



**SELF-INITIATED STRATEGIES FOR LABOUR MARKET
INTEGRATION AMONG TIED MIGRANTS
IN SOUTH AFRICA**

By

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Thesis submitted in accordance with the requirements of the degree

Doctor of Philosophy in Development Studies

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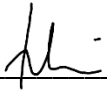
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November 2021

Declaration

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Acknowledgements

To God my Father, Ebenezer, thus far have you brought me. Nashukuru.

Dearest Dad, I kept my promise. Mom, your prayers have carried me through.

Brian, my number one supporter from day one. Thank you for standing by me on this incredibly long journey.

Ropafadzo, Ruponeso, Chishamiso, may you be inspired to achieve all you ever dream of achieving.

To my supervisors, Dr Saurombe and Prof Matebesi. Thank you for your valuable advice, expertise, and knowledge.

Prof. Marais, colleagues and staff at Centre for Development Support, thank you for the invaluable feedback, critique, and support.

To my colleagues at Gender and Sexuality in Migration Research Forum (GenSeM), under the International Migration, Integration and Social Cohesion in Europe (IMISCOE) thank you for opportunity to present the paper “Tied migrant counter conducts: deconstructing labour market subjectivities in a global South context” at the Conference on Intersectionality, the writing retreats, the advice, the support and just the incredible opportunity to network were also very much appreciated.

Carmen Nel, librarian par excellence. Thank you for such efficient service from day one.

To my friends, Trish, Brenda, Idah, Ndaka, thanks for all the encouragement along the way.

To Audrey Zinatsa and Kudzai Zinatsa, my sisters-in-law and friends, may your futures dawn bright.

To my research participants, thank you for making time despite your busy schedules and multiple roles during the COVID-19 pandemic.

Dedication

To the Mukonoweshuro and Zinatsa families

Abstract

South Africa is a hub for migration in sub-Saharan Africa and a prominent reservoir of migratory flows within and beyond the Southern African Development Community (SADC). Since the early 2000s, this skills-constrained country has implemented policies to harness the talents of skilled migrants for economic growth and development. On the part of migrants, the decision to emigrate represents an opportunity to improve their social and economic well-being and support their families back home in remittances. Skilled female migrants emigrating within the context of family as accompanying spouses (also known as tied migrants) remain obscured, particularly in the Global South, where the image of a skilled migrant is typically regarded as male.

Tied migrants face multiple disadvantages that impact their ability to integrate themselves in the labour market in host countries. In the absence of support, they must devise their own strategies for LMI. Extant research on the labour market integration (LMI) of these migrants focuses mainly on the experiences of those who emigrate from the Global South to the Global North. Not much is known about the LMI of tied migrants who emigrate from one developing country to another, that is, within the Global South. This knowledge is essential in the context of the growing significance and magnitude of south-to-south migratory flows. Therefore, this thesis sought in-depth elucidation of how tied migrant outcomes concerning labour market integration are shaped by overarching power relations mediated by multiple axes of advantage or disadvantage. It also sought to understand how tied migrants resisted these governing technologies to fulfil their own aspirations. This study applied the theory of governmentality, and intersectionality as a heuristic device that enabled a comprehensive, multilevel analysis incorporating micro, meso and macro factors impacting the labour market integration (LMI) of tied migrants in South Africa. Data collection took place between August 2020 and February 2021.

The study incorporated an interpretive/ constructionist approach or emic perspective to interrogate the lived experience of tied migrants in South Africa. A total of 13 one-on-one interviews were conducted with female tied migrants. Each interview lasted one and a half hours on average. The study set about to answer the following

questions: i. What governing technologies impacted the integration of accompanying spouses into the South African labour market? ii. How did accompanying spouses attempt to overcome barriers to labour market integration in the host country? iii. How did accompanying spouses fare in the labour market?

Significant findings included that self-initiated (resistance) strategies that reflect agency and a push back on governing technologies by tied migrants, can facilitate integration into the South African labour market. However, these strategies are not necessarily sufficient to guarantee full labour market integration. The broad exclusionary context which is premised on ethnicised rationalities that characterise the South African labour market makes full LMI difficult to achieve, particularly in the absence of support for integration. Tied migrants in South Africa are subjected to governing technologies such as informality, temporality, precarity and immobility, which have the cumulative impact of producing less than satisfactory labour market outcomes. Despite the adverse experiences they face, tied migrants remain agile and adept at employing various strategies at various times to maximise opportunities presented within a given space in time, even as they continue to work to secure better outcomes in the future.

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List of acronyms

DHA	Department of Home Affairs
FIH	Family Investment Hypothesis
GDP	Gross domestic product
ILO	International Labour Organisation
LMI	Labour market integration
NGO	Non-governmental organisation
OECD	Organisation for Economic Corporation and Development
SADC	Southern African Development Community
StatsSA	Statistics South Africa
UN	United Nations
UNDESA	United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs

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1 CHAPTER 1

1.1 Introduction

The 2030 Sustainable Development Agenda highlights that migration is a key aspect of inclusive growth and economic development (United Nations - Department of Economic and Social Affairs [UNDESA], 2019). In many countries such as Canada, Australia and New Zealand, the management of migration is increasingly focussed on harnessing migration for development (OECD, 2014; Koczan, Peri, Pinat & Rozhkov, 2021). For economic development to be realised, however, the full integration of migrants into the labour market through the adoption of appropriate policies is essential (Organisation for Economic Corporation and Development (OECD)–International Labour Organisation (ILO), 2016). The resultant economic benefits of this integration are essential for the host country and the country of origin and migrants themselves.

In the case of migrant women, economic and social progress can be realised through their inclusion in migration policies and practices. The labour market integration (LMI) of migrant women, for instance, can be facilitated through the adoption of administrative policies and regulations to promote gender equality and protect their rights and interests. This is essential for migrant womens' advancement and empowerment. The global development agenda takes cognisance of the importance of this through sustainable development goals 5 and 8.8, which speak to the imperative of gender equality and the empowerment of all women as well as the protection of their labour rights and the promotion of safe working environments (O'Neil, Fleury & Foresti, 2016; Holliday, Hannerby & Gammage, 2018).

In the Global North, the need to fully integrate migrant women has come to the forefront of policy debates (Agatiello & Humer, 2018), which emphasises the need to develop gender-sensitive migration policies and programmes for integration. In the context of family migration, exclusion denotes particularly negative consequences for spouses of skilled migrants who are skilled in their own right, as they endeavour to settle in new countries where support mechanisms for integration may be limited or non-existent.

Extant literature shows that female migrants arriving in the family context tend to be invisible (Yeoh & Khoo, 1998; Riaño, 2012; Filippi & Guarna, 2018). This means their need for integration and their potential skills contribution in the host country are often overlooked (Iredale 2004; Riaño, 2012). The skills that are not utilised or underutilised represent a waste that may weaken the economic benefits of migration (OECD-ILO, 2016). There is, therefore, a need to explore the complexities that accompanying spouses face by interrogating the inequality and exclusion that impede their access to the labour market (Morokvasic, 2014, Izaguirre & Walsham, 2021).

Despite the growing prominence of migratory flows therein (IOM, 2018) migration in the south-to-south context remains significantly under-researched (Gisselquist & Tarp, 2019; Bastia & Piper, 2019). While the estimated global stock of international migrants grew to 281 million, intraregional migration in SubSaharan Africa grew by as much as 63% in 2020 (United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs [UNDESA], 2020). Research in the global South has typically focussed mainly on unskilled or semi-skill workers and therefore little is known about skilled migration. Furthermore, while the growing phenomenon of the feminisation of migration is acknowledged, little is known about female migrants who emigrate in the context of family migration as skilled professionals (Izaguirre & Walshman, 2021).

Migration is highly influenced by gender where the freedoms and experiences of women are strongly influenced by power relations, gender norms and unequal rights (O'Neil et al., 2016). Few studies trace the labour market experiences of skilled tied migrants and the active role they employ to overcome barriers to labour market integration (Yeoh & Khoo, 1998; Riaño, 2012; Wojczewski, Pentz, Blacklock, & Hoffman, 2015; Föbker, 2019). This study sought to add to this literature from an underexplored South-South migration perspective applying the theory of governmentality as developed by Michel Foucault (1978).

1.2 Definition of terms

The following terms were adopted for use in this study.

Accompanying spouse

A female migrant who either accompanied her husband or followed him in a process of family reunification. This female migrant may or may not have received the legal assigned status of “dependant”. The term accompanying spouse is used interchangeably with the term “tied migrant.”

Tied migrant status

The state of being in which an accompanying spouse is assigned the legal designation of “dependant”. The designation defines what rights may be applicable to an accompanying spouse and determines what rights an accompanying spouse can legally claim in the context of family migration (Holliday et al., 2018).

Skilled migrant

A migrant who has achieved an academic degree or its equivalent.

1.3 Labour market integration

LMI is a multidimensional term related to how likely an immigrant is to be part of the labour force. The term goes further than (un)employment and considers earnings, working hours, nature of a contract and skills utilisation.

1.4 Theoretical framework

Extant literature regarding the labour-market integration of migrant women highlights the complexities of the integration process. Importantly, LMI is highly context-specific and is influenced by various factors that produce variable outcomes for the individual migrant. This study departed from a purely contextual approach. It utilised the theory of governmentality to explore the link between the macrophysics and microphysics of power that shapes labour market outcomes of accompanying spouses in South Africa. Importantly, this study acknowledges migrant women as protagonists who aggregate their experiences and perceptions to challenge dominant understandings and appropriate them in a just and beneficial manner to their own lives. The theory of governmentality has been applied to diverse contexts, including breastfeeding (Malatzky, 2017), informal settlements (Massey, 2014, 2019), headscarf affairs (Teo, 2019), and language training policies (Haque, 2017).

In the context of LMI, labour market experiences are the outcomes of both conduct of conduct and counter conducts, as these produce subjectivities and alternative subjectivities. Counter conducts are forms of resistance to the manner in which one's field of action is shaped. Counter conducts speak to how accompanying spouses seek to shape or define their own identity, pursue their own goals and improve their lives. The present project utilised an intersectional approach to enhance analytical sophistication. Intersectionality accounts for how heterogeneous members of particular groups may have markedly different experiences due to race, country of origin, class or other social locations (Atewolugun, 2019). Interlinked with the concept of intersectionality is the concept of power and power relations.

1.5 Theory of governmentality

Michel Foucault is regarded as one of the second-stream power scholars alongside Deleuze whose focus was on the techniques, practices and strategies of power, that is, how power is practiced. The theory of governmentality is one such theory expounded by Foucault in one of his later writings, entitled *Security, Territory, Population*, published circa 1978. By governmentality, Foucault has in mind structured mentalities, practices, rationalities and techniques through which people or a system are governed. The term government does not refer to an institution but denotes a form of power (Teo 2019).

1.5.1 Governmentality as conduct of conduct

Governmentality is referred to as the "conduct of conduct" (Foucault 1982: 220-1), which ranges from "governing self to governing others." It refers to any attempt to shape behaviour according to a specific set of norms and for various ends due to some degree of deliberation (Dean 2009). While Foucault's governmentality is linked to sovereign power and discipline, it offers an alternative conception that is not focussed on power, force or coercion. Instead, it is a power concerned about giving guidance or setting limits on the possible field of action (Cruikshank, 1999; Lemke, 2012).

Government is any more or less calculated and rational activity, undertaken by a multiplicity of authorities and agencies, employing a variety of techniques and forms of knowledge, that seeks to shape conduct by working through the desires, aspirations, interests and beliefs of various

actors, for definite but shifting ends and with a diverse set of relatively unpredictable consequences, effects and outcomes” (Dean 2009:18).

The idea of multiple agencies, techniques and forms of knowledge lends itself very well to the present study. Governmentality is understood to be the various techniques and practices used by state and non-state agencies to conduct the conduct of others (Garbadi, 2001). In the context of migration, the state and other meso level actors influence labour migration outcomes (Raghuram, 2004). Accompanying spouses' behaviours, aspirations, motivations and conduct are shaped by the state's practices, policies, programmes, gendered social systems and labour market conditions. As Dean (2009) states, in the manner that there is a plurality of authorities and agencies, numerous behaviours or actions are also to be governed.

Governmentality can shape the subjectivities of the ones governed. For instance, Holliday et al. (2018) argue that the mechanisms by which migrant women are categorised as dependants, whether by design or default, define their rights and their ability to claim those rights. Raghuram (2004: 304) argues that women are typically “cast as followers and as losers within patriarchal systems in the context of family migration.” Governmentality, however, also acknowledges that the one who is governed is an actor and a locus of freedom (Dean, 2009). This suggests that the form of power wielded through governmentality is not unilateral nor totalising (Teo, 2019). The individual is not being coerced or forced to do that which he/ she does not want to do (Lemke, 2012). As emphasised earlier, accompanying spouses have some locus of freedom to think, act and exercise their agency (Riaño, 2012; Kou & Bailey, 2017; Teo, 2019). Lemke (2012) notes that the one who is governed exercises a measure of freedom - which is not taken away but that could serve to empower them.

Governmentality allows us to explore the link between the macrophysics and microphysics of power (Lemke, 2012) and it allows us to see the connections between “power and freedom, resistance and government” (Death, 2016: 209). For instance, immigration practices, policies and programmes create different immigrant classes and inherently shape the identity and rights of migrants and their ability to claim those rights. In addition, policies also shape the desires, aspirations, interests and beliefs (Dean, 2009) of immigrants and guide behaviours and actions in specific ways. As concerns accompanying spouses, these desires, aspirations, interests and behaviours

are also shaped through gender regulations and labour market conditions. Significantly however, these migrant women also retain a significant measure of agency.

1.5.2 Governmentality as practices of self or counter conducts

The notion of “counter conducts” or “practices of self” is captured in Foucault’s (1978) lecture on *Security, Territory, Population*. These minor forms of resistance can be viewed as empowering, enabling the governed by forcing them to “free” decision making in fields of action (Lemke, 2012). These practices of self are regarded as useful in the pursuit of political, social and economic goals but may not even be considered by the one who is governed as forms of resistance (Massey, 2014).

The one who is governed is an actor and, therefore, a locus of freedom (Dean, 2009; Teo, 2019). Where conduct of conduct seeks to shape the field of action, that is, shape the freedom of the one governed, counter conduct aims to redefine and reshape this field of action. Yeoh and Khoo (1998) argue that migration can temporarily open up a liminal space where migrants can adopt or reject new values or retain and stretch the old. This suggests that the act of migration is a counter conduct in itself.

1.6 Intersectionality theory

This study also utilised intersectionality as an analytical tool. Intersectionality offers a way of deducing how heterogenous members of specific groups may differ based on several analytical levels (Kaushik & Walsh, 2018; Atewologun, 2019). Through the intersectional approach, equal attention is paid to various levels of oppression and advantage as they are faced by women (Knudsen, 2006; Chinyakata, Raselekoane, & Mudau, 2019) and, in this case, accompanying spouses.

Intersectionality addresses how racism, economic disadvantage, patriarchy and other discriminatory mechanisms work in tandem to produce inequality that structures the relative positions of women (UN, 2000). The propensity to be fixated on one or only a few factors impacting migrant women is therefore eliminated through this approach.

Kaushik and Walsh (2018) argue that complete understanding of the settlement needs of migrants requires the intersectional approach, as it provides full engagement in the

sources of difference. Further, the approach means that those who are most in need can be adequately targeted for integration programmes.

1.7 The South African context

Migration to South Africa, which began well before the 21st century, accelerated after the dawn of democracy and completely transformed the country's demographic profile. Recent statistics show that South Africa is ranked among the top 20 nations hosting the largest population of international migrants. The proportion of international migrants as a percentage of the population rose from 2.2% in 2000 to 7.1% in 2017 (UN, 2017). This data reflects South Africa's prominence as a regional migration hub in sub-Saharan Africa (Mbiyozo, 2018, IOM, 2022) and its influential pull factors of a higher standard of living, relatively stable economy and lower cost of living (Dinbabo & Nyasulu, 2015; Kanayo et al., 2019). Given these increased migrant flows, the management of migration in South Africa has become a critical social, political and economic issue, but also an emotive one. As reported in the media, concerns surrounding the employment of foreign nationals have spurred the development of a new National Labour Migration Policy, as well as the tabling of amendments to various key policies including the Employment Services Act, the Immigration Act, Citizenship Act as well as the Refugees Act (Business Tech, 2022).

South Africa abounds with controversies about the purported impacts of migration on the labour market and the country's scarce resources. Rising unemployment accompanied by the belief that migrants "steal jobs" and the alleged readiness of unskilled migrants to work for lower wages have all contributed to the rise of xenophobic attacks against immigrants (Landau, 2011; Parshotam & Ncube, 2017; Chinyakata et. al, 2019; Vermaak & Muller, 2019). These attacks are particularly severe against migrants of African and Asian origin (OECD-ILO, 2018a). Anti-immigrant sentiments continue to be pervasive and have been expressed by prominent politicians including the former health minister Aaron Motsoaledi, who is quoted in the media as stating that foreign nationals are placing a burden on the South African health system (SABC News, 2018). Evidence shows that immigrants do not displace native-born workers and, in fact, make a significant contribution to the economy of South Africa (IOM, 2022). For instance, immigrants contributed nine

percent to gross domestic product (GDP) in the year 2011 (OECD-ILO, 2018b). However, South Africa faces a chronic unemployment challenge due to an increasing population but limited industrial expansion. The unemployment rate stood at around 27.7% in 2017 (StatsSA, 2019). At the same time, the country faces a critical skills shortage.

From practices of racial exclusion in the colonial and apartheid era, South Africa has become a de facto multicultural society over the years. According to the IOM's World Migration Report 2022, there are approximately 2.9 million international migrants living in South Africa (IOM, 2022). Mixed migratory flows to South Africa have grown, and become more diversified and significantly, more feminised (Mbiyozo, 2018). The majority of migrants in South Africa have their origins in neighbouring countries. Zimbabwe, for instance, is one of the major source countries owing to its proximity, ethnic connections and culture (Ncube, 2017, Mbiyozo, 2018, Ncube et al., 2019) and as Souza & Flippen (2020) notes Zimbabwe is also a key source of highly skilled migrants. Other key sending countries mainly from within but also from without the Southern African Development Community [SADC] include among others, Namibia, Nigeria, Lesotho, Swaziland and Mozambique (Souza & Flippen, 2020). Circular and short-term migration typically characterises most of the migration as not all migrants chose to settle permanently. Irregular migration also characterises the migratory flows owing largely to the emphasis on skilled migration and the strict requirements for work permits make it virtually impossible for those who are unskilled or semi-skilled to acquire legal authority to work (Chinyakata et al., 2019). Through the White Paper for International Migration (DHA, 2017), the government adopted a neoliberal approach to migration through which it seeks to "harness immigration for economic development and national security" (DHA Annual Report, 2017/2018).

1.8 Rationale

From the early 2000s, robust discourse on national development has shaped migration policies, practices and programmes in South Africa. In this discourse, the government emphasises the link between migration and development and the potential contribution of migration to economic growth as outlined in the National Development Plan (National Planning Commission, 2011). The goal of the 2030 NDP is to double gross

domestic product, reduce poverty and reduce inequality (National Planning Commission, 2011). As a result, immigration regulations in South Africa have become progressively more restrictive, focussing on attracting and retaining critical skills while excluding semi-skilled and unskilled migrants (DHA, 2017). However, attracting and retaining skilled migrants remains a crucial challenge for South Africa around harnessing migration for economic development (DHA, *ibid*).

Literature shows that, in the context of family migration, accompanying spouses are a notable influence in attracting skilled migrants (Föbker, 2019). Immigration policies that focus on economic growth are criticised for failing to acknowledge the complexities of family migration. In particular, the economic development paradigm fails to attend to the rights, protections and unique subjectivities of female migrants (Bastia & Piper, 2019). Such complexities, which arise from an intersection of immigration regulations, labour market conditions and gendered social systems, particularly impact the labour market integration of spouses accompanying skilled migrants (Phan, Banerjee, Deacon & Taraky, 2015; Ballarino & Panichella, 2017; Kesler & Safi, 2018; Ala-Mantila & Fleishmann, 2018; Föbker, 2019). This intersection of factors leads to barriers that result in poor labour market integration outcomes for accompanying spouses (Bevelander & Groenveld 2012; Föbker 2019), particularly where integration is not supported. Poor LMI can lead to brain waste due to a skills mismatch or failure to integrate themselves in the labour market (Föbker, 2019), resulting in the migrant family opting to pursue forward or onwards migration, which has a bearing on the retention of essential skills for economic development.

1.9 Problem Statement

Labour market integration is one of the vital forms of integration for migrants wishing to settle in host countries. However, regardless of skill levels (Banerjee & Phan 2015; Ala-Mantila & Fleischmann, 2018; Föbker, 2019; Riaño, 2021), research shows that those who migrate together with or after their husbands are significantly disadvantaged with respect to labour market (Ballarino & Panichella, 2017, Riaño, 2021). In the context of family migration, accompanying spouses are typically subjectified as “followers and losers” (Raghuram, 2004: 32), “second migrants” (Filippi & Guarna, 2018:690), “add-ons” (Kotze, Blazheva & Dyimitrov, 2021:182) or

stereotyped as dependants (Morokvasic, 2014). Contrary to this typecast, a growing body of literature shows that such women can remain motivated and resilient and capitalise on opportunities availed through migration for career development and skills acquisition (Yeoh & Khoo, 1998; Raghuram, 2004; Kōu & Bailey, 2017; Grigoleit-Richter, 2017; Røysum, 2018; Ncube & Mkwanzani, 2020, Sandoz, 2020).

In the absence of policies and programmes that offer support for integration, as is the case in South Africa, accompanying spouses must devise their own strategies in an endeavour to integrate themselves in the labour market. This study explored the experiences and strategies of accompanying spouses in an endeavour to achieve labour market integration in South Africa. This study aimed to achieve this by examining the modalities through which the subjectivity and identity of accompanying spouses are shaped. It also sought to explore how accompanying spouses seek to overcome barriers that prevent them from integrating into the labour market. By examining the link between the macrophysics and microphysics of power (Lemke, 2012), that is, structural power and agency, the researcher argues that the unique needs of accompanying spouses in integrating into the labour market in South Africa can be explored.

1.10 Research aim

By utilising governmentality as a theoretical framework, this study sought to explore the labour market experiences and self-initiated¹ strategies of accompanying spouses in their attempt to achieve labour market integration in South Africa.

1.10.1 Research objectives

The related research objectives are as follows:

- i. To explore the mechanisms by which tied migrant conduct is shaped with respect to the labour market.
- ii. To deconstruct the practices and knowledge that shape the identities and subjectivities of tied migrants seeking LMI in South Africa.

¹ Self-initiated strategies are those strategies employed by the tied migrant without the support of the host society, i.e., where programmes for integration are absent.

- iii. To determine the strategies that accompanying spouses utilise to overcome barriers to LMI

1.11 Main research question

What are the labour market experiences and self-initiated² strategies of accompanying spouses in their attempt to achieve labour market integration in South Africa?

1.11.1 Research questions

This thesis set out to answer the following questions.

- i. What are the governing technologies that influence the integration of accompanying spouses into the South African labour market?
- ii. How do accompanying spouses attempt to overcome barriers to labour market integration in the host country?
- iii. How do accompanying spouses fare in the South African labour market?

1.12 Significance of study

Migration in the Global South remains significantly under-researched (Gisselquist & Tarp, 2019; Bastia & Piper, 2019) and there is evidence of significant gaps in literature particularly as pertains to migration by women and skilled migrants. Most research investigating the experiences of immigrant women focus mainly on socio-economically disadvantaged women, that is, refugees or asylum seekers as well as unskilled and semi-skilled migrants. As a result, there is a dearth of research on skilled women migrants (Kaushik & Walsh, 2018). Skilled women migrants who migrate in the family context, that is, accompanying spouses, remain primarily invisible (Kou & Bailey, 2017; Izaguirre & Walshman, 2021), but represent a unique group of migrants whose needs for integration into the labour market should be considered.

South Africa faces a considerable challenge when it comes to attracting and retaining skilled migrants (DHA, 2017). In the context of family migration, the experiences of accompanying spouses who may be skilled in their own right are important to the

² Self-initiated strategies are those strategies employed by the tied migrant without the support of the host society, i.e., where programmes for integration are absent.

settlement of the migrant family in the host country (Föbker, 2019). The realisation of economic benefit through migration can only be attained through the complete labour market integration on the part of migrants, and this is important to South Africa given the National Development Plan and the potentially detrimental impacts of brain waste. The Sustainable Development Agenda highlights the need for a gendered approach to migration. In this regard, the integration needs of migrant women should be strongly considered. This will facilitate the empowerment of women and ensure that none are left behind. For immigrants, the ability to work is a key aspect of integration (Agatiello & Humer, 2018; Krieger, 2020). The integration of women in labour markets has significant consequences on the overall integration of migrant families. This research also considers that South Africa is one of the most significant destinations in Africa for international migrants (IOM, 2022) and the DHA in South Africa states its intention to initiate programmes designed explicitly for the integration of legal migrants. The results of this study could therefore be beneficial in this regard.

This study contributes to the literature on labour market integration from a hitherto understudied South-to-South perspective by exploring the experiences of skilled women migrants in the context of family migration. Further, it utilises a neglected aspect of Michel Foucault's (1978) theory of governmentality, particularly counter conducts, to investigate the integration needs of accompanying spouses. Such research can, to some extent, highlight issues that could inform policy. As far as the researcher is aware, no other similar study has been done in the South African context.

1.13 Methodology

1.13.1 Research approach

The study employed a narrative approach as a qualitative research method. The narrative approach allows for attainment of rich insights and personal meaning assigned to life experiences (Carless & Douglas, 2017). In addition, the narrative approach necessarily allows for the exploration of life experiences as they are perceived by the storyteller (Cortazzi 1993; Webster & Mertova, 2007; Carless & Douglas, 2017). The narrative approach allows for the exploration of trajectories across time. These aforementioned facets were all pertinent to the research as it aimed to explore the lived experiences of accompanying spouses as they transitioned

from the host country right through to their labour market integration in the host country. Through the retrospective lens that narrative inquiry allows us, we can derive meaning from human reality (Freeman, 2015). Life stories or short-range stories of landmark events were deemed the most suitable form of narrative approach for this study (De Fina & Georgakopoulou, 2012).

Langellier (1998) highlights how storytelling helps validate the voices of the hidden and marginalised. Notably, the study sought to give voice to migrant women accompanying spouses in South Africa who have thus far been invisible in labour market integration research. The narrative approach was helpful to understand how individuals coped with the challenges and difficulties of their lived experience and how their identities were shaped through interactions with others (Bochner & Riggs, 2014). The narrative approach was central to this study, as it sought to explore how the intersection of immigration policies and programmes, gendered social systems and labour market conditions have all shaped the field of action for accompanying spouses. Narrative inquiry explores this experience through storytelling where people portray themselves as protagonists, survivors, victims or even heroes (Leavy, 2014).

Narratives are among the key ways in which, not only identity is expressed but also way in which individual and collective identities are expressed and negotiated. Narratives, specifically stories, prioritise individual experience but acknowledge that the story itself is shaped by dominant cultural narratives which are embedded within the cultural context (Macleod, 1997). Narratives therefore allow the researcher to attend to the interplay of structure and agency (Carless & Douglas, 2017). These aspects were all regarded as key focus for this research project.

