, 14 Venda, and Swati.

TABLE 6.14 MIGRANTS WHO SPOKE LOCAL LANGUAGES

| Local language | Speak | | | | Did not disclose | Total |
| | Yes | | No | | | |
	Number of respondents	Percentage	Number of respondents	Percentage		
Zulu	130	39.2%	196	60.1%	6	332
Xhosa	77	23.2%	241	75.8%	14	332
Northern Sotho	45	13.6%	284	86.3%	3	332
Southern Sotho	62	18.7%	268	81.2%	2	332
Afrikaans	8	2.4%	320	97.6%	4	332
Tswana	33	9.9%	298	90.0%	1	332
Ndebele	42	12.7%	286	87.2%	4	332
Tsonga	19	5.7%	310	94.2%	3	332
Venda	14	4.2%	316	95.7%	2	332
Swati	7	2.1%	323	97.9%	2	332

Source: Survey results (2016).

The 130 respondents who indicated that they spoke Zulu were from Zimbabwe (105), Malawi (2), Lesotho (1), Ghana (1), DRC (5), Burundi (3), Zambia (2), Nigeria (1) and Mozambique (10). Seventy-seven respondents indicated that they spoke Xhosa and they were from Zimbabwe (63), Lesotho (2), Ghana (1), DRC (4), Cameroon (1), Burundi (1), Rwanda (1), Nigeria (1) and Mozambique (3). Forty-five migrant women indicated that they spoke Northern Sotho and they were from Zimbabwe (33), Lesotho (6), Burundi (1), Zambia (1), Nigeria (2) and Mozambique (2). Those who indicated that they spoke Southern Sotho were 62 and they were from Zimbabwe (39), Lesotho (7), Ghana (5), DRC (1), Cameroon (2), Zambia (1), Rwanda (1), Nigeria (4) and Mozambique (2). Only eight respondents indicated that they spoke Afrikaans and they were from Zimbabwe (5), Ghana (2) and DRC (1).

Thirty-three migrant women indicated that they spoke Tswana. They were from Zimbabwe (23), Lesotho (6), Ghana (1), Zambia (1) and Mozambique (2). Thirty-eight Zimbabweans, two Mozambicans and one Ghanaian respondent indicated that they spoke Ndebele. The respondents who indicated they spoke Tsonga are from Zimbabwe (6), Malawi (1), Lesotho (2), DRC (1) and Mozambique (9). Fourteen respondents indicated that they spoke Venda and 11 of them were from Zimbabwe, two from Lesotho and one from Mozambique. Seven of the participants indicated that they spoke Swati of whom six were Zimbabweans and one was from Lesotho.

Table 6.15 shows how many of the respondents understood local languages. In speaking of the local languages, Zulu was the most understood local language with 183 indicating that they understood the language. A total of 126 respondents indicated that they understood Xhosa, 58 Northern Sotho, 78 Southern Sotho, 28 Afrikaans, 51 Tswana, 54 Ndebele, 24 Tsonga, 30 Venda and 15 Swati.

TABLE 6.15 RESPONDENTS WHO UNDERSTOOD LOCAL LANGUAGES

Language	Understand					Total
	Yes		No			
	Number of respondents	Valid percentage	Number of respondents	Valid percentage	Did not say	
Zulu	183	55.79%	145	44.21%	4	332
Xhosa	126	38.41%	202	61.59%	4	332
Northern Sotho	58	17.68%	270	82.32%	4	332
Southern Sotho	78	23.78%	250	76.22%	4	332
Afrikaans	28	8.56%	299	91.44%	5	332
Tswana	51	15.55%	277	84.45%	4	332
Ndebele	54	16.62%	271	83.38%	7	332
Tsonga	24	7.32%	304	92.68%	4	332
Venda	30	9.20%	296	90.80%	6	332
Swati	15	4.59%	312	95.41%	5	332

Source: Survey results (2016).

Out of 183 respondents who understood Zulu, 134 were from Zimbabwe, 1 from Malawi, 4 from Lesotho, 2 from Kenya, 1 from Ghana, 2 from Ethiopia, 12 from DRC, 1 from Cameroon, 5 from Burundi, 3 from Zambia, 1 from Benin, 1 from Uganda, 6 from Nigeria and 10 from Mozambique. Out of 126 respondents who understood Xhosa, 90 were from Zimbabwe, 12

from the DRC, 4 each from Cameroon and Mozambique, 3 each from Lesotho and Nigeria, 2 each from Malawi and Uganda and one each from Ghana, Congo-Brazzaville, Burundi, Angola, Somalia and Rwanda. Those who indicated that they understood Northern Sotho, totalled 58 and they were from Zimbabwe (40), Malawi (2), Lesotho (7), Kenya (1), DRC (1), Zambia (2), Nigeria (3) and Mozambique (2). Seventy-eight of the respondents indicated that they understood the Southern Sotho language. They were from Zimbabwe (49), Malawi (1), Lesotho (7), Kenya (1), Ghana (7), Ethiopia (1), DRC (2), Cameroon (2), Zambia (1), Rwanda (1), Nigeria (4) and Mozambique (2). Out of 28 respondents who understood Afrikaans, 18 were from Zimbabwe, two each from Ghana and Cameroon, four from Nigeria, and one each from the DRC and Somalia. Fifty-one migrant women indicated that they understood Tswana. They were from Zimbabwe (39), Lesotho (7), Ghana (1), Zambia (2) and Mozambique (2). A total of 54 migrant women indicated that they understood the Ndebele language and they were from Zimbabwe (49), Lesotho (1), Ghana (1), Nigeria (1) and Mozambique (2). Twenty-four migrant women indicated that they understood Tsonga and they were from Zimbabwe (11), Malawi (1), Lesotho (1), DRC (1) and Mozambique (10). Those who indicated that they understood the Venda language were 30 and they were from Zimbabwe (26), Lesotho (2) and Mozambique (2). Finally, 15 respondents indicated that they understood Swati and 14 of them were from Zimbabwe and one from Mozambique.

Some respondents explained that if one spoke English, which in Zulu was referred to as *ukuhumusha* (literally meaning translate), then that person became alienated by the community they lived in. Some of the respondents indicated that it was necessary that they spoke basic local words such as:

> *ke bua* (Sotho meaning 'I speak')
> *ngiyakhuluma* (Zulu meaning 'I speak')
> *ndiyathetha* (Xhosa meaning 'I speak')

Those were the local language equivalent of 'I do speak' because they were even ridiculed. Çakir (2009) further stated that local language acquisition made it easier for migrants to expand their social networks. Policies should encourage towards initiating local language teaching for migrant women for two purposes: firstly, the migrants easily assimilate in society and secondly, to promote the local language.

6.3.7 The entry status of migrant women into South Africa

The decision to migrate was undertaken by individuals together with other stakeholders such as family, friends and relatives. The family got involved, especially whereby an African woman's decision was impacted by economic factors that gave the woman no choice but to migrate. One hundred and ninety-four (58.4%), of the respondents indicated that they used visitor visas to enter South Africa as indicated in Figure 6.2. Those respondents were from Zimbabwe (117), Malawi (4), Nigeria (15), DRC (15), Mozambique (7), Lesotho (7), Cameroon (6), Uganda (3), Ghana (3), Zambia (2), Ivory Coast (1), Ethiopia (1), Congo-Brazzaville (1), Burundi (1), Somalia (1), Tanzania (1), Senegal (1), Rwanda (1) and Mauritius (1).
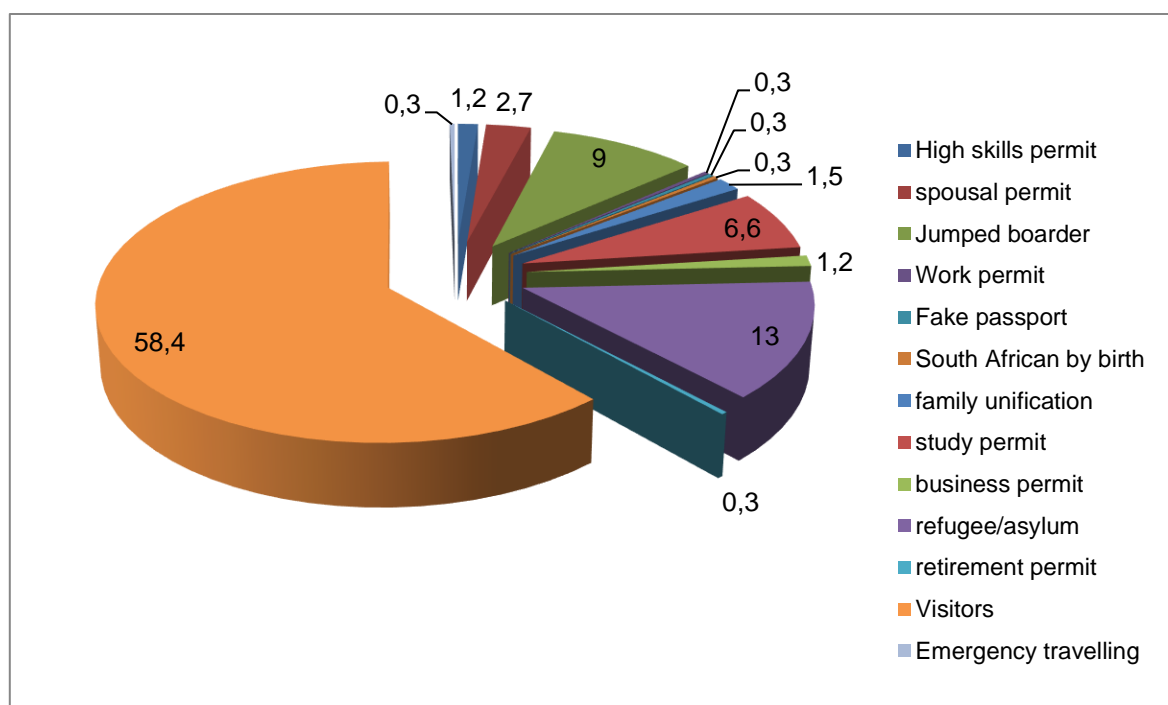
Source: Survey results (2016).

Figure 6.2   How migrants came into South Africa

Fourteen percent (14%) of the migrant women used refugee/asylum permits to enter South Africa and 15 of them were from Zimbabwe, Ghana (8), DRC (8), Kenya (1), Ethiopia (2), Cameroon (1), Burundi (3), Benin (1), Angola (1), Nigeria (2) and Eritrea (1). The migrant women who utilised study permits (7%): 11 of them were from Zimbabwe, Kenya (2), Cameroon (7) and Nigeria (2). The migrant women who jumped border to enter in South Africa (9%): 17 of them were from Zimbabwe, DRC (10), Uganda (1), Nigeria (1) and Mozambique (1). The migrant women who used spousal permits to enter in South Africa (3%): 3 of them

were from Zimbabwe, Cameroon (2), Rwanda (1) and Nigeria (3). Migrant women who used family unification to enter (2%): 2 of them were from Zimbabwe, Zambia (1) and Nigeria (2). Migrant women who utilised high skills permits (1%): 3 of them were from Zimbabwe and one from Nigeria. Migrant women who used business permit (1%): all four of them were from Zimbabwe. Only one women from Nigeria used a fake passport to enter South Africa. One respondent made use of the birth right privilege from Mozambique, and an emergency travel document was used by a respondent from Zimbabwe. There was one respondent from the DRC who stated that she used an illegal passport to gain entry into the country and then she had to apply for asylum as soon as she was in South Africa. A number of Zimbabwean women entered the country using visitor permits and some used the term *border jumping* to mean that they illegally entered the country. Those women used the official borders to get into the country illegally and they were prepared to tell their stories on how they entered. Since that was not the aim of the study, the issue of *border jumping* by migrant women and border controls in South Africa will be put forward for future research.

Those who illegally crossed into the country using undesignated entry points, or designated entry points but had to pay for their entry into the country illegally, were among the respondents and they explained that they used trucks to enter the country. The participants spoke about their journeys openly and one who entered illegally stated that:

> *The truck driver showed his passport to the immigration officials who then asked for ours. The driver gave them R100, but they refused and said it was too little. At the end, the driver paid R300 for each one of us. We were five, and so we managed to enter South Africa without any problems.*

This finding was supported by Tati (2008) who highlighted that the South African borders were very porous, and the immigration officials were exacerbating the situation because of their corrupt tendencies.

The window of opportunity that avails itself to the migrant women to enter the country was fully utilised. Those who used valid permits usually got better opportunities of coping and adaptation. However, those who used illegal means were subjected to exploitation and other vulnerabilities in South Africa. Policies geared towards border controls can be put in place to curb instances of illegal immigration such as introduction of biometric systems at all ports of entry into the country.

6.3.8 The effect of residence status on the coping and adaptation of the migrant women in South Africa

The residence statuses of the migrant women had a bearing on their coping and adaptation in South Africa. The type of permits that the migrant women used to enter the country determined their initial coping and adaptation in South Africa. The different types of permits impacted on the migrant women in South Africa in various ways. How they managed to cope and adapt moving forward was then determined by their residence statuses.

Once they entered using different means, the migrant women applied for a refuge/asylum seeker permit, 108 migrant women used refugee/asylum seeker permits for their coping and adopting mechanism. Those respondents who were willing to discuss their refugee/asylum statuses further indicated that they had regularised their refugee statuses and were then entitled to benefits that go with the refugee status as enshrined in the refugee law (UNHCR, 1951a). Refugees had the right to education, access to justice, employment, fundamental freedom and privileges. They were to be afforded the same legal treatment as local South African nationals (UNHCR, 1951, Article 16). They would also receive the same treatment as other non-refugee foreigners in terms of wage-earning employment and property rights according to Article 17 and 13, respectively.

However, some respondents who were refugees expressed that locals were hostile to them which infringed on their human rights. They further stated that the local South Africans identified foreigners, constantly ridiculed them and called them names such as *Makwerekwere*[5] or *Makula*[6]. That resulted in migrant women forfeiting some of those rights and opting to other innovative mechanisms, such as opening their own businesses in order to cope and adapt. Some of the asylum seekers indicated that they have been renewing their papers while awaiting regularisation for the past 15 years. Those respondents expressed their frustration with the system, especially the treatment they received from the authorities at the Home Affairs offices.

The difficult conditions that refugees and asylum seekers had faced in South Africa had resulted in some of them shifting from one type of permit to the other in order to reduce the pressures such as constant contacts with the South African government authorities. Some, especially Zimbabweans and Mozambicans, had reverted to their passports and were now using visitor

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[5]*Makwerekwere* is a slang word for foreigners in South Africa, especially from Sub-Saharan Africa.
[6]*Makula* is slang for foreigners who are of Indian origin or look like Indians, for example Ethiopians, Eritreans and Somalis.

visas, which were easier for them to use. They renewed the visitors' permits on a regular basis by utilising the *omalayitsha*[7] (Pearl, 2013) who acted as courier agents to communicate with the Home Affairs department at the various ports of entry. It was observed that those informal courier agents were trusted so much by the migrant population as they did not have any formal contractual arrangements but relied entirely on verbal agreements.

It was established that 31 and 25 of the respondents who held refugee/asylum seeker permits were from the DRC and Zimbabwe, respectively. Those were actually the most respondents who had converted their visitors' permits to refugee/asylum seeker permits. In 2008, the UNHCR (2009), reported that 115 800 Zimbabweans were documented as refugee/asylum seekers in South Africa. That period was the tipping point of the socio-economic and political meltdown of Zimbabwe and also post-election skirmishes that occurred in DRC. The Zimbabwean and DRC migrant women utilised that window of opportunity to apply for the refugee/asylum seeker permits, hence using them to cope and adapt in South Africa. Stringent policies can be put in place that will enable the government to control the number of migrants applying for refugee/asylum permits. These could be, for instance, introduction of electronic identity cards that need to be accompanied by proof of residence in South Africa and also police clearance certificates that are issued on application and renewed at stipulated intervals.

The type of permits that would have entitled the migrant women to immediately cope and adapt, were insignificant. One respondent from the DRC came in with a work permit, four Zimbabweans used business permits and one Nigerian came in to retire in South Africa. Using visitor visas simply meant that the holder of such a permit cannot earn any livelihood in the country. Most Zimbabweans who were interviewed, used visitor visas to come and work for some time and when their time were about to expire, they returned and renewed those permits. Lesotho and Mozambique nationals were also some of the respondents that were making use of visitor visas to come and work in South Africa. However, those nationals (Lesotho and Mozambique) were reluctant to participate in the survey and only very few were included. A number of them after being assured of anonymity, disclosed that they came in through the borders with those permits and then paid people (*omalayitsha)* to stamp them back to their countries of origin. They only requested their passports back when they needed to return to their home countries for festivities or in cases of emergency such as bereavements. This mechanism

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[7]*Omalayitsha* are carriers of goods and services to and from South Africa to mainly Zimbabwe, Malawi and Mozambique.

may be needed to check if the migrant women are not abusing the system, which may also be the root causes of conflicts with the locals as visitors to South Africa are not subject to pay any taxes to the government.

Table 6.16 indicates that a total of 108 respondents used refugee/asylum seeker permits, 63 used work permits, 55 used visitors permits, 35 were undocumented, 19 were not willing to disclose, 16 were permanent residents, 12 used study permits, 9 were naturalised, 8 used spousal permits, 5 used business permits, 1 was accompanying parents and 1 had acquired a refugee status and were therefore entitled to many privileges in the country.

TABLE 6.16 RESPONDENTS' RESIDENCE STATUS BY COUNTRY OF ORIGIN IN SOUTH AFRICA

Current type of permit	Country of origin	No. of respondents	Percentage
Naturalised	Zimbabwe (2), Senegal (1), Rwanda (1), DRC (1 Nigeria (4)	9	2.7
Visitors	Zimbabwe (45), DRC (1), Zambia (1), Nigeria (1), Mozambique (2) and Lesotho (5),	55	16.6
Permanent residence	Zimbabwe (5), Cameroon (4), Nigeria (5), Mozambique (1) and Mauritius (1)	16	4.8
Work permit	Zimbabwe (55), Nigeria (5), Malawi (1), Ghana (1) and Cameroon (1)	63	19.0
Spousal permit	Zimbabwe (5), Nigeria (1) and Mozambique (1)	7	2.4
Study permit	Zimbabwe (4), Kenya (2), Cameroon (5) and Nigeria (1)	12	3.6
Accompanying parents	Zimbabwe (1)	1	0.3
Business permit	Zimbabwe (4) and Lesotho (1)	5	1.5
Undocumented	Zimbabwe (29), DRC (2), Cameroon (1), Zambia (1), Angola (1) and Uganda (1)	35	10.5
Refugee/asylum seeker	DRC (31), Zimbabweans (25), Ghana (11), Nigeria (11), Burundi (4), Malawi (4), Mozambique (4), Cameroon (3), Ethiopia (2), Lesotho (2), Uganda (2), Benin (1), Congo-Brazzaville (1), Eritrea (1), Ivory Coast (1), Kenya (1), Rwanda (1), Somalia (1), Tanzania (1) and Zambia (1).	108	32.8
Missing	Zimbabwe (11), Zambia (1), Uganda (1), Nigeria (2), Mozambique (1), Ethiopia (1) and Cameroon (2)	19	5.7
Total		332	100

Source: Survey results (2016).

Table 6.17 indicates the country of origin of migrant women utilising refugee or asylum seekers permit. They were from the DRC (31), Zimbabweans (25), Ghana (11), Nigeria (11), Burundi (4), Malawi (4), Mozambique (4), Cameroon (3), Ethiopia (2), Lesotho (2), Uganda (2), and

one each from Benin, Congo-Brazzaville, Eritrea, Ivory Coast, Kenya, Rwanda, Somalia, Tanzania and Zambia.

TABLE 6.17 COUNTRY OF ORIGIN AND REFUGEE/ASYLUM STATUS

Country	No	Yes	Total
Angola	1	0	1
Benin	0	1	1
Burundi	1	4	5
Cameroon	13	3	16
Congo-Brazzaville	0	1	1
DR Congo	4	31	35
Eritrea	0	1	1
Ethiopia	1	2	3
Ghana	1	11	12
Ivory Coast	0	1	1
Kenya	2	1	3
Lesotho	5	2	7
Malawi	2	4	6
Mauritius	1	0	1
Mozambique	6	4	10
Nigeria	18	11	29
Rwanda	1	1	2
Senegal	1	0	1
Somalia	0	1	1
Tanzania	0	1	1
Uganda	2	2	4
Zambia	3	1	4
Zimbabwe	162	25	187
Total	224	108	332

Source: Survey results (2016).

The type of permit further enabled the migrant women to get employment, open a business or even apply for employment or trade in the country. Those with work permits could get jobs, those with business permits could open businesses and those who had acquired a refugee status were entitled to all benefits of refugees as stipulated in the UN Convention on Refugees. Many women indicated that they were very happy with the permits in their possession as they could go on with their lives without being harassed by law enforcement agents. However, those with refugee statuses faced challenges as there was lack of knowledge of refugee and asylum seeker rights among civil servants who denied these people service and also would abuse them (Makhena, 2009). It would be a good thing for the government of South Africa to educate the public employees on various rights' issues, including the rights of refugees and asylum seekers

in host countries. There is need for government to enforce international laws so as to avoid being blamed for human rights violations. Policies on mainstreaming some of these international laws into national policies for ease of enforcement and implementation must be designed. This could be achieved by enhancing the know-how to locals and immigrates, using different institutions such as the Human Rights office available in every province.

6.4   THE OCCUPATIONS OF MIGRANT WOMEN IN SOUTH AFRICA

The occupations of migrant women were categorised using the South African Standard Classification of Occupations (STATS SA, 2003). The six categories were (i) senior and office management, (ii) professionals, (iii) clerical occupations, (iv) service work, shop and market sales, (v) craft and related trades and (vi) elementary occupations.

The migrant women's occupations were looked at as part of the support systems of the migrant women as indicated in Table 6.18. The occupations of the respondents and the various support systems formed part of their coping and adaptation in South Africa. One hundred and ninety-eight (198) of the respondents occupied elementary positions as hairdressers, domestic workers, and office assistants. A total of 19 were senior and office managers and they were from Zimbabwe (8), Ethiopia (2), DRC (3), Nigeria (4), Cameroon (1) and Malawi (1). Thirteen were professionals and they were from Zimbabwe (7), DRC (1), Nigeria (1) and Cameroon (4). There were 24 migrant women who were in clerical positions and they were from Zimbabwe (20), Kenya (1), DRC (1), Cameroon (1) and DRC (1). Thirty-four of the migrant women were in service work, shop and market sales occupations. They were from Zimbabwe (15), Rwanda (1), Somalia (1), Mauritius (1), DRC (4), Nigeria (6), Cameroon (4), Malawi (1) and Uganda (1). In craft and related trades there were 45 respondents and they were from Zimbabwe (39), Cameroon (1), Mozambique (1), Lesotho (1), Malawi (1) and Uganda (2). The majority of the respondents (59.3%) occupied elementary jobs in South Africa. They were from Zimbabwe (98), Zambia (4), Burundi (5), Ethiopia (1), Kenya (2), Rwanda (1), Senegal (1), Tanzania (1), Ivory Coast (1), DRC (27), Congo-Brazzaville (1) Benin (1), Angola (1), Nigeria (18), Cameroon (5), Mozambique (9), Ghana (11), Lesotho (6), Malawi (3) and Uganda (1). It was interesting to note that out of 90 post-high school qualification holders, only a few occupied senior and managerial positions. It became apparent that the migrant women had to devise some alternative forms of coping and adaptation mechanisms in the host country.

TABLE 6.18 OCCUPATIONS OF MIGRANT WOMEN IN SOUTH AFRICA BY COUNTRY OF ORIGIN

Country	Senior officer and managers	Professionals	Clerks	Service workers and shop and market sales	Craft and related trade	Elementary occupation	Total
Zimbabwe	8	7	20	15	39	98	187
Zambia	0	0	0	0	0	4	4
Burundi	0	0	0	0	0	5	5
Ethiopia	2	0	0	0	0	1	3
Kenya	0	0	1	0	0	2	3
Rwanda	0	0	0	1	0	1	2
Senegal	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
Tanzania	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
Somalia	0	0	0	1	0	0	1
Mauritius	0	0	0	1	0	0	1
Ivory Coast	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
DRC	3	1	0	4	0	27	35
Eritrea	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
Congo-Brazzaville	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
Benin	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
Angola	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
Nigeria	4	1	0	6	0	18	29
Cameroon	1	4	1	4	1	5	16
Mozambique	0	0	0	0	1	9	10
Ghana	0	0	1	0	0	11	12
Lesotho	0	0	0	0	1	6	7
Malawi	1	0	0	1	1	3	6
Uganda	0	0	0	1	2	1	4
Total	19	13	24	34	45	197	332

Source: Survey results (2016).

Siar (2013) stated that professionals, especially from less-developed countries, usually experienced deskilling to gain employment or in order to access a livelihood in the host country. Though Siar was referring to the Canadian experience that also held true for South Africa. The migrant women had no choice but to take up any job or livelihood within their reach. Migrant women had other livelihoods that were not captured in Table 6.18. They were requested to explain how they managed to do more than one job. Of the 332 respondents, only 22 of them indicated that they had more than one livelihood as indicated in Table 6.19.

TABLE 6.19 MANAGEMENT OF MORE THAN ONE OCCUPATIONS

Respondents views on doing more than one jobs	Country of origin
I try to balance between work and school	Zimbabwe
Time management is key. Formal work during the day, during the week and business after hours and during weekends	Cameroon
I use my time correctly. The two days I do not have classes, I spend extra time on my business	Cameroon
I have employees who do my informal business. I do that at weekends and holidays	Nigeria
Working full time and studying part time	Zimbabwe
I sell bags and Avon to supplement my income. I also plait hair	Lesotho
Only when there is business in salon always and at times I have to do catering	Ghana
I took shifts that did not clash with my classes, basically night shifts while going to school and doing assignments in the day	Nigeria
Formally employed as a lecturer at an educational institution since 2004. Also co-own a registered private clothing and fashion business with my sister	Nigeria
The products are at my stand so it's easy to sell and do the agent business at the same time	Nigeria
I work during the day and I sell my weaves at work	DRC
I am a safety officer on a contract basis when there is a shutdown (repair work), chevron, ship (repair)	Zimbabwe
When I'm not selling that's when I do piece jobs	Zimbabwe
I have Zimbabwean workers who come to work and at times they don't come. I close and go to my other business	Nigeria
I work during the day (managing guest house) and during the night I design clothes and study	Zimbabwe
During weekdays, I will be working as a sales assistant and during the weekend and the times after work, I will be working as a hairdresser	Nigeria
I do trading on weekends if I am off	Nigeria
I sell cold drinks during the day and late evening I do braai	Zimbabwe
I am the owner and also work in my business	Ghana
I do trading during the weekdays and during Saturday I work for a crèche	Rwanda
I do some piece jobs (house cleaning) in the morning then after 9am I start selling my stuff	Zimbabwe

Source: Survey results (2016).

6.5 THE INITIAL AND LONG-TERM COPING AND ADAPTATION MECHANISMS OF MIGRANT WOMEN IN SOUTH AFRICA

Coping and adaptation mechanisms are learned, negotiated and applied provisions that one uses to survive in the short and long term (Kuo, 2014). Those provisions can be in multiple forms such as skills, talents and support systems available. The participants were asked about how they managed to cope and adapt soon after arriving and later on in South Africa. That considered the fact that not all of them had adequate support systems of coping and adaptation

on arrival in South Africa. The respondents were presented with four multi-attribute thematic variables to evaluate according to priority. These socio-economic multi-attribute variables formed the basis of their coping and adaptation mechanisms. The four multi-attribute themes were family support[8], entrepreneurial support[9], employment[10] and humanitarian support[11].

The family support meant that the migrant women were looked after by husbands, sisters, brothers, cousins, and parents on arrival in South Africa (Hungwe, 2015). These were the networks which were part of the social capital that had been identified as a coping and adaptation mechanism that is utilised by migrants in host societies.

Entrepreneurial support meant that the migrant women were engaged in some form of work in order to survive while looking for long-term survival (Kalitanyi and Visser, 2010). The migrant women engaged in trading of items such as African attires and perfumes they brought from countries of origin, cooking food which they sold in the streets, distributing fliers on street corners and at robots on behalf of local companies, ordering goods and then went back to resell at countries of origin and returned to South Africa, sold doylies, plaited hair at street corners, worked as a domestic worker for people and worked on farms as general labourer.

Employment was the formal jobs and occupations secured by migrant women in government, the private sector and also from other fellow countrymen and women (Kalitanyi and Visser, 2010). They managed to cope and adapt in South Africa through getting a job and earning a wage or a salary.

Humanitarian support was support the respondents received from friends, fellow compatriots, neighbours, strangers, locals and even NGOs or faith-based organisations in order to survive in the host country. Those migration survival mechanisms made them manage for some time before they considered long-term livelihoods. Humanitarian support meant that the migrant women had to rely on others from outside their family for survival (Tati, 2008). Those were local and international NGOs, truck drivers who brought them into the country, fellow countrymen, friends, and strangers. Those migrant women who had their requisite permits

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[8]Family support means surviving through assistance from close family members such as spouse, sisters, brothers, uncles, cousins.
[9]Entrepreneurial support means surviving through trading such as retail selling, hairdressing, vending.
[10]Employment means surviving through formal employment, informal piece jobs, and contract jobs.
[11]Humanitarian support means surviving through friends, neighbours, compatriots, faith based organisations, UN agencies.

ready, started looking for long-term means of survival and others had to go to Home Affairs to register as refugees and asylum seekers.

6.5.1 Short-term coping and adaptation mechanisms employed

The respondents were asked to evaluate their short-term coping and adaptation mechanisms on arrival in South Africa according to priorities. The respondents had to make choices among employment, entrepreneurial support, family support, and humanitarian support as first choice of the initial coping and adaptation mechanisms they employ in South Africa. There were some migrant women who managed to get some employment on arrival in South Africa. Some indicated that they had to work as domestic workers for their countrymen who were already established and also for local South Africans. Some became baby sitters, went straight to a job such as teaching English language to neighbours and networking with children who needed assistance, some came and looked for a job which they got on the first day, such as waitressing, selling herbs brought from home country, and working for other foreigners.

6.5.1.1 First option of initial coping and adaptation mechanisms

Table 6.20 indicates the first order of mechanisms used by migrant women to cope and adapt on arrival in South Africa. This is according to countries of origin. One hundred and fifty respondents indicated that they used family support as first option of initial coping mechanism. They were from Zimbabwe (81), DRC (19), Nigeria (15), Mozambique (5), Ghana (4), Cameroon (4), Malawi (3), Ethiopia (3), Zambia (2), Rwanda (2), Burundi (2), Lesotho (2), Angola (1), Benin (1), Congo-Brazzaville (1), Kenya (1), Senegal (1), Somalia (1), Tanzania (1) and Uganda (1). Seventy-one used employment as a first option of initial coping mechanism. Out of this 71, 2 were from Cameroon, 6 from the DRC, 3 from Ghana, 8 from Nigeria, 1 each from Burundi, Eritrea, Ivory Coast, Lesotho, Malawi, Mozambique, Uganda and Zambia and 44 from Zimbabwe. Those who depended on humanitarian support as their first option were from Zimbabwe (36), DRC (8), Cameroon (7), Nigeria (3), Mozambique (3), Lesotho (3), Ivory Coast (3), Uganda (2), Malawi (2), Burundi (1), Zambia (1), and Kenya (1) Those who indicated that they relied on entrepreneurial support as the first option were 39 and they were from Zimbabwe (25), Nigeria (3), Cameroon (3), DRC (2), Ghana (2), Mauritius (1), Lesotho (1), Kenya (1) and Burundi (1). Two respondents from Zimbabwe and Mozambique did not say how they managed in South Africa.

TABLE 6.20 FIRST OPTION OF INITIAL COPING AND ADAPTATION

Country	Employ-ment	Entrepre-neurial support	Family support	Humani-tarian support	No response	Total
Angola	0	0	1	0	0	1
Benin	0	0	1	0	0	1
Burundi	1	1	2	1	0	5
Cameroon	2	3	4	7	0	16
Congo-Brazzaville	0	0	1	0	0	1
DRC	6	2	19	8	0	35
Eritrea	1	0	0	0	0	1
Ethiopia	0	0	3	0	0	3
Ghana	3	2	4	3	0	12
Ivory Coast	1	0	0	0	0	1
Kenya	0	1	1	1	0	3
Lesotho	1	1	2	3	0	7
Malawi	1	0	3	2	0	6
Mauritius	0	1	0	0	0	1
Mozambique	1	0	5	3	1	10
Nigeria	8	3	15	3	0	29
Rwanda	0	0	2	0	0	2
Senegal	0	0	1	0	0	1
Somalia	0	0	1	0	0	1
Tanzania	0	0	1	0	0	1
Uganda	1	0	1	2	0	4
Zambia	1	0	2	1	0	4
Zimbabwe	44	25	81	36	1	187
Total	71	39	150	70	2	332

Source: Survey results (2016).

6.5.1.2 Second option of initial coping and adaptation mechanisms

The second option of initial coping and adaptation mechanisms employed were listed by the respondents as employment, family support, entrepreneurial and humanitarian support as indicated in Table 6.21. A total of 74 respondents indicated that they relied on employment as a second option of initial coping and adaptation mechanisms when they arrived in South Africa. They were from Zimbabwe (40), DRC (13), Nigeria (5), Ghana (3), Cameroon (2), Lesotho (2), Malawi (2), Mozambique (2), Uganda (2), Burundi (1), Congo-Brazzaville (1) and Rwanda (1). Those who utilised entrepreneurial support were 29, and they were from Zimbabwe (12) Cameroon (4), Nigeria (3), Lesotho (3), Ghana (2), DRC (2), Uganda (1), Rwanda (1) and Burundi (1). Thirty-six used family support as second option to cope and adapt on arrival in

South Africa. They were from Zimbabwe (18), DRC (5), Nigeria (3), Cameroon (3), Ghana (2), Ethiopia (1), Lesotho (1), Malawi (1), Mozambique (1), and Zambia (1). A total of 68 respondents indicated that they utilised humanitarian support in the short term when they arrived in South Africa. They were from Zimbabwe (46), Nigeria (10), Ghana (3), Cameroon (2), DRC (2), Kenya (1), Lesotho (1), Malawi (1), Mozambique (1) and Senegal (1). One hundred and twenty-five respondents had no third choices of coping on arrival, which meant that they relied on the first option.

TABLE 6.21 SECOND OPTION OF COPING AND ADAPTATION MECHANISMS BY COUNTRY OF ORIGIN

Country	Employ-ment	Entrepre-neurial Support	Family Support	Humani-tarian Support	Did not say	Total
Angola	0	0	0	0	1	1
Benin	0	0	0	0	1	1
Burundi	1	1	0	0	3	5
Cameroon	2	4	3	2	5	16
Congo-Brazzaville	1	0	0	0	0	1
DRC	13	2	5	2	13	35
Eritrea	0	0	0	0	1	1
Ethiopia	0	0	1	0	2	3
Ghana	3	2	2	3	2	12
Ivory Coast	0	0	0	0	1	1
Kenya	0	0	0	1	2	3
Lesotho	2	3	1	1	0	7
Malawi	2	0	1	1	2	6
Mauritius	0	0	0	0	1	1
Mozambique	2	0	1	1	6	10
Nigeria	5	3	3	10	8	29
Rwanda	1	1	0	0	0	2
Senegal	0	0	0	1	0	1
Somalia	0	0	0	0	1	1
Tanzania	0	0	0	0	1	1
Uganda	2	1	0	0	1	4
Zambia	0	0	1	0	3	4
Zimbabwe	40	12	18	46	71	187
Total	74	29	36	68	125	332

Source: Survey results (2016).

6.5.1.3 Third and fourth options of initial coping and adaptation mechanisms

As the respondents were requested to indicate the third and fourth options of initial coping and adaptation mechanisms they employed on arrival in South Africa, only a few had those options. The third option of initial coping and adaptation was available to a few of them. The majority, that is 255 out of 332 respondents, indicated that they relied only on two options. Eight respondents indicated that they utilised employment as a third option of coping and adaptation in South Africa. They were from Zimbabwe (6), Cameroon (1) and DRC (1). Nine respondents utilised family support as coping and adaptation mechanisms on arrival in South Africa. They were from Zimbabwe (7), Cameroon (1) and Ghana (1). Twelve of the respondents used entrepreneurial support to cope and adapt on arrival in South Africa. They were from Zimbabwe (4), DRC (2), Cameroon (2), Mozambique (1), Lesotho (1), Kenya (1) and Ethiopia (1). Forty-eight respondents indicated that they were relying on humanitarian support as a third option of coping and adaptation on arrival in South Africa. They were from Zimbabwe (26), Ghana (7), Nigeria (5), DRC (3), and Cameroon (3), Lesotho (2), Uganda (1) and Kenya (1).

Only 32 had a fourth option of initial coping and adaptation mechanisms they used in South Africa. Four respondents, two each from Zimbabwe and Cameroon, used employment as an initial coping and adaptation mechanism on arrival in South Africa. Eight were entrepreneurs and they were from Ghana (3), Zimbabwe (2), Nigeria (1), Kenya (1) and DRC (1). Finally, 18 relied on humanitarian support and they were from Zimbabwe (11), Ghana (4), Nigeria (2) and Cameroon (1). The family support and humanitarian support dominated the initial coping mechanisms soon after the migrants arrived in South Africa.

6.5.2 Long-term coping and adaptation mechanisms

Coping and adapting in the short term was differed in the long term as the migrant women changed some of their resident statuses or established themselves in the country (Bhugra and Becker, 2005). The study sought to understand the multi-attribute long-term coping and adaptation mechanisms utilised by these women in South Africa. The long-term mechanisms were also categorized as employment, family support, entrepreneurial and humanitarian support. Among these were various jobs that they are engaged in, formal and informal businesses, assistance from family members such as husbands, brothers, sisters and even children and also humanitarian help from relatives, fellow country folks, locals and even various organizations.

6.5.2.1 First options of long-term coping and adaptation mechanisms employed

As indicated in Table 6.22, the long-term coping and adaptation mechanism were utilised by migrant women in South Africa.

TABLE 6.22 FIRST OPTION LONG-TERM COPING AND ADAPTATION MECHANISMS

Country	Employ-ment	Entrepre-neurial support	Family support	Humani-tarian support	Did not say	Total
Angola	1	0	0	0	0	1
Benin	1	0	0	0	0	1
Burundi	3	2	0	0	0	5
Cameroon	8	8	0	0	0	16
Congo-Brazzaville	1	0	0	0	0	1
DRC	24	9	2	0	0	35
Eritrea	1	0	0	0	0	1
Ethiopia	0	2	1	0	0	3
Ghana	6	3	1	2	0	12
Ivory Coast	1	0	0	0	0	1
Kenya	1	0	0	2	0	3
Lesotho	6	0	0	1	0	7
Malawi	0	4	1	1	0	6
Mauritius	0	1	0	0	0	1
Mozambique	3	5	0	2	0	10
Nigeria	18	7	3	1	0	29
Rwanda	0	1	1	0	0	2
Senegal	1	0	0	0	0	1
Somalia	0	1	0	0	0	1
Tanzania	1	0	0	0	0	1
Uganda	2	1	0	1	0	4
Zambia	4	0	0	0	0	4
Zimbabwe	98	60	21	5	3	187
Total	180	104	30	15	3	332

Source: Survey results (2016).

The majority (53.9%) of the respondents indicated that they were employed in various places, especially the private sector and foreign-owned enterprises in South Africa. This was a significant increase from the initial employment rate of 20.8% on arrival. Those who indicated that they were employed, were from Zimbabwe (98), DRC (24) Nigeria (18), Cameroon (8), Lesotho (6), Ghana (6), Zambia (4), Mozambique (3), Burundi (3), Uganda (2), Tanzania (1), Senegal (1), Kenya (1), Ivory Coast (1), Congo-Brazzaville (1), Eritrea (1), Benin (1) and Angola (1). Those who indicated that they used family support as first option of long-term

coping and adaptation in South Africa were 30 in total, and were from Zimbabwe (21), Nigeria (3), DRC (2), Ethiopia (1), Ghana (1), Malawi (1), and Rwanda (1). One hundred and four respondents utilised humanitarian support as first option of long-term coping and adaptation. They were from Zimbabwe (60), DRC (9), Cameroon (8), Nigeria (7), Mozambique (5), Malawi (4), Ghana (3), Ethiopia (2), Burundi (2), Uganda (1), Somalia (1), Rwanda (1), and Mauritius (1). Finally, fifteen of the respondents used humanitarian support as first option of coping and adapting in the long term in South Africa. They were from Zimbabwe (5), Mozambique (2), Kenya (2), Ghana (2), Uganda (1), Nigeria (1), Malawi (1) and Lesotho (1). Three respondents did not indicate anything.

Most migrant women got employment in South Africa in the long term. Adepoju (2006) emphasised that many African migrants came to South Africa for employment. South Africa was perceived as a rich country and full of opportunities. Considering the respondents' employment statistics of 53.9%, their perceptions were made into a reality as they migrated and got the jobs, which meant that their lives were better than in their home countries. Entrepreneurial means of survival also dominated the long-term survival mechanism after employment, which translated to the fact that migrant women devised means to adapt in the host country. The government policies on small and medium enterprises (SMEs) could be aggressively utilised in order to position the locals better in terms of them becoming entrepreneurs. This could be done by promoting business plans that need capital injections and also helping with entrepreneurial infrastructure development for local communities in order to protect locals from unfair competition from migrants.

6.5.2.2 Second, third and fourth options of long-term coping and adaptation mechanisms employed

As indicated in the first option of long-term coping and adaptation mechanisms, 180 respondents utilised employment and 104 utilised entrepreneurial support to cope and adapt in South Africa. Only a few utilised employment and entrepreneurial support as long-term coping and adaptation mechanisms since these two were already utilised in the first option. Only 22 utilised employment as second choice and they were from Zimbabwe (13), Nigeria (1), Mozambique (1), Malawi (1), Lesotho (1), Ghana (3), DRC (1) and Cameroon (1). Twenty-four used entrepreneurial support as second option and they were from Zimbabwe (18), Uganda (1), Rwanda (1), Nigeria (3) and Cameroon (1). Employment was only used by two respondents as third option and they were from Zimbabwe and DRC. Sixteen respondents used

entrepreneurial support as third option for coping and adaptation. They were from Zimbabwe (11), Nigeria (2), Mozambique (1) and Cameroon (2). Two respondents from Zimbabwe and Cameroon used employment as fourth long-term coping and adaptation mechanism. Six respondents used entrepreneurial support as fourth option for coping and adaptation mechanisms.

From the results, it is clear that the main long-term coping and adaptation mechanisms employed by migrant women in South Africa were employment and entrepreneurial support. Family and humanitarian support were not used as much in the long term as it was in the short term by migrant women. As stated by Bhugra and Becker (2005), the presence of family and friends in host countries assists migrants to cope and adapt on arrival. Erel (2002) and Hugo (2005) also confirmed that family, friends and relatives in host countries offer immediate relief for migrants when they arrive in the host countries. In the long term, as stated by Berry et al. (2006b), the migrants integrated in the host communities, due to their education, residence statuses and language proficiencies that facilitate employment. There could be policy review on social welfare such as a policy review to include and encourage recognition of interrelations and mutual support among local communities in order for locals to expand their economic base other than social welfare grants.

6.6 CORRELATION OF DEMOGRAPHIC, SOCIO-ECONOMIC AND COPING MECHANISMS

The coping and adaptation mechanisms that the migrant women utilised on arrival in South Africa and those that they utilised to integrate and assimilate in the country, were correlated with the selected demographic and socio-economic characteristics, which are age, official language, marital status, level of education and proficiency in English. Cross-tabulations with Pearson's chi-square test of association were used to find the correlation between employment, family support, entrepreneurial support and humanitarian support utilised in the short- and long-term coping and adaptation mechanisms and the socio-economic characteristics of the migrant women.

Table 6.23 presents the results of Pearson's chi-square test of association between the migrants' socio-economic characteristics and their employment, entrepreneurial, family and humanitarian support options for initial coping and adaptation mechanisms in South Africa.

TABLE 6.23 PEARSON'S CHI-SQUARE TEST OF ASSOCIATION FOR INITIAL COPING AND ADAPTATION MECHANISMS

Variables		Initial coping and adaptation mechanisms						Chi-square test of association
		Family support	Entrepre-neurial support	Employ-ment	Humani-tarian support	None	Total	
Age	18–29	68	5	22	16	–	111	31.446*** (0.002)
	30–39	94	16	28	19	–	157	
	40–49	16	9	15	8	–	48	
	50–59	3	5	3	1	–	12	
	60+	1	1	1	0	–	3	
	Total	182	36	69	44	–	331	
Official language	English	140	30	57	29		256	9.632 (0.381)
	French	32	6	11	13		62	
	Portuguese	8	0	1	2		11	
	Amharic	3	0	0	0		3	
	Total	183	36	69	44		332	
Marital status	Single	49	9	25	22		105	48.407** (0.001)
	Staying with partner	1	0	1	0		2	
	Engaged	0	0	0	1		1	
	Married	113	15	30	15		173	
	Widowed	9	6	3	3		21	
	Divorced	2	4	2	1		9	
	Separated	4	2	2	0		8	
	Never married	5	0	5	1		11	
	Total	183	36	68	43		330	
Level of education	Lower Primary*	1	1	0	0		2	26.007 (0.353)
	Upper Primary*	12	4	4	1		21	
	Secondary	107	21	43	22		193	
	Certificate	13	1	6	5		25	
	Diploma	21	2	6	7		36	
	Technikon qualification	0	1	2	2		5	
	University degree	10	4	2	2		18	
	Postgraduate qualification	19	2	5	5		31	
	No education	0	0	1	0		1	
	Total	183	36	69	44		332	
Proficiency in English	Yes	170	33	65	43		311	1.684 (0.640)
	No	13	3	4	1		21	
	Total	183	36	69	44		332	

* Lower primary = Grade 3 (Standard 1); Upper primary = Grade 4–7 (Standard 2–5)

***Indicates significance at 1% level

Source: Survey results (2016).

The results showed that the age of migrants had significant association with the type of initial survival mechanism. This was shown by the significant chi-square statistic of 31.446 at 1% level of significance. Specifically, the results revealed that most of the migrants (94) who relied on family support as their initial survival mechanism, were within the age group of 30–39 years. This was followed by those within the age group of 18–29, with a frequency of 68. Regarding entrepreneurial support, the results showed that most of the migrants who relied on this mechanism were within the age group of 30–39 years. Similarly, migrants within the age group of 30-39 years dominated in employment and humanitarian support as initial survival mechanisms. Generally, the results show that most of the migrants (157) were within the age group of 30–39 years, followed by 18–29, with a frequency of 111 migrants, and the least were those within the age group of 60 years and above.