1.13.2 Research philosophy

Ontology

Ontology is the fundamental viewpoint that people hold related to the nature of reality (Ngulube, 2020). It is beliefs about the nature and existence of social reality. The researcher studied the words and subjective meanings of participants that express perspectives about reality. The researcher observed these subjective meanings from the interviews which were conducted with participants (Saunders et al., 2016). The researcher explored and explained the understanding of what is interpreted as the

nature of reality by the participants as they make sense of their everyday lives (Ngulube, 2020).

Epistemology

Epistemology is the philosophical theory of knowledge and looks at what constitutes as knowledge (Ngulube, 2020). In the research an interpretivist approach was followed in generating knowledge, by uncovering meaning associated with social phenomenon. What is believed and has come to be known and understood about the world were uncovered (Saunders et al., 2016). Knowledge about the phenomenon was based on the interaction between the researcher and participants, which led to assumptions and themes emerging.

1.13.3 Research paradigm

A research paradigm offers the researcher a model or frame of reference within which to observe and understand phenomena. This study employed an interpretivist/ constructionist paradigm, which acknowledges that multiple realities or truths are the products of human subjectivity (Harrison, 2014). By utilising the voice of the participants, the study sought to understand or interpret phenomena.

In terms of the interpretivist paradigm, reality is shaped by experiences and therefore becomes something to be interpreted. By means of the interpretivist approach, the researcher sought out the lived experiences of others within a particular historical and social context.

1.13.4 Data collection

The data collection method used in this study considered the need to explore the peculiarity and intricacies of the individual's lived experience (Carless & Douglas, 2017). The emphasis was therefore to allow the interviewees to tell the stories from their own perspectives but also allowing the researcher to interrogate any gaps in the short life story or pursue details about particular issues of interest to the research. The establishment of good rapport and trust with the participants was regarded as a strong priority for the interview process (Anderson & Kirkpatrick, 2021).

According to (Brinkman, 2014) unstructured interviews are the most effective interview style when it comes to capturing and documenting multiple experiences, exploring

contested issues and capturing multifaceted views of a phenomenon. Unstructured interviews, however, have the disadvantage of being time-consuming, while their reliability is limited when the format for interrogating the issues is not standardised across respondents. Anderson & Kirkman's (2021) narrative interviewing format was regarded as the most suitable. The format entails four distinct parts; i) the initial introduction and explanation about the research, ii) the narrative in which the storyteller was allowed to talk freely about their lived experience, iii) the questioning phase which employed a combination of the narrative and semi-structured interview and iv) the conclusion, which explained the next steps which would take place.

This format was regarded as suitable in that it allows the interviewees the opportunity to prioritise their own narrative (Anderson & Kirkpatrick, 2015), but also allows the researcher to seek further elaboration for the generation rich insights into the interviewee's own stories. Furthermore, this format enables the researcher to explore fully all the factors underpinning the participants' answers, reason, feeling, opinions, or beliefs (Ritchie & Lewis 2003: 141) while giving the participants freedom to be spontaneous around the issues that arise (Ritchie & Lewis, 2003).

The interview guide was designed (see Appendix 4) utilising extant literature to probe for further elaboration so as to attain deeper insights on the narratives of the participants. The framework for the interview was devised based on previous knowledge on the subject matter (Kallio, Pietila, Johnson & Kangasniemi, 2016). The questions were specifically designed to elicit responses from the participants in such a way as to interrogate the interplay between the microphysics and macrophysics of power (Michel Foucault, 1978; Lemke, 2012) and to interrogate the layers of social stratification that give rise to diverse experiences in the labour market. The first interview was regarded as the pilot. However, no issues were identified and therefore the findings were incorporated into the study.

1.13.5 Population and sampling

In qualitative research, only a small sample may be utilised (Anderson & Kirkpatrick, 2021), however the aim is to identify cases from whom the most can be learned (Merriam, 2014). This assists the researcher to discover, understand and gain insight

and ultimately provide an extensive and substantial description of the topic at hand (Creswell, 2009).

This research set out to explore the labour market experiences and self-initiated³ strategies employed by accompanying spouses in their attempt to achieve labour market integration in South Africa.

Population:

According to the Statistics South Africa - Quarterly Labour Survey 2012/2017, Gauteng is home to the largest immigrant population in South Africa, followed by Mpumalanga and Limpopo, and the Free State Province has seen a marginal increase in the immigrant population (StatsSA 2019). Immigration data tends to be incomplete: however, it is estimated that there were some 28 608 visas allocated to spouses under the temporary residence visa category between 1 June 2014 and 14 Jan 2016. In addition, during the same period, some 7 195 critical skills visas were issued (DHA, 2017).

The target population for this study can be described as follows.

- i. Migrant women who were either employed or previously employed in South Africa.
- ii. Migrant women born outside, and at the time, not citizens of the country.
- iii. Migrant women who either accompanied or followed their spouse to South Africa to effect family reunification.
- iv. Migrant women who were legally resident in South Africa.
- v. Migrant women who came to South Africa with some form of tertiary education or work experience.
- vi. Migrant women between the ages of 18 and 65.

³ Self-initiated strategies are those strategies employed by the tied migrant without the support of the host society, i.e., where programmes for integration are absent.

Sampling:

The sampling technique utilised in the study took into account each of the factors as outlined in the table below.

Table 1: Summary of research protocol

Research Question	What are the labour market experiences and self-initiated ⁴ strategies of accompanying spouses in their attempt to achieve labour market integration in South Africa?
Research Philosophy	Interpretive phenomenological approach (in depth understanding)
Sampling Method	Non-probability sampling/purposive sampling accompanied with snowball sampling
Data Collection Method	Narrative approach with in-depth semi-structured interview.
Thematic Analysis Approach	Reflexive
Meaning saturation	Defined as the point at which no new patterns of shared meaning emerge (Hennick, Kaizer & Marconi 2017 ; Sebele-Ncube 2020).

The narrative study approach does not set out to be statistically generalisable (Anderson & Kirkpatrick, 2021) as may be the outcome from quantitative study. However, internal generalisability and case to case generalisability were inferred (See section 5.6). This study relied on a relatively small number (13) of participants. As Smith (2018) notes, purposefully chosen samples that are rich in knowledge are a strength of qualitative research. In this study the researcher began to discover monotonous trend by the fifth interview. This is supported by Guest et al. (2006) and Hennick (2017) views that the majority of codes emerge in the first six interviews, thus implying the sufficiency of the sample size utilised for this study. However, in order to achieve depth of meaning interviews were continued up to interview 13.

The research took into account practical considerations, such as the potential number of participants that met the sampling criteria. Thirdly, as this research informed the

⁴ Self-initiated strategies are those strategies employed by the tied migrant without the support of the host society, i.e., where programmes for integration are absent.

work of a PhD student, limited funds and time were also a strong consideration in the choice of sampling technique.

The researcher opted to utilise purposive sampling to carefully and mindfully select the appropriate respondents to interview. Purposive sampling was employed based upon the criteria outlined above. This was complimented by a snowball approach, where participants who were initially selected purposefully were given a chance to identify other suitable participants (Gilson et al., 2012; Chinyakata et al., 2019).

1.13.6 Data analysis

The primary goal of data analysis is to generate meaning. This research employed thematic analysis to explore the narratives of accompanying spouses. The advantage of using thematic analysis is that it is not tied to any theoretical framework and therefore remains flexible mainly for use in various contexts (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Exploring themes that are of greater relevance within the underexplored context of labour market integration in the South African context was important.

As stated by Merriam (2014), in qualitative research the process of data analysis and data collection occur simultaneously. Braun and Clark's (2006) six stages of thematic analysis were utilised to analyse the data:

- i) Getting familiar with the data through immersion in the data.
- ii) Transcribing the data.
- iii) Generating initial codes.
- iv) Review of themes.
- v) Definition and review of themes.
- vi) Compiling the report.

The researcher compared themes across cases to demonstrate variations and trends in the responses gathered (see Sosulki et al., 2010). The researcher noted unusual variations in these, while utilising excerpts of the data to provide the standpoints of respondents in their own words.

1.13.7 Strategies employed to ensure rigour and quality of data

There are strategies that can be used in qualitative studies to ensure the rigour and quality of data. The researcher employed the following strategies to ensure the quality

and rigour of the data in this research (Hadi & Closs, 2015; Forero, Nahidi, De Costa, Mohsin, Fitzgerald, Gibson, McCarthy & Aboagye-Sarfo, 2018):

According to Forero et al. (2018) the main criteria for rigour in qualitative research include, credibility, dependability, confirmability and transferability. These were applied to this study in the following manner;

i) Credibility-

The interview schedule was tested prior to undertaking data collection. There were no issues established with the pilot and therefore the findings were incorporated into the study.

The researcher had the necessary skills and required knowledge in order to carry out the study.

ii) Dependability

Dependability was ensured through the means of detailed description of the research method and the data collection process.

iii) Confirmability.

This was attained through self-reflection. The researcher's beliefs and past experiences can influence the research finding and self-reflection enables the researcher to understand their position within the study. The researcher clearly stipulated their role in terms of the study and was careful of any bias that could have emanated from personal or subjective viewpoints.

iv) Transferability

Extensive description: increasing external transferability can be achieved by providing profound description. The researcher provided extensive descriptions of the research setting, sample traits, including the data gathering and analysis techniques in this study, thus enhancing the credibility and generalisability of the findings to other similar research settings, to an acceptable extent. The latter form of generalisability, is also known as case-to-case transfer (Polit & Beck, 2010; Maxwell & Chmiel, 2014).

1.14 Structure of thesis

This thesis follows the PhD-by-article format in which three articles are presented. Each article is aligned with one of the specific research questions.

1.14.1 Chapter 1

Chapter 1 introduces the topic and sets out the background for the study. It sets out the problem statement as well as the rationale for the study. The chapter also sets out the context of the study, which is South Africa. It concludes with ethical considerations and a short exposition of the researcher's positioning around the topic at hand.

1.14.2 Chapter 2

The first article, entitled “You, literally, are just a housewife” – Tied migrants and governing technologies in the South African labour market space, addressed the first objective of the study, which sought to explore the main governing technologies and their impacts on the LMI of tied migrants. Utilising Michel Foucault's theory of governmentality, that is, conduct of conducts, this article sought to answer the first question of the research, which was to understand the mechanisms shaping the conduct of tied migrants with respect to the labour market in South Africa. Utilising the participants' voices, this article identified that the main governing technologies at macro and meso level were mainly gendered and exclusionary technologies.

1.14.3 Chapter 3

The second article, entitled “Just forget about the qualifications. Forget, just forget” - Counter conducts in the South African labour market space,” considered the strategies utilised by tied migrants to integrate themselves into the labour market. An important finding emerging from the study is that, while tied migrants engaged in various strategies to integrate themselves into the labour market, these strategies were not necessarily useful for full labour market integration. In fact, some could be considered harmful strategies to the overall labour market trajectories of tied migrants.

1.14.4 Chapter 4

The third and final article, entitled Tied migrant labour market integration: Deconstructing labour market subjectivities in South Africa, sought to answer the final

question of the study, which was concerned with how tied migrants who succeeded in accessing the labour market fare within the South African labour market. Utilising intersectionality as a heuristic device and the theory of governmentality, the article considers how well tied migrants were subjectified in the labour market and how these subjectivities interlinked with advantage or disadvantage, as based on identity. The study found that tied migrants were likely to experience immobility, precarity and informality around their migrant status, race, gender, ethnicity and locality. Thus, identity and locality were significant factors giving rise to particular labour market outcomes.

1.14.5 Chapter 5

Chapter 5 summarises the main findings engendered by the study. It concludes with an overview of conclusions, recommendations, limitations, and suggested avenues for further research.

1.15 Ethical considerations

The main ethical considerations here included confidentiality, voluntary participation, mitigation of risk, informed consent, and academic integrity, which were adhered to in the present study.

In accordance with the ethical considerations of minimising harm, psychological counselling support was availed to all participants in case of any emotional distress arising from the research.

The University of the Free State's GHREC Committee gave ethical approval for the study: Ethical Clearance Reference Number: UFS-HSD2020/0123/0506.

1.16 Limitations

In the family migration context, the trajectories of tied migrants are to some extent mutually interlinked with that of their partners. However, in this study the views of the male migrant spouses were not directly solicited as the specific focus was on female tied migrants.

As a qualitative case design was utilised, the results were not set out statistically generalisable as with survey research, however internal generalisability and case to

case generalisability were inferred (see Section 5.6). The ontological and epistemological assumptions of the study necessitated in depth probing to gain deep insights which was achieved with a relatively small group of participants.

Labour market integration research is highly context-specific, though some aspects of this research may apply broadly to other contexts in the Global South as highlighted under case-to-case generalisability in Section 5.7.2.

Given that the study informed the doctoral work of a student, the research was influenced by time and budgetary constraints.

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2 CHAPTER 2

“You, literally, are just a housewife:” Governing technologies in the South African labour market space

Abstract

Despite being one of the principal forms of integration for migrants, labour market integration (LMI) remains primarily understudied in the Global South. In particular, there is a dearth of literature that explores the labour market integration trajectories of accompanying female spouses who move to host countries in the context of family migration. Accompanying spouses, many of whom can be regarded as skilled in their own right, can be viewed as economic migrants who may seek to exercise their agency in search of their own empowerment and economic self-sufficiency through LMI. South Africa, which remains a key regional hub for migration in the Global South, is characterised by a complex migration governance framework that sets up a specific and broadly exclusionary macro context for accompanying spouses. Utilising a narrative approach, this study employed Michel Foucault’s theory of governmentality to explore governing technologies through which accompanying spouse conduct is governed in relation to LMI in South Africa. The study found that gendered technologies arising in the family context, diaspora expectations, restrictive migration- and employment legislation and pervasive anti-immigrant sentiment were the main governing technologies that impacted the conduct of accompanying spouses in relation to the labour market in South Africa.

Keywords: governmentality; labour market integration; migration; accompanying spouses; conduct of conduct

2.1 Background

Labour migration has been a distinctive feature of the South African economy for many decades. The exponential increase in labour migration to South Africa from the greater African region post-1994 can be attributed to the demise of the apartheid regime, the repeal of the Aliens Control Act (1991), and the promulgation of liberal, de-racialised migration policies (Adepoju, 2003; Crush & Williams, 2010, Mangu, 2019). A relatively stable economy, political stability and broad respect for human rights are among the notable pull factors contributing to the rise of post-apartheid South Africa as a key regional hub for migration and preferred destination for many labour migrants. However, the South African migration governance framework is characterised by conflicts and contradictions, evidenced in policies that are simultaneously inclusive and restrictive (Amit et al., 2014; Van Lennep, 2019).

While national development has gained traction as a discursive hegemony in relation to skilled migration, the government of South Africa has maintained an exclusive and restrictive discourse that has its roots in the apartheid era. Anti-immigrant sentiment remains widely prevalent among the general populace and at the national government and political party level. Despite evidence highlighting the positive contribution of migrants to the South African economy (Kalitanyi & Visser, 2010; OECD- ILO, 2018), common misconceptions are that migrants “steal the jobs” of South Africans, place an undue burden on public services and engage in criminal activities (Adjai & Lazaridis, 2013; Amit, Roni & Kriger, 2014; Kanayo, Anjofui, & Stiegler, 2019, Mangu, 2019). Asian and African migrants, in particular, are viewed as competing with South Africans for access to resources, and are often the targets of discriminatory and exclusionary practices (Adjai & Lazaridis, 2013, OECD/ILO, 2018a, Mangu, 2019).

South Africa has for many years used its migration policies to address issues of labour shortages and manage the supply of labour. Post-2000, the country adopted a skills-based immigration policy to facilitate skilled migration while increasing semi-skilled or unskilled restrictions. However, policies centred on economic development are broadly criticised for failing to account for the complexities associated with family migration. Women migrating in the family context as accompanying spouses typically incur the highest migration penalties (Ballarino & Panichella, 2017). Many of them can be regarded as economic migrants or skilled migrants in their own right, with

aspirations to be integrated into the labour market. Accompanying spouses seeking to be employed must therefore navigate a complex assemblage of policies, laws, practices, and discourses of labour migration, through which their migration is framed and constructed discursively while controlling and shaping their behaviours concerning the labour market in South Africa. Moreover, accompanying spouses remain primarily invisible in migration research. Utilising the narrative approach, this article seeks to deconstruct the policies and practices that shape the conduct and experiences of specifically female accompanying spouses concerning labour market integration in South Africa, utilising Michel Foucault's 1978 theory of governmentality.

2.2 A brief overview of the theory of governmentality

2.2.1 Conduct of conduct

In *Security, Territory and Population*, Foucault (1978) defines government as the conduct of conduct. Governing entails the utilisation of an assemblage of techniques, discourses, practices, or strategies that guide and modify the behaviour of individuals towards particular ends (Rose & Miller, 1992; Lemke, 2012). These government technologies are determined by particular mentalities or thoughts (governmentalities) such that the shaping of conduct is deliberate and not random or arbitrary. According to Rajas (2012), governmentality suggests that some ways of being are preferable to others. Governmentality therefore operates by shaping the subjectivities of the ones governed. Specific individual subjectivities arise from specific knowledges to determine possibilities (Ho, 2017). For example, in the South African context, the legal ascription of "dependant" given to accompanying spouses determines whether they can legally work or not. Therefore, governmental technologies and rationalities can be expanded into society and individual lives (Rajas, 2012).

However, conduct does not just pertain to governing others but also extends to governing self (Dean, 2009). Governance of self-determines whether one concurs or resists how one is subjectified. From the Foucauldian perspective, power is reconceived as power *from a distance* that involves the configuration of habits, aspirations and beliefs and education of preferences. In this regard, the effectual exercise of power is seen through the governed's voluntary acts (Del Percio, 2018).

Power is wielded so that people acting in their own self-interest will act in a lawful manner (Murray, 2007).

Power is expansive and therefore not solely embodied in the state and administration (Lemke, 2002; Rose et al., 2006; Davids, van Driel & van Eerdewijk, 2011). It emanates from multiple actors (Miller & Rose, 2008; Dean, 2009) and seeks to govern numerous behaviours or actions (Dean, 2009). The assemblages of power, including policies, laws, rules, training programmes, codes of conduct and diverse discourses are tailored to guide professional, ethical, and civic behaviour. Power is not totalising, however (Teo, 2019). The individual remains a locus of freedom through which they can regulate themselves. However, as Foucault (2002: 341) expounds, to govern means to put limitations on the possible field of action.

Foucauldian theory in practice can be used to deconstruct the practices and knowledges behind specific forms of identities and subjectivities (Dean, 2009; Rose et al., 2006). Thus, by interrogating the intersection between technologies of domination with technologies of self, this theory can be used to examine structural and systemic exclusions that may be hidden and that give rise to barriers to labour market integration for accompanying spouses in South Africa.

2.3 Literature review

The present literature review begins by examining the historical migration policy context, in particular, highlighting rationalities behind the assemblage of policies, techniques, practices or strategies that have been used to guide and modify the behaviour of migrants in South Africa. Subsequently, it outlines the rationalities about gender that are highlighted in extant literature, as well as those that shape accompanying spouses' abilities to integrate themselves in the labour market. The section concludes with an overview of the South African labour market and the technologies shaping the prospects of migrants in relation to LMI.

2.3.1 Governmentality and migration policy in South Africa

Immigration centres on biopolitical rationalities that are primarily associated with the management of the cross-border movements of migrants. In this regard, South Africa places a strong emphasis on the notion of "sovereignty" which is regarded as the right

to determine who and who is not eligible to pass through its borders (DHA, 2017, Parshotam & Ncube, 2017, Crush et al, 2018). In line with economic development goals, there has been a concerted effort to enable the mobility of exceptionally skilled and qualified people into South Africa. Rajas (2012) argues that it is not sufficient to consider biopolitical rationalities alone: those that concern the management of the integration of migrants into society must also be considered. Research into labour market integration in South Africa is rare (Souza & Flippen, 2020). Due to the inextricable and enduring bond between labour and migration policies in South Africa, one could argue that the rationalities that impact cross border mobility equally affect the labour market integration of migrants. South Africa has a long history of utilising its migration policies as a tool for shaping the conduct of migrants with respect to the labour market. Governmentalities find expression in technologies such as policy frameworks that directly impact migrant outcomes as they determine what opportunities may be available for migrants to capitalise on in the host country. In addition, the migration policy arena is a critical hub where individual and group identity are formed and administered (Bhattacharjee, 2017) and in which new subjectivities are formed.

Beginning in the colonial era right through to that of post-independence, the regulation of cross border control in South Africa was fuelled by segregationist and exclusionary rationalities. Racially discriminatory practices characterised labour migration (StatsSA, 2018), which ensured continued domination by colonisers and an abundant quota of cheap labour migrants (DHA, 2016). Citizenship was limited to those of European origin, and none was granted to Africans, who were classified as natives at the time. The 1913 Immigration Regulations Act disregarded those of Indian descent, while the subsequent Immigration Quota Act of 1930 and Aliens Act of 1937 were adopted to reinforce the exclusion of migrants deemed undesirable (DHA, 2016). It was the Alien's Control Act (96 of 1991) described as misguided and draconian (Hicks, 1999) and "apartheid's last act" (OECD/ILO, 2018a:2), however, that was most instrumental in precipitating and fostering a xenophobic environment in South Africa, which persists until the present time. Migrants, particularly those of African descent, continue to be subjected to different forms of prejudice, discrimination and even violence. Adjai and

Lazaridis (2013) note that even institutions became sites of exclusion under xenophobia.

Until the late 1990s, there was broad opposition to both the immigration and emigration of skilled labour. Gradually, however, there was a greater acceptance of the role that skilled migration could play in development. The 1999 White Paper on International Migration was deemed necessary for the de racialisation of the legislative frameworks of the apartheid era and the adoption of the administrative principles for immigration promulgated by the UN (DHA, 2016). Therefore, the White Paper 1999 was seen as effectively opening the borders to Africans and the world but with the important caveat of reserving the right of entry mainly to highly skilled immigrants or those with critical skills. Those from the SADC, regarded as having low to mid-level skills, could only work on farms, mines and other companies under a temporary Corporate Work Visa (DHA, 2016). According to Amit et al. (2014), the Immigration Act of 2002, which sought to improve the administrative management of foreigners, did not effectively create many opportunities for economic migrants from the African region.

Between 1998 and 2004, under the leadership of Minister Buthelezi, a rationale of securitisation underpinned by deterrence played a more significant role in migration policy. Here, there was an attempt to implement internal control by shifting from border control of migration to community and workplace surveillance, also known as community protection (Vigneswaran, 2008). During this time, to divert criticisms over its failures, the government habitually blamed the immigrant population for the country's social woes of unemployment, crime, and disease (Daley, 1998) and thus implicitly sanctioned xenophobic attacks (Hicks, 1999, Mangu, 2019). Under Buthelezi's leadership, the new plan for migration control was enforced by the DHA and other national agencies, local government, private companies, and private individuals. The aim was to deter undocumented migrants and prevent any migrant from encroaching on citizen entitlements (Vigneswaran, 2008). While the approach did have some impact, it was unsuccessful primarily due to the administrative shortcomings around enforcing these immigration control policies. However, a large number of immigrants were deported (Hicks, 1999).

The Draft Green Paper for International Migration (DHA, 1997) signified a significant shift in policy rationale. A memorandum of understanding between the government of

South Africa and the Southern African Development Community and the UN High Commission for Refugees culminated in a more open, rights-based approach to migrants and refugees (Amit et al., 2014). The 1998 Refugees Act and the subsequent 2002 Immigration Act heralded a new era of migration policy. Though strong views continued around undesirable, unauthorised immigration, immigration was cast in a more favourable light as having the potential to be a tool for nation-building instead of being an impediment. The link between immigration and national development became more prominent. The need for a planned and efficient migration system and the right of sovereignty in determining access were emphasised (DHA, 2016).

Eradicating xenophobia was an explicit goal of the 2002 Immigration Act and its subsequent amendment in 2004. However, no specific tools were at the time introduced to that end (Facchini, Mayda & Mendola, 2013) and as McKaiser (2019) reports there appears to be no government willpower to deal decisively with the scourge of xenophobia which largely continues unabated. The country's socio-economic problems and the high crime and unemployment rates were attributed to low-skilled African migrants. As a result, barriers to low-skilled migration were entrenched around perceptions of risk and burden (Mbiyozo, 2018). Consequently, restrictive migration policies have featured alongside efforts to manage migration through expanding documentation (Amit et al., 2014). But, as highlighted by Amit et al. (ibid), the DHA has continually undermined documentation as part of migration management strategy, which has impacted on skilled migrants as well.

Van Lennep (2019) outlines key issues emerging from the White Paper for International Migration (DHA, 2017). First, it acknowledges the challenge around attracting and retaining skilled migrants and therefore seeks to ensure skilled migration. Secondly, it prominently features the securitisation of migration, which is encapsulated in the need to safeguard "sovereignty, public safety and national security" and a risk-based approach (DHA, ibid). This is evidenced through stricter visa rules for travellers from the African continent and stricter border controls (Abebe, 2019). Thirdly, it establishes, at least outwardly, a pro-African stance. Fourthly, at the expense of newcomers' rights, it enforces control, temporality, and deterrence and, lastly, it expands protectionist measures mainly centred on the integration of migrants.

South Africa is likely to remain a major destination for migrant labourers entering from the greater African region and beyond. However, as seen through a historical lens, migration governance in South Africa has and continues to be characterised by contrasts and contradictions in governmentalities, translating into ambivalence and shifting policies and practices. However, official rhetoric has not always translated into practice. This applies to skilled migration where negative views of migration for skills development continue to persist despite a chronic skills shortage (Ellis & Segatti, 2011, McKaiser, 2019). As evidenced in the 2017 White Paper for International migration, issues and contradictions at the policy level continue to exist (Van Lennep, 2019). Policies are key to creating opportunities for tied migrants, and this also pertains to LMI.

2.3.2 Governmentality and labour market integration

LMI confers numerous benefits for the migrant that are particularly important for females, including economic self-sufficiency and improved socio-economic status (Korteweg, 2017). It can offer a means for accompanying spouses to become less reliant on their spouses, which is especially important in the context of domestic violence (Hiralal, 2017). LMI is also a source of social integration, which shapes the individual's perception of herself as a resource for social identity (Røysum, 2018). LMI can essentially create spaces in which female migrants can be empowered and through which they can achieve particular modes of being. Research shows that unsuccessful LMI can engender feelings of isolation, alienation, disadvantage or even ignorance of female migrants (Lee, 2013). Critically, labour market integration is an important source of integration as it is the gateway to other imperative domains of integration such as health, housing, and education. Power relations, however, play an important role around shaping the integration of migrants into the labour market.

2.3.3 Gendered technologies of power

The progress of migration is highly gendered, which has a significant impact on accompanying spouse's LMI outcomes (Phan et al., 2015, Bastia & Piper, 2019). Gendered rationalities are as crucial as the rationalities of border spaces (Iredale, 2004; Rajas, 2012; Bhattacharjee, 2017), as they concern female accompanying spouses' integration into the labour market. Gendered rationalities transcend borders

and shape integration (Andrijasevic, 2009) and impact female migrants on social and spatial scales (Mahler & Pessar 2001; Hiralal, 2017). Control over women is also exercised through cultural and ideological discourses. For migrant women, inequality, gender norms and expectations and power relations (O'Neil et al., 2016) shape choices and experiences in enduring ways. Where structural barriers are reaffirmed and where gender inequality is either maintained or exacerbated (Holliday et al., 2018), the outcomes for female migrants may be very harmful.