In terms of migrants' official language, the results showed that there was no significant association between the migrants' official spoken language and the type of initial survival mechanism adopted. This was shown by the insignificant chi-square statistic of 9.632. However, the results indicated that most of the migrants (140) who relied on family support as an initial survival mechanism, were from English speaking countries. This was followed by those from French speaking countries, with a frequency of 32. Similarly, migrants from English speaking countries dominated in reliance on entrepreneurial support, employment and humanitarian support as initial survival mechanisms, followed by those from French speaking countries. Generally, the findings indicated that most of the migrants (256) were from English speaking countries and therefore they were proficient in English. According to Casale and Posel (2011), higher average earnings among the English language proficient South Africans explained why English was perceived as the language of 'achievement' and why parents wanted their children to study in English. The language policies might have been working well for migrant women in their home countries and it would be interesting to see how the language policy of South Africa considers English as the main language in their schools.

The marital status of the migrant women showed a significant association with the initial survival mechanisms they utilised in South Africa. This was shown by the significant chi-square statistic of 48.407 at 1% level of significance. The majority of the married women (113) relied on family support on arrival in South Africa. Marriage could be a buffer against vulnerability and susceptibility to social hazards. Their spouses took care of them and some respondents stated that when they migrated to South Africa they did so as *brides-to-be* to their men from

their home countries. Some joined their husbands, while others were joining members of their families. The other married women relied on entrepreneurial support (15), employment (30) and humanitarian support on arrival in the country. Similarly, single migrant women dominated the family support category with 49 of them relying on humanitarian support to survive on arrival in the country. Other single migrants relied on entrepreneurial support (9), employment (25) and humanitarian support (22), respectively. His would help in alleviating poverty through creation of wealth and jobs (Soni, 2014).

The level of education and English proficiency of the migrant women had insignificant association to the initial survival mechanisms of the migrant women. This was shown by the insignificant chi-square statistics of 26.007 and 1.684, respectively. However, the results indicated that most of the migrant women who relied on family support possessed secondary school education. This was followed by those with diploma qualifications (21), postgraduate qualification (19), certificate qualifications (13), upper primary education (12), university degrees (10), and lastly, lower primary education (1). As indicated in Table 6.6 most respondents possessed secondary education (193). Secondary education and vocational education and training in South Africa could be viewed as a gateway to coping and adaptation. There could be need for further investment in South Africa, especially in public education. Investment in vocational training could be key to increasing employment levels and growing the economy (Nyoka and Lekalake, 2015). The insignificant association of the English language to initial survival mechanisms was also shown by the insignificant statistic of 1.684; however, the results indicated that 170 of the respondents indicated that they relied on family support as an initial survival mechanism. Thirty-three (33) of the proficient English speakers relied on entrepreneurial support, 65 on employment and 43 on humanitarian support. Those proficient in English were the majority at 311. Proficiency in English could be a useful tool for coping and adaptation in South Africa. This was in agreement with the notion put forward by the British Council in their English teaching projects (2009) that indicated that the economic development and globalisation impact had made English a language of opportunity and a necessary means of improving prospects for better employment. The higher the levels of proficiency in English, for instance, are seen as offering better socio-economic development prospects for India and Bangladesh (Coleman, 2011). India and Bangladesh are developing countries like South Africa.

The only two variables that displayed significant association between the migrants' socio-economic characteristics and the initial survival mechanisms utilised, are age and marital status of the migrant women. This was in agreement with the evaluation made by the migrant women who indicated that the marriage institution was important for them.

Table 6.24 presents the results of Pearson's chi-squared test association between the migrant women's socio-economic characteristics and their long-term coping and adaptation mechanisms in South Africa. Like the initial coping and adaptation mechanisms, the results showed that the ages of the migrants had significant association with this type of long-term survival mechanism. The significant chi-square statistic of 29.062 at 5% level of significance is reflected by the results. The results indicated that 88 migrant women who relied on employment as their long-term survival mechanism were within the age group of 30–39 years. This was followed by 65, those within the age group of 18–29 years. There was a significant number (21) of those in the age group of 40–49 years who also relied on employment as a long-term survival tool. Entrepreneurial support as a long-term survival mechanism was associated with the majority (52) in the 30–39 years age group, followed by 23 and 20 in the 40–49 and 18–29 age groups, respectively. A significant number of migrant women in the age groups of 18–29 and 30–39 years also relied on family support for their long-term survival mechanisms in South Africa. Generally, the results indicated that most of the migrants (157) were within the age group of 30–39 years, followed by 18–29 years, with a frequency of 111, and the least were 60 years and above.

There was no significant association in terms of the official language, marital status, level of education, and English proficiency of the migrant women to the long-term survival mechanisms. The insignificance of the official language proficiency was indicated by the chi-square statistic of 11.61. The results showed that the majority (136) of those from English speaking countries relied on employment; the majority from French speaking countries (39) also relied on employment; Portuguese speakers (5); Amharic (2) and Tigrinya (1) relied on entrepreneurial support. Sizeable numbers of migrant women from English speaking countries (79 and 34) relied on entrepreneurial and family support, respectively. The 173 married migrant women relied on family support (25), entrepreneurial support (57) and employment (88) as their long-term survival mechanisms.

TABLE 6.24 PEARSON'S CHI-SQUARE TEST OF ASSOCIATION FOR LONG-TERM COPING AND ADAPTATION MECHANISMS

Variables		Long term coping and adaptation mechanism						Chi-square test of association
		Family support	Entrepre-neurial support	Employ-ment support	Humani-tarian support	None	Total	
Age	18–29	20	21	65	3	2	111	29.062** (0.024)
	30–39	15	52	88	1	1	157	
	40–49	4	23	21	0		48	
	50–59	1	8	3	0		12	
	60+	0	2	1	0		3	
	Total	40	106	178	4	3	331	
Official language	English	34	79	136	4	3	256	11.610** (0.477)
	French	3	20	39	0		62	
	Portuguese	2	5	4	0		11	
	Amharic	1	2	0	0		3	
	Total	40	106	179	4	3	332	
Marital status	Single	9	27	65	3	1	105	22.633** 0.751)
	Staying with partner	1	1	0	0		2	
	Engaged	0	1	0	0		1	
	Married	25	57	88	1	2	173	
	Widowed	3	11	7	0		21	
	Divorced	0	4	5	0		9	
	Separated	1	1	6	0		8	
	Never married	1	3	7	0		11	
	Total	40	105	178	4	3	330	
Level of education	Lower Primary*	0	2	0	0		2	35.844** (0.293)
	Upper Primary*	2	7	11	0	1	21	
	Secondary	21	74	95	1	2	193	
	Certificate	4	6	15	0		25	
	Diploma	3	8	24	1		36	
	Technikon qualification	1	2	2	0		5	
	University degree	2	4	12	0		18	
	Postgraduate qualification	7	3	19	2		31	
	No education	0	0	1	0		1	
	Total	40	106	179	4	3	332	
Proficiency in English	Yes	37	95	172	4	3	311	5.265** (0.261)
	No	3	11	7	0		21	
	Total	40	106	179	4	3	332	

* Lower primary = Grade 3 (Standard 1); Upper primary = Grade 4–7 (Standard 2–5)

**Indicates significance at 5% level

Source: Survey results (2016).

Of the 193 migrant women with a secondary education, 21 of them relied on family support, 74 on entrepreneurial support and 95 on employment as long-term survival mechanisms. Twenty-four of those with diplomas were employed out of a total of 36. Finally, 12 out of 18 respondents with university degrees and 19 out of 31 respondents with postgraduate qualifications were gainfully employed. A total of 172 and 95 who indicated that they were proficient in English were employed or were entrepreneurs, respectively. Therefore, the only variable that had a significant association between the migrants' socio-economic characteristics and their initial survival mechanisms was their age.

The age of the migrant women had an influence on both their initial and long-term coping and adaptation. The results showed that the age of migrants had significant association with the type of initial survival mechanism as well as the long-term survival mechanism. The significant chi-square statistic of 29.062 at 5% level of significance was reflected by the results. According to Bhalotra and Umana-Aponte (2010), the employment rate of women aged 20–49 is 64%, the highest in developing countries. Self-employment also dominated paid employment in Africa. The department of labour policies on employment must make sure they incorporate foreigners, but at the same time protect the local population from unregulated activities that resulted in unauthorised migrants joining the labour force.

6.7 VARIOUS NETWORKS AS COPING AND ADAPTATION MECHANISMS

The findings indicated that networks and networking of the migrant women facilitated their coping and adaptation in South Africa. Both formal (family) and informal networks (friends, colleagues, church members, and ethnic connections) were utilised by these women during migration, on arrival in South Africa and during their long-term residence in the country. As stated by Coleman (1988), social networks are used by individuals to pursue their goals and interests. It was found that there was correlation between the strength of social interactions among migrant communities and the host migrants' communities with the migrants' social and cultural capital. This was also the case of the African migrant women who studied in South Africa. Table 6.25 indicates that the African migrant women in South Africa had strong social and cultural capitals, hence they were coping and adapting in South Africa. Social networks could bring about strong financial, physical or even political resources (Cloete et al., 2009), that could collectively enhance the coping and adaptation of migrant women in South Africa. Also supported by Schneider (2004), trust issues, networks and access to resources facilitated coping and therefore adaptation. As indicated in Table 6.25, networks were considered very high.

Family and spousal support that could be safely included in the network dimension enhanced the coping and adaptation of migrant women. Acculturation became easier for the migrant women because of the various networks accessible to them. Those were the church, or religious organisations, family, friend, ethnic groupings, political connections and neighbours (Ibañez et al., 2015).

TABLE 6.25 NETWORKS ASSISTING MIGRANTS TO SURVIVE

Network	Not at all	To a small extent	To a moderate extent	To some extent	To large extent	Total	Percent-age	Overall rating
Church	48 (14.5)	17 (5.1)	27 (8.1)	48 (14.5)	192 (57.8)	332	100	3.96[1st]
Family	73 (22.0)	16 (4.8)	22 (6.6)	41 (12.3)	179 (53.9)	332	100	3.72[2nd]
Friends	74 (22.3)	33 (9.9)	41 (12.3)	62 (18.7)	121 (36.4)	332	100	3.37[3rd]
Ethnic group	139 (41.9)	42 (12.7)	32 (9.6)	41 (12.3)	78 (23.5)	332	100	2.63[5th]
Political connection	314 (94.6)	12 (3.6)	2 (0.6)	2 (0.6)	2 (0.6)	332	100	1.09[7th]
Colleagues	107 (32.2)	47 (14.2)	42 (12.7)	41 (12.3)	95 (28.6)	332	100	2.91[4th]
Neighbours	151 (45.5	47 (14.2)	34 (10.2)	27 (8.1)	73 (22.0)	332	100	2.47[6th]

Note: Values in brackets are percentages

Source: Survey results (2016).

The findings also indicated that good and reliable networks with local South Africans enhanced coping and adaptation in the country. The formal networks, for instance NGOs and government departments (Home Affairs, Health, Social Welfare, and Education), are also seen as predictors of coping and adaptation as they play a role in protecting the migrants in host countries. However, although the asylum/refugee migrant women were complaining of being unfairly treated by NGOs, especially the UNHCR in South Africa, this did not deter them from coping and adapting well in the country. Some Somali and Sudanese women participants in Cape Town indicated through informal interviews that they were turned away from the reception centres and offices each time they attempted to regularise their refugee statuses. Accolades of good treatment by the health department, access to social grants and access to education, indicated that formal networks also facilitated coping and adaptation of migrant women in South Africa. Those migrant women who had temporary refugee or asylum papers for a very long time indicated that they have learnt to live with their situation and they are carrying on with their everyday lives. They kept on renewing the papers on a regular basis. One migrant woman from

Ghana who had been trying to regularise her refugee status for the past 16 years, indicated that she was very happy in the country and had a permanent job in one of the Ghanaian business.

In order for the migrant women to cope and adapt on arrival and for longer time network both formal (NGOs, family, friends, relatives and faith-based organisations) and informal (neighbours, fellow countrymen, burial societies) were used. There were seven networks that were identified that could help migrants cope and adapt in South Africa. These were the church, family, friends, ethnic group, political connection, colleagues and neighbours. Members of these networks shared mutual assistance and support when need arose. They gave each other food, helped with babysitting for each other and sheltered one another from time to time. They had certain rights and access to certain privileges because of belonging to some of these networks (Cloete et al., 2009). The participants were requested to rate those networks according to how they perceived that they assisted them to cope and adapt. The church had the highest rating, followed by family, friends, ethnic group, political connection, colleague and neighbours, respectively, as indicated in Table 6.25. Political connections were rated least, and most of the migrant women indicated that they had nothing to do with politics, be it local or their home politics. Three hundred and fourteen respondents indicated that political connections did not at all help them in coping and adapting in South Africa. They were from Zimbabwe (171), DRC (35), Nigeria (26), Cameroon (13), Ghana (12), Mozambique (9), Lesotho, (7), Malawi (6), Burundi (5) Zambia (4), Uganda (4), Kenya (3), Ethiopia (2), Tanzania (1), Somalia (1), Senegal (1), Rwanda (1), Mauritius (1), Ivory Coast (1), Eritrea (1), Congo-Brazzaville (1), Benin (1) and Angola (1). They cited politics as the main contributing factor to their reason to migrate to South Africa. They also strongly perceived politicians as the engineers of xenophobic attacks in the country.

The church proved to be the most popular social network utilised by migrant women to cope and adapt in South Africa. One hundred and eighty-seven respondents indicated that they believed the church assisted them in coping and adaptation to a large extent. They were from Zimbabwe (103), DRC (24) Nigeria (16), Cameroon (9), Mozambique (7), Ghana (5), Lesotho (4), Malawi (3), Uganda (2), Rwanda (2), Kenya (2), Ethiopia (2), Zambia (1), Somalia (1), Mauritius (1), Ivory Coast (1), Congo-Brazzaville (1), Burundi (1), Benin (1) and Angola (1). The strong faith that the respondents showed in the church meant that the church played a pivotal role in the coping and adaptation of migrant women in South Africa. There were many churches in the metropolitan cities that were run by foreigners and most of these churches had

many congregates who were foreigners and locals. The freedom of association, gathering and worship that the country is upholding for all the people who live in South Africa could be reinforced as stipulated in the basic human rights laws. Such inclusivity will promote a reduction in xenophobia that is threatening South Africa from being isolated by other African countries who accuse the government of not doing enough to stop xenophobia against Africans in the country. That also indicates the positive direction South Africa is taking towards being part of the broader global village.

The participants were asked if there were other networks besides those listed that they utilised in South Africa. The identified networks were not exhaustive as during the survey process some respondents had to mention other networks that they were utilising to survive in South Africa. The networks were burial societies, *Stokvels,* clients, grocery clubs, Muslim organisation, local South Africans, fellow countrymen, South African government, Zimbabwe association, World Ventures Team, *Diaspora* family, village society from Cameroon, *Mukuru*[12], *MMM*[13], and an NGO called Adventist Development and Relief Agency (ADRA). The respondents were further asked to describe in their own words how networks were helping them in their lives in South Africa. The following were the main responses that were put forward by the respondents.

Family support

My family is motivating me to work harder.
My family from home sends me some money.
Family – they keep me happy and motivate me to keep going.
My family from home help me by sending money from home.
My sister is always there providing me with food.
My brother assisted when I came to South Africa, sent me to school and assisted me to start the salon business.
My uncle assisted me with accommodation and basic things like food.

Source: Survey results (2016).

Religious support

The church is providing spiritual and emotional support.
At times people from church give me food. They assist when I have problems.
Some church members lend me money, and they help with referring me to places where I can get employment.
I have managed to link up with a group from church to be able to buy goods in bulk so that we can sell at competitive prices.
At times when one moves to another town church members connect you to the church members in a new town.
There are always people ready to welcome you and make you feel at home.

Source: Survey results (2016).

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[12]*Mukuru* is a remittance company used by people in the diaspora to send money back home.
[13]*MMM* is a pyramid scheme that works similar to Ponzi schemes. They all rely on recruiting people to join the scheme promising unrealistic returns on investment.

Humanitarian support
During bereavements, many foreigners especially my compatriots come together for support purposes and financial support. They organise financial resources and transport to repatriate the body back home as many of us foreigners like burying our fellow countrymen back home.
When my husband was shot in an armed robbery I had my fellows from my country supporting me with all the burial arrangement and they helped me sort out my husband's estate. That is why I am surviving from his estate as he had a lot of money acquired through his business.
The neighbours give me food. They look after my property when I decide to go visit my home. They help me with the translation of their various local languages. They also teach me the languages so that I integrate fast into the society.

Source: Survey results (2016).

Such reliance by migrant women on various support systems could be emulated by the local South Africans so that they move away from being too dependent on social welfare financial systems that the government is offering the citizens. The government could introduce a policy that offers seed funding for the locals to initiate programmes that would mean depending on each other in times of need.

6.8 EVALUATION OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN JOB MARKET BY MIGRANT WOMEN

The migrant women were asked to evaluate how they perceived the job market in South Africa as indicated in Table 6.26. Using Kendall's Evaluation method of the job market, the highest ranked was job availability, followed by skills transfer in the workplace, then ethnic preferences in the workplace, policies on getting jobs, chances on getting a job and getting a specific job. According to the respondents, jobs were readily available in South Africa; however, the only hindrances to getting the job were the skills necessary, the qualifications needed and the correct or legal documentation required for foreigners to be employed in a foreign country. There were some migrant women who had indicated that they did possess the prerequisite qualifications and skills but were struggling to get employment in South Africa. On further probing it became clear that they either were not in possession of the proper documentation and hence it was not possible for them to even apply for specific jobs that are commensurate with their qualifications. They were also of the opinion that foreigners were only employed in scarce skills jobs and that other jobs were meant for the local South Africans. The respondents expressed that the laws and policies were too strict, hence they struggled to get jobs. According to the respondents the chances of getting jobs in South Africa were high provided the person met all the legal requirements. There was one Nigerian woman who had a nursing qualification, but instead of working in the health sector she was selling fruits and vegetables. She did not meet the

prerequisites for practicing as a nurse in South Africa. The South African Nursing Council which is governed by the Nursing Act, Act 33 of 2005, has certain requirements, including registration with the Council, in order to practice as a nurse in South Africa.

TABLE 6.26 KENDALL'S EVALUATION OF THE JOB MARKET IN SOUTH AFRICA

Job market descriptions	Mean rank
Job availability	4.13
Policies on getting jobs	3.37
Chances of getting jobs	3.06
Getting your specific job	2.60
Skills transfer in workplace	4.03
Ethnic preferences in the workplace	3.81

Source: Survey results (2016).

The migrant women indicated that jobs were available in South Africa, unlike in their home countries. Some of them were even creating employment in South Africa because the atmosphere was conducive to job creation. They were further asked about being discriminated against in the job market. The migrant women indicated that they had stopped looking for jobs because of the discriminatory job market. One respondent narrated as follows on how she was being treated at her work:

> *The cleaners stopped cleaning my office and desk, the messengers never collected any mail from my office and when serving tea to personnel they skipped my office, just because I am a foreigner. Even cleaners and messengers think that they are better than foreigners.*

The participants were asked about how they evaluated the job market in South Africa. Using a scale of 1–10, the participants were asked to say how they viewed the job market in the country. On job availability, the respondents evaluated the job market as indicated in Table 6.27.

Most of the respondents indicated that jobs were available in South Africa, there was high skills transfer in the workplace, and there was also nepotism in the workplace. It could be worthwhile for the policymakers to revisit their employment policies and try to avoid nepotism since nepotism promotes incompetence, gatekeeping and low productivity by the privileged employees. This is in concurrence with what Bute (2011) noted of the Turkish public service systems, especially involving the banking sector.

TABLE 6.27 JOB AVAILABILITY IN SOUTH AFRICA

Job availability	Country of origin
Highest: 10 (n= 53)	Zimbabwe (35), Cameroon (1), DRC (3), Ghana (5), Kenya (1), Lesotho (3), Mozambique (1), Nigeria (3), Uganda (1)
9 (n=14)	Zimbabwe (5), Rwanda (1), Nigeria (4), Mozambique (1), DRC (3)
8 (n=22)	Zimbabwe (12), Zambia (2), Uganda (1), Nigeria (1), Malawi (1), DRC (3), Cameroon (1), Benin (1)
7 (n=21)	Zimbabwe (15), Nigeria (1), Mozambique (2), Ghana (1), Ethiopia (1), Cameroon (1)
6 (n=25)	Zimbabwe (15), Nigeria (2), Mozambique (1), Malawi (2), Lesotho (1), DRC (2), Cameroon (2)
5 (n=32)	Zimbabwe (25), Nigeria (2), Somalia (1), Zambia (1), Lesotho (1), Mozambique (1), Kenya (1)
4 (n=26	Zimbabwe (17), Senegal (1), Mozambique (1), Malawi (1), Lesotho (1), Ghana (2), DRC (3)
3 (n=29)	Zimbabwe (16), Nigeria (3), Cameroon (4), Mozambique (1), Ghana (2, DRC (2), Burundi (1)
2 (n=37)	Zimbabwe (13), Uganda (1), Rwanda (1), Nigeria (5), Ivory Coast (1), DRC (10), Congo-Brazzaville (1), Cameroon (2), Burundi (2), Angola (1)
Lowest: 1 (n=72)	Zimbabwe (34), Zambia (1), Uganda (1), Tanzania (1), Nigeria (7), Mozambique (2), Mauritius (1), Malawi (2), Kenya (1), Ghana (2), Ethiopia (2), Eritrea (1), DRC (9), Cameroon, (5), Burundi (2)
Did not answer (n=1)	Nigeria

Source: Survey results (2016)

On the policies on getting jobs in South Africa, the respondents had varying views as indicated in Table 6.28. One hundred respondents evaluated the job policies in South Africa as lowest. They were from Zimbabwe (43), Zambia (1), Uganda (2), Tanzania (1), Somalia (1), Nigeria (10), Mozambique (2), Mauritius (1), Malawi (3), Lesotho (5), Kenya (2), Ghana (9), Ethiopia (2), DRC (11), Congo-Brazzaville (1), Cameroon (3), Burundi (2) and Angola (1). Sixty-six respondents also evaluated the South African job policies as very low and scored it 2. They were from Zimbabwe (29), Zambia (2), Senegal (1), Rwanda (2), Nigeria (8), Mozambique (2), Malawi (1), Ghana (1), Ethiopia (1), DRC (14), Cameroon (4) and Burundi (1). Twenty-two migrant women indicated a score of 3 for job policies in South Africa and they were from Zimbabwe (12), Nigeria (2), Mozambique (1), Malawi (1), Lesotho (1), DRC (2), Cameroon (2) and Burundi (1). From the above statistics, those who scored the job policies at 1–3 were 56.6%, which indicated that they had a negative opinion about the policies in South Africa on job acquisition by migrants. A number of qualified migrant women (22) indicated that they had stopped looking for jobs because they knew they would be wasting their time, thereby causing brain waste.

TABLE 6.28 POLICIES ON GETTING JOBS

Country												
	**Lowest < Policies on getting jobs > Highest**											
Country	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**	**7**	**8**	**9**	**10**	**N/A**	**Total**
Angola	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Benin	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Burundi	2	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	5
Cameron	3	4	2	2	1	0	0	0	2	2	0	16
Congo-Brazzaville	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
DRC	11	14	2	1	1	1	0	1	0	4	0	35
Eritrea	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
Ethiopia	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3
Ghana	9	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	12
Ivory Coast	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Kenya	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	3
Lesotho	5	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	7
Malawi	3	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	6
Mauritius	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Mozambique	2	2	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	3	1	10
Nigeria	10	8	2	1	1	1	1	0	2	2	1	29
Rwanda	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
Senegal	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Somalia	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Tanzania	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Uganda	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	4
Zambia	1	2	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4
Zimbabwe	43	29	12	16	21	11	6	7	4	37	1	187
Total	100	66	22	24	26	13	7	10	9	51	4	332

Source: Survey results (2016)

The policies on the jobs were not favouring the foreigners as they have experienced instances when low qualified locals are preferred over them. The government could consider shifting policies so that merit is used in employment of the workforce in government departments and also to implement policies that will enforce skills transfer so that foreigners impact their skills to locals, while contributing to the development of the country.

On the chances of migrant women getting jobs, 61.7% of the respondents scored this lowest, that is between 1 and 3 out of 10. Those who scored lowest were from Zimbabwe (89), Zambia (2), Uganda (3), Tanzania (1), Somalia (1), Senegal (1), Rwanda (2), Nigeria (22), Mozambique (7), Mauritius (1), Malawi (2), Lesotho (6), Kenya (1), Ghana (9), Ethiopia (3), Eritrea (1), DRC (33), Cameroon (12), Burundi (4) and Angola (1). Only 10.8% scored the chances of getting jobs in South Africa between 8 and 10 out of 10. They were from Zimbabwe (32), Cameroon (1), Ghana (2) and Malawi (1). It is clear that the migrant women were of the opinion that their chances of getting jobs were slim in South Africa. Hence, many of them were entrepreneurs and also working for fellow compatriots.

It was also difficult for them to get the type of job that they were trained to do. This was true of those who indicated that they were trained nurses, accountants, biologists and business management professionals who indicated that they were not doing the jobs that they were trained to do. A total of 239 respondents indicated that they considered the chances of getting a specific job as very low, that is between 1 and 3 out of 10. They were from Zimbabwe (122), Angola (1), Burundi (5), Cameroon (13), Congo-Brazzaville (1), DRC (13), Eritrea (1), Ethiopia (2), Ghana (7), Lesotho (5), Malawi (6), Mauritius (1), Mozambique (8), Nigeria (25), Rwanda (1), Senegal (1), Somalia (1), Tanzania (1), Uganda (3) and Zambia (2). Despite having the qualifications, it was not easy to get the job.

The study indicated that skills transfer happened in the workplace in South Africa. There were mixed feelings on this aspect of skills transfer as 38.6% (128) and 31% (103) indicated that very low skills transfer happened at the workplace and very high skills transfer happened at the workplace, respectively. Those who indicated that skills transfer was very low at between 1 and 3 out of 10, were from Zimbabwe (65), Zambia (1), Uganda (1), Nigeria (17), Mozambique (5), Mauritius (1), Malawi (2), Lesotho (3), Ghana (5), Ethiopia (1), DRC (12), Cameroon (8), Burundi (4) and Angola (1). Those who felt strongly about skills transfer in the workplace of between 8 and 10 out of 10, were from Zimbabwe (63), Zambia (3), Uganda (2), Somalia (1), Nigeria (5), Lesotho (1), Ivory Coast (1), Ghana (5), Ethiopia (2), DRC (15), Congo-Brazzaville (1), Cameroon (3) and Burundi (1). Those migrant women who were employed felt they had been skilled much in the workplace. The respondents were asked to give their opinions on the general outlook of the job market in South Africa. Divergent opinions were put forward by the migrant women .as shown in Table 6.29.

TABLE 6.29 OPINIONS ON THE JOB MARKET IN SOUTH AFRICA

Overall evaluation of job market in South Africa	Country of origin
Jobs are available. It is now easier to get a job than before. Not easy for foreigner to get a job but there are jobs. The policies favour the locals. They prefer their own first. But with the right papers, experience and skills you can get a job.	Zimbabwe, Nigeria, Kenya
They only hire people with green identity document books and it is not fair. If you have a permit, they will consider you as a third choice after they hire illiterate people with green books.	Zimbabwe, Nigeria
Not easy unless you have connections. They are asking for bribes to get you a job.	Nigeria, Zimbabwe, Zambia
Very difficult to get formal job but easier to get jobs that pay very little. Jobs are not available, if there are then they exploit foreigners. Different rate of pay for foreigners.	Zimbabwe, Lesotho, Mozambique
Hard to get a job. Lots of racism based on your accent in speaking English.	Nigeria
Personally, I feel well accommodated at my work and it is very comfortable.	Zimbabwe, Nigeria, Kenya, Ivory Coast, Cameroon,
It is very tough getting a job plus private companies are somehow racist.	Nigeria,
South Africa is still ok. I am happy. It is ok. There is no discrimination towards women. In my workplace there is very fair, no problems.	Zimbabwe
Its better here than Cameroon. There is job in South Africa as opposed to my country. Life is much better here than Mozambique. There are jobs here in S.A. It's better than my home country.	Cameroon, Mozambique, Angola, Benin, DRC, Zimbabwe
Challenging like any other country as a migrant you have to work so hard to be on the top.	Nigeria
Especially when you cannot speak their language the environment is not friendly.	DRC, Congo-Brazzaville, Senegal, Cameroon,
I think the job environment is fair as long as you prove that you are able to do the job. However, qualification, specific jobs are scarce, so you have to be willing to take up something below your skills or qualifications.	Nigeria, DRC, Zimbabwe
There are policies governing the job environment in South Africa and they are fair. You apply for and get a job on merit.	Zimbabwe, Nigeria, Cameroon
It's challenging for me because many South Africans are currently jobless, hence, decreasing the possibility of me finding a job.	Nigeria
I can't say because I have low education, never looked for a job. I never looked for a job, because I heard that even with a degree you cannot get a degree as a foreigner. I didn't go to school so I cannot complain.	Mozambique, Angola, Lesotho
It's almost like Zimbabwe.	Zimbabwe
We create jobs here for ourselves as foreigners. Most foreigners doing their own business. Most Ethiopians are into business. We are independent. We create jobs. I actually provide employment to my country ladies and also a South African.	Nigeria, Ghana, Zimbabwe, Ethiopia
It's not too hard to get jobs in S.A. so long you have got your credentials. You need to carry yourself well in the work environment.	Zimbabwe, Kenya, Nigeria, Cameroon

Source: Survey results (2016)

6.9 LIVELIHOOD CAPITALS AND FACTORS THAT IMPACT ON COPING AND ADAPTATION MECHANISMS

Using the multi-attribute contingent ratings of the livelihood capitals and capital factors, the mean scores from the respondents gave the indications as to what the migrant women utilised in order to cope and adapt in South Africa. The following livelihood capitals factors were put forward to the respondents to evaluate: **human** (education; health, knowledge and skills; and capacity to work); **social** (networks and connections; relations of trust and mutual support; informal and formal networks; and collective representation); **economic** (salary/wages/income; savings; credit; pension; marriage; and *Stokvels* / burial societies); **physical** (shelters/houses; amenities [basic services]; communication services [vehicles, transport networks]; and technology [internet, emails, cell phones]; **political** (relationships with political authorities in South Africa; political networks from home country; interaction with political structures locally; and business relations with politicians); and **cultural** (gender issues; traditional beliefs; work ethics; and respect for authority). The overall mean scores for the capitals were then drawn from the capital factors.

6.9.1 Human livelihood capital factors as survival mechanisms

Four capital factors were identified under the human capital and those were education, health, knowledge and skills, and capacity to work. The participants were asked to score each of the factors that contributed to their coping and adaptation in South Africa. One hundred and seventy-four (52.4%) of the respondents ranked education as very high, which meant that it contributed to their coping and adaptation in South Africa. They were from Zimbabwe (108), Zambia (2), Uganda (2), Tanzania (1), Rwanda (1), Nigeria (18), Mozambique (4), Mauritius (1), Malawi (1), Lesotho (1), Kenya (1), Ivory Coast (1), Ghana (2), Ethiopia (2), DRC (15), Cameroon (10), Burundi (3) and Benin (1). This is, however, in contradiction with the chi-square tests where education was insignificant. One of the main reasons why education was insignificant is because of the lowering of the educational levels by migrant women in order to fit in any available jobs at the time. This has been shown by the Canadian experiences by Chinese where their education meant little in comparison to the local education (Guo and DeVoretz, 2006).

Forty-six (16.6%) ranked education high and they were from Zimbabwe (25), Uganda (1), Nigeria (3), Mozambique (1), Malawi (1), Lesotho (2), Ghana (2), DRC (5), Cameroon (4) and

Burundi (2). A total of 55 (16.6%) respondents ranked education as moderate. They were from Zimbabwe (31), Zambia (1), Rwanda (1), Nigeria (5), Mozambique (2), Malawi (1), Lesotho (2), Ghana (2), RDC (8), Congo-Brazzaville (1) and Cameroon (1). That translated to 276 respondents being positive with the education as a coping and adaptation mechanism in South Africa. In section 6.3.5, 308 respondents indicated that they had secondary education, certificates, diplomas, technikon qualifications, degrees and postgraduate degrees which is an indication that literacy levels were high among the migrant women. Those who ranked education as very low (9%) were from Zimbabwe (11), Zambia (1), Senegal (1), Nigeria (1), Mozambique (2), Malawi (2), Kenya (1), Ghana (6), Eritrea (1), RDC (3) and Cameroon (1); and those who ranked education low (7.8%), were from Zimbabwe (11), Uganda (1), Somalia (1), Nigeria (2), Mozambique (1), Malawi (1), Lesotho (2), Kenya (1), Ethiopia (1), DRC (4) and Angola (1). These results show that they verbally expressed their sentiments that they were doing jobs that do not need an education. A woman who was selling vegetables in one of Cape Town's northern suburbs, Parow, stated that as a qualified educator she had no choice but to sell vegetables since she could not get a job commensurate with her qualification as was the case in the Canadian labour environment where migrant women had to lower their qualifications and accept lower jobs in order to earn a livelihood (Galabuzi, 2006). Migrant women deskilled themselves in order to survive in South Africa.

Two hundred and seventy-six (83.1%) of the respondents indicated that health was very important for one to cope and adapt in South Africa. These respondents were from Zimbabwe (155), Zambia (3), Uganda (4), Tanzania (1), Somalia (1), Senegal (1), Rwanda (2), Nigeria (22), Mozambique (7), Mauritius (1), Malawi (5), Lesotho (6), Kenya (2), Ivory Coast (1), Ghana (7), Ethiopia (3), Eritrea (1), DRC (33), Congo-Brazzaville (1), Cameroon (15), Burundi (4) and Angola (1). They indicated that they were healthy and those who had once fallen sick were attended to at various public and private health institutions in South Africa. It was noted from the informal interviews done during the survey that the women in Cape Town, Durban and Bloemfontein expressed their satisfaction with how the public health systems and personnel treated them when they sought medical attention. They had praises for the public health systems in those metropolitan cities. However, in the Gauteng Province, particularly in Johannesburg, Pretoria and Ekurhuleni, the respondents expressed dissatisfaction with the treatment they received from public health facilities. One woman from Zimbabwe who had breast cancer and was successfully operated at Edington Hospital in Durban was so happy and attributed her survival to the health personnel at that institution. In Johannesburg, three women from

Zimbabwe, Nigeria and Mozambique expressed how they were denied access to food, medication and bedding at some of the hospitals in Gauteng. An Ethiopian woman also gave her account:

> The nurse from South Africa who knows very well how some wealthy Ethiopians live, how much money they have and the luxury cars they drive. This nurse is struggling and so the nurse takes advantage of the good policy of South African health facility sector and are therefore reluctant to attend to them and take their time to afford them treatment.

Another Zimbabwean woman related how the nursing assistants denied foreigners food and went to the extent of returning the plate of food to the kitchen because *lina makwerekwere liyahlupha, liyasiminya* (you foreigners are problematic, you are congesting our spaces). Overall, the majority of the migrant women were happy with their health and provision of health in the country. South Africa could be an attractive destination for skilled workforce because of the progressive public health institutions, and therefore the policies on access to public health care to all who live in South Africa, need to be fully implemented.

Knowledge and skills were considered to be very important for survival by migrant women in South Africa. Migrant women who entered on study permits managed to get an education and others managed to upgrade and get higher qualifications, thereby increasing their human capital value. That enabled them to increase their bargaining power in the work market, got better remuneration and encountered better working conditions (Dustmann, 2003). The majority of the respondents (76.8%) indicated that knowledge and skills were very important for survival. These respondents were from Zimbabwe (144), Zambia (2), Uganda (4), Tanzania (1), Somalia (1), Rwanda (1), Nigeria (21), Mozambique (6), Mauritius (1), Malawi (4), Lesotho (4), Kenya (3), Ivory Coast (1), Ghana (10), Ethiopia (3), DRC (30), Congo-Brazzaville (1), Cameroon (13), Burundi (4) and Angola (1). Migrant women who took part in the survey were either employed, were entrepreneurs or were supported by family or friends. They utilised their skills and knowledge to earn a living. These migrant women used their skills to engage in self-employment, menial jobs such as housekeeping as well as working as sales assistants. Those who worked in salons used the talents and skills they learnt in their home countries to earn an income. Some women expressed their joy to the fact that the housekeeping jobs they were doing in South Africa were not too difficult as they made use of machinery such as hoovers, washing machines and food processors, unlike in their home countries where most of the chores are manually done.

Table 6.30 outlines how the respondents rated themselves in terms of the human capital factors under the six capitals that were selected for the study. The majority of the respondents ranked the human capital factors as very high. The ratings were education (52.7%), health (83.4%), knowledge and skills (76.8%) and capacity to work (82.8%). This ranking was in line with the levels of education, their health statuses, their capacity to work and knowledge and skills that the respondents possessed.

TABLE 6.30 RATINGS OF THE HUMAN LIVELIHOOD CAPITAL FACTORS

Human capital	Very low	Low	Moderate	High	Very high	Total	Mean score	Factor ranking
Education	30 (9.0)	26 (7.8)	55 (16.6)	46 (13.9)	17 5(52.7)	332 (100)	3.93	4
Health	2 (.6)	6 (1.8)	19 (5.7)	28 (8.4)	277 (83.4)	332 (100)	4.72	1
Knowledge and skills	4 (1.2)	11 (3.3)	24 (7.2)	38 (11.4)	255 (76.8)	332 (100)	4.59	3
Capacity to work	4 (1.2)	9 (2.7)	13 (3.9)	31 (9.3)	275 (82.8)	332 (100)	4.70	2

Note: Values in brackets are percentages.

Source: Survey results (2016).

Of the four factors identified under human capital factors, health ranked highest because of the perceptions as well as the experiences of the migrant women that the South African health system is one of the best ion the continent. Although health systems can be looked at as institutional capacity, the manner in which the system is organised and facilitated the good health and well-being of the migrant women. This resulted in them coping and adapting better than in their home countries where the health systems were insufficient (Naicker et al. 2009). This should be a cause for concern for policymakers who still are expected to do more regardless of the fact that South Africa caters for many patients from the SSA countries. Capacity to work was ranked second, followed by knowledge and skills, and finally education. Figure 6.3 indicates the scores of the human capital.
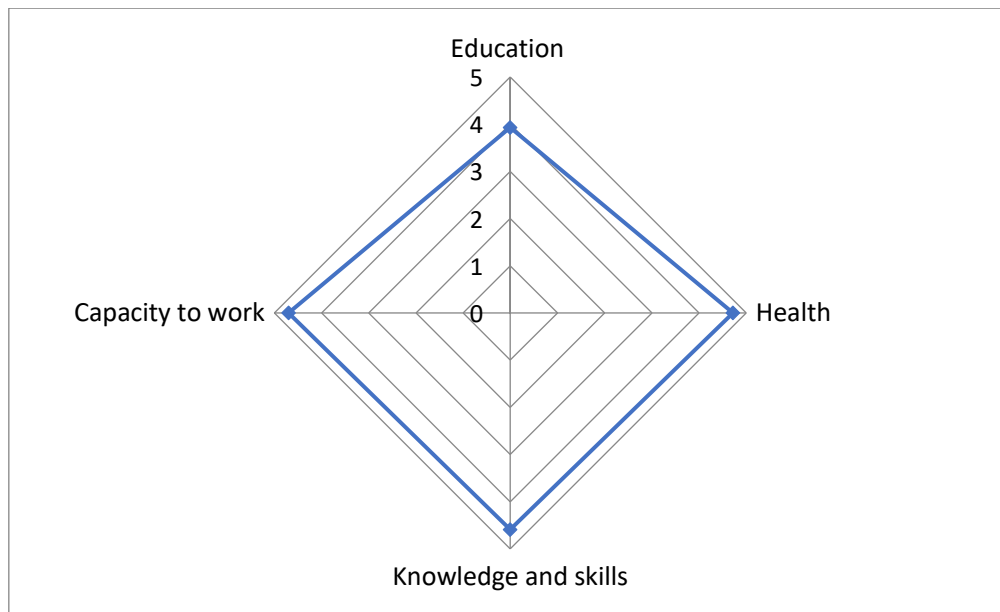
Figure 6.3. Human factors of survival

Figure 6.3 shows that there was a fair balance of the factors which indicate that all the factors enhanced the coping and adaptation of migrant women in South Africa.

6.9.2 Social capital as a survival mechanism

Social factors that were identified as assisting migrant women to survive in the host country were networks and connections, relations of trust and mutual support, informal and formal networks, and collective representation. Formal and informal groups were identified as very low in terms of coping and adaptation in South Africa. Table 6.31 indicates the rate of social capital by respondents. A total of 52.1% (173) of the respondent indicated that they considered networks very high as a survival mechanism. They were from Zimbabwe (111), Uganda (1), Tanzania (1), Somalia (1), Rwanda (1), Nigeria (15), Mozambique (4), Malawi (1), Lesotho (2), Kenya (2), Ghana (7), Ethiopia (2), Eritrea (1), DRC (12), Congo-Brazzaville (1), Cameroon (6) and Burundi (4). Twenty-six (7.8%) considered networks and connections as high and they were from Zimbabwe (15), Nigeria (2), Mozambique (2), Lesotho (2), Ghana (1), DRC (3) and Cameroon (1). Forty-seven (14.2%) considered networks and connections as moderate and they were from Zimbabwe (23), Zambia (2), Uganda (1), Nigeria (8), Mozambique (1), Malawi (1), Lesotho (2), Ghana (1), DRC (3), Cameroon (4) and Benin (1). Twenty-seven (8.1%) of the respondents ranked networks and connections as low and they were from Zimbabwe (12), Uganda (1), Nigeria (2), Mozambique 93), Malawi (2), Ivory Coast (1),

Ghana (1), DRC (4) and Cameroon (1). Finally, 59 (17.8%) respondents ranked networks and connections very low. These respondents were from Zimbabwe (26), Zambia (1), Uganda (1), Senegal (1), Rwanda (1), Nigeria (2), Mauritius (1), Malawi (2), Lesotho (1), Kenya (1), Ghana (2), Ethiopia (1), DRC (13), Cameroon (4), Burundi (1) and Angola (1).

TABLE 6.31 RATINGS OF THE SOCIAL LIVELIHOOD CAPITAL FACTORS

Social capital	Very low	Low	Moderate	High	Very high	Total	Mean score	Factor ranking
Networks and connections	59 (17.8)	27 (8.1)	47 (14.2)	26 (7.8)	173 (52.1)	332 (100)	3.68	2
Relations of trust and mutual support	41 (12.3)	35 (10.5)	64 (19.3)	35 (10.5)	157 (47.3)	332 (100)	3.70	1
Formal and informal groups	113 (34)	37 (11.1)	52 (15.7)	31 (9.3)	99 (29.8)	332 (100)	2.90	4
Collective representation	87 (26.2)	24 (7.2)	81 (24.4)	31 (9.3)	109 (32.8)	332 (100)	3.15	3

Note: Values in brackets are percentages

Source: Survey results (2016).

Relations of trust and mutual support that the migrant women gained from their relations in South Africa also assisted them to cope and adapt. A total of 192 respondents rated the relations based on trust and mutual support as high and very high at 10.5% and 47.3%, respectively. Those who rated it as high were from Zimbabwe (24), Senegal (1), Nigeria (1), Mozambique (1), Lesotho (2), Ghana (2), DRC (3) and Cameroon (1). Those who rated it as high were from Zimbabwe (94), Zambia (3), Uganda (1), Tanzania (1), Somalia (1), Rwanda (2), (Nigeria (13), Mozambique (5), Malawi (2), Lesotho (3), Kenya (1), Ivory Coast (1), Ghana (30), Ethiopia (20), DRC (16), Congo-Brazzaville (1), Cameroon (4) and Burundi (4).

As indicated in the table above, networks such as church, family, friends, ethnic groups, political connections, colleagues and neighbours were necessary in their lives and had been instrumental in their survival in South Africa. For instance, family support and spousal support assisted migrant women to cope on arrival in South Africa and those relationships also made the women acculturate better in the new environment. This was in agreement with Ibañez et al. (2015) who stated that the locals also had developed relationships with foreign women such as being employed to work for them. A number of salon owners indicated that they also employed locals and they were working well together. Good rapport had been developed among migrants from various countries and locals and that made coping and adaptation easier. There were some migrant women in Durban (four from Zimbabwe, three from the DRC and two from Nigeria),

however, who expressed that they did not trust anyone and also felt alienated in South Africa. These same migrant women even expressed that they would be glad if they got the means return to their home countries. These women had bad experiences from xenophobia attacks, had been denied employment because of being foreigners or had *'their husbands snatched by local women'*.

In the workplace, formal groups were established and in the communities, informal groups were formed. Both formal (NGOs and faith-based organisations) and informal groups (*Stokvels* and burial societies) were necessary for the coping and adaptation of migrant women in South Africa. A total of 113 respondents gave a very low rating for formal and informal groups as coping and adaptation mechanisms in South Africa. They were from Zimbabwe (53), Zambia (2), Uganda (1), Tanzania (1), Nigeria (10), Mozambique (4), Mauritius (1), Malawi (2), Lesotho (5), Kenya (1), Ivory Coast (1), Ghana (6), Eritrea (1), DRC (16), Cameroon (6) Burundi (2) and Angola (1). This relates well to trust and mutual support issues as a lot of women expressed that it was difficult to rely on others to earn a livelihood. On the other hand, 99 respondents rated those formal and informal groups very high. They were from Zimbabwe (61), Uganda (2), Senegal (1), Nigeria (11), Mozambique (1), Malawi (1), Kenya (1), Ghana (3), Ethiopia (3), DRC (8), Congo-Brazzaville (1), Cameroon (4) and Burundi (2).

The number of the respondents rated collective representation as high (31) and very high (109). They were from Zimbabwe (16), Senegal (1), Nigeria (2), Mozambique (1), Malawi (1), Ghana (2), DRC (6) Cameroon (1) and Burundi (1), and from Zimbabwe (56), Zambia (1), Uganda (3), Nigeria (12), Mozambique (1), Malawi (1), Lesotho (4), Kenya (2), Ivory Coast (1), Ghana (5), Ethiopia (3), DRC (9), Congo-Brazzaville (1), Cameroon (6), Burundi (3) and Angola (1), respectively. The migrant women indicated that they used their home country connections such as the Zimbabwe Association in South Africa and Cameroonians in South Africa, to represent them when they were not fairly treated in South Africa. Some indicated that they utilised religious organisations such as Muslim organisations to represent their interests in South Africa. Collective representation as a social capital was useful to the coping and adaptation in a host country.