Skilled migrant women who emigrate in the context of family face significant barriers to LMI, due to the adverse interdependent effects of their gender, a gendered labour market and immigration and family status (Grigoleit-Richter, 2017). Unfavourable structural conditions, including national laws and policies and labour market conditions can impede entry by female migrants into labour markets (Föbker, 2019). Immigration policies (Andrijasevic, 2009) such as those shaped with a male breadwinner in mind or those engendered by gender-neutral policies ignore the influence of gender in migration (Kofman, 2012; Chinyakata, Raselekoane & Mudau, 2019; Mbiyozo, 2018) and reflect gendered rationalisations. Such rationalisations include those that ascribe the status of “active” and “productive” to men while simultaneously relegating migrant women to reproduction, passivity, and invisibility (Andrijasevic, 2009, Chinyakata et al. 2019). Various assemblages of technologies reflecting these rationalisations include those that link the accompanying spouse's residence status in the host country to that of the lead spouse leading to the deprivation of rights and exclusion from citizenship. The dependent status accorded many migrant women that restrict their ability to work have been criticised by feminist scholars (Andrijasevic, 2009, Agatiello & Humer, 2018) as it effectively reduces women's autonomy. This is especially problematic in cases of abuse or divorce (Orloff & Garcia 2013; O'Neil et al., 2016; Hiralal, 2017). Dependence on the spouse's income can lead to feelings of helplessness and the propensity to stay in abusive relationships out of fears of poverty (Hiralal, 2017; Chinyakata et al., 2019).

Gender roles gain greater significance after migration and may significantly influence post-migration outcomes. As a result of traditional gender roles, men are more likely to take the position of the skilled lead migrant, while women take on the “lesser” position of accompanying spouse or tied migrant. In non-Western countries, it is

common for women to have the duty and responsibility to take care of the home and their children, while men take on the role of breadwinners (O'Neil et al., 2016; Ala-Mantila & Fleishmann, 2018). As a result of patriarchal ideologies, women are socialised to put the critical needs of the household above their personal aspirations (Cooke, 2007). Balancing between individual career ambitions and the welfare of the nuclear family often characterises family migration and subsequent settlement (Phan et al., 2015; Föbker, 2019). Therefore, career sacrifices are very common among women who may have to take on the role of nurturer and carer of their young children, especially in the absence of well-developed social networks (Iredale 2004; Cooke, 2007; Phan et al., 2015, Föbker, 2019). As stay-at-home mothers and caregivers, the difficulties associated with caring for children can be a major obstacle for the labour market integration of accompanying spouses (Cooke, 2007).

Studies show that the firmer women's beliefs are in traditional gender roles, the less their LMI whereas, for men, stronger beliefs in traditional gender roles translate into longer working hours (Chinyakata et al., 2019; Ala-Mantila & Fleishman, 2018). In patriarchal homes, there may be limited space to renegotiate the distribution of household work (Raghuram, 2004). Thus, where the migration process changes gender roles, the ensuing power relations challenges can make women more vulnerable to abuse. Hiralal (2017) suggests that employed women may be compelled to keep up with household duties to not threaten men. Under circumstances of limited social capital and financial constraints, Banerjee and Phan (2015) found that the traditional gender role may significantly affect career outcomes. Good support networks can be vital for access to child support and job hunting (Föbker, 2019), which are important components for LMI by female immigrants. Where professional women may have been able to outsource their childcare responsibilities in their country of origin, they may not always be able to in the new host country. Phan et al. (2015) found that limited access to costly childcare support exacerbated financial strain, and this impeded the LMI of dependent spouses in Canada.

The poor labour market integration of highly skilled migrants into labour markets (Riaño, 2012; Confurius, Gowricharn & Dagevos, 2018) strongly challenges the assumptions made in human capital theory, which presuppose that training and education improve LMI outcomes (Confurius et al., 2018). The human capital of female

migrants may be devalued due to institutional rules and professional requirements and the devaluation of foreign acquired skills and experience. Skilled immigrants' skills and work experience can also be disregarded due to discrimination arising from their minority status (Riaño, 2012), and many may not be able to continue in the same profession as in their country of origin (Wojczewski et al., 2015). Gender can produce powerful boundaries that result in underemployment and deskilling (Grigoleit-Richter, 2017) of women. Deskilling is common among migrant women and primarily entails the non-recognition of qualifications attained in the home country (O'Neil et al., 2016; Agatiello & Humer 2018; Mbiyozo, 2018; Røysum, 2018). The process of determining which migrants are skilled, unskilled, or semi-skilled, and the assignation of value in terms of the labour structure are key parts of governmentality (Allan & McElhinny, 2017; Del Percio, 2018). Migrants are more likely to be regarded as highly skilled when they occupy the financial and managerial, information technology and science sectors, but these tend to be male-dominated (Kofman, 2012; Grigoleit-Richter, 2017). Female migrants tend to be concentrated in female-related sectors, such as health, education, and social work (Kofman, 2012). One of the main outcomes of deskilling is the uptake of work not commensurate with migrant women's qualifications, also referred to as "downward occupational mobility" or underemployment (Meares, 2010).

Barriers to labour market integration in typically non-female occupational sectors for immigrant women can be more challenging for immigrant women when compared to natives. Grigoleit-Richter (2017) shows how difficult and challenging it is for immigrant women to enter traditionally male-dominated occupations such as those presented through STEM professions in Germany. Her study found that immigrant women often had to prove their competence to men, tended to get lower hierarchical positions, and faced challenges with upward mobility within the profession, among others. Other studies demonstrate that migrant women with professional skills that correspond to global market shortages may stand a better chance of minimising the impact of traditional gender hierarchies but are often still faced with challenges such as lengthy accreditation processes and licencing difficulties (Wojczewski et al., 2015; Brittell, 2016; O'Neil et al., 2016). Such challenges can lead to unemployment or lengthy periods to eventual employment of up to ten years (Wojczewski et al., 2015; Brittell, 2016).

2.3.4 The South African labour market and labour market integration

Entry into labour markets by skilled migrants is predicated upon various preconditions, including labour market conditions and the legal rules governing the labour market (Föbker, 2019). Labour market conditions vary among countries and regions and can broadly be classified into two distinct categories: i). flexible (uncoordinated) and ii) inflexible (coordinated). Inflexible markets, such as those found in countries like France, Germany, and the Netherlands, are characterised by strict employment protection legislation. In these labour markets, migrants tend to be over-represented as unemployed outsiders due to employers' reluctance to hire unskilled workers (Kesler & Safi, 2018; Ballarino & Panichella, 2017). In the case of flexible labour markets such as those found in the United Kingdom (UK), Spain and Italy, there tends to be higher earning gaps due to inequality, with most migrants employed in high and low service jobs (Kesler & Safi, 2018).

The South Africa labour market can be described as inflexible (Beukes et al., 2016), as strict employment legislation governs it. Regarding the employment of immigrants, the Immigration Act (13 of 2002), Section 38(1) provides that “no person shall employ (b) a foreigner whose status does not authorise him or her to be employed by such person, nor (c) a foreigner on terms, conditions or in a capacity different from those contemplated in such foreigner’s status” (DHA, 2002). Deterrents for employers against employing immigrants without permits include the imposition of fines or threats of imprisonment. Authors such as Chinyakata et al. (2019) highlight that the Immigration Act (No. 13 of 2002) contributes to the discrimination faced by immigrants. Strict requirements for the application for a general work permit must include evidence of employment and other documents that justify the selection of migrants over a South African citizen (DHA, 2016).

The primary barrier to LMI for accompanying spouses to South Africa is linked to their visa status. Skilled migrants entering South Africa for work-related purposes are eligible for several visa types, including intracompany visas, permanent residence visas, critical skills visas, and general work visas. However, their accompanying spouses are allocated either a spousal/ relative or dependent visa⁵ which does not

⁵ Under the Government Gazette Volume 587, Number 37679 of 2014, spousal visas are contemplated under the visitor's visa section.

allow for the uptake of employment in the country (DHA, 2002, DHA, 2014), thus setting up the primary barrier to labour market integration in the host country. The critical skills list, which was adopted in the 2014 Immigration Regulations, outlines the professions that qualify one to be awarded a critical skills visa. However, the majority of the skills regarded as critical and essential tend to be male-oriented (Mbiyozo, 2018). Furthermore, despite the skilled labour shortage, the DHA continues to restrict the issuance of work permits to skilled immigrants severely and does not timeously process permit applications (Ellis & Segatti, 2011, Van Lennep, 2019).

Migrants with foreign skills are required to have their qualifications evaluated by the South African Qualification Authority (SAQA) so that equivalence can be made against South African standards. Many female migrants, however, are unable to transfer their skills to South Africa (Mbiyozo, 2018). Deemed unskilled, these migrants' ability to integrate into the job market is severely curtailed, and many resort to employment that is below their education or skills levels. Depending on one's occupational niche, the SAQA evaluation may need to be followed up with registration with the relevant professional body such as the Engineering Council of South Africa (ECSA) or Health Professions Council of South Africa (HPCSA), among others (Wojczewski et al., 2015). As in many countries, care work is under the state's direct purvey, so that it plays a more significant role in determining labour market integration in this field (Raghuram, 2004). Wojczewski et al. (2015) show how strict regulations and qualification regulations have a particularly negative impact on female physicians in South Africa, who may completely fail to access the labour market or access it after a very long time (up to 20 years).

On the one hand, South Africa's labour market is characterised by a chronic shortage of skills that has been attributed to poor job growth and economic development. The shortage of skilled workers in South Africa is attributed to a significant brain drain of skilled nationals to countries such as Australia, the UK, Canada, and New Zealand (Mateus et al., 2014; Halstein, 2021). The country also faces a huge unemployment challenge, largely attributed to increasing labour market participation but limited generation of employment opportunities, which has seen the unemployment rate soar (Vermaak & Muller, 2019). In the first quarter of 2018, the official unemployment rate was 26.7 percent, while the youth unemployment rate exceeded 52 percent (StatsSA,

2018). Prevailing narratives that migrants steal the jobs of nationals lead to increasing hostilities towards migrant communities, presenting a significant barrier to economic integration for African migrants (Vermaak & Muller, 2019, Mangu, 2019). Frustrated with the lack of success around integrating themselves into the labour market, many migrants in South Africa turn to entrepreneurship, thereby creating employment for themselves and others (Kalitanyi & Visser, 2010, Ncube et al., 2019). Migrants also tend to cluster in economically stronger locations.

South Africa has a gendered labour market that restricts women to certain occupations (Crush & Williams, 2010). The OECD-ILO (2018a), for instance, shows how women in South Africa are concentrated in hospitality and service sectors, while men have typically worked in sectors such as mining (Crush & Williams, 2010). StatsSA, (2019) shows how there is a strong representation of migrant women in the domestic sector in South Africa, where one out of four female immigrants are employed as domestic workers, even though many of them could be regarded as well educated.

Research on how immigrants fare in the South African labour market, on the whole, suggests that full labour market integration of migrants is not guaranteed. Vermaak and Muller (2019) suggest that i) links to social networks can be attributed to the fact that immigrants are more likely to participate in the labour in South Africa than locals, ii) immigrants are likely to be self-employed or to supplement wage employment with self-employment, iii) the earnings of immigrants are not on par with those of locals, iv) most immigrants tend to work in the informal sector or private households which is associated with an increase in precarity and offers very little remuneration and v). naturalised immigrants are most likely to fully integrate themselves in the labour market. Overall, the research regarding labour market participation implies better prospects of employment for immigrants than locals, but this not necessarily entails full labour integration (Korteweg, 2017; Peters & Sundaram, 2014; Vermaak & Muller, 2019), as immigrants are less likely to be employed in work categorised as decent (StatsSA, 2018). As shown by Peters & Sundaram (2014), i) prospects of employment in South Africa vary by country of origin, ii) immigrants from countries such as Cameroon, the Democratic Republic of Congo, Nigeria, and Angola fare worse than South African nationals at all levels of education, iii) reflective of a country with scarce skills, the probability of employment is higher with higher education levels, regardless

of country of origin. The OECD-ILO (2018a) notes growing trends of overqualification both among natives and migrants, and this suggests potential challenges around underemployment among both groups.

Negative attitudes and the racialisation of African migrants and othering based on ethnicity or nation of origin are commonplace in South Africa (Adepoju, 2003; Adjai & Lazaridis, 2013). Mbiyozo (2018) stresses that the most marginalised and vulnerable African woman migrants in South Africa typically face a triple penalty as a result of racism, misogyny and xenophobia. They are often confronted with social exclusion, open hostility, violence, and socioeconomic exploitation (South African Institute of International Affairs [SAIIA], 2008; Hiralal, 2017; Mbiyozo, 2018; Chinyakata et al., 2019). Immigrants who struggle with local languages such as Afrikaans and Zulu have been shown to be at a disadvantage (Mbiyozo, 2018; Hiralal, 2017). Language provides access to social networks and language deficiency will therefore impede this (Föbker & Imani, 2017). Stigmatisation based on poor knowledge of local languages can therefore also pose a barrier to LMI.

2.4 Methodology

2.4.1 Research approach and inclusion criteria

This article is based on a qualitative study that was undertaken between August 2020 and February 2021. Its focuses on understanding the governing technologies that impact the conduct of tied migrants regarding LMI in South Africa. Female tied migrants are an understudied group in extant literature on LMI. Thirteen one-on-one interviews were conducted in English with female migrants who emigrated to South Africa from various countries within sub-Saharan Africa.

Tied migrants were defined as spouses who either accompanied this or followed their spouses for the purposes of family reunification. At the time of the interviews, all except one of the participants were employed. The study followed the interpretative phenomenological approach, which seeks to understand the subjective interpretation of experiences through the lens of the experiences of those being studied. All the names utilised in this article are pseudonyms.

2.4.2 Interview guide development

A semi-structured interview guide was constructed to explore themes of labour market integration arising from extant literature. Initially, interviewees were asked an open-ended question to elicit their own narratives regarding their transition from the country of origin to the host country in the context of family migration with emphasis on their labour market trajectory. After the initial narrative, the researcher followed up with the semi-structured guide to explore in depth various issues arising from the search for greater understanding. The guide was structured to explore in depth the matters pertaining to structural barriers, labour market conditions and traditional gender roles.

Thirteen (13) one-on-one interviews were carried out in total for this study. The number of interviews used in the analysis of this article also considered the study by Guest et al. (2006), which found that 94% of most prominent or frequent codes emerge in the first 6 interviews and 97% by 12 interviews, thus implying sufficiency of the sample size to ensure valid findings, and arguably alluding to data saturation. Guest et al.'s (2006) findings are supported by Hennick et al., (2017). In this study, the researcher began to discover monotonous trends during initial interactions with the data by the fifth interview, thus confirming Guest et al.'s (ibid) position to a significant extent. To achieve depth of meaning, interviews were continued up to interview 13. The table below shows monotony of the othering code.

Table 2: Example of monotonous trends

Othering	We are different, that is just how it is and they don't even see you as one of them, that is just the issue. It's pointless you seeing yourself as one of them while they don't see you as one of them. So just be on your own.... They are just against you and all of a sudden, they want to put you out.
	There's a trend I have seen here, they give you the job as a non-South African and they turn against you. They turn against you for no good reason...Even you are the only qualified person that was interviewed, most employers will not stick their necks for you.
	Because we also had other black South Africans working in the organization, and they had the same issues. So, you try and like, if they would hire like a white person, we the people would train them and then the next thing the white person is promoted and you're not. So it wasn't because of my migrant status, but really, I think it was a case of race. ^P _{SEP}

	The issue being a foreigner in South Africa, it's just something else.
	No, I think Cape Town is naturally racist. So, the coloured people, they also have to look after their own which is very commendable
	but last I heard they are not taking any more foreigners. I'm telling you. It's only that these things are not public. You will hear if you ask someone who's there then they will tell you, no we're not taking.
	Once he saw that I'm Zimbabwean, you write nationality blah, blah blah, you're actually not even supposed to be writing if you want to score an interview. I wrote nationality Zimbabwean, languages English and Shona what have you and the guy says, no I can't call her. I can't call a Zimbabwean. That's how I lost the opportunity.
	They are not going to take you because they are forced to take South Africans or someone whose got citizenship, or even an asylum person I think they can take but not someone who has got a PR. No, they won't take someone with a PR. That's SA for you.
	So somehow there's this xenophobic thing as much as we run away from saying the word xenophobia but they will be that xenophobic
	...Eventually it gets to you to say, is it because I'm black, is it because I'm Zimbabwean that they don't even consider my cv. And then you only realise if you know a few people that have applied for the same job but they took this person who is less qualified than me. Why did they do that?
	I'm not a kwerekwere. So, people can say it, they might not mean it but it's in them. It's embedded in them that this person is a foreigner they don't belong here
	They treat foreigners with respect unlike here, you're an enemy. Even without you doing anything. Even if you're a medical doctor, you're an enemy but you're saving their lives.
	But they still make it difficult for you then they will get white people instead of black people. so, they will take white people. So, I think we're in a war. I think you know if you're a visitor you will never get the best room. So, we must say that we are visitors. that's why I want to go back to Zim. I want to go back home. ^[P] _[SEP]
	After I had my permanent residence, I was employed as a primary school teacher but as an SGB teacher. I couldn't be employed in the Education Department because the policy is they start by employing South Africans and also there was nothing amazing for me in having a masters because they said the basic qualification for one to teach in their primary schools is a first degree.

	They said, the Departments says first we look at our children. So, people came and were employed in the department on top of me, they were passing me. So, people were being employed ahead of me so at the end of the day, it's another frustration on its own.
	Settling, every year as time goes on, it's just seems more and more impossible with everything going on and the struggles he sees with his department. The way he's being treated. Everything.
	No just a foreigner. His department they have this struggle between the South Africans themselves. To this day I think the department doesn't have a coloured graduate, so yeah, there are issues with the whole college the whole. There's a lot of controversy and a lot of politics going on to who passes the exam and who doesn't and gets to do training and how many operations so they can qualify for the exams. It's a very toxic environment to be honest. [P] [SEP]
	Though a student permit is allowed to work 20 hours per week, they were discriminating us and limiting us to work only 12 hours a week
	I really feel as foreign international students, we are not treated fairly, we always treated like second [class] citizens in any way and also the cut off for the deadline for the payment of fees for foreign internationals it's always a shorter period to meet our deadlines.

2.4.3 Sampling

Purposive sampling was used to select respondents meeting the inclusion criteria to participate in the study. Initial access was acquired through the researcher's network. Thereafter, a snowball approach was utilised to complement the initial purposive sampling, in which participants were asked to refer other participants who met the inclusion criteria for the research to the researcher. Participants were required to meet the following criteria: i) had to be between the ages of 18 and 65, ii) must have entered South Africa with spouse or joined spouse to achieve family reunification, iii) must be legally resident in South Africa, iv) must be a citizen of a country other than South Africa, v) migrant women who came to South Africa with some form of tertiary education or work experience, and vi) migrant women who were either employed or previously employed in South Africa.

The final sample size of 13 was determined through both interpretative judgement (Braun & Clark 2021) and practical considerations of the researcher. Critically, the focus of the sampling strategy was to generate data sufficient to bring about a rich, complex and multifaceted story about patterns related to the phenomenon of interest (Sim 2018a). Taking into account recommendations by Braun & Clarke (2021) as well as the Define, Explain, Justify, Apply (DEJA) approach suggested by Mthuli, Ruffin & Singh (2021), the determination of sample size also took into account the research question, research philosophy, and data collection method (See section 1.13.5). A reflexive approach to thematic analysis was adopted for the study and saturation was determined to be the point at which no new shared patterns of meaning emerged.

Data collection

The interviews lasted 2 hours on average. The interviews were conducted online via Zoom, in adherence to Covid-19 protocols and the national lockdown restrictions at the time of data collection. The researcher recorded the interviews on an external device and made (field) notes throughout each interview.

Upon referral, the interviewees received a call from the researcher explaining the nature of the research project and key ethical issues regarding consent and voluntary participation. After verbally consenting to be interviewed, the interviewee was given an informed consent letter to sign, which was to be returned prior to the date of the interview. The interviews were held at the convenience of the interviewees who were asked to choose a date and time at which they would be available. This concession was made in light of the relatively long length of time required for narrative interviews.

2.4.4 Data analysis

Thematic analysis is one of the ways in which narrative interview data can be analysed (Anderson & Kirkpatrick, 2015). This particular method was chosen for the research owing to its ability to assist in the organisation and description of the data set in rich detail. As noted by Braun & Clarke (2006) thematic analysis provides a means to identify, analyse and report patterns (themes) occurring within the data. A theme is an implicit topic in which a group of repetitive ideas is organised, and which enables the researcher to answer the study question (Vaismoradi, Jones, Turunen and Snelgrove 2016). Critical to the study at hand, thematic analysis was regarded as useful in both

capturing the individual meaning, experiences and reality but also allowing for the examination of the ways in which the latter are a consequence of various societal discourses (Braun & Clarke, 2006)

The first part of the analysis entailed the transcription of the narrative interviews (Braun & Clarke, 2006). In addition to initial notes taken during the interview, as the transcription took place, the researcher made notes about key ideas for codes emerging from the text. Full transcriptions were loaded to ATLAS.ti, which was used as an aid in sorting and organising the data and achieving in-depth analysis. Throughout the analysis the researcher focussed on the narratives and the ascription in meanings assigned by the participants (Anderson & Kirkpatrick, 2015).

In the “construction phase” of the analysis (Vaismoradi et al., 2016:105), the researcher coded the data, which consisted of an iterative process of identifying, comparing; labelling; defining & describing the data. Comparisons were made across cases. Codes with similar reference points that were regarded as unifying ideas regarding the subject of enquiry were grouped together into various themes (Vaismoradi et al., 2016) which were regarded as key to answer the main research question.

2.4.5 Ethics and authorisation

Ethical clearance was sought from the General and Human Research Ethics Committee (GHREC) of the University of the Free State. Ethical Clearance Reference Number: UFS-HSD2020/0123/0506.

2.5 Findings

Table 2 below shows the demographic profile of participants who took place in the study. It gives pertinent information such as age at entry into South Africa, country of origin, the field of occupation and years to labour market integration.

2.5.1 Demographics

Table 3: Demographics

Age at entry	Pseudonym	Country of Origin	Highest qualification on entry to South Africa	Highest Level of Education currently	Field/ Occupation	Year of entry into South Africa	Year of integration into labour market	Years to labour market integration
24	Andrea	Zimbabwe	BSc Library Science	Masters in Development Studies	Programme Manager	2007	2012	5
40	Monica	Zimbabwe	BA (hons) Education Management	PhD in Education Management	Education	2009	2011	2
29	Iris	Nigeria	BSc Animal Science	PhD in Animal Science	Lecturer	2009	2012	3
39	Priscilla	Zimbabwe	Higher National Diploma in Accounting	PhD in Leadership	Pastor/Business Woman	2006	2015	9
36	Palesa	Lesotho	BSc Urban and Regional Planning	Masters in Urban Planning	Town Planner	2014	2017	3
22	Tshepiso	Cameroon	BSc Chemistry	PhD in Environmental Management	Environmental Manager	2009	2016/2017	7
33	Grace	Zimbabwe	BSC Hons Economics	Masters Financial Management	Real Estate	2014	2020	6
26	Theresa-May	Zimbabwe	National Diploma in Accounting	B Accounting	Quality Analyst	2010	2018	8
27	Lucille	Swaziland	Higher National Diploma Accounting	B(Hons) Accounting	Lecturer	2012	2016	4
22	Charlotte	Zimbabwe	National Diploma in Journalism	Diploma in Journalism	Admin	2008	2015	7
25	Unarine	Zimbabwe	Bachelors in Human Resource Management	Bachelors in Human Resource Management	Real Estate	2010	2014	4
21	Phumzile	Zimbabwe	National Certificate Purchasing, Supplies and Stores	BA Biblical Studies	Pastor	2005	2015	9
33	Nancy	Libya	BA Education	Masters in Translation	Teaching Assistant	2016	2018	-

Although not by design, a significant number of the participants in the study were Zimbabwean citizens (8). This alludes to the significance of the Zimbabwe-South Africa migration corridor (Crush et al., 2018) and Zimbabwe as a key source of skilled migrants (Souza & Flippen, 2020). The rest were citizens from various countries in sub-Saharan Africa. At the time of the interviews, participants were aged between 35 and 52, and all were legally resident in South Africa.

A significant number of the accompanying spouses entered on visitor's visas, although not all secured accompanying spouse visas subsequent to their arrival in South Africa.⁶ As the table below shows, most accompanying spouses emigrated to South Africa between the years 2007 and 2010. Accompanying spouses were between the ages of 22 and 40 when they migrated to South Africa. All had some form of tertiary qualification upon entry in South Africa, ranging from diplomas to master's degrees and the majority went on to further their studies at South African tertiary institutions where they acquired honours, master's, and PhD degrees. A total of four of the 13 tied migrants had qualifications or skills that fitted into the critical or special skills categories, namely accounting, urban planning, chemistry, and animal science, which are also typically male-dominated sectors.

All participants migrated together with or followed their spouses in the process of family reunification. Poor economic conditions and the inability to find employment in the country of origin were key motivating factors behind the decision to migrate. The males were lead spouses in all cases, mainly because their qualifications and work experience enabled them to seek and access employment in South Africa. Most appeared to have been able to secure skills-based visas prior to entry into South Africa.

Almost all tied migrants had substantial work experience in the country of origin. The number of years to self-reported labour market integration in South Africa varied from a few months to a maximum of nine years. Arguably, though, this may be regarded as years to formal employment as the majority of accompanying spouses reported that they felt overqualified or underpaid in their employment roles at the time of the interviews, that is, they had not been fully integrated into the labour market. At the time

⁶ Prior to the establishment of the Visa Facilitation Centre, migrants could apply directly to the Home Affairs office for permits while in the country. The regulations have since been amended.

of the research, apart from one participant (who was previously employed), all the women were employed in education institutions, religious organisations, the non-profit sector, multi-national companies, and the private sector.

Table 4: Meso and Macro Level Governing Technologies

Level of analysis	Actor	Governing technology
Meso Level	Family and friends	(Traditional) gender roles Family ties Diaspora expectations
	Employer(s)	Exclusion – deskilling, ethnic-based discrimination
	State/State appointed agency	Visa processing challenges Non-recognition of qualifications
Macro Level Employment	State	Migration legislation – Dependence Reinforcement of traditional gender roles Re-domestication
		Legislation/labour market regulation – restriction & exclusion

The study found a complex assemblage of governing technologies operating mainly at the meso and macro levels by means of practices and policies. These governing technologies were instrumental in directly and indirectly shaping the conduct of accompanying spouses with respect to the labour market in South Africa. Overall, these technologies appeared to have a predominantly negative impact on the labour market trajectories of tied migrants in South Africa.

At the meso level the main governing technologies included family ties and traditional gender roles, diaspora expectations, visa processing challenges, non-recognition of qualifications and employer-related exclusion – mainly linked to what were perceived to be practices of discrimination and othering. Macro-level technologies were mostly associated with State and State policies, namely, migration legislation with its associated with the reinforcement of traditional gender roles and re-domestication and restrictive employment legislation promoting the exclusion of foreigners were all problematic for labour market integration.