Figure 6.4 shows the overall rating of the social capital factors. The highest ranked factor was relations of trust and mutual support, followed by networks and connections, then collective representation and lastly formal and informal groups. A study conducted by Abuzahra (2004) concurs with this finding that Muslim women in the USA coped and adapted better in the

presence of a family member in the host community, together with the support they got from their spouses and flexible gender roles. The all-inclusive South African society is commended for making the coping and adaptation of migrant women better in South Africa.
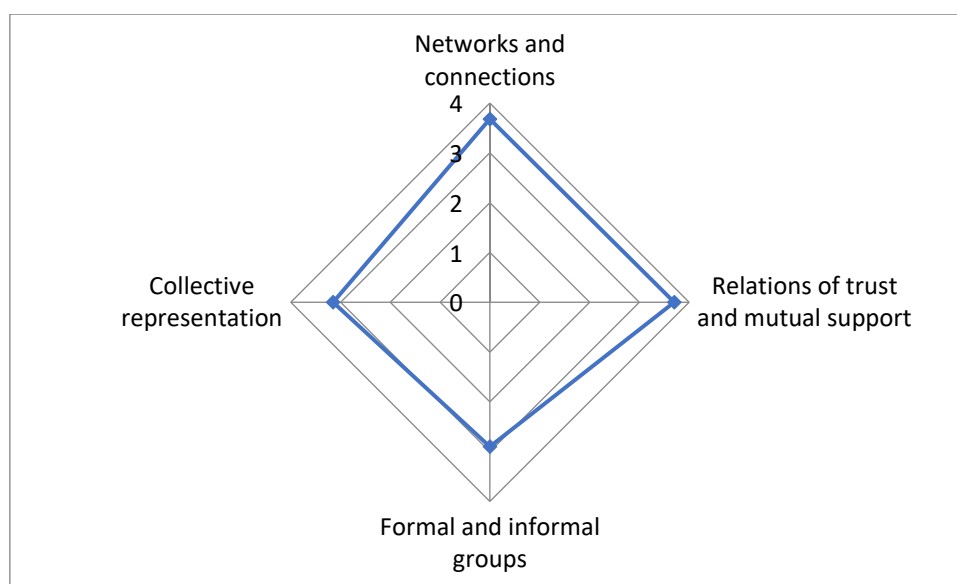
Figure 6.4. Social factors of survival

There should be more platforms that encourage social capital expansion for local communities that will assist in communities coming up with ideas of working together to build their own independent economic and physical capitals that would not rely on government support. This could reduce the pressure on the South Africa social security burden whereby 17 million South Africans rely on government grants that is managed by the Department of Social Welfare through SASSA. There is need for a policy shift on the side of government to encourage less self-reliance as opposed to government-reliance by its citizens.

6.9.3 Economic capital as a survival mechanism

Six economic factors were identified under economic capital and they were salary/wages/income, savings, credit, pension, marriage, and finally, *Stokvels*[14] / burial societies. Overall, the migrant women did not indicate economic capital as a strong capital that they employed to cope and adapt in South Africa. The reasons for that was because they had to utilise any available means to survive regardless of their other capitals, especially the human capital. The migrant women had to deskill themselves in order to survive. Some had to accept

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[14]A *Stokvel* is an informal savings pool or syndicate, usually among black people, in which funds are contributed in rotation, allowing participants lump sums for family needs, especially for funerals (Collins Dictionary, 2016).

lower paying jobs. They did not have much bargaining power in the work sphere because they lacked the requisite permits and because they were women. One woman from Nigeria indicated that she was denied an accounting position because she was a foreigner and also that she was a woman. The women who were employed therefore rated this factor as moderate which indicated that they were not satisfied about their financial situation although they were surviving in South Africa. Thirty-eight of the respondents ranked savings as high and they were from Zimbabwe (27), Zambia (1), Rwanda (1), Nigeria (4), Mozambique (1), DRC (2), Congo-Brazzaville (1) and Cameroon (1). On the other hand, 56 respondents ranked savings as very high. These respondents were from Zimbabwe (40), Zambia (1), Tanzania (1), Nigeria (2), Mozambique (2), Lesotho (1), Kenya (1), Ghana (4), DRC (1) and Cameroon (3). This indicated that there were not many migrant women who had savings in South Africa.

Most of the women (127) rated savings as very low. They were from Zimbabwe (48), Zambia (2), Uganda (4), Senegal (1), Rwanda (1), Nigeria (13), Mozambique (4), Mauritius (1), Malawi (3), Lesotho (5), Kenya (2), Ghana (6), Ethiopia (2), Eritrea (1), DRC (22), Cameroon (7), Burundi (4) and Angola (1). Fifty-two women rated savings as low and they were from Zimbabwe (31), Somalia (1), Nigeria (5), Mozambique (1), Malawi (1), Ghana (1), Ethiopia (1), DRC (6), Cameroon (3), Burundi (1) and Benin (1). When asked to explain their ratings, they indicated that their earnings were for daily survival and not for saving. There was also a strong indication that the women were remitting some of their earnings to their home countries.

Credit facilities were available in South Africa and those facilities were useful for economic well-being of people. However, 78.6% (260) of the respondents rated access to credit as very low for them because they did not have grantees, or even insurances as collateral security to access credit. Those who ranked credit as very low were from Zimbabwe (140), Zambia (4), Uganda (4), Tanzania (1), Senegal (1), Rwanda (1), Nigeria (23), Mozambique (8), Mauritius (1), Malawi (5), Lesotho (5), Kenya (3), Ivory Coast (1), Ghana (11), Ethiopia (2), Eritrea (1), DRC (29), Congo-Brazzaville (1), Cameroon (13), Burundi (4), Benin (1) and Angola (1). They had no access to the credit facilities offered by financial institutions in the country because of a variety of reasons. Some of the reasons are that they did not have the correct documents and had no collateral needed by the banks. Others indicated that they were not used to credit as their countries' systems have accustomed them to purchase goods and services on a cash basis instead of credit.

Table 6.32 indicates that salaries were rated by the respondents to be low to moderate as 24.1% (80) and 36.7 (122) indicated that their salaries/wages/income were low or moderate, respectively. More than a third of the respondents indicated that their savings were very low at 38.3% (127), and only 16.9% (56) rated savings as very high. Economists encourage individual and household savings that benefit individuals and their families. Under-saving or no saving at all may influence variable consumption and low resilience to shocks (Karlan, Ratan and Zinman, 2014). Migrant women could be vulnerable because they were not saving, but as groups the migrant women are investing in their home countries and also using the money to educate their families and themselves (Dayton-Johnson et al., 2009). Most of the migrant women did not have credits and pensions in South Africa as 78.5% and 89.5% rated credit as low and very low, respectively. Almost the same number of respondents rated marriage as very low (135) and very high (137). The ratings of the *Stokvels* and burial societies were very low at 61.1%.

TABLE 6.32 RATINGS OF THE ECONOMIC LIVELIHOOD CAPITAL FACTORS

Economic capital	Very low	Low	Mode-rate	High	Very high	Total	Mean score	Factor ranking
Salary/wages/income	39 (11.7)	80 (24.1)	122 (36.7)	38 (11.4)	53 (16)	332 (100)	2.96	2
Savings	127 (38.3)	52 (15.7)	59 (17.8)	38 (11.4)	56 (16.9)	332 (100)	2.53	3
Credit	261 (78.6)	21 (6.3)	25 (7.5)	14 (4.2)	11 (3.3)	332 (100)	1.47	5
Pension	297 (89.5)	9 (2.7)	4 (1.2)	9 (2.7)	13 (3.9)	332 (100)	1.29	6
Marriage	135 (40.7)	15 (4.5)	26 (7.8)	19 (5.7)	137 (41.3)	332 (100)	3.02	1
Stokvels / burial societies	203 (61.1)	23 (6.9)	17 (5.1)	23 (6.9)	66 (19.9)	332 (100)	2.17	4

Note: Values in brackets are percentages

Source: Survey results (2016).

Migrant women in South Africa expressed that they did not believe in pensions. A total of 89.5% (297) of the respondents rated pensions as very low. They were from Zimbabwe (166), Zambia (4), Uganda (4), Tanzania (1), Somalia (1), Senegal (1), Rwanda (1), Nigeria (23), Mozambique (8), Mauritius (1), Malawi (6), Lesotho (7), Kenya (2), Ivory Coast (1), Ghana (11), Ethiopia (3), Eritrea (1), DRC (31), Congo-Brazzaville (1), Cameroon (15), Burundi (4), Benin (1) and Angola (1). Migrant women considered pensions to be long-term wishes as they

were focusing on the immediate wishes such as educating their children, remitting money home to invest there. They were also saving money so that they could return to their home countries and to open businesses. For example, migrant women from the DRC expressed their wish to return to their country and open businesses there one day when true democracy was attained. This would be highly unlikely in the foreseeable future as the socio-economic and political conditions in the DRC worsened as was reported in the 2014 Human Development Report that the country was the second from last in living conditions globally (UNDP, 2014).

Marriage as an economic factor showed an interesting trend as indicated in Table 6.33.

TABLE 6.33 MARRIAGE AS A LIVELIHOOD ECONOMIC FACTOR FOR COPING AND ADAPTATION

Country	Very low	Low	Medium	High	Very high	Did not say	Total
Angola	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
Benin	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
Burundi	3	1	0	0	1	0	5
Cameroon	7	0	2	1	6	0	16
Congo-Brazzaville	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
DRC	11	2	0	0	22	0	35
Eritrea	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
Ethiopia	0	0	0	0	3	0	3
Ghana	7	0	1	0	4	0	12
Ivory Coast	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
Kenya	2	0	1	0	0	0	3
Lesotho	5	1	0	0	1	0	7
Malawi	2	0	1	1	2	0	6
Mauritius	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
Mozambique	6	1	1	0	2	0	10
Nigeria	10	2	1	1	14	1	29
Rwanda	0	0	0	1	1	0	2
Senegal	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
Somalia	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
Tanzania	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
Uganda	2	0	0	0	2	0	4
Zambia	2	1	0	1	0	0	4
Zimbabwe	76	7	17	14	73	0	187
Total	**135**	15	25	19	**137**	1	332

Source: Survey results (2016).

Those who rated marriage as very low and very high were almost the same, namely 135 respondents rated marriage as very low and 137 rated it very high. Table 6.33 indicates those respondents who rated marriage very low to be from Zimbabwe (76), Zambia (2), Uganda (2),

Nigeria (10), Mozambique (6), Mauritius (1), Malawi (2), Lesotho (5), Kenya (2), Ghana (7), Eritrea (1), DRC (11), Cameroon (7) and Burundi (3). Those who indicated very high were from Zimbabwe (73), Uganda (2), Tanzania (1), Senegal (1), Rwanda (1), Nigeria (14), Mozambique (2) Malawi (2), Lesotho (1), Ivory Coast (1), Ghana (4), Ethiopia (3), DRC (22), Congo-Brazzaville (1), Cameroon (6), Burundi (1), Benin (1) and Angola (1). Various reasons were given for ranking it very low such as being ill-treated by husbands in South Africa, and husbands or partners not willing to take up any kind of job in order to contribute towards the household income.

Those who ranked marriage very high were happy in their marriages and others based their ratings on biblical values that the marriage institution held in providing for the family. *Stokvels* and burial societies were other economic capital factors that assisted migrant women in coping and adapting in host countries. The percentage of those who rated these economic factors as very low, was 61.1% (203), and 19.9% (66) rated them as very high, as indicated in Table 6.34.

TABLE 6.34 RATINGS FOR PHYSICAL LIVELIHOOD CAPITAL FACTORS

Physical capital	Very low	Low	Moderate	High	Very high	Total	Mean score	Factor ranking
Shelters/houses	15 (4.5)	39 (11.7)	36 (10.8)	51 (15.4)	191 (57.5)	332 (100)	4.10	4
Amenities (basic services)	10 (3)	23 (6.9)	35 (10.5)	43 (13)	221 (66.6)	332 (100)	4.33	2
Communication services	11 (3.3)	17 (5.1)	38 (11.7)	41 (12.3)	224 (67.5)	332 (100)	4.36	1
Technology	17 (5.1)	21 (6.3)	34 (10.2)	29 (8.7)	231 (69.6)	332 (100)	4.31	3

Note: Values in brackets are percentages

Source: Survey results (2016).

There were not many of the migrant women who relied on the burial societies and *Stokvels* for survival in South Africa. Some of the reasons they gave were that they did not burry their loved ones in foreign lands and since the burial societies catered for local burial, they rather had their own kinship associations that assisted them when they were bereaved. Migrant women expressed their appreciation to compatriots as they helped during bereavements.

Figure 6.5 indicates marriage as an economic factor for survival and it was ranked highest because migrant women perceived those married to be better placed in the economic sphere as a number of them had not managed to gain employment, compared to their male counter parts. The respondents indicated that the marriage institution was important to them regardless of their

marital status because they believed those who are married have social protection from their spouses, together with the economic benefits of being married. The women recognised that various kinds of marriages were recognised in South Africa. A policy shift is necessary to uplift all forms of matrimonial unions in the country.
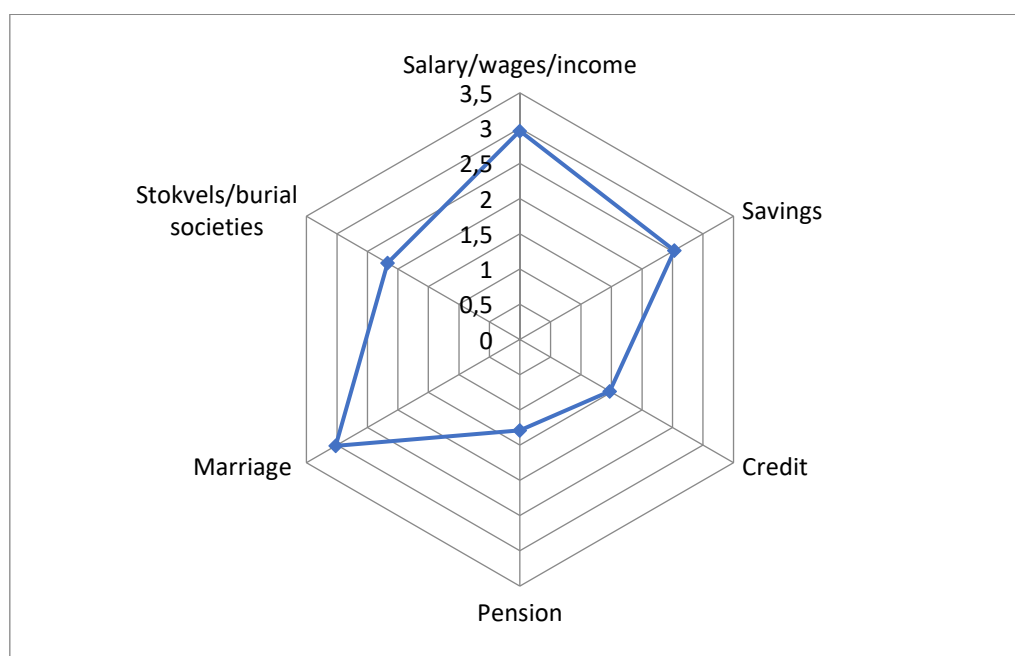
Figure 6.5. Economic factors of survival

Looking at the radar graph in Figure 6.5 regarding the economic factors of coping by migrant women in South Africa, it can be concluded that the migrant women were not relying on credit facilities that are predominantly what South Africans are relying on a daily basis. This could also encourage the campaigns to educate South Africans to cut down on credit facilities and focus on relying on their incomes, savings, and informal economic facilities such as *Stokvels* and burial societies that are not risky to a person's credibility. Policies could be designed for locals to move away from too much reliance on credit facilities to wealth accrual and cash purchase systems.

6.9.4   Physical capital as survival mechanism

Four factors of the physical capital were identified in this study as means that assisted migrant women to cope and adapt in South Africa. These were shelters/houses, amenities (basic services), communication services (vehicles, transport networks), and technology (internet, emails, cell phones). The respondents were all very happy about the physical capital in South

Africa. Those physical capitals included the houses they lived in, basic services such as water, sanitation and hygiene provisions, communication services and technological systems. Table 6.34 shows that the majority of the respondents rated all four physical factors as very high.

The overall ranking for the four physical factors as shown in Figure 6.6, were (i) communication systems, (ii) amenities, (iii) technology and (iv) shelters/houses.
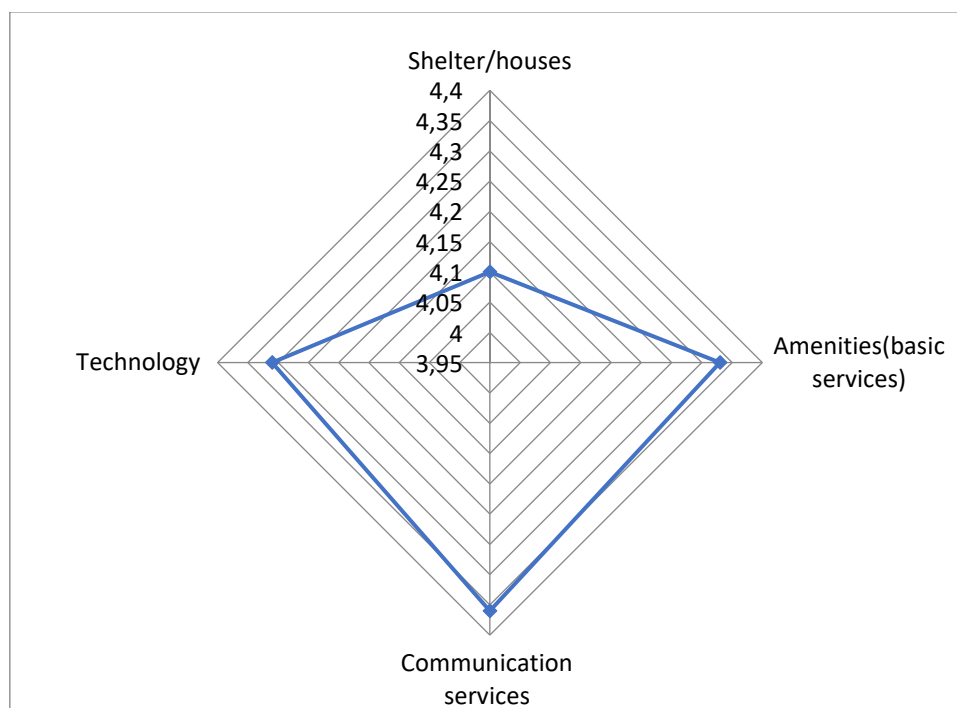
Source: Survey results (2016).

Figure 6.6. Physical factors of survival

All the respondents were residing in formal houses and none stayed in the informal settlements, even though they were renting the accommodation from local South Africans. The respondents who were staying in the locations were mainly occupying RDP houses. When asked about how they acquired those houses since those houses were constructed to enable South Africans to live in decent houses (Pillay et al., 2008), they indicated that they were either renting or bought the houses in cash from South Africans. This then calls for a policy shift whereby the government needs to have a clear policy on the occupation, sale and rental of these public goods as the non-availability of stringent policies result in more informal settlements that, in turn, put more pressure on government to provide services in areas that may not even be suitable for human settlement.

6.9.5 Political capital as a survival mechanism

The study also found out how the political capital and the political factors identified, influenced the migrant women's coping and adaptation mechanisms in South Africa. The four issues that were put forward to the participants were: relationships with political authorities in South Africa, political networks from home country, interaction with political structures locally, and business relations with politicians. The respondents indicated that their relationship with the political structures in South Africa were very low. A total of 303 (91.3%) respondents ranked their relationship with the political structures in South Africa as very poor. They were from Zimbabwe (169), Zambia (4), Uganda (4), Tanzania (1), Somalia (1), Senegal (1), Rwanda (2), Nigeria (26), Mozambique (8), Mauritius (1), Malawi (5), Lesotho (7), Kenya (3), Ivory Coast (1), Ghana (11), Ethiopia (2), Eritrea (1), DRC (35), Congo-Brazzaville (1), Cameroon (13), Burundi (5), Benin (1) and Angola (1). As indicated in Table 6.35 political capital did not contribute much in the coping and adaptation mechanisms of migrant women in South Africa.

**TABLE 6.35 RATINGS OF POLITICAL LIVELIHOOD FACTORS**

Political capital	Very low	Low	Moderate	High	Very high	Total	Mean score	Factor ranking
Relationship with political authority in South Africa	303 (91.3)	11 (3.3)	10 (3)	5 (1.5)	3 (9)	332 (100)	1.17	3
Political network from home country	289 (87)	15 (4.5)	13 (3.9)	6 (1.8)	9 (2.7)	332 (100)	1.29	1
Interaction with political structures locally	303 (91.3)	11 (3.3)	10 (3)	2 (.6)	6 (1.8)	332 (100)	1.18	2
Business relations with politicians	308 (92.8)	14 (4.2)	5 (1.5)	4 (1.2)	1 (.3)	332 (100)	1.12	4

Note: Values in brackets are percentages

Source: Survey results (2016).

The overall ranking for political factors is indicted in Figure 6.7. The respondents who were asked why they rated those political factors as very low expressed their dissatisfaction with the political situation both in their home countries and in South Africa. They even blamed the local politicians for instigating violence against them by locals. An example is that of the 2015 xenophobic attacks that many people believed were initiated by King Goodwill Zwelithini in KwaZulu-Natal. Hamber and Lewis (1997) said that violence was seen to be the appropriate way of achieving goals, especially as the violence was legitimised by most political role players. According to Harris (2001), the apartheid government in South Africa legitimised violence as a way of dealing with the then oppressed black local South Africans. This was later legitimised

by the new dispensation after independency (Harris, 2001). That made coping and adaptation difficult for the migrant women as safety institutions in the form of government leaders, including traditional leaders, were not offering much support.
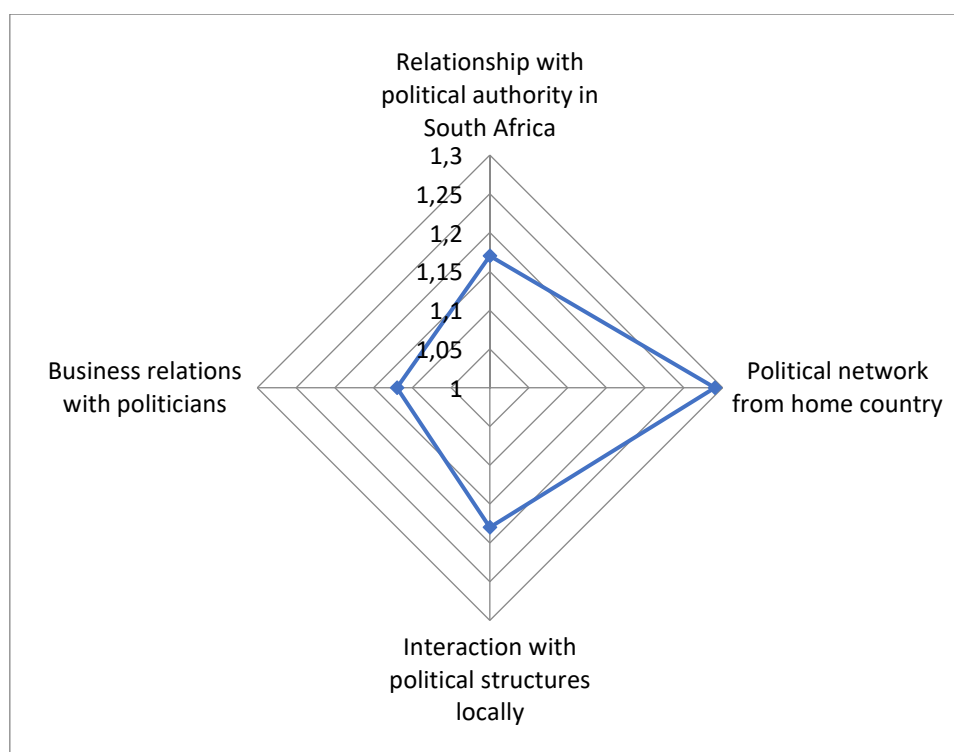
Figure 6.7. Political factors of survival

Politics seems to be the biggest disappointment for many Africans, including the migrant women in South Africa. Many migrants left their home countries due to political challenges and poor governance issues in their home countries. Policy issues in South Africa also need to focus on addressing migrant challenges such as xenophobic attacks and discrimination in justice provision, especially for those migrants who are entitled to such.