2.5.2 Meso level governing technologies

Family ties and traditional gender roles

For most families, the decision to migrate was mainly based on what were perceived to be better economic prospects and job opportunities than those obtaining in the country of origin. With a few exceptions, the decision to migrate was significantly influenced by the lead spouse's skills-set, ability to secure the right to work and potential for career progression in South Africa. The initial decision to migrate to South Africa rarely involved the input of the accompanying spouse. The lead spouse's social network appeared to play an important role in the ultimate decision to migrate which, in some cases, included securing jobs for the lead spouse prior to migration. For the most part, there was no prior investigation into the labour market prospects for the accompanying spouse. Strong family ties appeared to motivate the decision of accompanying spouse to migrate, even in the case where South Africa did not appear to be the first choice of where to settle, as exemplified by the following participant response:

When I came to South Africa, honestly, to start with, it's not really my favourite destination. It was not really a place I dreamt I would come here, stay, raise a family and stuff like that. And in Nigeria, we used to hear of Sun City Pretoria Cape Town, all those nice places but I just wanted to come for holiday. Not to reside in South Africa. So, lo and behold somebody that resides temporarily in South Africa came for my hand in marriage and all what not. I had to come but not like for permanent purposes... So at the back of my mind, I was just like, okay, just let me just stay with him five years and we would look for somewhere else to go, okay. Probably a better country and I came and the rest is history. It was hectic.... South Africa wasn't my American Eldorado. (Iris)

He was assigned to SA. You' company moves you, your baggage (i.e. family) moves along. (Priscilla)

Arising from strong family ties, a similar pattern of moving together in the host country also ensued post-migration. Patterns of internal migration to take up employment opportunities were commonplace among most migrant families. However, such moves were made mainly to advance the lead migrant's career. It was the view of most participants that location (and hence mobility) was highly instrumental in determining the prospects of not only securing a job but a professional, well-paying one that matched the accompanying spouse's skills. Employment opportunities were deemed more accessible in certain provinces/cities but location for the accompanying spouse

was again, largely determined by where the lead spouse was able to find employment and settle:

It's a small town where there's no media anyway. I could not even apply for any job. And at that time, like journalism in that town, I couldn't find anything... And then we moved because he also wanted a promotion, and we moved in a plantation deep, deep in Mpumalanga... It was even worse for me at that time. Because I was like, I'm not working. It caused a strain actually, at that time in our marriage. I felt as if maybe I'm sacrificing, I'm the only one who is sacrificing. I can't get a job and we are even moving deep, deep in plantations. You are happy in terms of your career but I am not, I'm just here now. (Charlotte)

*Actually, he also got a job whilst we were still in Louis Trichardt and then moved to Joburg. So he moved first to Johannesburg and then I stayed on in Louis Trichardt for a month. Then he came and fetched me... You know, how it is in small towns. If you're a professional what work will you do? There are limited options in terms of professional jobs.. It's difficult to find good paying jobs in smaller towns. That's why we ended up moving to Johannesburg... (Andrea)
No hubby did move to Bloem because of work'. In Joburg it's a fast town. I grabbed a job, I leave, I jump, I leave, I jump. [In reference to being able to move from one job to another]. For me, I didn't have any issues of getting job. [referring to the ease of getting a job in Johannesburg]. (Iris)*

Strong family ties also influenced intentions for onward migration for employment opportunities outside South Africa:

*Yes, my husband is the one who steers the ship, so if he gets a better job obviously we'll move to France, or move to any other country. (Theresa-May)
No remember, it's my husband's decision because my husband is the one who's an engineer. So, going to Australia, it's his plans. I'm also going again in the way of accompanying spouse. If there is something like accompanying, I'm also going to do accompanying, the accompanying thing. (Unarine)*

Due to family ties, accompanying spouses found it very difficult to leave their families, migrate on their own to other cities/ provinces, even when moving meant securing employment or an opportunity for upward career mobility:

I had got something at Rhodes, but family ties also came in, unfortunately. I got something at Rhodes. Something was coming up but eish, when we thought of it, the travelling and leaving the kids. Like now we have left another country to be together. My husband is like it's kind of difficult for us to stay apart late like this. It's like, my husband feels we should always be together everywhere. I also feel the same but here I was tempted because I was looking at the salary and I was also looking at the upward mobility and the opportunity that had just been presented but he said money is not everything. We need family... I think I'm going to stay here for the rest of my life, if I don't get opportunity here that's it. Yeah... It becomes a challenge to manoeuvre through family. (Monica)

We had to be together and I mean you don't want to stay [alone] in foreign land or foreign country. You don't want to separate with your spouse. (Charlotte)

In South Africa, when you think about moving to places like Johannesburg, Cape Town, Durban, if you're a married person when you're considering all those decisions, we also look into factor your kids. Is anyone going to give your kids the love that you're giving them, the support that you're giving them right now? Is it really worth it? (Lucille)

For most migrant families, a pattern of internal migration within the borders of South Africa then ensued. These decisions were made to expand or grow the lead spouse's career. Subsequent decisions concerning which provinces, cities, or towns in South Africa the families were to settle in were also influenced mainly by the lead spouse and made with the lead spouse's job or career prospects in mind. Again, there appeared to be no consideration for the LMI prospects of the accompanying spouse.

Diaspora conditions and expectations

Friends appeared to play a huge role around imaginaries of life in South Africa. They appeared to play a significant role such as finding opportunities for employment for the lead spouse in the host country.

We hadn't planned on moving to South Africa, right. So, this job offer came and then you weigh your options to say okay, perhaps, let me try this because the economy in Zimbabwe at that time wasn't doing well. It's not like it was a major decision in the sense that something came up this side. He got a call from his friend to say if you want this job, please come tomorrow. (Andrea)

Expectations of family and friends at home appeared to strongly influence the behaviour of accompanying spouses in relation to efforts to integrate themselves in the labour market and pressure to take up any form of employment available. This was at times to the detriment of the accompanying spouse. Due to these undue pressures there appeared to be strong perceptions that being employed in South Africa equated to having succeeded in the host country:

First of all I'm not doing what I want to do. I just got a job and I started working, I think it was for my family, to work. It's not what I went to school for... (Theresa-May)

But I said I can't go back to Nigeria alone. My husband has a job in South Africa. So, what would my parents say if I comeback just because I couldn't find a job. So I just stayed put. (Iris)

It's not easy, 'cause you know one of the pressures that we have as Zimbabweans is that the moment that you say that you're in South Africa, people have these

high expectations, and it's difficult for our families back home to understand how difficult life is in South Africa. It only takes someone who has stayed here to understand the challenges that we go through. So sometimes it's even about the money but the fact that I'm grateful that I have a job. (Andrea)

For the vast majority of families, moving to South Africa was prompted by economic conditions in the respective countries of origin. The decision to migrate was largely seen as an opportunity to improve one's livelihood. Expanding one's means of taking better care of the nuclear family but expanding capabilities to care for the extended family in the countries of origin was a significant push factor for most. In the majority of cases, financial necessity compelled the need for the accompanying spouse to be employed also as a means of expanding the financial means to take care of the extended family back home:

But if he's a breadwinner then there's a huge black tax Remember if it's his salary it goes to my mom, it goes to his mom, it goes to the brother, the sister, the grand [mother/father], the aunty. You find that at the end of the day they can say women don't have to work but honestly, it's straining them. It's really straining them [the lead spouses] because now there's so much that needs to be done and you can't do it without the financing. So somewhere, somehow, we [spouses] should help them through. (Unarine)

I wanted to work and I had left family, my dad and my mom at home. 2008, 2009 things were not okay in Zimbabwe. I was hoping at least if I work, I'll send money home. It wasn't really necessarily that because my husband had gotten and it was quite a good job at that time. So, for us in South Africa, we were fine. We were fine. But the money that I really needed was to send home to my family. (Andrea)

Visa processing and administrative challenges

For accompanying spouses, the ability to apply, renew and change visa categories was regarded as important around assuring the right to live, study or work in South Africa. Almost all the accompanying spouses experienced significant challenges of one form or the other around visa processing. These challenges created barriers around labour market integration in indirect and direct ways.

For instance, having a permanent residence permit was associated with the right to work in South Africa: however, unreasonably long delays with visa processing were cited as problematic. Consider the following response:

...believe me, now it's four years, I'm still waiting for my ID, nothing is happening. So where are we now? So getting a job it's difficult. (Unarine)

And you would find so many job applications that you would look at, at that stage then, bookkeeping posts and accounting posts and all of this office work was so galore but each time you opened it up literally it requires your ID, it requires this, So this is something that I then did not venture to bother myself going knocking on those doors. I just thought, it's almost like starting a race that you feel you've lost already. (Priscilla)

Other challenges related to unclear visa application requirements, unreasonable requirements, and lack of clarity on reasons for rejections are reflected in these responses:

You have been in South Africa, then you will be required to submit a yellow fever certificate. You know, why would you? ... in fact the very last application I made last year ... I have not left the country for 10 years, so of what use will a yellow fever certificate be? ... Now I have not left the country for the past ten years why would you ask me to submit a Nigerian police clearance certificate. What time would I have committed the crime in Nigeria. Where? When? (Iris)

You see the first submission you make application to me and it is rejected. You now learn from the previous rejection and the reasons for the rejection are not even that explicit. At times you don't even know the criteria, who exactly has adjudicated your application. Why that person would come up with point A, B, C. Why? It was so blurry [i.e. unclear] (Iris).

Last year alone, I personally spent more than R24,000 minimum in permits. My critical skills visa was rejected seven good times. Seven times. Dr [name supplied] will testify to that. For no justifiable reason. Seven times (Iris)

I decided to go to the South African embassy in my home country in Lesotho. It was horrible. I think I went back and forth five times. First of all, they say for your convenience get a form online, fill it and all of that. You get there so you know it guides you, then you get all the things that they said they want there on the internet. And then you go to submit they tell you, a whole new list. So I went for the second time to look for everything that they wanted, went back to them and they were like but you didn't get one, two, three, and I'm like you know what guys, it's better for you to write it down in pen so that I can hold you down to something 'cause last time you said just one, two and it's getting expensive to travel. (Palesa)

Short validity windows before visas were set to expire and the need to apply for multiple visas due to changes in conditionality posed another challenge:

You're there [at the visa processing centre] at five and then the guard already dismisses you to say, no we already have the number of people that we're going to serve for the day. They would give out numbers [at Home Affairs] You'd have to go three or four times before you had access to getting into the office, so that was like the greatest frustration there (Andrea)

There were also instances where different processing times occurred around applications of family members submitted at the same time. For instance, even where

applications were made for all family members at the same time, there was a propensity for accompanying spouse permits to be processed last, and that with significant delays.

The high cost of visa applications due to the fees charged by Visa Facilitation Services Global (VFS), the official visa processing arm for DHA, was regarded as a significant challenge for many accompanying spouses in this study.

Employer-related exclusionary practices

Employers were regarded as most likely to discriminate against accompanying spouses based on their nationality, and this was strongly linked to a prevailing sense of othering at a country level. Discrimination was also grossly prevalent around gender and race and was experienced throughout the employment cycle. Discrimination on the basis of gender appeared to be more dominant in traditionally male-dominated fields such as town planning and information technology. Discrimination broadly appeared to foster feelings of vulnerability, insecurity, and temporality on the part of many accompanying spouses. Practices of discrimination on the basis of nationality were regarded as resulting in less qualified South Africans being hired in the place of the more qualified non-South Africans, termination from employment and lack of promotion opportunities or equal pay:

Actually here, the culture is different, the acceptance rate of non-South Africans. There's not from them. It's not super. They'd rather accept the Europeans, the Americans, no matter they are black skinned... Because when the chips are down, you are still a foreigner. And it's not far from the truth. In as much as you are having a permanent job here in South Africa gives you more financial security. Because you know that even if somebody doesn't like your face tomorrow, they can just terminate your appointment like that... There's a trend I have seen here, they give you the job as a non-South African and they turn against you. They turn against you for no good reason. You see, there is a difference between if you are not productive and they are against you. There's a reason for that. If you not being productive, if you are not meeting the objectives. This one for no good reason and they give you no good reason too. They are just against you and all of a sudden, they want to put you out. (Iris)

... There was a job that I was supposed to have gotten because I wrote my one proposal and go all out to try and create an opportunity. That's what I did. Fortunately, the proposal was successful and the funding came through, but now when the papers had to be signed and I had to be given the job I was told, remember that was a long process of proposal writing and all of those things but then in the end when the job came and I was supposed to get it, I was told this is only for citizens and the job was given to somebody else. (Palesa)

If you were to go for an interview with a South African, even if you're more qualified, the propensity for them, giving the job to South African is very high and we understand that... Even you are the only qualified person that was interviewed, most employers will not stick their necks for you... (Iris)

But the challenge came when as a woman in IT, the promotion wasn't coming. So that's when I started getting frustrated to say you know what, "I've proved to these people that I'm hardworking, I've even done courses that are in line with what I do. But still, there's just no promotion coming. So yeah, that's when I was like you know what "I actually reached the point where I was like, "No, I need to move on, because this is not working." Because you want to work in an environment where you are appreciated and where if there are opportunities for growth, then the organisation should give you those opportunities. For me I didn't get those opportunities which was like very frustrating. I had my ID by then so I was like you know what I should change my career. (Andrea)

Some accompanying spouses believed that, due to their status as a foreigner, most employers would not give them permanent contracts. Feelings of being underemployed and underpaid were also linked to a system of exploitation by some employers:

They have refused to make me permanent. Yeah, I understand. I am not South African... So well, yeah, they are very glad to give me the part time stuff. I'm not really costing that much money... The part time job and the part time there was just grocery money because the payment was so little, very. So just, it couldn't even cover our grocery allowance for a month. (Iris)

Overall, there was a perceived reluctance among South African business entities to hire foreign nationals. Having permanent residence, which signified the right to work in South Africa, did not appear to make a significant difference for many accompanying spouses whose view was that employers preferred naturalised citizens and therefore had greater prospects for being employed. This also appeared to be more dominant in particular sectors:

Then she [HR practitioner] said, as long as you don't have a special skill and you have a permanent residence, they won't take you. Yes, they will never take you if you have got a PR. If you are qualified, they will never take you, unless you've got citizenship. [Company X] won't employ you. Most of these big companies will not employ you. Yes, they won't unless it's a special skill. ... they are not going to take you because they are forced to take South Africans or someone whose got citizenship, or even an asylum person, I think they can take, but not someone who has got a PR. No, they won't take someone with a PR. That's SA for you. (Theresa-May)

I couldn't be employed in [Company X] because the policy is, they start by employing South Africans. (Monica)

Remember some of the jobs they really state that they want a South African citizen not a permanent resident. Some of the job adverts, you know for sure to say, we really want a citizen not a permanent resident. (Lucille)

Overqualification

In some circumstances, employers deemed accompanying spouses overqualified for specific jobs. Having advanced (postgraduate) qualifications, even those attained at South African institutions of learning, therefore did not enhance the prospects of securing employment. As a result of being categorised as overqualified, it was also difficult to access the labour market – however this was also linked to a form of othering:

“The journey got worse actually even with a Master’s, it got worse... So I submitted and after, not even up to two days, I got a call that “Oh, sorry, we don’t need people like you. You are overqualified for the job. And I started pleading with the guy that called. I was like “Just forget about the qualifications. Forget. Just forget.” He said “No... we just realised that you’re not a South African.” That is how he put it. (Iris)

If I’m doing an admin job, they’ll just say even a grade 12 can do an admin job without even you being trained and given whatever, it won’t make sense for them. (Theresa-May)

... also, there was nothing amazing for me in having a masters because they said the basic qualification for one to teach in their primary schools is a first degree. So, for me to have a masters it was just a bonus for myself, it did not move them to give me a post even though I was second highest qualified.... (Monica)

Deskilling of work experience

In this study, downward occupational mobility was demonstrated to be a significant factor contributing to underemployment. Despite significant work experience, in some sectors these skills and qualifications were not regarded as important. Thus, despite many years of experience some had to restart their careers at an entry level, leading to significant underemployment:

‘Cause you have to start again, after 15 years of service, I am employed as a new teacher. Then when I moved to the TVET where I am at the moment, they have what they call, salary levels. I came in as an entry despite the 15 years of experience plus [the] five years I had acquired in South Africa. You start afresh, yes.... When I went there, I had to start on level one, according to the new system of the department. To say she is a new entry so the salary level is for an entry level person... (Monica)

Language requirements

In various sectors/ provinces, local language proficiency was critical to the hiring. Process. For many accompanying spouses, however, knowledge of local languages was deficient, and this became a significant challenge to labour market integration:

The only difficult place that I found it very difficult to break through it was here Bloemfontein. It was a very difficult one because one, the language, they can't employ you if you can't say, what is it, morning in Afrikaans. (Unarine)
It's a limitation. I have seen adverts where they want an Afrikaans speaking person, to teach something in English because they will have Afrikaans speaking pupils. The belief is, at least the students must be able to express themselves, so [not knowing Afrikaans] it's a big limitation. (Monica)

Critically, knowledge of language was also an identifier of nationality, which was a challenge experienced in some employment sectors. Not knowing the local language or speaking in a foreign accent was in some cases a signifier of one's nationality and led to discrimination.

So I was an assistant, then I find out being HR, it's more like you should engage yourself with the employees. So one other issue was communication barrier. I couldn't like, even interview someone, it was just difficult because they you know, they couldn't speak so much of English and they pick it up that you are a foreigner, it was something else. (Unarine)

And once I open my mouth to say something you would instantly know, I am not South Africa. And the question is always, where are you from? I don't like that thing and so I'd rather not say anything so that you don't even know I'm not part of you. I'm not gonna say anything.... (Iris)

So this white lecturer was like, this was an older lady, she was older than me, if it was from a younger person I would understand. But this older lady, I assume she had, or she has better experience but she actually came and said, but students may not understand us, you know these non-South Africans. We always have this kind of accent that students don't understand. Wow. It was so derogatory. And she was screaming, she wasn't silent, people could hear. [She said,] Students don't understand and that's how students fail. (Iris)

2.5.3 Macro level governing technologies

Migration legislation

Accompanying spouses were eager to secure employment subsequent to arriving in South Africa. However, despite their legal residence status in the country, accompanying spouses on spousal visas are not permitted to work in South Africa. This was regarded as one of the greatest impediments to labour market integration,

particularly in the early stages of the labour migration trajectory of many accompanying spouses.

.... With the accompanying spouse visa... you're not allowed to work. When you're trying to apply for new opportunities, then they realize you have the accompanying spouse visa, then they'll [the employer] just reject the application. So yeah, definitely, it limited the number of opportunities during that time. (Andrea)

They told me with that spousal visa I'm not allowed to study, nor seek employment and it sounded like the most stupid thing ever. Like why would I come here and not want a job or to go to school. I know that people have different missions in life but my mission was to study and work it didn't make sense to me. (Palesa)

So many job applications that you would look at, at that stage then, bookkeeping posts and accounting posts and all of this office work was so galore but each time you opened it up literally it requires your ID, it requires this, So this is something that I then did not venture to bother myself going knocking on those doors. I just thought, it's almost like starting a race that you feel you've lost already. (Priscilla)

Over and above the creation of barriers to employment, the spousal visa was also regarded as restrictive, in that it set up obstacles around accessing institutional cultural capital (education). This was important for the majority of accompanying spouses, whose skills, upon emigration, could not be categorised as critical or in short supply in the labour market. Studying further was regarded as one of the means of upskilling or upgrading oneself, widening one's employment opportunities and keeping oneself occupied. To enrol in institutions of higher education required one to convert to a study permit. However, qualifications from the country of origin were not always rated equivalent to the South African qualifications (see section on deskilling). Critically, the spousal visa not only set up barriers to education but also set barriers to starting a business. Thus, the accompanying visa was regarded as highly restrictive for any form of integration into the labour market.

Dependence

Self-determination and independence were viewed as critical to the accompanying spouse's well-being. However, the view of many accompanying spouses was that the spousal visa set up an undesirable pattern of dependence on the lead spouse. On an accompanying visa, getting a driver's licence and opening a bank account were subject to the husband's permission or authority. Achieving these things was seen as mostly reliant on the husband's willingness and benevolence.

... I have my spouse permit which is written in big letters if I can say that accompanied by [name supplied] with passport number. It's all over. Even if you try and open an account, you have to be with him literally. (Unarine)

The thing is with an accompanying spouse permit, if you want to do anything that's legal for yourself, you can't do it without his [spouse] consent. He has to sign everything that you want to do. For instance, if I want to go and get a driver's license, he has to sign and say that he has authorized. If I want to open a bank account, he has to sign and say that he authorized me to open a bank account. And then he also has to tell them how he intends to finance me because I'm not working. And what else, I can't retrieve money without his consent because the proof of accommodation usually is in the name of the spouse who's got the permit. There's a lot of restrictions that you have. You are not independent basically. Everything, you must go through the husband (Theresa-May)

The acquisition of permanent residence permits appeared to ease the barriers to labour market integration but did not guarantee full labour market integration due to, among other reasons, what was perceived to be the non-desirability of hiring non-South Africans. Most accompanying spouses relied on the acquisition of the permanent residence permits first by the lead spouses. Time to acquisition of spousal-based permanent residence was strongly dependent on the lead spouse's success in acquiring permanent residence and visa processing efficiency. In many instances, the conditionality of the permanent residence applications was also regarded as quite an impediment for self-determination.

...and probably around 2018, I think my husband applied, 'cause then he was due for getting a PR. So, we thought, let him apply for his PR first, so that once the PR comes out, we [spouse and children] are all good to go.... We thought now we can apply for the PRs, then my husband's ID was also out. We made the applications and all of that, probably early 2019. (Priscilla)

There was a condition that I must remain married to him for the next two years after acquiring my PR. If I was to divorce it means it was going to fall away. So, you find out that, that's where a restriction comes in. Let us assume, I was in an abusive marriage, it meant for a woman you had to stay, to wait for that PR or otherwise it was going to affect me to go back and restart again. (Monica)

The pattern of dependence reduced accompanying spouse to an appendage to the lead spouse. In addition to family ties, this pattern of dependence became a greater impediment in regard to accompanying spouses' abilities to pursue any particular course independent from their spouses:

Being an accompanying spouse. I wish I had just come on my own, looked for my things on my own maybe before I came. I should have established myself. (Monica)

Reinforcement of traditional gender roles

Due to the huge responsibilities of caring for the extended family, traditional gender roles in which the female was expected to stay at home and do the job of nurturing and household chores was not an option for the accompanying spouse, and their families. This was mainly because the core motivation for migration was economical. Migration legislation was however seen to reinforce traditional gender roles in which the lead spouse (male) was regarded as the sole breadwinner. Most accompanying spouses perceived themselves as being forced into the role of housewife due to the severe restrictions imposed by the migration legislation, a role which some were not familiar with.

You're just accompanying, you're just there to wash the plates basically and do nothing for yourself. (Theresa-May).

You can't do anything...You literally are just a housewife to be honest. (Unarine)

Despite being highly skilled, through the accordance of the highly restrictive accompanying spouse visa, many accompanying spouses felt relegated to undertaking reproductive, unpaid care work in the home despite their qualifications and work experience. Due to limited finances arising from a single salary and added responsibilities of caring for the extended family, accompanying spouses were not always able to hire a maid to then take on household and childcare duties. Not hiring a maid was regarded as a means of saving as much money as possible due to the fact that a household would rely on one salary. The burden of the caregiving then automatically fell to the accompanying spouses.

I mean especially like argh, you are at home already, why would we need help? And sometimes when you really look at it when you get someone who will help you one or two days and they go because I was at home and I was stay home mom. Anyway, we need that extra money. (Charlotte)

Employment and skills related policies

2.4.3.4.1 Deskilling of qualifications

At an elementary level, deskilling took place due to the accompanying spouse's mode of migration, but also because of emphasis on skilled migration in South Africa. Despite being educated at a tertiary level, most accompanying spouses found

themselves in a situation where their qualifications did not fall within the critical skills shortage lists (see table 1) defined by the Department of Labour. As a result, they could not independently apply for work visas which would significantly have expanded their potential to gain meaningful employment. Not being in possession of critical skills had more than one consequence: i) it put them in the unfavourable position of being in direct competition with South African nationals who were being prioritised in the South African labour market and ii) it made the accompanying spouses reliant on the professionalism and objectivity of the employer around selecting the best qualified person for the job. Equal opportunity for selection based on merit was considered rare by most tied migrants. Accompanying spouses with critical skills were able to bypass the general work permit route and appeared to have greater ease in gaining access to the labour market.

Deskilling of qualifications was also evident at an institutional level through the South African Qualifications Authority (SAQA) which is the main institution responsible for the verification of foreign qualifications (SAQA, 2017). Deskilling due to this situation particularly impacted on the intention to study further (as a tool for increasing employability) where some accompanying spouses had to “redo” certain qualifications. This had the effect of not only putting them back in terms of time but also increased the curriculum vitae (CV) gaps that eventually did put some of them at a significant advantage when ready to seek employment opportunities.

Funny enough 'cause I thought I was going to go to masters straight away but they told me no, you know these SAQA qualifications, I don't know how the rating goes by, sometimes the rating is also not so relevant to what we have done. Actually, sometimes rates the South African system higher than other education systems. So, in my case I thought I was ready to start with masters. I wrote a proposal but they said I must start with an honours. (Monica)

The visa and my SAQA and getting all my paperwork done took me a year, just so I could get my qualifications evaluated, even though my bachelor's was a four year bachelor's, they made me do an honors, whereas I was accepted in England for a masters straight away, so that was another set back.(Nancy)

Preference for South African citizens (including naturalised citizens) among some employers was attributed to the Broad-based Black Economic Policy.

If I want to be clear I think if they say it is that manner, there's nothing you can do. You just have to accept they need somebody who have those credentials of being a citizen 'cause the moment they say a BBBEE they want someone who is really

African and the African they want is a South African citizen which means, you just have to abide to their rules because you know for sure if they employ someone that is a BBBEE candidate, they get something from the government which means if they employ you as a foreigner, which means, if they employ you as a foreigner, they are going to forfeit those benefits... Are you reaching those requirements? If you are not reaching those requirements, you cannot do anything about it 'cause clearly if they have really more opportunities, they would not say they want someone who is BBBEE candidate. (Lucille)

Altogether, the complex assemblage of governing technologies appeared to have a largely negative impact on the overall labour market integration of accompanying spouses. A strong overarching sense of othering appeared to be the dominant rationality behind most of the strategies employed to keep accompanying spouses out of the labour market.

2.6 Discussion

The aim of this study was to explore the governing technologies influencing the conduct of accompanying spouses with respect to LMI in South Africa. This study utilised a narrative approach to garner the perspectives of accompanying spouses who migrated to South Africa within the context of family migration.

Unsurprisingly, as confirmed by other researchers (DHA, 2017, StatsSA, 2017, Mbiyozo, 2018, Kanayo et al., 2019), economic advantage was a strong pull factor for migration from countries of origin for migrant families represented in this study. It is notable that almost half of the migrant families in the study emigrated to South Africa in the period 2007 – 2009, which suggests the significant impacts of the global economic recession on countries of origin.

As noted by Galystyan & Glaystyan (2021), migrants often retain links with their families' countries of origin to whom they send both financial and nonfinancial remittances. This research found that transnational care for extended family back home was a strong motivational factor for many migrant families to secure dual incomes in the host country. As IOM, (2022) reports, South Africa is a key remittance source country in Africa. As suggested in this research, among migrant families the employment of the accompanying spouse was imperative in terms of expanding capability for transnational care. Transnational care appeared to be limited on a single salary, due to what was regarded as the relatively high cost of living in South Africa.

Dissimilar to findings by Phan et al. (2015) and Föbker (2019) this study found that female tied migrants' ambitions extended far beyond the needs of just the nuclear family. In this regard, economic rationalities superseded patriarchal ideologies of the wife as a nurturer and carer who gives up on their career ambitions.

Similar to the study by Krieger (2020), this study found that the males were most likely to be the lead spouses. This study suggested that the propensity for male spouses to lead could be attributable to their comparatively better qualifications and work experience which facilitate better integration into the South African labour market. In addition, by virtue of having the more desirable skills, lead spouses were able to exert more influence over decision making in the family, as reflected in the statement "*it is my husband who steers the ship.*" Interestingly, however, for some accompanying spouses, South Africa was not the preferred destination for settlement. While leading was therefore not necessarily an outcome of traditional gender roles per se, the evidence does suggest the subtle and persistent influence of gender roles entrenched in patriarchal rationalities (Banerjee & Phan, 2015, Krieger, 2020). Accompanying spouses were mostly placed in a role in which they were following.

As evidenced in the study by Ballarino & Panichella, (2017) family ties have a strong influence on the migration trajectory of tied migrants. By virtue of strong family ties, in this study, the act of migration itself for many accompanying spouses was associated with disruption in careers, as many were obliged to resign from their jobs and restart their careers in the host country. When it came to the decision to migrate, the desires, aspirations or career prospects of the accompanying spouses were hardly taken into account. There were no premeditated investigations into the nature of the labour market of what opportunities might have been available for the accompanying spouse in South Africa. This suggests that some family decisions for migration are based on what Schapendonk (2017) terms "trial and error" mobilities where migration is based on information received by acquaintances and hearsay. As evidenced in this study, social networks did play a strong role in the migratory decision. At the same time, migrants were under significant pressure to make a success of their lives in host countries. What this study found was that being employed was equated with notions of "having made it" in the host country. In some circumstances, this led to accompanying spouses seeking out any form of employment even if it was below their

skills levels and experience solely for the purpose of creating the impression of success in the host country. As Riaño (2012) asserts, the strategies of tied migrants may not necessarily be well thought out.

As established by Ncube et al. (2019), the decision to migrate is at times erroneously based on what are perceived to be better economic prospects and abundant job opportunities in South Africa. The real challenge of high level of unemployment and the challenges of integrating into the labour market remain obscured in migrants' imaginaries. For many, this results in a mismatch between what is imagined and the reality on the ground. While prospects of employment may be in place for the better-skilled lead spouses, it is not always the case for the accompanying spouses, so that the latter become the "marginalised elites" who face a job-skills mismatch in the host country (Riaño, 2016). As noted by Ala-Mantila and Fleishman (2018), the prospects for labour market integration are significantly dependent on gender. This is certainly the case in South Africa (Mbiyozo et al., 2018, Souza & Flippen, 2020)

As demonstrated, accompanying spouses did have strong aspirations not only to further their careers, but also to become fully self-sufficient, financially independent individuals. In this context, accompanying spouses therefore could also be regarded as economic migrants driven by economic rationalities. At the time of their migration, many of the participants were in their 20s and 30s, which was well within the productive working age in which they could potentially have made a significant contribution to economic development in South Africa. The majority of the qualifications that the accompanying spouses held, however, were not aligned to the skills regarded as critical or in short supply to the South African labour market. Mbiyozo (2018) suggests that one of the challenges in this regard is that most of the skills regarded as critical are male-oriented, thus putting female accompanying spouses at a significant disadvantage in regard to prospects for LMI. The findings of this study confirm this view. As such, gender inequality and inequity are perpetuated in the labour space to the detriment of female migrants (Holliday et al., 2018). Gender inequality in the South African labour market overall, is evidenced in better employment prospects for men, a significant gender pay gap and lower pay for the same jobs (Espí, Francis & Imraan Valodia, 2019) Under South Africa's skilled migration policy regime, those with skills falling outside the category of critical/special skills are automatically relegated to the

level of the unskilled. This makes it difficult for accompanying spouses without these male dominated critical skills to independently acquire permits to work in South Africa and this speaks to the unfavourable structural conditions (Grigoleit-Richter, 2017) that tied female migrants in South Africa face. The process of determining who is skilled or unskilled is a key aspect of governmentality. In addition, the work experience that tied migrants bring into the host country is also discounted and yet as this study suggests, tied migrants bring substantial work experience in addition to skills.

Gendered rationalities have a strong impact on the mobility of female migrants both on a social scale and spatial scale (Mahler & Pessar 2001; Hiralal, 2017, Khattab, Babar, Ewers & Shah, 2020). This study confirmed the view that gendered rationalities have a profound influence on economic/occupational mobility. Strong family ties had a negative bearing on the occupational mobility of tied migrants. Having the flexibility to be mobile is associated with better job prospects. Research shows that South African nationals who engage in internal migration to improve their chances of being employed often experience greater success in labour market integration (Stats SA, 2019). For accompanying spouses, location was identified as a significant factor around increasing the likelihood of employment, particularly when it came to acquiring professional jobs on par with their qualifications, as well as minimising the risks of othering, especially because some locations were regarded as less accepting of foreigners.

The gendered technologies emerging from South Africa's migration legislation can be regarded as particularly detrimental for accompanying spouses' labour market integration. Section 11(1)(b)(iv) of the Immigration Act of 2002, as amended, provides that the spouse of a South African temporary residence visa holder cannot work, study, or conduct business (DHA, 2013). The Act therefore inadvertently promotes traditional gender roles and perpetuates gender inequality, where men are regarded as sole breadwinners (O'Neil et al. 2016; Ala Mantila & Fleishmann, 2018; Chinyakata et al, 2019) whereas accompanying spouses are viewed as migrating solely for marriage. This study found that, due to the extremely restrictive nature of the migration legislation, particularly in regard to the spousal visa, accompanying spouses were relegated to unproductive and unpaid care work in the home. Lack of access to financial institutions was also a notable factor among accompanying spouses in this

study, particularly under the spousal permit regulations. Such impacts did have implications for financial remittances also. As a result of institutionalised governmentalities, the migration legislation enforces a situation in which accompanying spouses became appendages to their husbands, whereby they were forced to rely on the latter's willingness and benevolence to support their livelihoods. This is contrast with the prescripts of the global development agenda for women which seeks to promote gender equality and empowerment (O'Neil et al., 2016; Holliday et al., 2018).

Research by Maza (2020) suggests that the time shortly after migration is critical for future integration, both economically and socially. This research suggests that the severe restrictions imposed by the migration legislation, especially pertaining to the spousal visa, do not bode well for future LMI of accompanying spouses. The inability of accompanying spouses to further their studies to expand their capabilities for LMI, while on an accompanying spouse's permit, was established to be problematic, further increasing an initial period of career stagnation. Critically, as other research suggests, accompanying spouses were not able to recover the gaps, irrespective of their future progress (see Banerjee & Phan, 2015) and resonant with other studies (Wojczewski et al., 2015; Brittell, 2016), the female migrants in this study were found to experience lengthy breaks to eventual employment.

Research suggests that, under restrictive regimes, securing visas is a challenge (Wasjberg, 2018). This certainly appears to be case for accompanying spouses in this study and confirms the view that lengthy administrative processes of the DHA do have dire impacts on economic migrants (Parshotam & Ncube, 2017). The restrictive nature of the spousal visa introduced a forced career break for most, which could only be overturned by a visa class change. This period of stagnation was of varying durations and to some dependent on the subsequent strategy employed by the lead migrant. Visa processing challenges were particularly detrimental to the labour market integration prospects. Furthermore, while permanent residence visas were regarded as valuable for legalising employment, naturalisation was regarded as a surer way of ensuring entry into the labour market. This view is supported by Vermaak and Muller (2019). According to the South African Citizenship Amendment Act, No. 17 of

2010), which came into operation on 1 January 2013, naturalisation can occur only after five years of permanent residence in South Africa (DHA, 2010).

In addition to the challenges faced around visa processing, a strong sense of othering also appeared to overshadow most employment-related practices such as deskilling, language requirements and overqualification. As established by Wojczewski et al. (2015), discrimination is particularly detrimental to migrant's LMI in South Africa. As established in other studies, female tied migrants in this study were likely to experience discrimination on the basis of race, gender and nationality (triple penalty) were common among the participants. Similar to Khattab et al. (2020), in their study of highly skilled migrant women in Qatar, in this study discrimination on the basis of nationality/ethnicity was particularly evident. It may be argued however that the discrimination faced by female tied migrants extends far beyond just these three categories (Kaushik & Walsh, 2018), see also Chapter 4. Policies such as the BEEE, which rewards companies for hiring locals or naturalised citizens were found in part contribute to the challenges faced by accompanying spouses and this is consistent with Chinyakata et al.'s (2019) views that discrimination is inherent in employment legislation in South Africa.

Overall, the governing technologies had the effect of restricting and limiting accompanying spouse's options, and this was detrimental to LMI, in particular, full LMI.

2.7 Conclusion

This study set to answer the following question – What are the governing technologies that influence the integration of accompanying spouses into the South African labour market? The study made use of Michel Foucault's theory of governmentality in particular the concept of conduct of conducts. This study makes a contribution to the literature on tied migrant labour market integration from a global South perspective. The study found that complex assemblage of meso and macro governing technologies had mostly negative impacts on the labour market trajectory of female tied migrants in South Africa. At the macro level, restrictive migration and employment legislation were found to be particularly problematic as they led to the reinforcement of traditional gender roles and gave rise to redomestication. At the meso level, exclusionary

mechanisms linked to state institutions and employers were particularly pertinent. In this manner, the ability of accompanying spouses to integrate fully into the labour market is notably compromised. Accompanying spouses however, appeared to remain driven by their personal aspirations informed by how they denote success in the labour market context.

2.8 Study implications

This study highlights that the context of reception (Grigoleit-Richter 2017) is key to tied migrants' integration into the South African labour market.

The findings of this research suggest that families migrating to South Africa may well benefit from a more pragmatic approach to economic migration which realistically takes into the account the labour market prospects of both spouses given the restrictive and exclusionary macro context and inflexible labour market conditions which are compounded by gender inequality. This potentially would include investigation into region specific labour market opportunities, opportunities to diversify or transfer into areas of critical skills and investments into local language proficiency.

Female migrants in South Africa are marginalised in policy programming, which has limited gender mainstreaming (Mbiyozo, 2018, Mkwanaenzi, 2019). This is particularly applicable to tied migrants as the migration legislation through the application of "dependant status" typically reinforces traditional gender roles by regarding males typically as sole bread winners while engendering dependence and the redomestication of female tied migrants. The gendered restrictions that tied migrants face are antithetical to the prescripts of the global development agenda for women which speaks to gender equality, equity and empowerment.

This study suggests that fostering anti-discrimination, social cohesion and multiculturalism in workplaces can ultimately better facilitate the utilisation of human capital of immigrants and retention of skills, thereby assisting to resolve some of the structural problems that the South African economy faces (Beukes et al. (2016). This is particularly important given the typical investments in human capital made by tied migrants at South African tertiary institutions (see table 1).

2.9 Suggestions for future research

This study suggests to some extent that migrant enclaves also exist within work places. Further research on multiculturalism or immigration integration within workplaces is suggested. How well do immigrants integrate into the work place?

Future studies could consider the possible outcomes of male spouses who are also regarded at law as accompanying spouses to understand their lived experience of labour market integration.

Comparative research on how tied migrants fare in comparison to other migrant classes could foster greater insights on labour market integration.

2.10 Limitations of the study

Since the study was conducted for the sake of a doctoral thesis, the researcher was influenced by time and budgetary constraints, hence the decision not to stretch the data collection period past six months.

A strong reliance was placed on snowballing as a data collection strategy and therefore, a wide range of participants was not included in terms of nationality and race. This is reflected in that a considerable number of participants in the study were from Zimbabwe. Every effort, however, was made to ensure scientific rigour.

While the study participants were elected on the basis of their legal status as accompanying spouses, it became obvious that, within this category, a significant number of sub-categories resided, for instance those legally resident in South Africa but not legally employed according to the law.

Additional constraints in the research include that data collection was done during the COVID19 pandemic. Owing to the challenge of some participants and/or spouses falling sick, it was not always easy to source participants for interviews. Female participants working from home were often faced with the challenge of multiple responsibilities such that availing time for the interviews also became a challenge.

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3 CHAPTER 3

“Just forget about the qualifications. Forget, just forget:” Counter conducts in the South African labour market space.

Abstract

The migration of families remains one of its significant forms among international migrants in South Africa. Traditionally, accompanying spouses were subjectified mainly as followers or simply as adjuncts to men. Literature is beginning to contest this long-held view, highlighting the agentic ability of accompanying spouses who migrate within the context of family migration (Riaño, 2012; Kõu & Bailey, 2017; Grigoleit-Richter, 2017; Föbker, 2019; Ncube & Mkwanzani, 2019; Di Martino, Maiztegui & Aristegui, 2020, Sandoz, 2020). Accompanying spouses face a complex assemblage of governing technologies that seek to keep them excluded from the labour market and from experiencing full, free, and equal participation in both the economy and society. Not much is understood about how tied migrants in South Africa with aspirations for professional careers attempt to subvert governing technologies that impact on their labour market trajectories. Utilising a narrative approach, this study employed the theory of counter conducts by Michel Foucault to explore how tied migrants in South Africa resisted governing technologies that shaped their conduct in relation to LMI. A total of 13 in depth qualitative interviews were conducted, each lasting 2 hours on average. This study found that tied migrants were likely to employ a diverse number of strategies such as upskilling, self-deskilling, self-employment, and the use of social networks in this context. On the whole, however, these strategies did not appear to be beneficial for LMI, pointing to the need for gender-sensitive integration policies and strategies to be instituted if full LMI is to be achieved by accompanying spouses.

Keywords: counter conduct; labour market integration; skilled migration; accompanying spouses; tied migrants

3.1 Background

The feminisation of migration on the African continent is widely recognised. However, while many female migrants migrate autonomously, equally many continue to do so within the context of family migration. Though not specific to accompanying spouses, data from the DHA (2017) suggests the significance of family migration in South Africa. It is reported that, between June 2014 and January 2016, 28 608 relative visas (spouse) were issued, constituting about 24% of all visa classes (DHA, *ibid*).

Traditionally perceived as followers or solely as adjuncts of men, however (Hiralal, 2017, Filippi & Guarna, 2018), accompanying spouses remain largely obscured in the literature on labour market integration (; Riaño, 2012; Kou & Bailey, 2017; Khattab et al., 2020). Migration occasions a liminal space in which female migrants can potentially reconfigure their material and social existence (Yeoh & Khoo, 1998; Jolly, Reeves & Piper, 2005; Kõu & Bailey, 2017). This is true for accompanying spouses whose socioeconomic status, financial independence and social identity can be (re)established through labour market integration (LMI). Full LMI is not guaranteed however, and literature mainly from the Global North shows that family migration is rarely beneficial for the LMI of accompanying spouses (; Banerjee & Phan, 2015; Ballarino & Panichella, 2017; Föbker 2019).

Various theories have been proffered to explain this phenomenon of poor integration, including the family investment hypothesis, gender role theory and Bourdieu's theory of capitals. Few studies (Riaño, 2012; Föbker, 2019), however, trace strategies accompanying spouses utilise to overcome barriers to LMI.

Since the early 2000s, South Africa has adopted a neoliberally inspired agenda which in part offers incentives for high-skilled migration (Segatti & Landau, 2011, DHA, 2017). Such an approach however tends to simplify the complexities of family migration and leads to poor integration outcomes both economically and socially, especially for female migrants (Phan et al., 2015). The primary prerequisite for LMI of accompanying spouses in South Africa is based in legality. The legal status of the "dependant," accorded to accompanying spouses through South Africa's restrictive visa regime makes it illegal for the tied migrant to work; this represents only one of the many barriers that accompanying spouses to South Africa must be able to overcome.

Barriers such as these arise as a result of the cumulative impacts of governing technologies on tied migrant conduct.

Not much is understood about how spouses with professional aspirations attempt to resist governing technologies shaping their labour market outcomes, not only in South Africa, but also in the broader Global South. There is a dearth of research that utilises the theory of governmentality, in particular around counter conducts to explore LMI strategies of tied migrants.

Governmentality emphasises a bi-directional relationship between power and resistance, freedom, and government (Lulle, 2020). Through the Foucauldian lens, therefore, the tied migrant can be perceived to be a liberated subject who puts up resistances to governing technologies and their associated rationalisations, thus expressing “the will not to be governed thusly, like that, by these people, at this price” (Foucault, 2007b: 75). Utilising a narrative approach, this study explored the strategies of tied migrants as concerns their integration into the South African labour market. In particular, it sought to identify resistances to governing technologies and governmentalities relating to LMI. This was done by utilising the relatively understudied theory of counter conduct as proposed by Michel Foucault.

3.2 A brief literature review

3.2.1 Labour market prospects for migrants in South Africa

As a major economic hub in southern Africa, South Africa has become a significant destination for international migrants. Since the early 2000s, the Government of South Africa has pursued a skilled migration policy strategy that valorises human capital to cover critical gaps brought about by a chronic skills shortage. The mass exodus of skilled South African professionals in response to socioeconomic and political concerns has compounded the problem (Halstein, 2020) and the loss of skilled South Africa workers of all races has been noted as a major concern. The shortage of skills has spurred skilled migration from the greater African region and beyond. UNCTAD (2018) notes that South Africa has historically granted work permits aimed at attracting highly skilled professionals from SADC partner states, as well as interregional migration, to address labour shortages in the highly skilled category. The intention to further ease the immigration barriers for highly skilled migrants is captured in the

National Development Plan and the recently adopted White Paper for International Migration Policy (DHA, 2017). Skilled migrants are defined as those in possession of a tertiary-level qualification and who in addition, may or may not possess a professional qualification (UNCTAD, 2018). Most highly skilled migrants work as managers, technicians, and professionals in the country of destination. Demand sectors for skills include engineering, management and technology, education as well as finance.⁷ Shortages in the South African finance sector, for example, have fuelled highly skilled migration from Kenya, Nigeria, Uganda, and Zimbabwe (UNCTAD, 2018). However, while the chronic scarcity of skills (Mateus, Allen- Ile, & Iwu, 2014) may determine the sectors migrants integrate into, it does not guarantee their LMI (Peters & Sundaram, 2014; Wojczewski et al., 2015; Ncube, 2017).

The evidence on the integration of migrants into the South African labour market suggests that the prospects of immigrants are not as good as widely perceived. The labour market in South Africa, which is characterised as inflexible (Beukes et al., 2016), poses a significant number of challenges for full LMI for migrants. Despite the existence of a significant skills shortage, there is also a huge unemployment challenge (Ncube, 2017; Vermaak & Muller, 2019; Souza & Flippen, 2020) owing to rising labour market participation accompanied by low job regeneration (Vermaak & Muller, 2019). In addition, the South African labour market has a large informal sector (Souza & Flippen, 2020), which accommodates a large number of unskilled, semi-skilled and undocumented migrants. There is significant evidence that skilled migrants are likely to be employed in the informal sector, as well (Ncube, 2017; Souza & Flippen, 2020).

Souza and Flippen (2020) suggest that returns to education are low for male immigrants in comparison to native South Africans. This is reinforced by empirical evidence that suggests that migrants particularly face significant challenges when it comes to securing productive work in South Africa (Vermaak & Muller, 2019). One in four female migrants are employed as domestic workers (Statistics South Africa, 2019) and a significant number of male migrants are also employed in the informal sector (Souza & Flippen, 2020). As noted by the Quarterly Labour Market Survey (Statistics

⁷ The DHA is the ultimate custodian of the Critical Skills List which is reviewed and amended from time to time.

South Africa, 2019), while migrants generally integrate in the labour market, they are likely to work in low quality jobs that cannot be regarded as decent.

Peters and Sundaram (2014) note that, at lower levels of education, country of origin becomes a significant discriminating factor contributing to unlikelihood of employment. Migrants from countries such as Angola, Cameroon, the DRC, and Nigeria are noted to consistently underperform with respect to other immigrant nationalities (ibid). Notable barriers to LMI for migrants in South Africa include strict migration and employment regulations (Cortina, Taran & Raphael, 2014; Chinyakata et al., 2019; Ncube et al., 2019), deskilling (Wojczewski et al., 2015; Tayah, 2016; Ncube, 2017) and discrimination (Korteweg, 2017; Adjai & Lazaridis, 2013; Wojczewski et al., 2015; Mbiyozo, 2018). According to Chinyakata et al. (2019) discrimination against migrants is also perpetuated through South African employment legislation.

Like their counterparts in the Global North, studies suggest that female migrants in South Africa may face significant labour market exclusion (Wojczewski et al., 2015; Tayah; 2016; Ncube, 2017; Ncube et al., 2019). Female migrants are likely to experience a triple disadvantage on the basis of their migration status, country of origin and gender – the latter which adds another layer of complexity to their migration trajectory (Mbiyozo, 2018). A number of factors contribute to vulnerability to labour market exclusion among migrant women. Firstly, the South African migration policy is largely gender neutral (Mbiyozo, ibid). Female migrants are marginalised in policy programming, which has limited “gender-sensitive budgeting” (Mkwanzani 2019: 5). As a result of being accorded a dependant status, tied migrants in South Africa are not eligible to work legally, nor are they able to enrol for further education, nor are they allowed to engage in any type of business (DHA, 2014). Secondly, similar to Australia, the USA, the UK and Canada, South Africa is one of the countries emphasising skills in its migrant selection criteria. Skills that are in short supply are more likely to be male oriented (Mbiyozo, 2018) and, while female migrants may be skilled in their own right, they often do not possess the skills that are deemed critical to the South African labour market. Male migrants have greater chances of positive selection based on the employment, capital, education, and skills criteria required for official work permits and residence visas (Crush, Dodson, Williams & Tevera, 2018; Mbiyozo, 2018). As highlighted by Espi et al. (2019) gender inequality in the South African labour market

overall, is characterised by better employment prospects for men, a significant gender pay gap and lower pay for the same jobs. Thirdly, South Africa has a highly gendered market (Crush & Williams, 2010).

Various factors predict likelihood of LMI for migrants in South Africa. Vermaak and Muller (2019) suggest that migrants with better quality social networks are likely to access higher quality jobs and higher incomes in South Africa. Other factors include ethnicity or nationality (Crush & Williams, 2010; Peters & Sundaram, 2014), levels of education (Peters & Sundaram, 2014), documentation (Ncube, 2017), access to resources (Souza & Flippen, 2020) and migrant status, with naturalised migrants faring better than other groups (Vermaak & Muller, 2019). That some of these factors may emerge as notable factors giving rise to labour market exclusion, suggests wide variability in labour migration outcomes among migrants. It also points to the complexity of the macro-structural environment and the uniqueness of the socio-spatial context for LMI for migrants in South Africa. In this light, we can expect the LMI for females to be quite challenging. A number of theories have been proposed that seek to understand the differences in labour markets; these are discussed in the section below.

3.3 Labour migration theories

LMI is particularly important for female migrants, whose need for equality and empowerment is at the forefront of the global development agenda. The imperative of full labour participation and the need to guarantee women “full, free and equal participation in society and the economy” are reiterated in Objective 16 (d) and 16(e) of the Global Compact for Safe and Orderly Migration (UN Assembly, 2018: 23). Labour market exclusion, on the other hand, denotes dire consequences for migrants’ overall integration into society (Dickey, Drinkwater & Shubin, 2018) and has consequences for overall social cohesion in the host country. LMI is not guaranteed, and a number of theories have been put forward to account for this. Among these are the family investment hypothesis, Bourdieu’s theory of capitals and gender role theory.

3.3.1 Family investment hypothesis (FIH)

The FIH is an extension of the human capital approach. It suggests that families will seek to maximise economic gain by investing in the career prospects of the family's primary earner. This entails the investment of the primary earner in human capital specific to the host country to re-establish their careers. The secondary worker will take on jobs to support the family in the short term but not make use of their skills or qualifications (Banerjee & Phan, 2015). Once the primary worker has re-established their career, the secondary worker may revert to household responsibilities or may continue to work part-time. Empirical evidence on the LMI of tied migrants in Canada supports the applicability of the FIH (Banerjee & Phan, 2015).

3.3.2 Bourdieu's theory of capitals

Bourdieu's theory of capitals provides an alternative explanation for migrant's integration into the labour market. It focuses on three capitals: human, social and economic (Bourdieu, 1983, Föbker, 2019). Similar to the human capital theory, Bourdieu's notion of human capital includes education and skills such as those related to language. His theory however incorporates an additional two capitals: social and economic, as indicated. Social capital comprises current and potential resources availed to the individual as a result of being identified in a particular group, whether it be a church group, political party or family. Economic capital comprises income and financial resources or assets than can easily be converted to cash. The three forms of capital are interrelated and can converted one to the other (Erel, 2010). Economic capital can facilitate the acquisition of human capital in the form of education and attending university or college can facilitate the acquisition of social capital (Föbker, 2019).

3.3.3 Gender role theory

Gender role theory presupposes that female migrant are socialised to prioritise the needs of the family over their own personal goals (Yeoh & Khoo, 1998; Cooke 2003, 2008; Ho, 2006). Traditional gender roles are believed to be more salient among non-Western families (Banerjee & Phan, 2015). Banerjee and Phan (ibid) note that these roles may not be explicit but manifest subtly through gender disparities in occupation, education levels, work experience and even language ability. Mkwanzani (2019)

suggests that socialisation according to traditional gender roles can determine migrants' aspirations for work and/ or education. The sacrifice of professional aspirations for domestic responsibilities can lead to cultural isolation (Banerjee & Phan, 2015). Social capital can relieve the burden of childcare responsibilities, especially for young children, but its absence can be particularly detrimental for a woman's career prospects (Kofman & Raghuram 2006; Liversage, 2009). When it comes to the LMI of tied migrants, Banerjee and Phan (2015) suggest that their status is likely to be more salient than their gender role around determining their labour outcomes.

3.4 Tied migrant labour market integration

As Riaño (2012) notes, skilled women migrating for reunification purposes have largely been invisibilised in traditional analyses of labour migration. This is applicable to the South African contexts where the LMI of tied migrants, specifically, has not been explored in depth. To a significant extent, tied migrants have largely been perceived as adjuncts of men (Cooke, 2007; Hiralal, 2017): this, despite many having been employed in countries of origin prior to migrating. Failure to consider the skills levels many of the women bring in the context of family migration, discounts their potential contribution to economic development and results in brain waste (Kofman & Raghuram, 2006; Riaño, 2012). Tied migrants, however, can be viewed as economic migrants who are intrinsically motivated and seek to achieve their own goals, aspirations and desires in the countries in which they settle with their families. LMI for tied migrants is extremely complex and requires trade-offs between an individual's career aspirations and the family unit's well-being (Phan, Banerjee, Deacon & Turkay, 2015).

Research shows that family migration does not predict successful LMI for tied migrants' labour integration (; Riaño, 2012; Phan et al., 2015; Banerjee & Phan, 2015; Föbker, 2019). Factors influencing LMI are complex, interrelated and occur at multiple levels of analysis, that is macro, meso and micro (Timmerman et al., 2018). Banerjee and Phan (2015) notes that an implicit relationship exists between dependant status, gender roles and labour integration. Factors shaping LMI of tied migrants include legalities based on employment and migration laws, regional labour market structure

(Föbker, 2019), family structure, social networks (Phan et al., 2015) and traditional gender role beliefs (Phan et al., 2015). The research shows clear differences between how men experience migration and how women do (). Traditional gender roles can become more salient post-migration, as labour market challenges and poor social networks impact newly arrived families (Phan et al., 2015). Tied migrants are likely to experience a drop in occupational status and are unlikely to recover the disadvantage over time (Phan et al., 2015). Furthermore, the research shows the time immediately after migration is critical to determining long-term outcomes.