6.9.6   Cultural capital as a survival mechanism

Under cultural capital the factors that were considered were gender issues; traditional beliefs; work ethics; and respect for authority, as indicated in Table 6.36. Most of the respondents ranked cultural livelihood capitals as very high, with the exception of traditional beliefs that received a significant very low rating of 35%.
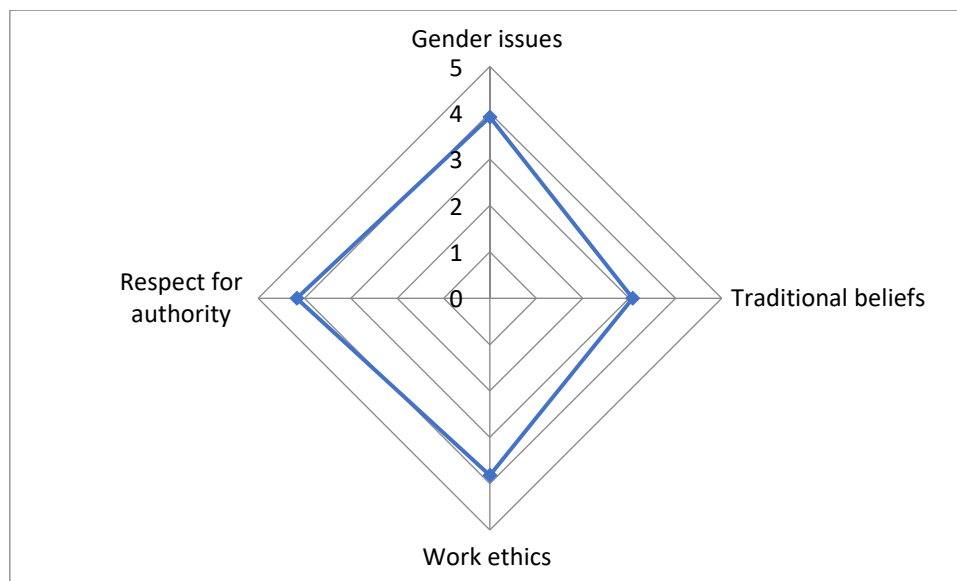
TABLE 6.36 RATINGS OF THE CULTURAL LIVELIHOOD CAPITAL FACTORS

Capital factors	Cultural capital					
	Very low	Low	Moderate	High	Very high	Total
Gender issues	37 (11.1)	29 (8.7)	50 (15.1)	27 (8.1)	189 (56.9)	332 (100)
Traditional beliefs	117 (35.2)	31 (9.3)	28 (8.4)	19 (5.7)	137 (41.3)	332 (100)
Work ethics	30 (9)	31 (9.3)	69 (20.8)	40 (12)	162 (48.8)	332 (100)
Respect for authority	35 (10.5)	17 (5.1)	28 (8.4)	28 (8.4)	224 (67.5)	332 (100)

Note: Values in brackets are percentages

Source: Survey results (2016).

The respondents were happy with the way gender issues were handled in South Africa. They expressed that a lot of attention is paid by authorities in South Africa to gender equalities. There also expressed that there was a lot of respect for women in South Africa compared to their countries of origin, especially by the South African policymakers. Hence 56.9% (189) rated gender issues as very high. They were from Zimbabwe (109), Zambia (3), Uganda (2), Tanzania (1), Senegal (1), Nigeria (15), Mozambique (6) Mauritius (1), Malawi (2), Lesotho (5), Kenya (2), Ivory Coast (1), Ghana (6), Ethiopia (2), Eritrea (1), DRC (19), Cameroon (7), Burundi (5) and Angola (1). Twenty-seven (27.7%) of the respondents ranked gender as high and they were from Zimbabwe (19), Nigeria (1), Mozambique (1), Malawi (1), DRC (3) and Cameroon (2). Fifty (15.1) ranked gender as medium and they were from Zimbabwe (34), Zambia (1), Nigeria (4), Mozambique (1), Malawi (2), DRC (4), Congo-Brazzaville (1) and Cameroon (3). On being probed further as to why they were rating them the way they did, they expressed satisfaction with the way the cases of gender-based violence were handled by the relevant institutions and the communities they lived in. South Africa is commended for its positive and progressive laws on respect of all cultures, values and norms in the country. The democracy in South Africa as enshrined in the Constitution of South Africa, allowed the migrant women to enjoy the cultural capital to the fullest. According to the Constitution, Section 9 allows for equality, Section 15 is freedom of religion, belief and opinion, and Section 18 is the freedom of association (RSA, 1996). These three pieces of legislation make it easier for migrant women to worship and be associated with any religion, traditional beliefs and respected authorities in various places.

Figure 6.8. Cultural factors of survival

As indicated in Figure 6.8, the ratings for cultural capital factors indicated that the respondents were comfortable with the cultural livelihood capital in South Africa. Policies on gender issues in South Africa were commendable and migrant women managed to cope and adapt better under these conditions. The freedom that are given to migrants to practice their religion and exercise their traditional cultures, proved to be positive policy issues for migrant women in South Africa. The Constitution of the South Africa was viewed as all-inclusive, even by migrants in the country, and its implementation in the cultural domain was a positive step for migrant women in the country.

6.10   OVERALL RANKING OF THE LIVELIHOOD CAPITAL FACTORS AS COPING AND ADAPTATION MECHANISMS IN A HOST COUNTRY

Table 6.38 depicts the overall socio-economic coping and adaptation mechanisms that were identified and employed by African migrant women in South Africa. Six livelihood capitals that were identified as helping migrant women cope and adapt in South Africa, were evaluated. The six were looked at individually and then the capital factors that were selected, were ranked according to what the participants possessed. The results as indicated in Table 6.37, showed that human capital ranked highest, followed by physical, then cultural, social economic and political capitals, which all played various roles in the migrant women's coping and adaptation mechanisms in South Africa.

The human capital has positive impacts on economic growth of host countries, South Africa being such country to benefit from this (Moody, 2006). Companies in South Africa could utilise the migrant knowledge and skills to be productive, rather than embarking on training locals for such jobs (Zhang, 2011). Through their innovation and skills, migrant women set up their own businesses that could absorb South Africans, train them, increase productivity and help reduce unemployment levels in the country. A healthy and knowledgeable human capital could be beneficial to South Africa. Human capital can be converted into economic capital as migrants will be contributing to the country's gross domestic product through various taxes. Self-employed migrant women not only come into South Africa with a high level of skills and knowledge, but they also provide the much-needed capital that bring in capital investment (Dayton-Johnson et al., 2009). Hence, the ratings of the capital factors ranged from (i) health, (ii) capacity to work, (iii) knowledge and skills, and (iv) education

In the social capital sphere, the factors such as relations of mutual trust and support, proved beneficial for migrant women in South Africa as the migrant women managed to cope and survive with limited or absent family support they enjoyed in their countries of origin. Migrant women derived better support and trust from their fellow country women and men as they have similar social backgrounds from their home countries. Their multiple connections, ranging from family, friends, relatives, church friends and fellow compatriots, offered them support to cope and adapt better in South Africa. The migrant women expressed that the collective representation for them was not that helpful as they encountered challenges and they had to tackle them separately. Hence, the multivariant ratings of the social capital factors were (i) relations of trust and mutual support, (ii) networks and connections, (iii) collective representation, and (iv) formal and informal groupings.

The economic capital factors indicated that marriage was valued most as a coping mechanism by migrant women. That was regardless of the women's marital status. That could have been a perception that marriage women enjoy more economic environment in host community because of the issues related to gender inequalities in African societies which could have influenced the ranking. Women are generally not afforded same economic opportunities as men especially in our African space that is influenced by patriarchal tendencies. Stokvels and burial societies were rated strongly too despite being informal economic support systems were applauded by migrant women who had high ratings for relations of trust and mutual support, a strong social capital factor that enhances utilisation of informal economic systems. Salary, wages and

incomes that women got from employment, entrepreneurial activities, family and humanitarian support were rated as better coping mechanisms than savings, credit and pensions as the last three were termed by the migrant women not suitable for them in a host country. Hence, the ratings were: (i) marriage, (ii) salary/wages/income, (iii) savings, (iv) *Stokvels* / burial societies, (v) credit, and (vi) pensions.

In terms of the physical capital factors, the migrant women in South Africa were extremely pleased with the various communication systems at their disposal, such as public and private transport infrastructure, connectivity networks such as cell phones, internet and other social communication networks. They were also impressed with the basic services provided by South Africa even to them as migrants. They indicated availability of water, electricity and hygiene and sanitation at affordable rates, in comparison to their home countries where such basic services were for the privileged. The migrant women also acknowledged the accessibility of shelter and technologies. Hence the ratings of the physical capital factors were: (i) communication services, (ii) amenities / basic services; (iii) technology; and (iv) shelters/ houses.

With the political capital factors, the migrant women expressed their near dissociation with the political structures from both in their home countries and in South Africa. That was basically due to the fact that political challenges were root causes for most of the migrant women in South Africa. In South Africa, they also faced challenges associated with political structures in the country. The ratings of the multiple political capital factors were: (i) political from home country; (ii) interaction with political structures locally; (iii) relationship with political authority in South Africa; and (iv) business relations with politicians.

Finally, the multivariant factors of cultural capital indicated that migrant women valued respect for authority higher than the gender issues in South Africa. The migrant women expressed that there was professionalism in the workplace shown by both the employer and employee. On the culture issues, as cultural dynamic the migrant women were very pleased with the manner the government and the larger South Africa is taking gender equality issues seriously. They as women were respected, and their rights were observed, which in some instances was not the case in their home countries. One woman from Ghana was very happy being in South Africa as has she migrated 17 years ago to escape genital mutilation in her country and she had been accommodated by South Africa. Work ethics and traditional beliefs were also rated to be good since culture issues were clearly defined in the country's constitution in South Africa. The

ratings were (i) respect for authority, (ii) gender issues, (iii) work ethics), and (iv) traditional beliefs.

TABLE 6.37 CAPITAL FACTORS HELPING MIGRANT MIGRANTS TO COPE AND ADAPT IN SOUTH AFRICA

No.	Indicator/factor	Rating score	Capital	Mean score
1.	Education	3.93[4th]	Human	4.49[1st]
	Health	4.72[1st]		
	Knowledge and skills	4.59[3rd]		
	Capacity to work	4.70[2nd]		
2.	Networks and connections	3.68[2nd]	Social	3.36[4th]
	Relations of trust and mutual support	3.70[1st]		
	Formal and informal groups	2.90[4th]		
	Collective representation	3.15[3rd]		
3.	Salary/wages/income	2.96[2nd]	Economic	2.24[5th]
	Savings	2.53[3rd]		
	Credit	1.47[5th]		
	Pension	1.29[6th]		
	Marriage	3.02[1st]		
	Stokvels / burial societies	2.17[4th]		
4.	Shelters/houses	4.10[4th]	Physical	4.28[2nd]
	Amenities (basic services)	4.33[2nd]		
	Communication services	4.36[1st]		
	Technology	4.31[3rd]		
5.	Relationship with political authority in South Africa	1.17[3rd]	Political	1.19[6th]
	Political network from home country	1.29[1st]		
	Interaction with political structures locally	1.18[2nd]		
	Business relations with politicians	1.12[4th]		
6.	Gender issues	3.91[2nd]	Cultural	3.75[3rd]
	Traditional beliefs	3.08[4th]		
	Work ethics	3.82[3rd]		
	Respect for authority	4.17[1st]		

Source: Survey results (2016).

As indicated in Table 6.38, the mean scores of the six livelihood capitals was the result of the overall ranking of the livelihood capitals by the migrant women in South Africa. Considering that the study was conducted in urban settings and metropolitan cities of South Africa, the ranking had indicated some advantages that urban environments offered to the inhabitants. It was noted that there were also issues of migrant women being more vulnerable

to bad governance in urban areas and also greater reliance on cash for all basic services, including access to food, unlike their counterparts in the rural settings (Satterthwaite and Tacoli, 2002). Sen's (1981) concept of entitlement came into play too as migrant women were entitled to whatever coping and adaptation mechanisms they could employ through predominant use of financial resources and other formal and informal structures or legal means in South Africa.

Human capital had the highest mean score of 4.49. According to Hooper and Sumption (2016), skilled migration acknowledged economic benefits for both the host countries and the migrants themselves. It could be disputed by host countries in some instances as the migrant issues were more complex than just the above statement. Migration is proving problematic to host communities. Health of the migrant women was good as many indicated that they were healthy, and those who had health problems received adequate health care from both government and the private sector. Migrant women in Johannesburg had challenges with the public health personnel in some metropolitan cities, especially in Johannesburg. As stated by Dastjerdi, Olson, and Ogilvie (2012), challenges of migrant women failing to access adequate health care could be issues of language proficiency, cultural differences, education, previous experiences, economic status, age and fact of the host country's health care facilities. Overall, the health statuses of migrant women were such that they had the capacity to work with the knowledge and skills and prerequisite educational levels and they managed to cope and adapt well in South Africa.

Physical capital factors were ranked second highest by the migrant women as they acknowledged the progress made in the physical capital provisions by South Africa. The migrant women had reliable communication services, proper housing, basic services and up-to-date technological services that enabled them to cope and adapt in South Africa. Figure 6.9 gives a picture of the livelihood capitals that the migrant women employed in South Africa to cope and adapt.
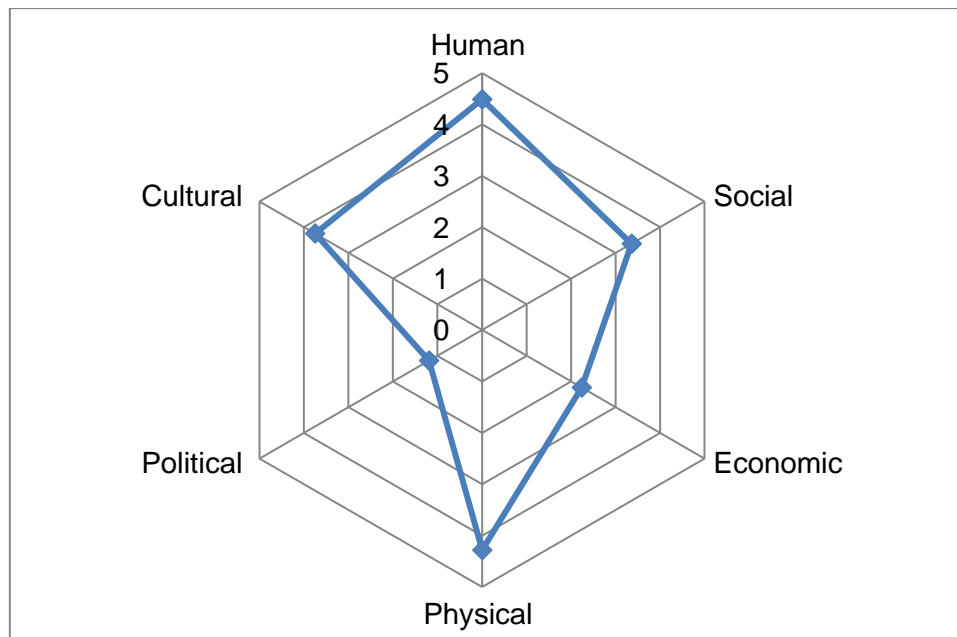
Figure 6.9. Overall ratings of capitals

There is need for government to try and shift focus from provision of social security services to many people and encourage self-reliance on capital factors that the South Africans possess and are capable of developing. The reliance aspect of communities need to be exploited further so that it can be increased through a number of self-help projects that people can establish.

6.11 SUMMARY

Three hundred and thirty-two (332) African migrant women participated in the survey and they were drawn from Gauteng, Free State, KwaZulu-Natal and Western Cape Provinces. Six of the eight metropolitan cities, namely Johannesburg, Pretoria, Ekurhuleni, Bloemfontein, Durban and Cape Town were sampled, and the results were based on the African migrant women from 23 of the 50 SSA countries.

Observations and informal interviews indicated that migrant women had inherent acquired abilities that enabled them to cope immediately on arrival and to adapt in South Africa. An array of these mechanisms observed were the tight-knit networks, the support and innovations that they applied. Strong entrepreneurial capabilities were also observed. Compatriotism was also exercised by the migrant women as reflected in their businesses, work environments and even residential places. Coping and adaptation of the migrant women was not necessarily determined by the time they have been in South Africa, but mainly by the type of permits they used to enter the country. Many of them who entered the country using visitor visas were mainly

engaged in rapid circular migration as they were in and out of the country many times over a given period. The current residential statuses determined their adaptation as some, for example refugees, illegal migrants and students, could not fully benefit from the available opportunities in South Africa. They needed to regularise their stay first before they could fully benefit. However, they managed to cope by engaging in small business ventures and casual employment that is not regulated in South Africa.

Marriage became a coping and adaptation mechanism for migrant women. This was regardless of their marital statuses and they acknowledged the importance of marriage as a survival tool and also as a security measure for women. Educational levels of migrant women determined how they accessed livelihoods. Migrant women with tertiary education had more opportunities as they could make informed decisions in order to cope and adapt. They negotiated better in employment spaces, business forums and calculated their risks better than those with lower educational levels. Language skills, mainly the English language, and knowledge of the other 10 South African local languages, empowered the migrant women to cope and adapt better. The languages empowered them to access resources, and to integrate and assimilate into the South African communities with ease. Survival support systems such as family, employment, entrepreneurial, and humanitarian assured migrant women of coping and adaptation in South Africa.

As indicated by the Pearson's chi-square tests of association between demographic and socio-economic characteristics, on the one hand, and initial and long-term survival mechanisms, age and marital statuses (short term) and age (long-term) of migrant women, on the other hand, played significant roles in the coping and adaptation mechanisms. Churches, families, ethnic groups, political connections, colleagues and neighbours were some of the networks that were also mechanisms used to cope and adapt in South Africa. These networks were complemented by sub-networks borne out of the identified network such as burial societies, *Stokvels*, and diaspora associations.

The job market in South Africa was conducive for migrant women as they decided to come to the country due to the fact that there was hope in South Africa, and as a country perceived to be full of hope. However, with the stringent policies governing the job market, migrant women have taken it upon themselves to be creators of jobs, to take up any available jobs, and to enter the lucrative job market for those with the prerequisite skills.

The multi-attribute contingent ratings of the livelihood capital factors that the migrant women applied in South Africa indicated that they were able to cope and adapt in the difficult South African environment. The livelihood capitals and the livelihood capital factors are some of the mechanisms for coping and adaptation in South Africa. In order of the value of coping and adaptation mechanisms, the human capital, physical, cultural, social, economic and political factors, respectively, were used by the migrant women in South Africa.

More policy focus should be on regulating the movement of migrants in the country, protection of local labour, utilisation of the migrant human capital for the benefit of the country, and promotion of entrepreneurial activities, especially for local South Africans. Platforms should be created where there is sharing of ideas on how entrepreneurial establishments can be profitable and sustainable. Public awareness education on the benefits that migrants bring into the country and how various legislations protect them would go a long way in promoting harmony and building a good rapport between locals and migrants in the country.

The next and final chapter presents the summary, conclusions and recommendations drawn from the socio-economic coping and adaptation mechanisms employed by African migrant women in South Africa. Recommendations will also be suggested for consideration by policymakers.

Chapter 7

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

7.1   INTRODUCTION

According to the previous United Nations secretary-general, Mr Ban Ki moon, international migration is a global concern and is therefore a fundamental part of the international growth agenda. International migration presented opportunities to and challenges for the attainment of MDGs in many countries, especially in SSA (Adepoju, Van Naerssen and Zoomers, 2008). It was a reality that international migration will feature highly in the post-2015 discourse which is the Sendai Framework for Disaster Risk Reduction 2015–2030 (ISDR, 2015). Paragraph 36(a) (vi) of the framework states that

> *migrants contribute to the resilience of communities and societies and their knowledge, skills and capacities can be useful in the design and implementation of disaster risk reduction* (ISDR, 2015).

The progression and variety of current international migration streams clearly revealed that migration can no longer be divorced from population and development policy agendas (Hugo, 2005). Migrants are now part and parcel of modern-day societies globally. Together with globalisation, migration is shaping the pace of modern-day developmental issues. The movements of people across continental, regional and national boundaries are becoming daily occurrences and in the SSA especially, the artificiality of the boundaries is being tested. Brown (2008) predicted a tenfold increase in the current number of internally displaced persons and international refugees by 2050. The Human Development Report (UNDP, 2009) noted that the probability of migration increases for those with links to people already abroad was very high. Sometimes a culture of migration emerged in which international migration was associated with personal, social and material success, while staying home indicated failure. SSA was portrayed as a continent of people on the move (De Bruijn, Foeken and Van Dijk, 2001).

The traditional pattern of migration within and from SSA had been male-dominated, but recently it became feminised as more and more women were migrating, in contrast to them remaining at home, while men moved around in search of livelihoods to support their families. A number of those women were migrating independently in search of their own economic

satisfactions and social statuses. Independent women from various parts of SSA such as professional women from Nigeria, Ghana, Zimbabwe, Kenya, and other African countries are found all over the world (Adepoju, 2006). Since 1994, South Africa had received an influx of migrant women from various parts of the SSA region, including Congo, Mali, Ghana, Nigeria, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Eritrea, Benin, Rwanda, Burundi, Ivory Coast, Cameroon, Sudan DRC, Kenya and Uganda. As indicated in the study, 23 SSA countries were represented in the sample that was surveyed. That was a deviation from the usual migrant women from SADC countries whose populations had been migrating since the advent of the mining era in the nineteenth century in South Africa. It was evident from the findings of this study that South Africa had benefited from brain circulation and brain gain in the process as indicated by the number of migrant women in professional employment, and most importantly, in entrepreneurial businesses.

The overall objective of the research was to explore the socio-economic coping and adaptation mechanisms employed by African migrant women in South Africa. The research problem centred on the premise that, despite the numerous challenges that the African migrant women faced in South Africa, they continued to arrive and stayed in the country. It was therefore practical to explore the socio-economic coping and adaptation mechanisms, on arrival and in the long term, the African migrant women employed in South Africa, despite the numerous challenges the country was also faced with. The African migrant women devised a number of coping and adaptation mechanisms in order to survive in South Africa. Utilising the social capital theory and the SLF with the extension of the CCF, the study showed how mechanisms were adopted in order to cope and later adapt to the South Africa. The demographic and socio-economic characteristics of the migrant women, together with the livelihood capitals and capital factors, the mechanisms employed by the migrant women were explored. Interesting outcomes have been discussed and the summary is therefore discussed in this chapter.

7.2   CONCEPTUAL AND THEORETICAL ASPECTS OF THE STUDY

Utilisation of the social capital meant that the migrant women utilised their social networks and relations in South Africa as tools to advance their interests, that is to make sure that they better their lives in the host country. The social capitals factors that the migrant women possessed, enabled them to cope and adapt in South Africa. Being part of networks made them be included and hence managed to acculturate and assimilate into the host country.