According to Riaño (2012), the choice of strategy to overcoming barriers to LMI is not always well thought out and may in fact change over time. In her study of Swiss tied migrants, Riaño (ibid) found that they were likely to use the following strategies: i) taking on any job to access the labour market, ii) doing unpaid work, iii) reskilling, for example, improving local language proficiency, or redoing a tertiary qualification, iv) building social networks and v) finding a way out by adopting a victim attitude or returning to country of origin. Similarly, a study by Föbker (2019) on accompanying partners in the UK found that strategies utilised included reskilling, working abroad, opting to take on low-skilled work or entering the labour market via less attractive positions.

Tied migrants are not passive or docile subjects in the face of an assemblage of policies, laws, practices, and discourses of labour migration that seek to shape their conduct or aspirations in as far as LMI is concerned. Applied to the LMI of tied migrants, Michel Foucault's theory of counter conducts suggests that tied migrants will put up resistance to how their conduct and aspirations are shaped with respect to LMI.

3.5 Counter conducts

Rules and regulations, both formal and informal, as well as interpersonal contracts govern migrants in the host country (Lulle, 2020). As Bhattacharjee (2017) notes, it is not only legal discourses but political, ideological, and cultural discourses that govern migrants. These regimes, also denoted as assemblages of power, shape conduct, desires, aspirations, beliefs, and preferences. Such power is not unidirectional, however. While it produces subjects, it also gives rise to agency and an "empowered subject" (Ball & Olmedo 2013; Brunila et al., 2017; Masoud et al., 2019) who seeks

their own well-being. Studies show that female migrants remain independent and resilient and are able to resist and withstand the challenges of migrations and integration into society (Ncube & Mkwanzani, 2020). Through the Foucauldian lens of governmentality, these acts of resistance arise in relation to how one is being governed. Such acts are not to be understood as political revolts against a sovereign authority (Death, 2009), but rather as forms of refusal that can be verbal, silent, or aesthetic (Teo, 2019). Resistance therefore does not necessarily equate to active contestations in the face of restrictive regimes. As Teo (ibid) notes, silence does not equate to passivity and failure does not equate to domination.

Counter conducts denote “the will not be governed thusly,” which may involve disobedience, the disputation of social norms or the disruption of the status quo (Massey, 2014). They focus on attempts to inventively modify, resist, or escape how one is being governed. Bifurcations of migratory careers (Di Martino et al., 2020) as well as negotiations and renegotiations along the migration trajectory are therefore to be expected. The notion of “counter conducts” or “practices of self” are captured in Foucault’s 1978 lecture on *Security, territory, population*. These minor forms of resistance can be viewed as being able to empower the governed, forcing them to free decision making in fields of action (Lemke, 2012). In this regard the liminal space is then expanded (Yeoh & Khoo, 1998). These practices of self are regarded as useful in the pursuit of political, social, and economic goals and may not be regarded by the one who is governed as forms of resistance (Massey, 2014). As Teo (2019) suggests, these counter conducts may inform the way in which one seeks to be conducted differently through other procedures and methods.

The subject is then at once agent and object or, alternatively, is both governor and governed (Ball & Olmedo, 2013). At the core of this argument is the centrality of freedom, in that the subject allows him or herself to be conducted or controlled, or alternatively puts up resistance to manner in which he/ she is subjectified.

The theory of governmentality simultaneously draws us to interrogate the “flows of power in the opposite direction,” that is, bottom-up (Ball & Olmedo, 2013: 86). This, as it centres the notion of freedom or agency and the bi-directional nature of power (Death, 2016). In this regard, the theory of counter conducts draws attention to acts of emancipation or to acts of resistance of individuals that give rise to alternative

subjectivities. The analysis of counter conducts therefore may be useful around informing tied migrant LMI in South Africa.

3.6 Methodology

3.6.1 Research approach and inclusion criteria

A narrative case study approach was utilised, specifically focusing on female accompanying spouses who emigrated to South Africa in the context of family migration. The narrative approach on the basis of its ability to highlight subjectivity, and negotiation of identity, as well as to challenge dominant assumptions and provide a means to capture a significant portion of participant's trajectories (Carless & Douglas, 2017). The researcher employed narrative interviewing with an in-depth, semi-structured approach (Anderson & Kirkman, 2021). Participants were chosen on strict criteria including, i) employment history, ii) migrant status, iii) accompanying spouse status iv) legal residence in South Africa v) work experience or tertiary education in home country and vi) aged between 18 and 65.

Narrative interviews were conducted with 13 female migrants. At the time of data collection, all (except for one) were employed.

3.6.2 Interview guide development

Anderson & Kirkpatrick's (2021) format for narrative interviewing was adopted for the study. Initially, interviewees were asked an open-ended question to elicit their own narratives regarding their transition from the country of origin to the host country in the context of family migration with emphasis on their labour market trajectory.

In the questioning phase, the researcher utilised a semi-structured interview guide which was constructed exploring themes of LMI arising from the literature review. The guide was structured to explore in depth matters pertaining to structural barriers, labour market conditions and traditional gender roles. The questioning phase was used to clarify issues arising from the initial narrative and/or to fill any gaps in the narrative the researcher felt were key to answering the questions of the research study. This format enabled the researcher to gain greater insights into the personal narratives. The initial narrative allowed for the interviewee to guide the narrative as an

expert on her life (Carless & Douglas, 2017), while the open-ended questions aided in the non-imposition of preconceived ideas.

3.6.3 Sampling

The purposive, non-random purposive sampling technique was utilised to select respondents for the study. This strategy was deemed useful for selecting the specific respondents who met the inclusion criteria for participation, that is, those who were deemed appropriate to answer questions relating to the study, so as to achieve depth of data, Smith (2018a).

Initial access was established through the researcher's network. Thereafter, a snowball approach was utilised to complement the initial purposive sampling, in which participants were asked to refer other participants, who met the inclusion criteria for the research to the researcher.

13 interviews were considered sufficient in order to reach meaning saturation (Hennick et al. 2017; Sebele-Ncube, 2020). The focus of the sampling strategy was to generate data sufficient to bring about a rich, complex and multifaceted story about patterns related to the phenomenon of interest (Sim 2018a) as well as to achieve an in-depth understanding thereof so as to "fully communicate the research story" (Sebele-Mpofu, 2020:14).

3.6.4 Data collection

Data collection took place from August 2020 to February 2021. A total of 13 one-on-one interviews lasting 2 hours on average were conducted. which was in conformity with the qualitative sample size recommendations by Braun and Clarke (2013; 2021). The number of interviews used in the analysis of this article also considered the study by Guest et al. (2006), which found that 94% of most prominent or frequent codes emerge in the first 6 interviews and 97% by 12 interviews, thus implying sufficiency of the sample size to ensure valid findings, and arguably alluding to data saturation. In this study, the researcher began to discover monotonous trends during initial interactions with the data by the fifth interview, thus confirming Guest et al.'s (ibid) position to a significant extent.

Interviews were conducted online, over Zoom, in adherence to Covid-19 protocols and the national lockdown restrictions at the time of data collection. They were recorded to an external audio device. The researcher also made (field) notes throughout the course of each interview.

Upon referral, the interviewees received a call from the researcher explaining the nature of the project and key ethical issues regarding consent and voluntary participation. After verbally consenting to be interviewed, the interviewee was furnished with a consent letter to sign which was to be returned prior to the date of the interview. The interviews were held at the convenience of the interviewees who were asked to choose a date and time for which they would be available.

3.6.5 Data analysis

The audio-recorded interviews were transcribed by the researcher. Direct quotations were used as a form of raw data for the analysis. Braun & Clarke's (2006) six stages of thematic analysis were adopted for the study. In addition to the notes taken during the interview process, the process of transcription enabled the researcher to engage with the narrative data and develop initial ideas about coding. As transcription was taking place, the researcher made notes in relation to key ideas for codes emerging from the text.

Full transcriptions were loaded to ATLAS.ti, Version 9.1.4.0 to aid with analysis. In line with Vaismoradi et al.'s (2016) construction phase procedures, codes were identified, defined, labelled and combined. Comparisons were made across cases. Through an iterative process codes were identified and developed both inductively and deductively from the literature and the interviews. Finally, the codes were merged into themes. In line with the narrative approach, excerpts were quoted verbatim to validate the voices of the hidden and marginalised (Langellier, 1998).

3.6.6 Ethics and authorisation

Principles of informed consent, confidentiality and academic integrity were strictly adhered to.

Ethical clearance was sought from and granted by the General and Human Research Ethics Committee (GHREC) of the University of the Free State. Ethical Clearance Reference Number: UFS-HSD2020/0123/0506.

3.7 Findings

This study found that tied migrants employed a number of strategies to counter the complex assemblage of governing technologies which they experienced in the labour market space.

3.7.1 Change of visa class

The restrictive nature of the spousal permit was regarded as a significant barrier to the prospects for LMI by most tied migrants, particularly in so far as the regulations inadvertently subjectified them as dependants, relegating them to the position of housewives and preventing their LMI. Change of visa class was regarded as the main way to overcoming these restrictions.

Expanding freedoms was the main strategy behind the change in visa class. To expand freedoms, some accompanying spouses opted to change from the spousal visa to other permit classes such as the study visa, work permit or permanent residence permit, all of which were viewed as beneficial for LMI.

And then I told myself I am an academic and I need this thing [student permit], so I applied for a place to uplift the restriction. Because I discovered that if I am studying, I am no longer a spouse but a student. So, I went to Home Affairs and I spoke to one lady and she was very kind to me and she explained to me that at the moment you are a spouse, these are your restrictions, you are not allowed to work, if you are found working, you can be arrested. Then I said, how then can I come in the system and she referred me to websites to check things but she said if I wanted to study, I cannot study as a spouse as well. I can only study as a student. (Monica)

The change of visa class strategy employed by many tied migrants was not necessarily aligned with future aspirations. Strategies in this regard, however, were also highly dependent on eligibility. Most of those who opted for permanent residence did so on the basis of eligibility dependent on the status of the lead spouse. Change to permanent residence was viewed as most valuable for eligibility for full time employment: however, it appeared to be one of the most difficult permits to secure with delays taking up to several years.

Those who had skills aligned to those in short supply were able to opt for the critical skills visa which was seen as vital for bypassing the general work visa – which was regarded as significantly more difficult to attain due to the strict employment

regulations and the unwillingness of employers to deal with the complexities surrounding application for the general work permit. The general work permit route was also regarded as putting tied migrants at risk of discriminatory employment practices and, therefore, was found to be one of the least attractive avenues for attaining LMI.

You see, because it was one of the things that made me not to go through the general work permit routes. Because when you go to the general of permit route, then labour would have to step in. They would have to attest that they have sought through the length and breadth of South Africa and no other person is qualified here except you. And I tell you, labour here, they are not willing to battle for you for that. I was just advised, don't go through that route. Check amongst their critical skills list then it was the very first item on the quota permit list. If your area of expertise lies within one of them, it is an easier route to follow than the general work permit, so I didn't really go to the general work permit side. (Iris)

3.7.2 Upskilling

Despite what were largely regarded as poor returns to education for job entry and job promotion, most tied migrants opted to upskill.

Because if you compare with Zimbabwe, the higher you are educated, the more your salary, the more you are recognised in terms of promotion and leadership as well. So that's a very different system. The way they do it here it's like it's pointless to go to school. You are just going for your own innate satisfaction. It's a discouraging way but it hasn't discouraged me... For me to have a masters it was just a bonus for myself. It did not move them to give me a post even though I was second highest qualified. Because it was the principal with a masters then I also had a masters. Despite the fact that my students were passing very well, it did not move anybody. (Monica).

However, competing priorities such as the need to focus on their children's education or limited finances were cited as notable challenges to upskilling. For those opting to go to university full time, upskilling required a change from a spousal permit to a study permit. The study permit allowed for some limited integration into the labour market which, in part, afforded some financial independence.

Upskilling was seen as a way to stay preoccupied, as staying at home was associated with doing mundane, mindless and repetitive tasks. It was also seen as instrumental for expanding options for employment, upgrading oneself, and as part of a strategy for retaining the ability to be mobile in the event of future challenges in the South African labour market.

... I was not getting a job but it was, okay, I have a little baby with me, who's just 9 months old. So instead, how can I just improve myself as a person, how can I upgrade myself. I was doing study just something which can maybe take my time. What can I say, yes! At least I'm just studying maybe I cannot just be idle for 24 hours. I'm just taking care of the baby but at the same time, my mind can also be somewhere else. (Lucille)

Like now, I am going back to school next year. I'm also working on articles as a doctor [, that is, PhD holder]. By the way I ended up getting my masters, I ended up getting my doctorate. Now I am continuing with school just to show you that I am somebody who is really academic oriented. I'm going back to school next year to do my masters in something else and from there I am working on articles a lot. (Monica)

Well, I became a professional housewife, number one. Number two, I had to go to university to while up time. There's not much you can do really. (Theresa-May) Coming to South Africa I wanted to work and make money. I just wanted to make money. I wanted to be able to start work to sustain my family but no job was forthcoming. I had to enrol for my doctorate again. (Iris)

[I said] Let me just go back to school, maybe it might open more opportunities for me. Whilst I was on a student permit, I decided to do my masters because when I first came here in the country, I had my honours in BCom Economics. (Unarine) That's where I am but as you know we are nomads, we are foreigners, we are continuing with our studies. I'm now a registered student at North West University. I am continuing with my studies there. I'm doing my masters and I'm almost finishing with my Masters in Accounting by North West University. As you know, we must soldier on, because we are an army, 'cause you can see by the way SA is going, the cake is becoming smaller and smaller, so we must look for opportunities. (Lucille)

3.7.3 Self-deskilling

Self-deskilling was an option employed by many tied migrants, particularly early on in the migratory journey. Securing a professional job was regarded as impossible, especially in the absence of legal permission to work, that is, while on the accompanying spouse permit or without a South African identification document. Self-deskilling was also a strategy for securing jobs when there was a strong possibility of being deemed overqualified. Deskilling was seen as a means of lower barriers to entry by making one eligible for a wider array of job opportunities and was primarily used when settling in smaller towns where professional jobs were limited.

Deskilling also meant taking casual jobs like waitressing and engaging in informal sector trade as exemplified by this:

I said, "Woo, an opportunity, I can waitress." In back of my mind, it was like let me just get something. It was just R1000 or something like that. I submitted and after,

not even up to two days, I got a call that "Oh, sorry, we don't need people like you. You are overqualified for the job. And I started pleading with the guy that called. I was like "Just forget about the qualifications. Forget. Just forget." He said "No. We just realised that you're not a South African." That is how he put it. My husband warned me if I'm submitting an application in South Africa. I should include my first degree. I should remove my master's degree. That, I shouldn't tell them I have a master's degree. (Iris)

Deskilling was used as a means to “get a foot in the door” and subsequently working to climb up the corporate ladder.

It's like starting afresh but I'm grateful it opened a door and maybe because the company that I'm working with, it's quite a good company and I'm just grateful. And sometimes you know how it is, at least you've got something, you're working. I need to start from here. I'll work my way up, that's how I look at it. (Charlotte)

Deskilling was also a strategy to counter othering in the workplace, particularly where there were potential threats on the basis of being a well-educated foreigner.

My boss knows that I'm more educated than her or my team leader and I don't even talk about it at work. When people ask at work, how far did you go? I tell them I went as far as grade 10 and then you don't become a target. (Theresa-May)

3.7.4 Working illegally

For many tied migrants, the push to work illegally was regarded as highly undesirable and highly risky, yet necessary as a survival mechanism. For most, the push to work illegally arose from feelings of extreme non-productivity due to restrictions imposed by the spousal visa. Non-eligibility for work, study and restrictions on conducting business were some of the primary reasons cited for engaging in such illegality.

With spouse permit, you are just a housewife, you're not allowed to do anything. The best way is to bend the rules, whereby get people that can help you to get your license to go to those companies and tell them you know what, I can do the job. But I don't have papers. But they will be just taking the risk then they employ you. If you want to straight things, you literally sit on your couch and watch Netflix 24 seven, 365 days. You can't do anything. (Unarine)

Following the rules to the letter was associated with distinct negative outcomes such as financial challenges.

I've got a friend that is sitting. She has been here for more than 10 years, but she's not doing anything. Because the husband wants things to be done in the right way... The wife can't get a license. The husband doesn't want dodgy things says, wait, wait, wait. And it's normally it affects you financially because there's a lot of

demands. Remember, that you got three kids that you need to feed. You can't rely on one salary, you need to help him some where, some how. So if you are someone who is too strict in terms of doing things, right, even if you might have a permit but you can't do anything. Like, I'm telling you, I've been here for three years, even with this [spousal] permit. I couldn't do anything. (Unarine)
In as much as I'm accompanying spouse, I cannot be a stay at home. It doesn't necessarily mean I have to stay at home until after a certain period. I am an individual. There are expenses that my husband cannot manage all by himself. (Phumzile)

Not being eligible for employment pushed migrants into accepting whatever job was available as they felt their options were highly limited. Tied migrants felt they did not have much benefit in terms of being selective around the kinds of jobs they could do. This involved working in informal jobs that were not governed by contracts.

I just knew I have to take whatever that comes. Because at the end of the day, it's not like there are opportunities, there's nothing to choose from and also not having papers at the time, you can't really choose.... And you know it wasn't like a formal thing where you would be signing contracts and things like that. (Andrea)

While working was not permitted without the correct documentation for most, being employed was regarded as a matter of survival. Even when the salaries were inadequate, this was deemed comparatively better than what was available in the home country. Illegality also made it challenging to pursue one's rights in terms of decent pay.

I was working without anything. My passport, not even not even work permit, anything, visa or permit. So, for me like you're coming from Zim, if you're getting about R5,000 then for you, you don't want to complain. Even if the next person is getting 20, you know where you're coming from, you're probably getting about, it was about \$100 so if you say 5,000 then it's about 5000. If you with your friends back in Zim where they're getting R100. So, for me the issue of salary wasn't something that I was bothered. (Unarine)

3.7.5 Aspirations flexibility

Retaining career and job flexibility was a strategy employed by most tied migrants. In this regard, many migrants deviated from their career paths, taking on whatever jobs were available and remaining open to shifting into new career areas, jobs or studies, dependent on whatever opportunity arose. It was quite common to find tied migrants working in areas in which they had not trained or which they did not have any aspirations for.

When I was here throughout, I looked for any kind of job... I tried my luck in basically every kind of business available, even those I wasn't qualified for. (Iris) I think what we did for employment is not necessarily that which we were qualified for. We just accepting employment because we don't really have much opportunities as foreign internationals, worse still we're still on a student visa. What I really wanted to do when I came to South Africa is not the same thing that I'm doing. I changed. There was a change of plan. I had planned on finding work and then working and then maybe upgrade my studies later but because I wasn't getting what I wanted in terms of employment, there is fewer chances. And it was very difficult for me to get a work permit, I decided to go back to school to maybe widen my opportunities. (Grace)

But the job that I do I think it's for a grade 10 or 12 let's put it that way. It's not something that I would say I'm so passionate about. I'd be lying if I say I'm passionate about it. It's only that I can do it, there is no passion there. (Theresa-May)

I wanted to be able to start work to sustain my family but no job was forthcoming. I had to enroll for my doctorate again but I tell you, I didn't really from inception see myself having a doctoral degree. I did not. Because I don't want to follow that academic route but because of what I went through in South Africa... I said okay, let me just continue in academy although I won't really tell you I am very fulfilled [or] I'm liking what I'm doing. Academia is stressful. I am telling the truth. It is stressful. (Iris)

Taking on any job was also seen as an entryway into the labour market and a place to restart careers and progress further as time went on.

It's like starting afresh but I'm grateful it opened a door and maybe because the company that I'm working with, it's quite a good company and I'm just grateful. And sometimes you know how it is at least you've got something, you're working and it's opened [a door]. I need to start from here. I'll work my way up, that's how I look at it. (Charlotte)

Flexibility also extended to studies, as exemplified by the following;

Yes, definitely it's [journalism] on hold. I've done some qualification in office management and this year I'm studying something different again really. That [journalism] is no longer on the cards. (Charlotte)

Some changes in career paths were induced by discriminatory behaviour against foreigners, particularly in sectors in which lack of knowledge of local languages was an identity marker and a basis for othering.

I was planning to do HR, but then I've lost interest of it. Because I find the environment that I was working in was more of those bullies like South Africans that I was working with. I was an assistant. Then I find out being HR, it's more like you should engage yourself with the employees. So, one other issue was the communication barrier. I couldn't like, even interview someone, it was just difficult

because they you know, they couldn't speak so much of English and they pick it up that you are a foreigner, it was something else. So, at the end of the day, I chose not to do HR because there was so much more interaction with people of which communication was the biggest barrier, so I ended up just leaving it like that. (Unarine)

3.7.6 Safe spaces

As a foreigner, working for certain companies allowed one to feel safe and somewhat buffered from othering or discrimination. Safe spaces were deemed to be those that were more accommodating and welcoming of foreigners. These included companies where there were others of the same nationality; working in companies with others of similar nationality was therefore considered safe.

Working for a newspaper, it was like some form of safety net to say you know these are Zimbabweans we can talk. (Andrea)
We are Zimbabweans and it being a church organisation, it is a comfortable place to work. (Phumzile)

And:

... the NGO sector they embrace all nationalities... because you find you're working with people from different countries. So that is also, it's a safe space. (Andrea)

Non-governmental organisations where the environment was largely deemed multicultural also provided a safe space from discrimination, given the presence there of multiple nationalities. NGOs were also unlikely to demand local language proficiency as the main language for communication was English, unlike in private companies where other local languages were likely requirements, particularly as a lack of proficiency in a local language was regarded as an identity marker. Similarly, churches/church organisations were deemed relatively non-discriminatory and safe environments to work in.

That's the thing with Cape Town they want you to be bilingual and the other language is Afrikaans... If it's an NGO, we have a few NGOs though. If it is an NGO, usually it's fine, but if it's these private companies they want you to be able to speak Afrikaans or maybe one African language. Yes, so you must be fluent in isiXhosa or isiZulu, but some just want you to be good in English. (Theresa-May)

For many, living in a particular city was associated with limited to no professional jobs. Changing city was therefore a means of expanding freedoms to get employment. In

many cases, change of city was directed by the lead spouse, but in a few instances, the change was made at the behest of the accompanying spouse.

3.7.7 Utilising social networks

To overcome barriers to labour integration, there was strong reliance on social networks, without which LMI was regarded as almost impossible. Social networks were viewed as highly important both for identifying and securing work opportunities.

But if you come in as an accompanying spouse, believe me, unless you know someone who knows someone. You will be frustrated for the rest of your life. (Theresa-May)

It was through referrals. Yeah, you know how we are as Zimbabweans. If you hear, there's someone there they need this, so it was all through referrals. To go straight, straight without papers it was just something else. But at least you had someone to say, you here, check out this opportunity. (Unarine)

And you know, like with Zimbabweans you always have a network of friends, and if you hear there's a job there, they try and refer you. So that's how my job now when I moved to Johannesburg. I worked at X company. It was all referrals but I had to go through formal interviews, and by then we had the accompanying spouse permit. (Andrea)

So, I wouldn't say like, it was difficult for me to find employment 'cause it was just by word of mouth "Oh, we are looking for someone to help us with admin work." And then just went there, met the people and I got offered a job. (Charlotte)

3.7.8 Self-employment

Being self-employed or able to run one's own business was regarded as a way to create work opportunities for oneself and escape the toxic environment in which foreigners were regarded as only suitable for lower, informal occupations.

... but here [Cape Town] because it's racist, and they believe foreigners should work in restaurants, or hotels as waiters and cleaners so, it's hard to break into the work market. But anyway, I'm still praying. It's either you go into business and you run your own business, that's the only way out. Or you become an Uber driver that's what most Zimbabweans do. (Theresa-May)

Some, however, did not view themselves as entrepreneurial, but this did not prevent them from continuing with entrepreneurial activities, as exemplified by the following:

I'm not that kind of entrepreneurial spirited person. Although I ran a business in 2000 and... here in South Africa between 2010 and 2012, I didn't have a shop, I was a freelancer. I imported some feminine materials, your weave-ons, your wigs, your handbags, earrings, jewellery and so on and I actually made some profit. I

actually made some profit. Yeah, I wasn't, I wasn't steady. I didn't have a car, I didn't have a shop. I had to spend money going to offices and shops and stuff like that to get my money and most people did not pay me but even like that, I made money. But it was stressful, I wouldn't want to do business again. (Iris)

3.7.9 Detachment and lack of integration

Remaining detached and not too highly invested in South Africa was seen as a way of counteracting the deep sense of othering not only in the labour space but in South Africa as a whole. There were strong views that naturalisation did not guarantee any protection from being discriminated against. A strategy used therefore was not to integrate too closely with native South Africans.

You see, most non-South Africans with your permanent residence permit, when you ask them, "Why haven't you gone for citizenship? Okay, why haven't you applied? You've been here for the past twenty five years. Why haven't you gone for [citizenship]." Then they will tell you, even if you have five citizenships certificates from South Africa, you are not part of them. Don't just see yourself. Because when the chips are down, you are still a foreigner. And it's not far from the truth... Even if I have 10 permanent jobs in South Africa now, I still don't see myself as one of them. No. Even if I know how to speak all of their languages, I still don't see myself as one... I don't even see any reason why I should see myself as one of them. We are different, that is just how it is and they don't even see you as one of them. That is just the issue. It's pointless you seeing yourself as one of them while they don't see you as one of them. So just be on your own. Make sure you're law-abiding period. (Iris)

For most tied migrants, detachment also manifested through retaining strong ties with their home countries and imagining a life abroad for future onward migration opportunities. Returning home was an option for a number of tied migrants, but the lack of ideal economic conditions prevented this.

I think you know if you're a visitor you will never get the best room. We must say that we are visitors. That's why I want to go back to Zimbabwe. I want to go back home. (Theresa-May)

Remember we regard ourselves as nomads. So the moment we regard ourselves as nomads, we are just standing like [ready to move on]. I think our destiny is in European countries as compared to African countries. You feel like, if I go maybe if I relocate, I feel I have better opportunities than if I stay here in African countries. So it's in our minds now. I feel the best place for me to there is European countries as compared to African countries. (Lucille)

At some point in time I thought of going back home because the environment is not really that encouraging ...[but] going back home isn't really much of an option because there is 90% unemployment rate which is much worse than the situation

we were in, so as a result you find yourself being forced to stay but not really that you want to stay.(Grace)

Onward migration was also a highly considered strategy when there was failure to integrate oneself in the labour market, particularly when the lead spouse fell out of employment.

When he [spouse] resigned, I was doing a part-time job in my current university. That was the two years I've previously worked here and it ended. The part time job and the part time there was just grocery money because the payment was so little. Very. It couldn't even cover our grocery allowance for a month. You can imagine. We were in a serious quagmire. No job on his side, no job on my side. By now I had had my second child. We need to pay rent, we need to pay school fees. We need to do these medicals, you know kids are... It was hectic. We were both planning to leave the country not just because I didn't have a job but because he also did not have a job. (Iris)

Yeah, we're thinking of trying that side [Australia]. Now COVID hit it. Now we don't know what to do, what's next now. But basically, our lives we are not going to stay in Bloem, in S.A. Yeah, we're thinking that we might as well go back home if all goes well, but SA is not our place to say we have arrived. (Unarine)

3.8 Discussion

Utilising the theory of counter conducts, this article explored the manner in which tied migrants put up resistances to an assemblage of technologies which governed their conduct in relation to LMI. This study confirms the view that, despite being subjectified mainly as followers (Hiralal, 2017, Filippi & Guarna, 2018), tied migrants did remain agentive (Riaño, 2012; Kōu & Bailey, 2017; Grigoleit-Richter, 2017; Föbker, 2019; Ncube & Mkwanzani, 2020; Di Martino, Maiztegui & Aristegui, 2020;) and were able to employ a variety of strategies to counter governing technologies in the labour market space. At a micro-level, governing technologies were experienced individually, and the outcomes and experiences were not the same for everyone. This points to the impacts of intersectionality on lived experiences. Intersectionality (see Section 4.2.1) denotes how different social structures can have variable impacts on labour market outcomes. While individuals may engage in similar acts of resistance, the resistance's goals may not be the same, but will be instrumental in some fundamental way to those who engage such counter conducts.