The SLF, together with the CCF, highlighted how South African legislative and statutory requirements had an impact on the migrant women's coping and adaptation in the country. These impacted positively on the migrant women as some who had work permits, business permits and retirement permits, for instance, coped and adapted easily in the country. Conversely, others had to utilise various ways in the short and long term to fit into the country's systems. The six livelihood capitals, namely human, social, physical, economic, cultural and political capitals, possessed, developed and grown in the host country, facilitated the coping and adaptation mechanisms of the migrant women. These capitals helped in the understanding of the migrant women's inclusion and exclusion from the South African mainstream economy.

Of note was the inclusion of the cultural and political capitals to the pentagon of assets that is portrayed in the SLF. The cultural capital could be that the migrant women possessed, for instance, the dress code; the food they eat could possibly be isolative of the migrant women in South Africa, but it turned out that the locals loved these and reinforced their coping and adaptation mechanisms. By becoming innovative and coming up with entrepreneurs that marketed their unique cultures, the migrant women positively influenced their power relations with the locals and other Africans in the country. The political capital showed that the migrant women had not much positive influence on the migrant women's coping and adaptation in the host country. Political situations were more of the root causes of the migration that these women had to embark on which emanates from their home countries and spills into South Africa, whereby most migrant women were not in touch with this capital.

7.3   SUMMARY OF THE FINDINGS

The migrant women who participated in the study were from 23 SSA countries, namely Angola, Benin, Burundi, Cameroon, Congo-Brazzaville, DRC, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Ghana, Ivory Coast, Kenya, Lesotho, Malawi, Mauritius, Mozambique, Nigeria, Rwanda, Senegal, Somalia, Tanzania, Uganda, Zambia and Zimbabwe.

7.3.1   Demographic and socio-economic characteristics of the respondents

The respondents indicated that they had been in South Africa from a few days to more than 20 years. The majority (261) of them having been in the country from a few days to nine years, an indication that migration inflows to the country are continuing. A total of 37 respondents had been in the country for between 10 and 14 years, 17 have been in South Africa between 15 and 19 years, 12 of them for 20 years and more and only five decided not to disclose when they

arrived in the country. As reiterated by Adepoju (2008) that the human mobility in the region was due to conflicts, ethno-religious differences, unstable politics, poverty and rapidly growing populations, migrants and migrant women also continued to stream to the country, the migrant women confirmed these push factors.

Most of the migrant women in the study were in the 18–49 years age group, which constituted 80% of the total respondents. The 18–49 years is a working-age population that was injected into the already strained employment scenario of South Africa, as confirmed by Bongaarts (2001). Unemployment is a big problem in South Africa with the majority of the unemployed being the youth. The working population was envisaged to be able to sustain itself by being gainfully employed. However, that was not the case in South Africa as the unemployment rate was at 26.5% in 2016 (STATS SA, 2016). There was a high human capital of migrant women with relevant skills and qualifications who were and continued to arrive in South Africa. Those migrant women had some coping and adaptation mechanisms they used in South Africa. However, productive age alone could not guarantee productivity, but other multi-attributes came into play.

Migrant women had to be part and parcel of parcel of power dynamics as portrayed by Bourdieu (1986). More than half of the respondents (52.1%) were married, 105 were single, and fewer were either cohabiting (0.6%), engaged (0.3%), widowed (6.3%), divorced (2.7%), separated (2.4%) or never married (3.3%). Asked whether being a woman hindered their chances of getting jobs or coping and adapting in South Africa, 130 of them indicated that they were affected and 195 indicated that they were not. Four of the respondents did not answer the question and they preferred not to express their views and preferred to remain neutral. Since the majority of the respondents indicated that their marital status had nothing to do with their getting jobs in the country which meant that marriage had no big influence on getting jobs, they had to evaluate marriage as a coping and adapting mechanism. Only 17.7% of the respondents indicated that they valued marriage to some extent, 26.5% to a large extent, 30% not at all, 7.6% to a small extent, 16.8% to a moderate extent and four Zimbabwean chose not to say anything on the issue of marriage as a survival mechanism. However, it also turned out that the marriage institution was highly regarded by the respondents as an economic capital factor of coping and adapting in South Africa. The respondents also indicated that they were household heads in South Africa, a responsibility that is normally assumed by males in the African context. One hundred and twenty-two respondents indicated that they were the heads of their households as

well as sole breadwinners, 165 were wives, 12 were mothers, 31 were relatives, while a Zimbabwean and Ghanaian decided not to disclose their positions in their households. This indicated the responsibilities that the migrant women carried in South Africa.

Five official languages were identified to be used in SSA countries that were sampled. There may be other languages that could be used since the sample was not exhaustive of all the countries in SSA. Most of the respondents (255) indicated that their official language in their home countries was English, 62 French, 11 Portuguese, three Amharic and one Tigrigna. The majority of the respondents therefore had a strong linguistic capital of the host country (Madziva et al., 2016). Being proficient in the business language of a host country and also knowledge of the other local languages, proved beneficial to the migrant women in South Africa. Three hundred and eleven (311) respondents indicated that they were proficient in the English language and only 21 were not proficient in English. According to Project English that was undertaken by the British Council in the Asian emerging markets in 2009, the English language had been viewed as a language of international development. It could be an overstatement that the English language is slowly becoming a global language, a language of economic value, a language for education and language of technology (Coleman, 2011). It was established that with the advent of globalisation and economic development, English had become one of the important languages of opportunity in the global village. The migrant women managed to increase their employability, access to resources and assimilation and integration into the South African society using the English language. With 94% of the migrant women indicating that they were proficient in English, it became clear that the English language was one of the main coping and adaptation mechanisms they employed in South Africa.

The knowledge of the other local South African languages also gave the migrant women an advantage over their adversities as they managed to assimilate and integrate well into the societies in which they resided. All the other 10 local languages were either spoken or understood by the migrant women. Migrant women managed to acquire local language skills in South Africa in various degrees. The study found that the migrant women were able to either speak or understand all local languages. The local languages were usually associated with the indigenous and ethnic habitat of the South Africans. For instance, those in the Free State province and particularly in Bloemfontein, were fluent in Sotho; in the Western Cape (Cape Town) many people used Xhosa and in KwaZulu-Natal (Durban) they utilised Zulu. However, in the Gauteng Province (Pretoria, Johannesburg and Ekurhuleni) an assortment of local

languages such as Zulu, Xhosa, Tswana, Afrikaans, Ndebele, Swati, Venda and others were utilised. This was mainly due to the high cosmopolitan nature of the province which was also the economic hub of the country.

By speaking and understanding the local languages they managed to adjust to the local cultures and also to assimilate in the new communities. Fifty-eight percent of the migrant women in Durban spoke Zulu. In Cape Town, 32 respondents indicated that they spoke Xhosa. In Bloemfontein, 59% of the respondents indicated that they spoke Sotho. In Durban, the predominant language is Zulu. In Johannesburg, Pretoria and Ekurhuleni metropolitan cities a number of local languages such as Zulu, Xhosa, Southern Sotho, Northern Sotho, Afrikaans, Tswana, Ndebele, Tsonga, Venda and Swati are spoken. Understanding of these local languages made it easy for them to relate in their workplaces and in the process of expanding their enterprises among the South African communities. This also made their coping and adaptation easy.

The educational levels of the respondents were part of the enablers of migrant women's coping and adaptation in South Africa. More than half of the respondents (193) had a secondary education and 25 had certificates, 36 had diplomas, 5 had technikon qualifications, 18 had university degrees, and 31 had postgraduate qualifications. There was one woman from the DRC who had no education at all. The respondents, however, had to lower their levels of education in order to be employed. Ninety-four respondents indicated they had to lower their educational level in order to survive in South Africa. The rest of the respondents (238) indicated that they did not need to lower their educational level in order to survive in South Africa. The issue of deskilling was observed, some of the migrant women had to disregard their skills and took up any livelihood options available to them. It was interesting to note that there were some respondents who had health qualifications and accounting skills who were involved in trading and hairdressing activities. This highlighted the clear disconnect between industry and commerce and the actual skills available in the country. Migrant women possessed some critical skills that the country needed, yet it was found that these skills were not being utilised by the host country hence brain waste (Guo and Andersson, 2005). There was also upskilling that the migrant women underwent in South Africa, as some had to return to school, or had to gain higher qualifications in order to cope and adapt in South Africa. With 115 respondents possessing a tertiary education, it became evident that tertiary education was their passport to a better life and employment. They used the tertiary education to negotiate better livelihoods such

as opening businesses. Migrant women were in full-time employment, running their own businesses, and trading merchandise on the streets. With the strict employment policies in South Africa, migrant women made use of one or more alternative survival mechanisms that were available to them. These were hairdressing, sales, housework and informal trading.

The respondents used various permits to enter into South Africa. One hundred and ninety-four (194) of the respondents indicated that they used visitor visas, 43 used refugee/asylum permits, 22 used study permits, 30 jumped the border, 9 utilised the spousal permit, 5 used family unification permits, 4 used high skills permits, 4 used business permits, and one each used a retirement permit, work permit, birth right privilege, an emergency travel document, and one used a fake passport to enter South Africa. Sixteen of the respondents did not disclose how they entered South Africa. The respondents were residing in South Africa using visitor permits (55), refugee/asylum permits (108), undocumented (35), permanent residency (16), study permits (12), naturalised (9), spousal permits (8), business permits (5), work permits (63) and accompanying parent permit (1), one regularised refugee and 19 others did not want to disclose their statuses.

Networks and networking that the migrant women had, and also developed both in their home countries and in South Africa, facilitated their coping and adaptation in the country. Seven networks were identified that potentially helped migrants cope and adapt in South Africa. These were the church, family, friends, ethnic group, political connection, colleagues and neighbours. Members of these networks shared mutual assistance and support when the need arose. They gave each other food, helped each other with babysitting and sheltered one another from time to time. The participants were requested to rate those networks according to how they perceived networks assisted them to cope and adapt. The church had the highest rating, followed by family, friends, ethnic group, political connection, colleague and neighbours. Political connections were rated least. Three hundred and fourteen respondents indicated that political connections did not help them at all in coping and adapting in South Africa. They cited politics as the main contributing factor to their reason to migrate to South Africa. They also strongly perceived politicians as the engineers of xenophobic attacks in the country.

The church proved to be the most popular social network utilised by migrant women to cope and adapt in South Africa. One hundred and eighty-seven respondents indicated that they believed the church assisted them in coping and adaptation to a large extent. The strong faith that the respondents showed in the church meant that the church played a central role in the

coping and adaptation of migrant women in South Africa. The above networks were not exhaustive of the list and so the migrant women mentioned that they also used burial societies, *Stokvels*, local clients, grocery clubs, Muslim organisations, local South Africans, fellow countrymen, South African government, Zimbabwe association, World Ventures Team, diaspora family, village society from Cameroon, *Mukuru*, MMM, and ADRA (an NGO). The findings indicated that networks and networking of the migrant women facilitated their coping and adaptation in South Africa.

The formal networks, for instance NGOs and government departments (Home Affairs, Health, Social Welfare, and Education), were also seen as predictors of coping and adaptation as they played a role in protecting the migrants in host countries. However, although the asylum/refugee migrant women were complaining of being unfairly treated by NGOs, especially the UNHCR in South Africa, this did not hinder them from coping and adapting well in the country. Some Somali and Sudanese women participants in Cape Town indicated through informal interviews that they were turned away from the reception centres and offices each time they attempted to regularise their refugee statuses. Accolades of good treatment by the health department, access to social grants and access to education indicated that formal networks also facilitated coping and adaptation of migrant women in South Africa. Those migrant women who have had temporary refugee or asylum papers for a very long time, indicated that they have learnt to live with their situation and they were carrying on with their everyday lives. They kept on renewing the papers on a regular basis. One migrant woman from Ghana who had been trying to regularise her refugee status for the past 16 years indicated that she is very happy in the country and had a permanent job in one of the Ghanaian businesses.

The migrant women's occupations were looked at as part of their support systems. The occupations of the respondents and the various support systems formed part of their coping and adaptation in South Africa. One hundred and ninety-eight (198) of the respondents occupied elementary positions. Besides one respondent who was unemployed, 19 were senior and office managers, 13 were professionals, 24 were in clerical positions, 34 were in service work, shop and market sales, 45 were in craft and related trades. It was interesting to note that out of 90 post-high school qualification holders, only a few occupied senior and managerial positions. It became apparent that the migrant women had to devise some alternative forms of coping and adaptation mechanisms in the host country.

Migrant women engaged in various other occupations in South Africa. Based on the South African Standards of Classification of Occupations (STATS SA, 2003), the migrant women were senior officers, managers, professionals, clerks, service workers, shop and market salespeople, craft workers and elementary workers in various sectors of the South African economy. Those who had high skills, skills and work permits and business permits were gainfully employed and also started their own businesses. The various occupations were the coping and adaptation mechanisms employed by the migrant women in South Africa. The migrant women could not rely on one livelihood for coping and adapting in South Africa. They devised a number of mechanisms in order to survive on arrival in the country. The migrant women used four support systems, namely employment, entrepreneurial support, family and humanitarian support for both initial and long-term coping and adapting in South Africa. The majority, that is 255 out of 332 respondents, indicated that they relied only on two options to survive on arrival in the country. Eight respondents indicated that they utilised employment as a third option of coping and adaptation in South Africa, 12 of the respondents used entrepreneurial support to cope and adapt on arrival in South Africa, and 48 respondents indicated that they were relying on humanitarian support as another option of initial coping and adaptation on arrival in South Africa.

In the long term, the majority (53.9%) of the respondents indicated that they were employed in various places, especially the private sector and foreign-owned enterprises in South Africa. This was a significant increase from the initial employment rate of 20.8% on arrival. Considering the respondents' employment statistics of 53.9%, their perceptions were made into a reality as they migrated and got the jobs, which meant that their lives were better than in their home countries. Entrepreneurial means of survival also dominated the long-term survival mechanism after employment which indicated the importance of entrepreneurial skills possessed.

The Pearson's chi-square test of association was used to distinguish between the migrants' socio-economic characteristics and their employment, entrepreneurial, family and humanitarian support options for initial coping and adaptation mechanisms in South Africa. The only two variables that displayed significant association between the migrants' socio-economic characteristics and the initial survival mechanisms utilised were age and marital statuses of the women. The results showed that the age of migrants had significant association with the type of initial survival mechanism. This was shown by the significant chi-square statistic of 31.446 at 1% level of significance. The results revealed that most of the migrants (94) who relied on

family support as their initial survival mechanism were within the age group of 30–39 years. This was followed by those within the age group of 18–29 with a frequency of 68. Regarding entrepreneurial support, the results showed that most of the migrants who relied on this mechanism were within the age group of 30–39 years. Similarly, migrants within the age of 30–39 years dominated in employment and humanitarian support as initial survival mechanisms. Generally, the results showed that most of the migrants (157) were within the age group of 30–39 years, followed by 18–29 with a frequency of 111 migrants, and the least were those within the age group of 60 years and above.

The marital status of the migrant women also showed a significant association with the initial survival mechanisms they utilised in South Africa. This was shown by the significant chi-square statistic of 48.407 at 1% level of significance. The majority of the married women (113) relied on family support on arrival in South Africa. Marriage could be a buffer against vulnerability and susceptibility to social hazards. Their spouses took care of them and some respondents stated that when they migrated to South Africa they did so as *brides-to-be* to their men from their home countries. Some joined their husbands, while others were joining members of their families. The other married women relied on entrepreneurial support (15), employment (30) and humanitarian support on arrival in the country. Similarly, single migrant women dominated the family support category with 49 of them relying on humanitarian support to survive on arrival in the country. Other single migrants relied on entrepreneurial support (9), employment (25), and humanitarian support (22). There should therefore be emphasis on developing policies that encourage entrepreneurship, not only among migrants, but also among locals.

The Pearson's chi-square test association between the migrant women's socio-economic characteristics and their long-term coping and adaptation mechanisms in South Africa indicated that age was the only variable that had significance on the migrant women's socio-economic and long-term coping and adaptation. The significant chi-square statistic of 29.062 at 5% level of significance is reflected by the results. The results indicated that 88 migrant women who relied on employment as their long-term survival mechanism were within 30–39 years of age. This was followed by 65 of those within the age group of 18–29 years. There was a significant number (21) of in the age of 40–49 years who also relied on employment as a long-term survival tool. Entrepreneurial support as a long-term survival mechanism was associated with the majority (52) in the 30–39 years age group, followed by 23 and 20 in the 40–49 and 18–29 years age groups, respectively. A significant number of migrant women in the age groups of

18–29 and 30–39 years also relied on family support for their long-term survival mechanisms in South Africa. Generally, the results indicated that most of the migrants (157) were within the ages of 30–39 years, followed by 18–29 years with a frequency of 111, and the least were within 60 years and above age group. The ages of the migrant women had an influence on both their initial and long-term coping and adaptation. The results showed that the age of migrants had significant association with the type of initial survival mechanism. The ages of the migrants also had significant association with the type of long-term survival mechanism. The significant chi-square statistic of 29.062 at 5% level of significance was reflected by the results.

Using Kendall's Evaluation method of the job, market the migrant women ranked the job availability highest, followed by skills transfer in the workplace, then ethnic preferences in the workplace, policies on getting jobs, chances on getting a job and getting a specific job availability. According to the migrant women, jobs were readily available in South Africa. The only hindrances to getting a job were the skills necessary, the qualifications needed, and the correct or legal documentation required for foreigners to be employed in a foreign country. There were some migrant women who had indicated that they possessed the prerequisite qualifications and skills but were struggling to get employment in South Africa. Migrant women indicated that jobs were available in South Africa, unlike in their home countries. Some of them were even creating employment in South Africa because the atmosphere was conducive to job creation. They were further asked about being discriminated against in the job market. Some migrant women indicated that they had stopped looking for jobs because of the discriminatory job market.

Regarding the policies on getting jobs in South Africa, the respondents had varying views. One hundred respondents evaluated the job policies in South Africa as lowest. Sixty-six respondents also evaluated the South African job policies as very low and scored it 2. Twenty-two migrant women indicated a score of 3 for job policies in South Africa. From the above statistics those who scored the job policies as 1–3 were 56.6%, which indicate that they had a negative opinion about the policies in South Africa on job acquisition by migrants. The policies regarding the jobs were not favouring the foreigners as they had experienced instances when low qualified locals are preferred to them.

On chances of migrant women getting jobs, 61.7% of the respondents scored this lowest, that is between 1 and 3 out of 10. Only 10.8% scored the chances of getting jobs in South Africa between 8 and 10 out of 10. It is clear that the migrant women were of the opinion that chances

of getting jobs were slim in South Africa. Hence many of them were entrepreneurs and also working for fellow compatriots. It was also difficult to get the type of job that they were trained to do. This was true of those who indicated that they were trained nurses, accountants, biologists and business management professionals who indicated that they were not doing the jobs that they were trained to do. A total of 239 respondents indicated that they considered chances of getting a specific job as very low that is between 1 and 3 out of 10.

7.3.2 The various livelihood capitals and capital factors analysed by respondents

Using the multi-attribute contingent ratings of the six livelihood capitals, namely human, social, economic, physical, cultural and political, and the subsequent livelihood capital factors, the mean scores from the respondents gave the indications as to what the migrant women utilised in order to cope and adapt in South Africa. The six livelihood capitals were further subdivided into capital factors that migrant women possessed and therefore used for coping and adaptation in South Africa.

7.3.2.1 Human capital

The four human capital factors identified were education, health, capacity to work and knowledge and skills. Of the four, health was rated by the respondents the highest coping and adaptation factor. Two hundred and seventy-seven (83.1%) of the respondents indicated that health was very important for someone to cope and adapt in South Africa. The public health systems of South Africa that afforded migrant women good health, were also favourable and adequate for all the people who live in the country. The respondents were very satisfied with the public health provision in the country, which could be because of the perceptions as well as the experiences of the migrant women that the South African health system is one of the best in the continent, despite being ranked 142 out of 191 in the world. Capacity to work was ranked second, followed by knowledge and skills, and finally education. There was a fair balance of the human capital factors which indicated that all the factors enhanced the coping and adaptation of migrant women in South Africa. Through their innovation and skills migrant women set up their own businesses that could absorb South Africans, train them, increase productivity and help reduce unemployment levels in the country. A healthy and knowledgeable human capital could be beneficial to South Africa. Human capital can be converted into economic capital as migrants will be contributing to the country's gross domestic product through various taxes.

7.3.2.2   Social capital

The overall rating of the social capital factors, namely networks and connections, relations of trust and mutual support, informal and formal networks and collective representation, indicated that relations of trust and mutual support ranked highest, as indicated by a total of 192 respondents who rated the relations based on trust and mutual support high and very high at 10.5% and 47.3%, respectively. Networks such as church, family, friends, ethnic groups, colleagues and neighbours played a role in the lives of the migrant women in South Africa. For instance, close family members, as well as husbands of the migrant women who were already in South Africa, contributed to their coping and adaptation in South Africa. A number of salon owners indicated that they also employed local South Africans in their business and the professional relationship was based on trust and mutual support. Good rapport had been developed among migrants from various countries and locals and that made coping and adaptation easier. However, there were some migrant women in Durban who expressed that they did not trust anyone and also felt alienated in South Africa. These same migrant women expressed that they would be glad if they got means of returning to their home countries.

However, networks and connections, although useful, were ranked second after trust and mutual support. A total of 52.1% (173) of the respondents indicated that they considered networks very high as a survival mechanism. Twenty-six (7.8%) considered networks and connections as high Forty-seven (14.2%) considered networks and connections as moderate. Twenty-seven (8.1%) of the respondents ranked networks and connections as low. Finally, 59 (17.8%) respondents ranked networks and connections very low. In the workplace, formal groups were established and in the communities, informal groups were formed and both formal (NGOs and faith-based organisations) and informal groups (*Stokvels* and burial societies) were necessary for the coping and adaptation of migrant women in South Africa. A total of 113 respondents had very low rating for formal and informal groups as migrant women expressed that it was difficult to rely on others on a day-to-day basis. Hard work was necessary to individually see to it that they survive in South Africa. A few (99), however, felt strongly that they could rely on formal and informal networks for survival.

Collective representation was necessary for the migrant women in South Africa, especially when it came to issues of conflict and injustices that could arise in the communities they resided in. The aspect of collective representation meant that compatriots stood for each other at all times. Migrant women indicated that they used their home country connections such as the

Zimbabwe Association in South Africa and Cameroonians in South Africa, to represent them when they were not fairly treated in South Africa. Some indicated that they utilised religious organisations such as Muslim organisations to represent their interests in South Africa. The respondents who rated collective representation as high and very high were 31 and 109, respectively. The migrant women indicated that collective representation as a social capital was useful to their coping and adaptation in South Africa.

7.3.2.3 Economic capital

Six economic capital factors, namely salary/wages/income, savings, credit, pension, marriage, and *Stokvels* / burial societies were used for coping and adaptation in South Africa. This livelihood capital and the capital factors were rated and ranked low as a coping and adaptation mechanism. One reason that the respondents gave for the low rating was that they had to devise strategies to survive regardless of their capabilities, such as the human capital factors they possessed. They had to lower their skills, qualifications and capabilities just to earn a livelihood. Some expressed lack of bargaining power due to lack of permits and the affirmative policies that preferred locals to them in the work sphere. Many migrant women did not have savings as only 38 ranked savings high and 56 as very high, while 127 migrant women ranked savings as very low and 52 as low. They earned money not to save but for their daily survival, remittances to their home countries and, above all, sending their children and themselves back to school.