The exercise of control over migrant behaviour by the State is achieved through the development of policy frameworks that determine what opportunities may be available

for migrants to take advantage of. In this study, the restrictive nature of the spousal visa regime was regarded as particularly problematic by a number of tied migrants. Countering the gendered restrictions arising from the spousal visa regime was regarded as particularly important for most tied migrants. The change from an accompanying visa appeared to bring about a significant shift in one's dependant status, allowing tied migrants to break free and establish their own identity somewhat apart from their husbands. This was exemplified in the statement: *"I am no longer a spouse but a student."* A legal change of status, however, was only possible through official channels and based on eligibility. Without skills that were deemed to be in short supply in the labour market, the majority were not eligible for critical skills visas or special skills visas. In addition, permanent residence permits were significantly difficult for many to secure. Therefore, for the most part, a change in status was accomplished by moving from an accompanying spouse visa to a study visa. The study visa appeared to be the most accessible permit for most tied migrants, many of whom had already attained bachelors' degrees or equivalents prior to emigration. While limited working hours were permitted under the study visa, the work undertaken did not appear to necessarily improve prospects for further integration into the labour market. However, given that visa change was based in legality, the onus was on the administrative procedures to be as smooth as possible, as well as transparent and fair; however, this did not appear to be the case. This points to assertions by Adjai & Lazaridis (2013) and Mangu (2019) that under a xenophobic environment, institutions can become sites of exclusion.

Contrary to the FIH, which posits that human capital investment is common for the primary earner (Banerjee & Phan., 2015), this study confirmed findings such as those of Föbker (2019), who suggests that, in certain contexts, human capital investment for the accompanying spouse is more common. Human capital investment, however, was difficult in light of competing priorities such as children's education, which suggested, in the face of limited finances, that accompanying spouses were most likely to sacrifice their aspirations of pursuing further education as a strategy for future LMI. This suggests that availability of resources was important to counter governing technologies. Human capital investment designed to increase employability was also made with the intention to fulfil transnational care obligations for families in countries

of origin in the form of remittances. Human capital investment in the accompanying spouse suggests a strong drive among migrant families to secure dual incomes. In this regard, it can be noted that, while tied migrants came in the context of family migration, they could be regarded as economic migrants in their own right. This is in contrast to their subjectification through legislative instruments as dependants or as adjuncts to men.

As Mkwanzani (2019) states human capital is key element in expanding capabilities to unlock further opportunities for individuals, important for both personal and economic development. However, in line with Souza and Flippen's (2020) study, the present study suggests that returns to education were equally poor among female tied migrants and male migrants in South Africa. With higher education qualifications, tied migrants were more than likely to be deemed overqualified. As a result, they appeared to be even less likely to attain jobs commensurate with their higher qualifications. As critics of the human capital theory proffer (Confurius et al. 2018; other structural factors need to be taken into account when accounting for the LMI of migrants. In addition, investing in human capital particularly in areas not aligned to skills shortages in the country of destination did not make a material difference to LMI among participants in this study. This suggests a need for interventions designed to optimise the human capital skills which tied migrants bring into the country. Despite the poor returns on education, upskilling appeared to fulfil other needs such as keeping one occupied and achieving "*innate satisfaction*," which also speaks to the overall restrictive nature of the spousal permit. Owing to poor integration into the labour market, upskilling was also largely seen as part of a greater strategy to remain occupationally mobile, thereby retaining flexibility to take advantage of opportunities for LMI either in the country of origin or abroad, in the process of onward migration, and not in South Africa per se. Bailey and Mulder (2017) propose that skills in particular transferable skills are positively associated with agency and therefore increased mobility. This has implications for skills retention, particularly where lead spouse's skills fall with the 2018; critical skills shortage category.

Social networks can be a vital source of social capital which in addition can facilitate coping and adaptation in the host country (Kanayo et al. 2019 Föbker, 2019; Ncube et al. 2019; Vermaak & Muller, 2019). Social networks were regarded as particularly

important. Gaining entry into the labour market via social networks did not however guarantee jobs-skills match. This may speak to the quality of the social networks available (Vermaak & Muller, 2019). In this study, social networks were more likely to include people of similar nationality. This suggests that there existed a secondary role of social networks, which is possibly acting as gatekeepers to ensure protection against potential discrimination by referrals to safe spaces. As suggested in this study, safe spaces were regarded as those welcoming of foreigners. In this regard, these were mainly those where others of similar nationality or multicultural places where multiple nationalities were accepted and local language proficiency was not necessarily required. NGOs, for example, were lauded as places in which multiple nationalities could find acceptance and where local language proficiency could not be used as an identity marker.

In line with other findings, this study suggests that, in light of failure to secure professional jobs, tied migrants were more likely to seek out any job they could qualify for, even those below their skills levels (Riaño & Baghdadi, 2007; Föbker, 2019; Ncube et al., 2019). While deskilling was largely prevalent in the devaluation of foreign qualifications and work experience leading to loss of income (Annen, 2018), there also appeared to be a significant amount of self-deskilling. Self-deskilling appeared to be largely evidenced in response to the absence of the right to work. This suggests that lack of legality imposed by the spousal visa pushed tied migrants to occupational precarity as the informal sector was not likely to provide the conditions necessary for decent work. Self-deskilling largely pertained to seeking access to jobs that could be categorised as informal. This study confirms the finding made by Ncube (2017) that skilled migrants are likely to be found working in the informal labour market. This is tied into the structure of the South African labour market, which is characterised by formality and informality (Souza & Flippen, 2020). Willingness to deskill was in part driven by a comparison between financial prospects in the country of origin versus those of the country of destination. Albeit at the expense of a professional career trajectory, this points to the exercise of agency among tied migrants. Self-deskilling, similar to deskilling, was however associated with underemployment and increased precarity among tied migrants. Self-deskilling was also a tactic where the resultant job was seen as a key for upward mobility in the future. Interestingly, this study also found

that self-deskilling was utilised as a protective measure against potential xenophobic threats in the workplace.

The extremely restrictive nature of the spousal visa for education, work and business meant re-domestication for most accompanying spouses in this study. Many felt pushed into illegality despite their use of legal channels for migration. This highlights the contradictory positionality of accompanying spouses as “*marginalised elites*” (Riaño, 2016). Owing to their status, ethnicity, and mode of migration, accompanying spouses can be viewed through the same lens as refugees and asylum seekers.

Most tied migrants were likely to adopt a strategy of remaining flexible in terms of their aspirations. This flexibility in regard to LMI was likely to be associated with job hopping as well as job-sector hopping. While this strategy can be regarded as somewhat useful for LMI, it suggests poorer long-term career trajectories among the majority. The present study however contradicts Chiswick’s (1978) model, which suggests that tied migrants are likely to experience u-shaped trajectories with a downward tendency at the beginning of the migratory journey and an upward one over time. This study suggests, instead, that there was very poor recovery from downward mobility. There appeared to be a significant proportion of tied migrants working in sectors they did not train for, and not necessarily out of choice. In this regard, having a job and being able to earn any income at all was regarded almost symbolically as a measure of independence and success, even if, in reality, it was not the case. This supports the sentiments that aspirations of migrants are strongly intertwined with structural factors (Seiger et al., 2020; Ncube & Mkwanzani, 2020).

Opting for self-employment, in particular engaging in informal business, was seen as alternative to LMI in light of the strict labour legislation (Ncube et al. 2019). This is a commonly utilised strategy among many female migrants in South Africa. Self-employment was largely due to the restrictions imposed through the spousal visa, which makes it illegal for tied migrants to set up a formal business. Self-employment, while viewed as a potential strategy for some, again was not necessarily aligned with aspirations for self, but mainly as a means to achieve some form of financial independence. This confirms the view of Massey (2014) that counter conducts may be utilised to achieve economic or social benefit, but not necessarily as an intentional method of resistance.

The broad othering discourse confined not just to the labour space, was a significant challenge for most tied migrants. For most tied migrants, being discriminated on the basis of nationality in the labour space was tied to a broader discourse regarding the non-desirability of foreigners. While Vermaak and Muller (2019) suggest that the LMI prospects for naturalised foreigners are significantly better, this study suggests that some migrants actually resisted naturalisation as it did not necessarily eliminate precarity based on ethnicity that prevailed in the labour space. Unlike Grigoleit-Richter's (2017) study which found that skilled migrants felt attached and integrated into society despite facing discrimination and othering in the labour market space, most tied migrants in this study appeared to remain detached and unwilling to integrate fully into South Africa as a whole. This was exemplified in the notion that migrants were "visitors" or "nomads" waiting to engage in either onward migration or return to countries of origin and in the unwillingness to invest in local language proficiency despite the acknowledgement of the importance thereof. Numerous studies point to the importance of host country language proficiency in facilitating access to the labour market (Grigoleit-Richter, 2017, Dickey et al. 2018; Agatellio & Humer, 2018; Föbker, 2019). The resistance to ethnicised discrimination characterised in this study highlights the importance of LMI to the aspect of integration on the whole, but also suggests the need to deal with the broad anti-immigrant sentiment prevailing in the country which has dire implications for social cohesion.

For migrant families, the notion of dual incomes reduces precarity attributable to reliance on a single breadwinner. Failure of the accompanying spouse to integrate in the labour market is more likely to lead to intentions for onward migration (Föbker, 2019). This has strong implications for the retention of skilled labour, the latter which is highlighted in the White Paper for International Migration (DHA, 2017).

3.9 Conclusion

This study sought to establish the various strategies that tied migrants in search of LMI in South Africa are compelled to employ in order to subvert governing technologies shaping their conduct with regard to LMI. This study found that tied migrant's labour market trajectory is not linear, but convoluted and, at times, straddles legality and illegality as well as formality and informality. It is notable that many of the

strategies employed were designed to escape a deep sense of othering experienced on the basis of being a foreigner as well as with a view to retaining mobility. Tied migrants, however, remained active agents seeking to achieve their end goals, even though this might appear on the whole to be to the detriment of their careers. While acts of resistance were instrumental to achieving individual goals, on the whole they did not appear to be particularly useful for achieving full LMI.

Accompanying spouses remained agentive, seeking to resist governing technologies that held negative consequences for their labour market trajectories. However, their aspirations and ability to subvert these technologies were very much intertwined with structural and relational factors at the macro and meso levels. Overall, accompanying spouses remained at risk of persistent precarity and temporality owing to the poor integration and settlement into the labour market, and therefore South Africa as a whole. This research suggests that accompanying spouses could benefit from gender sensitive integration policy budgeting and programming which could better ensure their full LMI and full, free and equal participation in society and the economy.

3.10 Study implications

This study found that tied migrants in South Africa are active agents who seek to employ various strategies to overcome barriers to labour market integration. However, their agency is limited owing various structural impediments (Ncube & Mkwanzani, 2020) including migration and employment legislation as well as lack of financial resources. Therefore, the strategies that they engage to integrate fully into the labour market are not always successful. This suggests that support for integration is required if tied migrants are to be fully integrated into the labour market. Such support could include local language training.

Access to the labour market, financial institutions, higher education (and business enterprise) are key to expanding capabilities for tied migrants in regards to both economic and human development (Mkwanzani, 2019). This study suggests that under the spousal visa regime restricted access to these key facilitators of integration is problematic, particularly as it perpetuates gender inequality and disenfranchisement. In this regard, furthermore, this study suggests that opportunities exist to devise strategies which can enhance the potential of human capital skills which

are already available in the country in order to meet critical skills shortages. In this manner brain waste can potentially be reduced and the investment in education of migrants better utilised for the benefit of economic development in South Africa.

This study suggests that ethnicised discrimination has particularly detrimental impacts on social cohesion as it results in detachment and low motivation for investments in social integration on the part of migrants. It also suggests that investment into the development of multicultural, safe workspaces may be more beneficial to maximising human capital investment for economic development, social cohesion, and retention of skills.

3.11 Suggestions for future research

This study suggests loss of human capital investments to onward migration by tied migrants who fail to successfully integrate in the South African labour market. However, there is no study which specifically looks at quantifying this loss to the SA economy. Research could perhaps integrate the emigration of skilled local professionals and well as immigrants who fall into the critical skills categories.

This research suggests that there is a significant cohort of tied migrants who may have been completely excluded from the labour market. These migrants are also largely understudied in the literature.

3.12 Limitation of the study

It is important to note that employment situations evolve over time, however the nature of enquiry allowed time and space to be placed at the core of the enquiry (Riaño, 2021).

The study relied on the subjective views of participants and therefore it was not possible to ascertain if the participants were giving honest opinions.

The study was conducted during the pandemic and therefore it was difficult to access participants. Some who agreed to participate, withdrew their participation due to both personal and pressing work commitments while others were not able to participate owing to their own or their partner's ill health.

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4 CHAPTER 4

Tied migrant labour market integration: deconstructing labour market subjectivities in South Africa

Abstract

The South African labour market is characterised by a high degree of inflexibility and complexity, which poses significant challenges for indigenes and migrants who are integrated into the labour market. These challenges are likely to be more poignant for international migrants, as they face additional barriers owing to a chronically high employment rate, xenophobic sentiments and racial exclusion. For female tied migrants, gender bias, as expressed through migration policies and legislation, adds yet one layer of complexity to long-term aspirations of settling in South Africa. Not only access to, but full integration into the labour market must be taken into consideration. The labour market experiences of tied migrants in South Africa subsequent to migration have received scant attention in relevant extant literature and just how well tied migrants fare in the labour market is an important question. Utilising an intersectional approach and the theory of governmentality, this study sought to deconstruct the labour market subjectivities of tied migrants in South Africa. It is based on a qualitative approach, involving interviews with 13 female tied migrants from sub-Saharan Africa who either accompanied their husbands or followed them to South Africa in a process of family reunification. The study found that tied migrants were not likely to be well integrated into the South African labour market, despite their high human capital. Their inequality in this market can be attributed to their gender, ethnicity, race, migrant status and locality as well as their being subjected to informality, immobility and precarity.

4.1 Background

Labour market participation is one of the strong predictors of long-term integration into society and a key instrument through which migrants can make monetary contributions to the host society (Konle-Seidl & Bolits, 2016). For migrants arriving in South Africa in search of better opportunities for socioeconomic wellbeing, however, the labour market poses significant challenges for integration. Characterised by inflexibility and complexity, this market also poses significant challenges for full labour market integration (LMI) even of its own nationals (Beukes et al., 2016).

Similar to the status quo in other parts of the world (Ballarino & Panichella, 2017; Ressia et al., 2017), research in South Africa suggests smoother transitions into the labour market for male migrants in comparison to their female counterparts who are faced with formidable barriers to overcome (Mbiyozo, 2018; Crush et al. 2019; Souza & Flippen, 2020). While a substantial amount of research has been conducted on the labour market, skilled female migrants, particularly those emigrating in the context of family, remain largely obscured in extant literature on labour migration. This could be attributed to the fact that the dominant image of the skilled migrant is male (Bailey & Mulder, 2017), and the fact that family migration is generally regarded as a social process (Kofman, 2000). For instance, accompanying spouses arriving in the context of family in South Africa are legally designated the status of the dependant, which makes it illegal for them to work, study or conduct business (DHA, 2003).

Extant literature shows that skilled and tied migrants remain agentive (Riaño, 2012; Kõu & Bailey, 2017; Grigoleit-Richter, 2017; Föbker, 2019; Di Martino, Maiztegui & Aristegui, 2020) and seek ways to subvert governing technologies that keep them excluded from the labour market. Given the complexity of the South African labour market, Beukes et al. (2016) argue that it is inadequate to focus on the binary of employed or unemployed. This suggests the need to interrogate LMI further.

Little is known about how such skilled female migrants who emigrate in the context of family migration fare in the labour market in South Africa. Utilising an intersectional lens and the theory of governmentality, this article explores the labour market experiences of skilled female migrants who emigrate to South Africa in the context of

family migration. In doing so, it seeks to contribute to the literature on the transitions of skilled migrants who remain largely understudied in the Global South.

4.2 A brief literature review

Labour market integration is one of the primary forms of integration through which material well-being and financial security can be attained (Agatiello & Humer, 2018; Krieger, 2020). However, research shows that migrant women are largely precluded from full participation, politically, socially and economically (Kortweg, 2017) and a significant body of research shows that female migrants and in particular tied migrants are likely to face exclusion from the labour market, owing to an intersection of factors including, but not limited to, gender, migrant status and ethnicity (Bailey & Mulder, 2017, Mbiyozo, 2018). Compared to other migrant women who experience a “double earnings penalty” as a result of their categorisation as immigrants and as women (Ballarino & Panichella, 2017), women arriving as family members are likely to suffer multiple penalties. In that respect, tied migrants can be regarded as “marginalised elites” as they are subjected to some of the highest levels of discrimination.

Evidence shows that, on account of gender norms, migrant status and ethnicity, tied migrants commonly face discriminatory norms in the countries in which they choose to settle (Bailey & Mulder, 2017; Grigoleit-Richter, 2017; Ressia et al., 2017, Khattab et al. 2020). Discrimination directly impacts the LMI outcomes of immigrant women. This discrimination can take on various forms such as ethnicity, race, class, religion and gender, and these intersect to create barriers to LMI for immigrant women (Wojczewski et al., 2015; Korteweg, 2017; Kesler & Safi 2018; Chinyakata et al., 2019). Wojczewski et al., (2015), for example, highlight how the discrimination against black African migrant care workers based on gender and race is more poignant than for other migrant races.

4.2.1 Gender, migration and labour market integration

Migration is highly gendered. In this regard, men and women are likely to experience migration in disparate ways. For instance, there is limited gender-based data or analysis of migrant labour and employment, but indications are that migrant women are more likely to be unemployed than migrant men in South Africa (Crush et al. 2018, Souza & Flippen, 2020). With respect to the labour market, there is a positive

correlation between family status and disadvantage (Riaño, 2021). As noted in extant literature, female migrants in the family migration context, are most likely to take on the role of accompanying spouse while the males are generally tend to take on the role of lead spouse (Föbker, 2019). This is a consequence of the influence of gender roles, patriarchal ideologies and social norms. Skilled tied migrants are likely to face a disruption of their careers upon migration and the reestablishment of their careers is highly dependent on structural factors and labour market conditions prevailing in the host country (Grigoleit-Richter, 2017; Föbker 2019).

In host countries governed by neo-liberal, gender-neutral policies which do not take into account the protections rights, and unique subjectivities of female migrants (Bastia & Piper, 2019), accompanying spouses are likely to face restrictions to their integration into the labour market. Visa regimes which regard men as breadwinners, while according a dependant status to female migrants, give rise to the redomestication of skilled migrants. Gender inequality is pervasive in contexts where such ideologies prevail (Riaño, 2021). On account of their gender, female migrants are likely to be regarded solely as accompanying partners (Föbker & Imani, 2017, Filippi & Guarna, 2018). They are also likely to face deskilling and downward occupational mobility and redomestication; the care responsibilities that arise from this are likely to make it very difficult for them to integrate into the workplace (Wojczewski, 2015; Föbker & Imani, 2017; Ressa et al., 2017). Skills that are not utilised fully represent brain waste. In this regard, Beukes et al. (2016) warn that the possible underutilisation of skills and qualifications in the South African labour market could exacerbate structural problems within the economy.

Marital status is a notably significant factor particularly where labour laws give rise to gendered outcomes (Khattab, 2020). In the labour market, skilled female migrants are likely to experience gender-based penalties such as deskilling (Kofman, 2012; Røysum, 2018; Mbiyozo, 2018; Grigoleit-Richter, 2017; Khattab et al. 2020), long periods of unemployment, underemployment and difficulties breaking into gendered labour markets such as are found in Germany and South Africa where entry into traditionally male-dominated fields is particularly challenging. Gender has a strong impact on labour outcomes of tied migrants (Grigoleit-Richter, 2017, Khattab et al. 2020; Riaño, 2021) and intersects with other factors such as ethnicity.

4.2.2 Ethnicity, race and labour market integration

Riaño (2021: 2) defines ethnicity as “the categorising of individuals into collective social representations based on supposed similarities and differences, thus drawing social boundaries between us and others”. Riaño (2012) for instance asserts that the valuation of professional skills lies at the intersection of ethnicity and gender. In addition, ethnicity may determine what jobs or what economic rewards are available for whom. Othering on the basis of ethnicity also extends to the workplace (Grigoleit-Richter, 2017) where they it produces direct impacts for the career trajectories of skilled migrants. Grigoleit-Richter (ibid) show how ethnic-based discrimination resulted in a significant impact on the professional identity of skilled migrants in Germany and the slowdown of transfer of their cultural capital.

Racialised minorities typically face the greatest discriminatory barriers. For instance, Kesler and Safi (2018) found that Pakistani and Bangladeshi women realise much higher penalties in LMI than other immigrant women groups in France. The discrimination that skilled women immigrants face can be imperceptible but far-reaching, resulting in barriers in the way of advancement in the workplace (Grigoleit-Richter, 2017). However, discrimination in the labour market may manifest at any stage in the labour processes, including in hiring, promotion, retrenchment, work assignment, promotion or retirement (Cooke, 2003; Cooke 2007). Wage differentials are also prevalent in virtually all western European countries, where it is common for immigrants from non-overseas economic cooperation and development (non-OECD) countries to significantly lag behind when it comes to respect to wages.

4.2.3 Intersectionality, power and subjectivity

Intersectionality has traditionally been utilised as a heuristic device to unlock multiple layers of social stratification (Ressia et al., 2017; Kaushik & Welsh, 2018; Atewolugun 2019) that female migrants face in countries of destination. First coined by Kimberle Crenshaw, the term “intersectionality” was used to explicate ways in which access to

the labour market by black American women was influenced by intersections of gender, race and ethnicity (Crenshaw, 1989; 1991). Crenshaw (1989) emphasised that the marginalisations that these minority women faced were mutually constituted. Therefore, an intersectional lens steers simultaneous attention to different social structures as they give rise to different social positions and subsequently lived experiences (Anthias 2012; Ressa et al., 2017). While particular attention has been paid to this trinity of disadvantage over the years, new categories of intersection beyond this trinity, such as sexuality, and disability/ health have been proposed for inclusion in the set (Amelina & Lutz, 2019; 2021, Kaushik & Walsh, 2018).

Critically, the use of an intersectional approach can help understand the “interconnectedness, interdependencies and mutual co-construction of key categories of social marking and positioning” (Amelina & Lutz, 2021: 57). Using an intersectional lens to studies on skilled migration has a number of advantages. According to Morokvasic (2014: 357) it helps illuminate “who works and where, whose work is acknowledged as work, whose is invisible and unrecognized,” and how life is destabilized and negotiated in the migration process. In this way, it can help to comprehensively determine the issues that impact settlement and integration, including those of identity, inequality/ privilege and target those in need of integration services with greater efficiency (Kaushik & Walsh, 2018). One of the major criticisms of intersectionality, however, is that it has not been well operationalised (Atewolugun, 2019; Ressa et al., 2017). Research on intersectionality and the labour market reveals that the experiences of tied migrants are shaped by various identities of which the skilled migrant is only but one (Föbker & Imani, 2017; Bailey & Mulder, 2017; Ressa et al., 2017). On account of these identities including, race, ethnicity and migrant status (Kaushik & Welsh, 2018; Mbiyozo, 2018), tied migrants are subject to differential treatment in host countries.

According to Atewolugun (2019: 4), “embedded within each socially constructed category, is a dynamic related to power and power interrelations,” and this makes it imperative for intersectional analysis to pay attention to power. As a result of power relations, people may experience unequal treatment in the determination, application and implementation of rules (Collins & Bilge, 2020). In this regard, intersectionality and

governmentality are key considerations, as these relate to LMI of tied migrants in the South African labour market.

The migration legislation in South Africa sets up a different application of treatment for tied migrant women arriving in the context of family. Their identity as dependants is assigned through legality and, as a result, it is significantly harder for them to access the labour market, even when they are in possession of appropriate qualifications and work experience. This can be characterised as an explicit gender bias that plays out in legislation and migration policies to the detriment of female international migrants (Dodson, 2001). The determination of tied migrants' transition into the host country as a social process belies their aspirations to re-establish their careers. The application of power therefore relates to their identity as married women and migrants, and also relates to the acknowledgement and valuation of their skills. In this regard, power relations are an important consideration not only for access and integration but also long-term career outcomes.

As a critical theory, intersectionality, like governmentality, recognises that power works by making various knowledges available and these ultimately shape identity, person and self (Dean, 2009; Liversage 2009; Rose et al., 2006; Ho, 2017). Critically, the shaping of subjectivities subsequently shapes lived experiences. Subjectivities are not totalising and can be challenged and resisted at a micro level (Hudson, 2019). This notion of resistance or counter conducts encourages the interrogation of the "flows of power in the opposite direction," that is, bottom-up (Ball & Olmedo, 2013: 86). The term resistance centres the notion of freedom or agency, and the bi-directional nature of power (Death, 2016).

"The will not to be governed thusly, like that, by these people, at this price" (Foucault, 2007b: 75), however, is not foregone conclusion. This is reflected in the fact that tied migrants may want to be integrated into the labour market (alternate subjectivity), whereas they may be prevented from doing so due to deeply entrenched practices of ethnicised discrimination. This inability to subvert all governing technologies in the host society is reflected in the fact that migrants may need to be assisted to integrate into society through specific integration programmes. This does not suggest the absence of resistance, but the limits of resistance, or agency on the part of migrants, as

highlighted by Mkwanzani (2019). As Death (2016) argues, counter conducts are acts of resistance and are not to be confused with political revolts.

While programmes for integration are not strongly established in the Global South, the South African government, in its White Paper on International migration, suggests the need for the development of programmes that will facilitate the integration of migrants in the host society (DHA, 2017). The utility of the intersectional approach used in this study around identifying specific needs of migrants with respect to integration is important also in view of this.

4.3 Methodology

4.3.1 Research approach and inclusion criteria

The research explores the labour market experiences of tied female migrants who emigrated to South Africa in the context of family migration, through a qualitative research inquiry. A narrative approach was used to garner rich interpretations of reality and understanding of the world as perceived through the lens of the respondents. An emic approach was regarded as suitable with a view to understanding lived experiences from an intersectional perspective (Atewolugun, 2019). In addition, unlike the quantitative approach, the narrative approach is lauded for its ability to make the invisible visible (Meares, 2010).

The participants in this study either accompanied their husbands or followed them for the purposes of family reunification. Although 13 one-on-one interviews were carried out in total, as part of the broader study, the narratives of six participants were included in this article, for the sake of focusing on labor market experiences, which was in conformity with the qualitative sample size recommendations by Braun and Clarke (2013; 2021). The number of interviews used in the analysis of this article also considered the study by Guest et al. (2006), which found that 94% of most prominent or frequent codes emerge in the first 6 interviews and 97% by 12 interviews, thus implying sufficiency of the sample size to ensure valid findings, and arguably alluding to data saturation. These six were chosen based on correct documentation to work (either a work permit or permanent residence) and the relevance of their exposure in the workplace for the analysis at hand. In this study, the researcher began to discover

monotonous trends during initial interactions with the data by the fifth interview, thus confirming Guest et al.'s (ibid) position to a significant extent.