Credit facilities were available in South Africa and those facilities were useful for the economic well-being of people. However, 78.6% (261) of the respondents rated access to credit as very low because they could not access the facilities due to, among other reasons, lack of proper documentation and collateral evidence needed by the banks. Others, however, preferred to avoid credit and used cash purchase schemes that were less expensive than credit.

Earnings (salary/wages/income) were rated by the respondents as low to moderate as 24.1% (80) and 36.7 (122) indicated that these were low or moderate, respectively. More than a third of the respondents indicated that their savings were very low at 38. 3% (127) and only 16.9% (56) rated savings as very high.

Marriage also proved to be an important mechanism for the survival of the women as 137 ranked marriage very high and 135 ranked it very low as an economic capital factor of coping and survival. Migrant women expressed that they were less reliant on *Stokvels* and burial societies for economic survival as these assisted them mainly during crises but not their daily

coping and adaptation. The ratings of the *Stokvels* and burial societies were very low at 61.1% and those who ranked them very high, were only 66. They attributed this to the fact that they did not bury their loved ones in foreign lands and since the burial societies catered for local burials, they rather had their own kinship associations that assisted them when they were bereaved.

7.3.2.4 Physical capital

The four physical capital factors were shelters/houses, amenities (basic services), communication services (vehicles, transport networks), and technology (internet, emails, cell phones). There was a general good feeling about the physical capital in South Africa. All the respondents were residing in formal houses and none stayed in the informal settlements, even though they were renting the accommodation from local South Africans. The respondents who were staying in the locations were mainly occupying RDP houses. When asked about how they acquired those houses since those houses were constructed to enable South Africa to live in decent houses, they indicated that they were either renting or bought the houses in cash from South Africans. The migrant women were pleased with the various communications systems at their disposal such as public and private transport infrastructure, connectivity networks such as cell phones, internet and other social communication networks. They were also impressed with the basic services provided by South Africa even to them as migrants. They also indicated availability of water, electricity and hygiene and sanitation at affordable rates. That was indicated in comparison to their home countries where such basic services were only for the privileged. The migrant women also acknowledged the accessibility of shelters and technologies. Hence the ratings of the physical capital factors were first, communication services; second, amenities/basic services; third, technology; and fourth, shelters/houses.

7.3.2.5 Political capital

The four issues that were put forward to the participants were relationships with political authorities in South Africa, political networks from home country, interaction with political structures locally and business relations with politicians. The migrant women indicated that their relationship with the political structures in South Africa were very low. A total of 303 (91.3%) respondents ranked their relations with the political structures in South Africa as very poor. Political capital did not contribute much in the coping and adaptation mechanisms of migrant women in South Africa. The respondents who were asked why they rated those political

factors as very low, expressed their dissatisfaction with the political situation both in their home countries and in South Africa. They even blamed the local politicians for instigating violence against them by locals, an issue that is debatable. The migrant women were also disconnected with political structures from South Africa and their home countries because they insinuated that the politicians were the cause of their migration and their problems in life. The ratings of the multiple political capital factors were first, political from home country; second, interaction with political structures locally; third, relationship with political authority in South Africa; and fourth, business relations with politicians.

7.3.2.6 Cultural capital

The cultural livelihood capital and the capital factors included gender issues, traditional beliefs, work ethics and respect for authority. The respondents were happy with the way gender issues were handled in South Africa. They expressed that a lot of attention is paid to gender equalities by authorities in South Africa. There also expressed that there was a lot of respect for women in South Africa compared to their countries of origin, especially by the South African policymakers. Hence 56.9% (189) rated gender issues as very high. Twenty-seven (27.7%) of the respondents ranked gender as high. Fifty (15.1) ranked gender as medium. The migrant women expressed satisfaction with the way the cases of gender-based violence was handled by the relevant institutions and the communities they lived in. South Africa was commended for its positive and progressive laws on respect of all cultures, values and norms in the country. The migrant women expressed that there was professionalism and respect for authority in the workspace shown by both the employer and employee. They rated traditional beliefs as very low (35%) due to the fact that they felt the locals were too euro-centric in their conduct. The cultural capital factors ratings were ratings were first, respect for authority; second, gender issues; third, work ethics; and fourth, traditional beliefs.

The multiple capital factors that were available to the migrant women were taken advantage of, and those that were easily accessible or could be affected, were employed in order to cope and adapt. Considering that the study was conducted in urban settings and metropolitan cities of South Africa, the ranking had indicated some advantages that urban environments offered to the inhabitants. It was noted that there were also issues of migrant women being more vulnerable to bad governance in urban areas and also greater reliance on cash for all basic services, including access to food, unlike their counterparts in the rural settings. The concept of entitlement came into play too as migrant women were entitled to whatever coping and

adaptation mechanisms they adopted through the predominant use of financial resources and other formal and informal structures or legal means in South Africa.

Human capital had the highest mean score of 4.49. It could be said that skilled migration brought acknowledged economic benefits for both the host countries and the migrant women themselves. The health of the migrant women and general adequate health care they accessed in the country made them cope and adapt well. Overall, the health statuses of migrant women were such that they had the capacity to work with knowledge and skills, and the prerequisite educational levels made them cope and adapt well in South Africa. Physical capital factors were ranked second highest by the migrant women as they acknowledged the progress made in the physical capital provisions by South Africa. The migrant women had reliable communication services, proper housing, basic services and up-to-date technological services that enabled them to cope and adapt in South Africa. The cultural capital ranked third with a mean score of 3.75, social fourth with 3.36, economic fifth with 2.25 and political sixth with a 1.19 mean score. All six capitals became coping and adaptation mechanisms employed by migrant women in South Africa in varying capacities.

7.4 ACHIEVEMENTS AND CONTRIBUTIONS

Most of the literature on international migration usually focussed on the South–North flows (from developing and underdeveloped countries to developed countries), disregarding the fact that there is more South–South flows. It was also not clear from literature, or there was no literature, for the South–South flow of migration having an impact on the host nation and indications of the migrant women's coping and adaptation strategies. Therefore, there was a need to study the socio-economic coping and adoption mechanism employed by African migrant women in South Africa. It is indeed essential to discover what was the main role of the different capitals in building coping and adaptation mechanisms for migrant women in South Africa, and to ask the questions: How do migrant women cope and adapt in South Africa? What are the capitals that enhance the coping and adptation of migrant women? and What are the indicators of resilience that inform the different capitals? Addressing these important questions is a benchmark and a good input for policymakers and different stakeholders, considering the current burning issue of international migration. Moreover, this study would generate new knowledge in terms of the existing factors impacting coping and adaptation mechanisms by migrant women in relation to livelihood capitals. It would provide a useful contribution to the

understanding of migrant women's coping, and factors that impacted on the coping and adaptation mechanism for South–South migration.

South Africa is one country that is host with huge South–South international migrants. International migration and mobility is an important part of many human events in the modern world. With globalisation, the African perspective of international migration could contribute to the wider migration discourse. Discussion on migrant women was documented by gendered aspects whereby the migrant women were looked at as vulnerable, dependent and susceptible to various forms of harassment in the process. The findings showed that migrant women were resilient, independent and could resist and withstand the challenges in migration and could cope and adapt well. Knowing about the socio-economic mechanisms and other factors contributing to the coping and adaptation in host countries, brought some new insights to the expansion of social strategies that raised the resilience levels of migrant women. The positive traits of migration to the host countries were highlighted in the study. Knowing more about the process of social and economic coping and adaptation, as well as various characteristics of migrant women and the resilience matrix, tried to demystify the anti-foreigner notions about migrants, viewing migrants as job-takers, unlawfully partaking in the allocation of local resources, notions that have resulted in conflicts and also xenophobic attacks. It was therefore hoped that a positive notion about migrants would result from the study, indicating the positive contribution the migrants brought into the country. Finally, researching women as independent agents and feminisation of migration internationally and in SSA, in particular, has become topical and a niche to a number of scholars, thereby expanding their publications on the subject, and the study too would add to more and new knowledge on the subject.

7.5   LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

Despite the contributions of the results of the study to literature, a number of limitations were encountered. The statistics that have been preliminary studied by STATS SA (2011), indicated that most of the migrant women were from Nigeria, Zimbabwe, Ghana and DRC. This meant that more participants were from those countries. However, an effort was made to make sure that many SSA countries were included but only 23 out of the possible 50 countries were included. The opinions of the rest of the countries were unknown and that was a limitation to the findings. The issue of migrants in South Africa was sensitive due to sporadic attacks on foreigners and the government's unclear policies on handling of the issues pertaining to xenophobia and treatment of foreigners in the country. Special permits were issued for some migrants such as the Zimbabwe Dispensation Permit (ZDP) (Moorhouse and Cunningham, 2010). There has been another special permit issued for Lesotho nationals (Rietveld, 2016). Participants were initially reluctant to participate, but after explaining the objectives of the study they were willing to participate.

The non-probability sampling used is a limitation in itself as it restricts the generalisability of the findings (Kotzé, 2007). The sample size could not be said of the greater part of the migrants in South Africa. The data was collected in some of the metropolitan cities of South Africa. This cannot be said of the other metropolitan cities left out, the towns, and even rural settlements where migrant women are found. It would not be absolute to conclude that the findings of the study represented SSA migrant women's socio-economic coping and adaptation mechanisms because these may differ for migrant women in other areas such as small towns, rural villages and farming areas. The study included migrant women who were willing to talk to the researcher. This method of sampling could be problematic as only those who were probably coping and adapting in South Africa were willing to participate. There could be some social hidden groups that were not willing to participate because they might have been finding it difficult to cope and adapt. This becomes a biased view as the other migrant women did not participate. Such biased view was, however, circumvented by the snowballing method which made it easier for coping migrant women to refer the researcher to the hidden participants who participated voluntarily when they were informed about the participants who referred them.

7.6   CONCLUSIONS

The overall findings showed that the importance of the pre-migration, transition period and post-migration capacities, capabilities and livelihood capitals and factors possessed by migrant women in the host country. The demographic and socio-economic characteristics of the migrant women played a significant role in the coping and adaptation mechanisms employed by migrant women. The human, social, economic, physical, political and cultural capitals were the broad livelihood capitals of coping and adaptation. Within those livelihood capitals factors of coping and adaptation were the livelihood capital factors that the migrant women made use of.

Although international migration was associated with some challenges and exposed migrant women to an array of vulnerabilities, having certain levels of characteristics and livelihoods enhanced their coping and adaptation. Being a working-age population, marriage economic power, educational potentials, language capabilities, type of residence statuses, and entrepreneurial capabilities, and enterprising capabilities, helped migrant women to cope and adapt in South Africa. Support systems such as family and humanitarian support enabled the migrant women to cope and adapt on arrival in South Africa and later they had to utilise their employability prowess and enterprising abilities to adapt in the country. Strong networks and networking capabilities also played a role in their coping strategies.

The livelihood capitals were also seen to be facilitating the coping and adaptation of migrant women. The human capital first, physical capital second, cultural capital third, social capital fourth, economic capital fifth and political capital sixth, facilitated their coping and adaptation in the host country. The effect of being a migrant was buffered by the maximum utilisation of these capitals.

Besides utilising the various capitals to cope and adapt in South Africa, migrant women have transformed their lives for the better as they managed through migration to transform their lives socially and economically. They managed to gain the abilities to make strategic life choices that were not available to many of them before through home country deprivations, patriarchal deprivations and gender biases entrenched in the African societies. The business/ entrepreneurial environment in South Africa empowered the migrant women to increase their resilience. Many migrant women were 'able to make plans' to cope and adapt. The socio-economic abilities of the migrant women indicated the resilience levels of the migrant women and the further growth of their resilience capabilities as they continued residing in South Africa.

They challenged the patriarchal status quo of African families by being able to take care of themselves and their families. More and more of the migrant women in South Africa were independent, although they were aware of their familial obligations that were rooted in religious beliefs such as the value of the marriage institution. Host countries need to shift their focus from looking at migrants a people from other countries but should focus on how they should deal with the migrants so that they can be integrated into the national society.

In summary, as has been alluded to above, migrant women such as any other migrants, are exposed to a lot of hardships in their countries of origin. When they migrated to South Africa they took advantage of the favourable socio-economic conditions and used their entrepreneurial capabilities and other skills to cope and adapt in the country. The migrant women have strong networks, contrary to South Africans that are more individualistic due to the strong government support offered to the locals. Local South Africans are unlike migrants who are aliens in South Africa and they enjoy the full citizen rights. They are also not very entrepreneurial such as foreigners, due to the healthy economy of their country. There are no pension schemes in migrant home countries that can cushion them like South Africans. Social security systems that the government of South Africa provides for the locals are not available for the migrant women, hence they rely on informal systems such as *Stokvels* and burial societies to survive.

7.7   RECOMMENDATIONS

Based on the findings of the study, a number of recommendations were made. The recommendations were in terms of policy issues that will enhance the issue of international migration and recommendations for further studies. The other recommendations were directed to international migrant women in the South-South migration and globally as women issues have no boundaries.

Despite the multiple challenges the migrant women were encountering in South Africa, they devised mechanisms that enabled them to cope and adapt under the harsh socio-economic and political challenges such as xenophobic attacks, social exclusion by being referred to as *makwerekwere* (foreigners), unemployment and governance challenges facing the country. People need to take responsibility for their own lives. Innovation (multitasking, entrepreneurial capabilities and social cohesion) is critical for coping and adaptation in the global village people live in that has limited choices of employment. Migrant women showed that a favourable economic atmosphere can become a window of opportunity for prosperity through enterprise

development. However, it is therefore in the host government's hands to become proactive and capitalise on innovative ideas brought into the country by migrants. This could be done thorough providing more opportunities through good and relevant education systems and proactivity in drawing lessons from other countries who have managed to create valuable human capital bases that government is wasting through poor governance.

South Africa has challenges such as unemployment, shortage of basic services such as housing, water and sanitation, uneven wealth distribution due to its history of apartheid and skills shortages which is not being aggravated by its education system that is not aligned to the employment needs of the country, and many other social ills characterising a developing nation. The country is inundated with international migrants and African migrants continue to enter the country on a daily basis. The migrants are competing with the locals for the scarce resources that are not enough for the locals alone and this has created tensions as indicated by sporadic xenophobic attacks on foreigners. These attacks are punctuated by comments that symbolise the competition over resources. African migrants are found in areas where the majority of the South Africans are economically struggling, especially in the low income residential areas of the urban areas including the metropolitan cities. The locals seem not interested in driving the migrants out of their communities in an organised manner. They however attack them, loot their businesses and call them in derogatory names, an indication that there are root causes to the hatred. The study therefore recommends to policymakers to try and address this hatred. The following recommendations are relevant:

- The government needs to have a clear policy on the receipt, treatment and settlement of international migrants, especially the African migrants who are the ones that are seen to be depriving the locals of their resources.

- There should be a clear policy that protects the local labour force from foreigners in order to prevent conflicts, especially in the entrepreneurial sector where migrants seem to have an upper hand over locals.

- The documentation of the international migrants needs to be improved in order to be able to account for the activities of the migrants as these migrants are earning honest lives, but the locals do not affirm this.

- Refugees and asylum seekers need to be given the rights that are enshrined in the Geneva Conventions, such as right to protection, freedom of movement, right to liberty and security,

right to family life, education, access to justice, employment, and other fundamental freedoms and privileges similarly enshrined in international human rights treaties.

- The South African education system needs to be aligned more to entrepreneurial skilling of locals so that they can compete with the migrants who do not rely on the state social security systems.

- The government and other stakeholders should embark on training, education and awareness campaigns at the grassroots levels so that they understand the international migration and the benefits it brings to host countries.

- The government can emulate the USA example of granting a specific number of visas per year to immigrants under various categories such as work visas, retirement, skills and scarce skills.

- The government could clarify the policies on businesses ownership, especially small businesses by foreigners, in order to avoid conflict. This should be in line with the government policies on business taxation.

- Introduction of an electronic and biometric system of identification at the ports of entry and the polling agents in the country can also reduce the animosity that the migrants face in South Africa.

- Finally, the policymakers can take it upon themselves to come up with a system of renewal of the permits and other personal details such as place of residence in order to monitor the activities of the migrants in the country, a way that can reduce the illegal migrants in the country but reinforcing of border control systems.

7.8   AREAS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

The study made use of only 332 migrant women and this may not be a precise reflection of the socio-economic coping and adaptation of African migrant women. However, this is considered as a starting point, and more similar studies should be conducted to widen the scope of international migration and coping and adaptation, considering the complex nature and the rapid expansion of international migration throughout the world. Metropolitan cities were sampled and these represented urban migrants. It should be interesting to do the same study with migrant women in the rural areas of South Africa. The same study can also be duplicated and by surveying the South Africa women in the same areas and engaged in similar activities. Both

migrant men and women could be surveyed collectively in order to evaluate the overall socio-economic coping and adaptation mechanisms employed by migrants from SSA in South Africa.

Further research needs to be done to determine the push factors for each of the sampled home countries of the migrant women in South Africa. Further research can also be done on the role of remittances that migrant women send from South Africa to their home countries. The migrant women employed in the formal sector of the South African economy are contributing to the economy of the country through their tax payments. It would be interesting to find out how the tax contributions made by migrant women impact on the locals if the migrants are awarded rights such as being eligible to work in government departments. The main reasons for xenophobia in South Africa can also be an interesting research, considering that the attacks are mainly perpetuated in the grey economy of the country.

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Appendix A
RESEARCH QUESTIONNAIRE

INTRODUCTION

I am a student at the University of the Free State (UFS), conducting research on the "**The socio-economic coping and adaptation mechanisms employed by African migrant women in South Africa**". The study is looking at various ways African migrant women employ in order to survive in South Africa. Migrant women like other migrants were pushed out of their home countries due to various adversities, travelled long and short routes to South Africa where they are managing decent lives regardless of not being part of one of the world class social security and social assistance systems in South Africa. Migrant women from Southern Africa, West Africa (WA) and East & Central Africa (E&CA) in metropolitan cities of Bloemfontein, Johannesburg, Pretoria and Ekurhuleni are the participants.

The data collected will be kept strictly confidential and findings used for the purposes of this study only, unless when permission is granted by the university and the researcher. No personal identification is required that directly links you the participation in the study. All information will be used only for academic purposes but also may be used by other relevant stakeholders within and outside of the university for the purposes of developmental intervention. All questions should be answered in all possible honesty.

Answer by ticking in the spaces provided or fill in the spaces provided.

1. How long have you lived in South Africa?

2. Indicate your age group: 18-29 [ ], 30-39 [ ], 40-49 [ ], 50-59 [ ], 60+ [ ]

3. What is your country of origin?

4. What is the official language of instruction in your country of origin?

5. What is your place of residence in the Republic of South Africa?

6. What is your primary position in the household? Head/sole bread winner [ ], wife [ ], mother [ ], grandmother [ ], relative [ ], other (specify)

7. What is your occupation in South Africa? Lecturer/teacher [ ], office worker [ ], formal entrepreneur [ ], business owner [ ], trading [ ], informal entrepreneur [ ], other (specify)

8. How do you manage the various occupations you have listed above if you ticked more than one?

   _____

   _____

   _____

   _____

   _____

   _____

9. Did you in any time lower your education status in order to survive? Yes [ ] No[ ]

10. If your answer above is "Yes", how and [what] did you go about it?

    _____

    _____

    _____

    _____

11. What is your marital status? Single [ ], married [ ], widowed[ ], divorced [ ], separated [ ], never married [ ]

12. How do you value marriage as a survival mechanism?

Network	Not at all	To a small extent	To a moderate extent	To some extent	To a large extent
Marriage					

13. Explain your answer above

_____

_____

_____

_____

14. What is your highest level of education? Lower Primary (Grade 3/ Std 1) [ ], Upper Primary (Grade 4-7/Std 2-6) [ ], Secondary [ ], certificate[ ], diploma [ ], Technicon qualification [ ], university degree [ ], postgraduate qualification[ ], other (specify)

15. How did you originally come to be in South Africa? High skills permit [ ], spousal permit [ ], family unification [ ], study permit [ ], business permit [ ], refugee/asylum [ ], retirement permit [ ], other (specify)

16. What is your current residence status in the Republic? naturalised [ ], permanent residence [ ], work permit [ ], spousal permit [ ], study permit [ ], accompanying parents [ ], business permit [ ], undocumented [ ], refugee/asylum [ ], other (specify

17. Are you proficient in the English language? Yes [ ] No [ ]

18. If question 17 is "No", how do you manage to carry on with your work and day-to-day life in South Africa?

_____

_____

_____

_____

Which of the local languages except English can you say you speak and understand?

	Language	Speak				Understand		
			Yes	No			Yes	No
1	Zulu	19.			25.			
2	Xhosa	20.			26.			
3	Northern Sotho	21.			27.			
4	Southern Sotho	22.			28.			
5	Afrikaans	23.			29.			
6	Tswana	24.			30.			
7	Ndebele	25.			31.			
8	Tsonga	26.			32.			
9	Venda	27.			33.			
10	Swati	28.			34.			

35. List at least 4 things that made you survive on arrival in South Africa.

#	Initial survival means
	(Prioritise from 1 most important -6 least important)
1	
2	
3	
4	

36. List at least 4 things that you are now doing to survive in South Africa

#	Long term survival means
	(Prioritise from 1 most important -6 least important)
1	
2	
3	
4	

37. Do you think these networks are assisting you in managing to survive in South Africa?

Network	Not at all	To a small extent	To a moderate extent	To some extent	To a large extent
Church					
Family					
Friends					
Ethnic group					
Political connections					
Colleague					
Neighbours					

38. List other networks that have assisted you in your survival in South Africa

_____

_____

_____

_____

39. In your own words how are the networks helping you in your life in South Africa?

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

How do you evaluate the job market in South Africa? (10 is highest and 1 is lowest)

		10	9	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1
40.	Job availability										
41.	Policies on getting jobs										
42.	Chances of getting jobs										
43.	Getting your specified job										
44.	Skills transfer in work places										
45.	Ethnic preferences in work places										

46. What is your overall feeling about the job environment in South Africa as a **migrant woman** and why you feel so?

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

47. Was there any instance when you felt that being a **migrant woman** affected you in some way in getting a job/livelihood? Yes [ ] No [ ]

48. Give an explanation for your answer above

_____

_____

_____

_____

49. Make short comments on how you are making it in South Africa and how you intend to improve your life in the country.

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

50. Below are the factors that have been identified as helping you as a woman woman survive in South Africa. Please give an index between 1 and 5 of how you classify yourself compared to others.

LOW	SELF			HIGH		INDICATOR/ FACTOR	CAPITAL	
#	1	2	3	4	5			
1						Education	*HUMAN*	
						Health		
						Knowledge and skills		
						Capacity to work		
2						Networks & connections	*SOCIAL*	
						Relations of trust & mutual support		
						Formal & informal groups		
						Collective representation		
3						Salary/wages/income	*ECONOMIC*	
						Savings		
						Credit		
						Pension		
						Marriage		
						Stokvels/ burial societies		
4						Shelter /houses	**PHYSICAL**	
						Amenities (basic services)		
						Communication services (vehicles/ transport networks		
						Technology (internet, emails, cellphones)		
5						Relationship with political authority in South Africa	*POLITICAL*	
						Political networks from home country		
						Interaction with political structures locally		
						Business relations with politicians		
6						Gender issues	*CULTURAL*	
						Traditional beliefs		
						Work ethics		
						Respect of authority		

Thank you for your cooperation and time!!!!!