4.3.2 Interview guide development

A semi-structured interview guide was constructed to explore themes of labour market integration arising from extant literature. Initially, interviewees were asked an open-ended question to elicit their own narratives regarding their transition from the country of origin to the host country in the context of family migration without imposing the researchers' preconceived ideas. After the initial narrative, the researchers followed up with the semi-structured guide to explore in depth various issues arising from the search for greater understanding.

4.3.3 Sampling

Purposive sampling was used to select respondents who met the inclusion criteria for participating in the study. Purposive sampling enabled the researcher to choose cases from which the most can be learned (Merriam, 2014).

After initial access into the migrant network, subsequently, a snowball approach was utilised to complement the initial purposive sampling, where participants were asked to refer other participants who met the inclusion criteria for the research to the researcher.

The epistemological and ontological approach of the study informed the need to gain in depth understanding of the complex phenomenon of labour market integration and this informed the use of a small qualitative sample with rich, thick data. The tied migrants selected for this study were viewed as experts of their own experience and as such produced rich narratives which generated sufficient detail to generate meaning. Sample size was determined inductively taking into account the entire research process (see Section 1.13.5). Critically, the research also took into account that the prominent codes emerge in the first six interviews (Guest et al., 2006; Hennick et al. 2017), thus implying sufficiency of the sample size to answer the research question.

4.3.4 Data collection

Data collection took place over the period August 2020 to February 2021. Participants were invited to take part in one-on-one interviews via Zoom, in adherence to Covid-19 protocols and the national lockdown restrictions at the time of data collection. The interviews began with an open-ended question designed to elicit rich narratives of their labour market experiences from pre- to post-migration. Subsequently, the researcher followed up with a semi-structured guide to interrogate any areas that were regarded to require elaboration.

Upon referral to the researcher, with permission, the interviewees received a call from the researcher explaining the nature of the project and key ethical issues regarding consent and voluntary participation. After verbally consenting to be interviewed, each interviewee was furnished with a consent letter to sign, which was to be returned prior to the date set for the interview. Owing to the predicted extensive length of the interview, respondents were asked to choose a date and time most suitable to them. A review of the issues of consent also took place prior to the actual online interview.

4.3.5 Data analysis

Transcription of the audio-recorded interviews was done as soon as possible after each interview. The audio recordings were transcribed by the researcher, and this gave the researcher an opportunity to engage with the text and develop initial ideas about coding.

During the process of coding, the researcher made notes in relation to key ideas around codes emerging from the text. Full transcriptions were subsequently loaded to ATLAS.ti, Version 9.1.4.0 for analysis. The interviews were read and re-read, and codes were developed through an iterative approach. After a final decision on codes, the researcher developed themes in which related codes were grouped together in such a manner as to answer the key questions underpinning the study. The guidelines for thematic analysis set by Braun and Clarke (2000) were followed in the analytical phase. Thematic analysis was particularly useful for identifying, analysing and reporting patterns (themes) across narratives and within the data (ibid), and this was crucial to answering the questions at hand.

4.3.6 Ethics and authorisation

The study took into account the main ethical considerations of informed consent, voluntary participation, academic integrity and confidentiality. Owing to the risk of emotional distress arising due to the personal nature of some of the questions, access to psychological counselling was offered to all participants.

Ethical clearance was sought from the General and Human Research Ethics Committee (GHREC) of the University of the Free State. Ethical Clearance Reference Number: UFS-HSD2020/0123/0506.

4.4 Findings

Utilising the intersectional approach and the theory of governmentality, this study sought to understand the labour market experiences of tied migrants in South Africa. The study found that tied migrants were most likely to be subject to immobility, informality and precarity within the South African labour market on account of their gender, race, ethnicity, and migrant status, but also on account of their locality and the various intersections of these various factors.

The term *immobility* does not refer only to physical immobility but is also concerned with subjective notions of progressing in one's life. Spatial immobility represents being forced to remain in a particular locality. Socioeconomic immobility refers to inability to earn a living as a result of one's inability to get a job (Wasjberg, 2018).

Precarity refers to a state of vulnerability in which one's agency can become limited (Hudson, 2019).

Informality is kinds of work not subject to national labour laws, tax, social protection or entitlement to various employment benefits such as sick leave or severance pay (OECD-ILO, 2019).

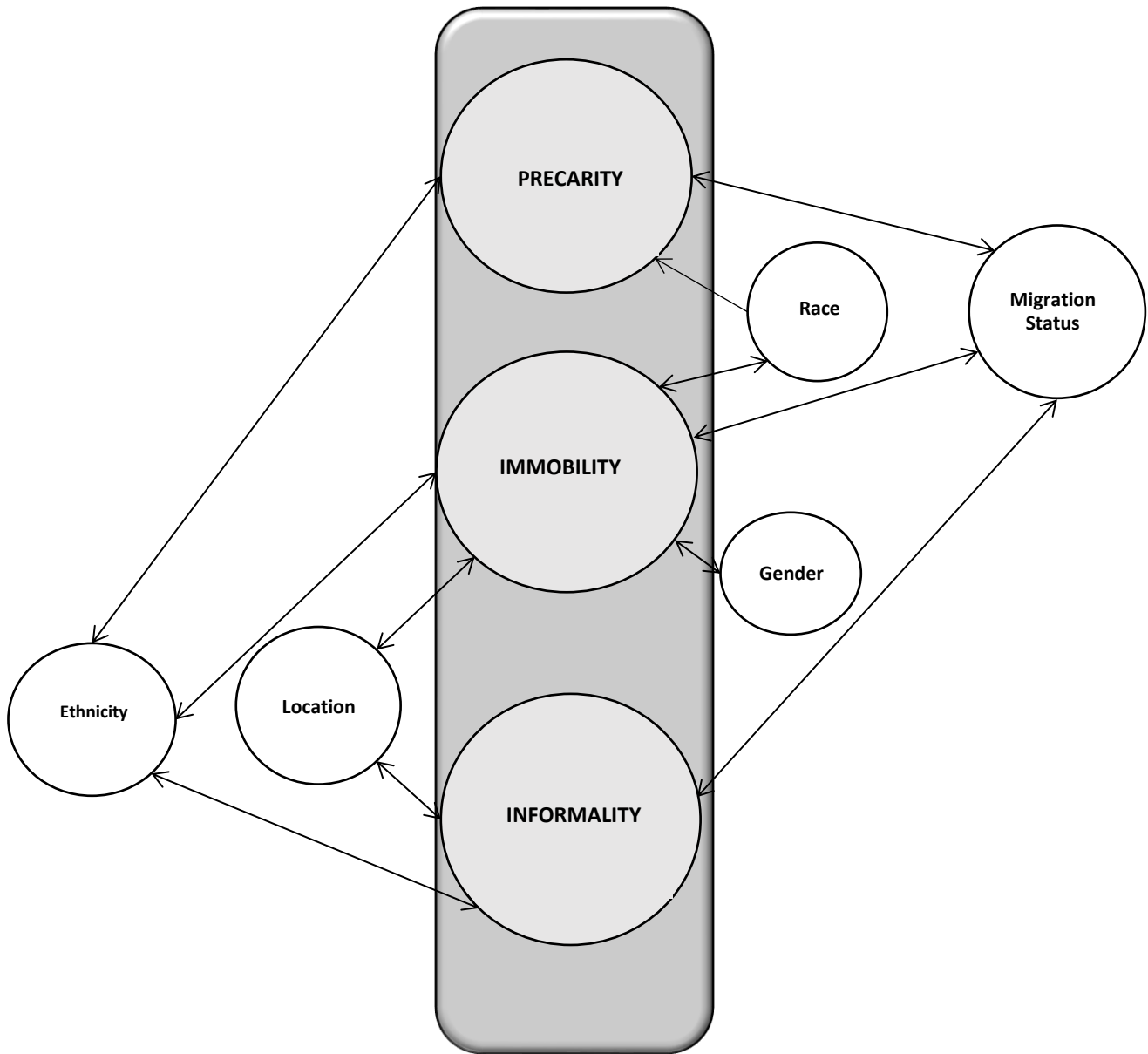


Figure 1: Interrelationship between subjectivities and intersections (author's own illustration)

4.4.1 Ethnicised ascriptions

Identity as a non-South African was perceived to be one of the primary reasons for severely curtailed access to the country's labour market.

Strict employment legislation meant some opportunities for employment were deemed inaccessible to migrants; these were in fact exclusively reserved for South African nationals. This was attributed to national policy. For instance, specific reference was made to the BBBEE policy:

Some of the jobs, they really state they want a South African citizen... You just have to accept they need someone with the credentials of being a citizen. 'Cause the moment they say BBBEE, they want someone who is African and the African they want is a South African citizen. (Lucille)

Ethnicised ascriptions rooted in policies enacted at the institutional level were also regarded as problematic. In institutions with such policies, there appeared to be the wholesale discounting of qualifications and/ or the working experience of foreigners. This made it particularly difficult for tied migrants to compete on the basis of skills, qualification or experience. This contributed to feelings of immobility, being overtaken and also of being left behind:

After I had my permanent residence, I was employed as a primary school teacher but as an SGB [School Governing Body] teacher. I couldn't be employed in the Education Department because the policy is they start by employing South Africans and also there was nothing amazing for me in having a masters because they said the basic qualification for one to teach in their primary schools is a first degree... People came and were employed in the Department on top of me, they were passing me. (Monica)

Ethnicity intersected with race in giving rise to immobility. Notions of deservingness and acceptance in the labour market were linked to hierarchical, racialised, ethnicised ascriptions. Being a black person from the African continent was regarded as a source for greater discrimination in comparison to black Europeans and black Americans. Being a black African migrant was therefore associated with increased propensity for broad exclusion from the South African labour market.

Actually here, the culture is different the acceptance rate of non-South Africans... It's not super. They'd rather accept the Europeans, the Americans, no matter they are black skinned... (Iris)

Tied migrants expressed difficulties around breaking into the professional labour market. This was attributed to beliefs about what kinds or types of jobs migrants should have access to. Access to professional white-collar jobs was viewed as limited owing to beliefs that foreigners were not suitable for such, as exemplified by the following response:

*[In Cape Town] They believe foreigners should work in restaurants, or hotels as waiters and cleaners so, it's hard to break into the [professional] work market.”
(Theresa-May)*

Despite being in possession of the correct documentation to work, being a foreigner was regarded as the basis for automatic disqualification by employers, regardless of qualifications or experience. For the most part, tied migrants felt that there was no equality of opportunity to compete on merit for work opportunities and were therefore most likely to be discriminated against and marginalised in this regard:

And then you only realise if you know a few people that have applied for the same job that uh, but they took this person who is less qualified than me. Why did they do that? So somehow there's this xenophobic thing as much as we run away from saying the word xenophobia but they will be that xenophobic. (Theresa-May)

Wholesale deskilling of qualifications and experience was viewed as something that would happen time and time again, resulting in persistent occupational downward mobility and poor upward mobility over the career trajectory, even if the employer was changed. This was associated with feelings of underemployment, underpayment and immobility and lack of progress, as well as general feelings of dissatisfaction.

After 15 years of service [in education], I am employed as a new teacher. When I moved to the TVET college where I am now, I came in as an entry, despite 15 years of experience, plus five years acquired in South Africa. So, you start afresh. The salary is very low, lower than the least person. I am saying as long as I am employed, but am I getting what I'm supposed to be getting? No.... I feel I am very far from where I am supposed to be. (Monica)

And:

I can work in any sector, that's the good thing, but the job I do, it's for a grade 10 or 12. It's not something I would say I am passionate about. I'd be lying if I said I am passionate about it. It's only that I can do it, there is no passion there. (Theresa-May)

Precarity among tied migrants arose from the inability to secure permanent work contracts. Instead, tied migrants found themselves confined to fixed term contracts in which employers would not have to remunerate them at higher levels.

Of course, they're not spending much on me. So, I can remain there. They have refused to make me permanent. Yeah, I understand. I am not South African. (Iris)

As suggested in this response, supported by the one below, tied migrants commonly experienced poor remuneration levels, which was suggestive of the vulnerability to exploitation that they face in the labour market.

I actually feel like I'm subsidising my employer... The money that you earn cannot even take you through the whole month... Maybe a housemaid earns more than me. (Theresa-May)

Persistent feelings of insecurity associated with one's status as a foreigner, commonly experienced in South Africa on a broad front, were likely also experienced in the workplace. There was a strong sense among some participants that unfair dismissal on basis of ethnicity could arise at any moment. Such views suggest a strong sense of precarity characterised by non-belonging, othering and poor integration, despite being employed in the labour market.

I am a foreigner in the company. And it's always like when they start speaking about unemployment... Maybe one day, they'll say, they'd rather employ a South African. You're not fully secure 'cause you're a foreigner. It's never like 100% sure." (Charlotte)

And:

Because when the chips are down, you are still a foreigner. And it's not far from the truth. It's not far from the truth. In as much as you are having a permanent job here in South Africa gives you more financial security. Because you know that even if somebody doesn't like your face tomorrow, they can just terminate your appointment like that. (Iris)

And:

We once had a cleaner at work who said [to me], "Oh, you're a kwerekwere." It's embedded in them this person is a foreigner, they don't belong. (Theresa-May)

Derogatory comments were also associated with a foreign accent and associated assumptions about one's inability to communicate well.

But this older lady, I assume she had, or she has, you know, better experience but she actually came and said, but students may not understand us, you know these non-South Africans. We always have this kind of accent that students don't

understand. Wow. It was so derogatory. And she was screaming, she wasn't silent, people could hear. [She said] Students don't understand and that's how students fail. (Iris)

4.4.2 Migrant status

Tied migrant status was the biggest impediment to entry into the labour market given that institutional rules made it illegal to work without the correct documentation. Importantly, tied migrant status was also linked with career gaps which made it difficult to enter into the formal labour market owing to limited work experience. Long gaps were also caused tied migrants to be desperate for work and vulnerable to exploitation, as evidenced by poor salaries.

I actually was not on the job market for a long time. So, if people look at your CV and you have this gap. They don't even ask you whether you were studying. They're looking for experience. Of which, where are you going to get experience if you're in university, that's number one. And then when they see this employment gap, they actually think oh no this person is desperate. That way they capitalise. and to make it worse if you have correct papers, it's rare to get paid well because you just started to work. So, they will just pay you whatever. (Theresa-May)

Without permanent residence denoting legal authority to work, tied migrants resorted to informal “piece” jobs. While permanent residence did not guarantee employment opportunities, it was regarded as instrumental to opening up opportunities for formal, permanent and professional jobs, which was virtually impossible with tied migrant status.

And then once I had the South African ID, then it was easy to look for employment elsewhere, because now there was no restriction in terms of paperwork. as you know some companies, they know that with the accompanying Spouse Visa, or not, so you're not allowed to work. So when you're trying to apply for new opportunities, then they realize you have the accompanying Spouse Visa, then they'll just reject the application. So yeah, definitely, like limited the number of opportunities during that time. (Andrea)

And:

You're just accompanying your husband's and that's it. So, but I did get some piece jobs. But you know how it is, it wasn't really a formal thing... So, it wasn't something formal until a certain time and then we applied. We actually have an ID now, a permanent residence [permit]. Then that's when I started, then that's when I had a formal job after that. (Charlotte)

Interestingly, tied migrants with permanent residence rated their prospects of integration into the labour market to be below even those of asylum seekers.

Naturalisation was viewed as opening a much broader range of opportunities which could not be accessed through permanent residence

They [the employers] are not going to take you because they are forced to take South Africans or someone whose got citizenship, or even an asylum person I think they can take but not someone who has got a PR. No, they won't take someone with a PR. That's SA for you. (Theresa-May)

And:

Remember, some of the jobs they really state that they want a South African citizen not a permanent resident. Some of the job adverts, you know for sure to say, we really want a citizen not a permanent resident. (Lucille)

However, naturalisation was also discounted owing to ethnicised ascriptions.

Having permanent residence was regarded as significantly useful in terms of facilitating access to formal employment and as instrumental when it came to expanding employment options (and job changes): however, it did not guarantee freedom from impacts of ethnicised ascriptions.

After I had my permanent residence, I was employed as a primary school teacher but as an SGB teacher. I couldn't be employed in the Education Department because the policy is they start by employing South Africans. (Monica)

4.4.3 Gendered ascriptions

Poor career progression, particularly with respect to promotion, was strongly linked to gender. Greater challenges around advancing up the corporate ladder appeared to be predominant in male-dominated industries and in work environments with a strong patriarchal leaning.

For me it's two things happening, it's being a foreigner and being a woman. It seems the South African education system is patriarchal in terms of leadership, in terms of promotion. For me it's worse because I'm a foreigner. (Monica)

And:

Being a woman in IT (Information Technology), the promotion just wasn't coming. (Andrea)

4.4.4 Racialised ascriptions

Identifying as black was associated with poorer outcomes in comparison to other racial groups, including being passed for promotion, getting a poorer salary or unfair

treatment. Tensions arising from racialised ascriptions were apparent among various races including blacks, whites, coloureds and Indians.

If they would hire a white person, we [the blacks] would train them, next thing the white person is promoted and you are not. (Andrea)

And:

You've got so many battles to fight. It's whites against blacks. There's Indians against blacks. And I'm not saying this because it's only the company, it's just in general. I feel that there's racism. In SA, you fight so many battles, you're black, you're a foreigner and you're a woman. Those are the three you're constantly fighting. (Charlotte)

And:

Unfortunately, in the Western Cape it's coloured dominated. If you have a coloured boss then you are in trouble. They do whatever they want... I haven't had a salary increase in three years since I worked with them. (Theresa-May)

4.4.5 Locality

One's location in South Africa impacted significantly on one's job opportunities. Smaller towns were seen as having limited professional job opportunities or not having jobs at all that were on the level of qualifications obtained in the home country. For most tied migrants, strong family ties made it difficult to move to other locations to take advantage of job opportunities there. Locality was therefore associated also with a lack of mobility.

For about three years we lived in Pretoria. I tell you, I did not realise I was a non-South African. Their criteria was just, can you do the job? Do you have this qualification, before we can take you, you must have your qualification in so and so sector. That was just only the criteria. Then you'll be looking at the person interviewing are you not going to ask me if I'm a South African. Can't you decipher from my tone? From my accent? But they don't care. Because they have mixed with a lot of people who are non-south Africans so me being a non-South African is not an issue so long as you have a permit book. It a totally different experience from what is obtainable in the Free State. (Iris)

And:

If I'd stayed in Pretoria, I would have been doing something sensible by now in terms of career. I would have gone far. (Theresa-May)

And:

I had got something at Rhodes, but family ties also came in, unfortunately... Something was coming up but eish, when we thought of it, the travelling and

leaving the kids...It's like, my husband feels we should always be together everywhere. I also feel the same but here I was tempted because I was looking at the salary and I was also looking at the upward mobility and the opportunity that had just been presented but he said money is not everything we need family. (Monica)

Access to the labour market was predicated on language ability, although this was more salient in certain localities. In this regard, ethnicity connected with locality to produce relatively poor labour market outcomes. In these localities, lack of knowledge of any one of the indigenous languages was regarded as a factor diminishing the chances of gaining access into the labour market.

I have seen adverts where they want an Afrikaans speaking person to teach something in English, because they will have Afrikaans speaking people. The belief is that the students must be able to express themselves, so it's a big limitation. (Monica)

The importance of this aspect when it came to LMI was reflected in the fact that certain cities were regarded as more multi-cultural and accepting of foreigners, whereas some were regarded as less accepting with few employment prospects. Other towns were considered favourably in terms of offering job prospects for accompanying spouses.

"Port Edward is just a small settlement basically for old retired whites, guys. Just close to the ocean, Indian Ocean. They go there, buy houses. So business is just like outlets there. A lot of eateries, fun things." (Iris)

"... but here [Cape Town] because it's racist, and they believe foreigners should work in restaurants, or hotels as waiters and cleaners so, it's hard to break into the work market... I always still feel Pretoria was a better city than Cape Town personally. Because the people are better. They are not too racist. They are more accommodating." (Theresa-May)

It's a small town where there's no media anyway. I could not even apply for any job. And at that time, like journalism in that town, I couldn't find anything... And then we moved because he also wanted a promotion and we moved in a plantation deep, deep in Mpumalanga... It was even worse for me at that time. Because I was like, I'm not working. It caused a strain actually, at that time in our marriage. I felt as if maybe I'm sacrificing, I'm the only one who is sacrificing. I can't get a job and we are even moving deep, deep in plantations. You are happy in terms of your career but I am not, I'm just here now. (Charlotte)

You know, how it is in small towns. If you're a professional, what work will you do? There are limited options in terms of professional jobs. It's difficult to find good paying jobs in smaller towns. That's why we ended up moving to Johannesburg... (Andrea)

In Joburg it's a fast town. I grabbed a job, I leave, I jump, I leave, I jump. [In reference to being able to move from one job to another]. For me, I didn't have any issues of getting job. (Iris)

Different locations were perceived very differently in the minds of interviewees: some were viewed as very accepting of foreigners, while others were not so accepting.

The only difficult place that I found it very difficult to break through it was here Bloemfontein. It was a very difficult one because one, the language, they can't employ you if you can't say, what is it, morning in Afrikaans. (Unarine)

...actually, when I compare to my friends. I always feel if I had stayed in Pretoria maybe I could have been doing something sensible by now, in terms of my career. I could have gone far but here [in Cape Town] because it's racist, and they believe foreigners should work in restaurants, or hotels as waiters and cleaners so, it's hard to break into the work market. (Theresa-May)

I think it was in the Northern Cape....., and the guy called me and spoke Afrikaans. I was like, oh, sorry, I don't understand Afrikaans. And he was like, are you for real? You don't understand Afrikaans? You want to work in this company? Oh, no, sorry. All their clients don't even speak English, so I should be able to speak Afrikaans. I just dropped the phone. For me that was like an unspoken code. You don't come here if you cannot. Then, there was a place in Bloemfontein, because you know Free State is just an Afrikaans zone no matter the Sothos and the Tswanas. You guys are just wasting their time if you don't know Afrikaans... (Iris) No, I think Cape Town is naturally racist. So, the coloured people, they also have to look after their own which is very commendable because with us the black people we don't look after our own. (Theresa-May)

For about three years we lived in Pretoria. I tell you, I did not realise I was a non-South African. Their criteria was just, can you do the job? Do you have this qualification, before we can take you, you must have your qualification in so and so sector. That was just only the criteria. Then you'll be looking at the person interviewing are you not going to ask me if I'm a South African. Can't you decipher from my tone? From my accent? But they don't care. Because they have mixed with a lot of people who are non-south Africans so me being a non-South African is not an issue so long as you have a permit book. It a totally different experience from what is obtainable in the Free State. (Iris)

4.5 Discussion

The labour market experiences of tied migrants in this study were distinctly shaped by governing technologies operating at the macro, meso and micro levels and mediated mainly through gender, race, ethnicity, and migrant status as well as locality and the various intersections of these factors. This study found that tied migrants were likely to be subjected to immobility, precarity and informality in the South African labour market. Furthermore, it affirmed the assertions that the exercise of power could result in differential treatment based on identity or identities.

Contrary to assumptions that high human capital fosters mobility and integration into the labour market (Khattab et al., 2020), this study confirmed that tied migrants were in fact a unique group, who despite their human capital, generally faced unemployment, underemployment, and relatively poor integration into the labour market (Vermaak & Muller, 2019; Gerber & Wanner, 2019; Riaño, 2021).

Similar to findings made by Riaño (2012), this study therefore found that tied migrants faced significantly diminished opportunities when it came to integrating into the labour market. This, despite having secured the correct visas that allowed them to work and having the appropriate qualifications and/ or work experience. Where they may have been integrated into the labour market, tied migrants in this study were likely to be employed below their skills levels, underpaid, or kept on fixed term work contracts. Diminished opportunity to utilise skills can result in sustained downward mobility (Riaño, 2021). In part, broad exclusion could be attributed to the very strict employment protection policies, which posed significant barriers to LMI by migrants (Ballarino & Panichella, 2017; Ncube, 2017, Chinyakata et al. 2019). For instance, the Broad Based Black Economic Empowerment [BBBEE] Policy (2013 as amended) represents but one of the policies that perform a gatekeeping role in the labour market. The BBBEE sets out to redress the inequalities brought about by the Apartheid era by ensuring “equitable representation in all occupational categories and levels in the workplace” (Government Gazette, 2013: 2). BBBEE appointments are solely reserved for blacks, coloureds and Indians by birth or descent, however, or those who became naturalised citizens prior to 1994, or those who were eligible prior to 1994 but only became naturalised subsequently. Most of the migrants in this study arrived in South Africa post 2004, and therefore were not eligible for work given the criteria set out in the BBBEE, thus narrowing the opportunities available to them.

Ethnicised and racialised contexts give rise to marked disadvantages for integration into the labour market (Grigoleit-Richter, 2018, Khattab et al., 2020, Riaño, 2021). Similarly, this study found that ethnicised (us and them) ascriptions played the most significant role when it came to impacting the labour market experiences of tied migrants in South Africa, by means of which tied migrants were subjected to informality, immobility and precarity. This is not surprising, given the lingering effects of South Africa’s apartheid history and the broad anti-immigrant sentiment that

remains widely prevalent in the post-1994 era. As Souza & Flippen (2020) note, labour market experiences in South Africa are significantly shaped by socially constructed ethnic and racial boundaries. In a study of foreign-born immigrants in Switzerland, Riaño (2021) found that the unemployment of foreign-born immigrants was more likely to be related to ethnicity than to gender. In addition, she found that gender and ethnicity converged to exacerbate the disadvantage of foreign-born female migrants.

This study suggests that ethnicised ascriptions were likely not only to have given rise to difficulties around integrating into the labour market, but also dictated to some extent the types of jobs that tied migrants might be able to access. As Riaño (2012) states ethnicity-based ideologies are embedded not only in migration policies but also in the minds of both employers and institutional representatives and these play a key role in shaping labour market outcomes. Owing to ethnicity-based ascriptions, tied migrants were likely to face fewer and weaker barriers when it came to accessing work in the informal sector, as opposed to the professional white collar labour market. This is consistent with the view that ethnic ideologies shape what jobs are available and for whom (Riaño, 2012) the study by Souza & Flippen (2020), which suggests that male immigrants face formidable barriers when it came to accessing the formal sector in South Africa. It is not surprising that skilled female migrants would be subject to the same limitation (Ncube et al., 2019; Vanyoro, 2021).

Most significantly, this study suggests the existence of wholesale deskilling solely based on ethnicity. Ethnicised downskilling was associated with non-equality of opportunity and significant downwards occupational mobility, accompanied by poor prospects of upward mobility over time and across employers. For many tied migrants, career progress appeared non-existent, and most of them appeared dissatisfied with their experiences in the labour market.

Many studies point to the difficulties of transferring institutional cultural capital from the country of origin that form significant barriers to LMI (Liversage, 2009; Riaño, 2012; Ressa et al., 2017). In the South African context, however, as suggested in this study, it appears difficult to transpose institutionalised cultural capital gained in the host country. This is contradictory to Bourdieu's theory of capitals which presupposes that institutional cultural capital gained in the host country translates into greater advantage and ease of access into the labour market, as has been indicated.

In this regard, institutional cultural capital gained in the host country does not appear to improve the chances of getting employed, provide a guarantee of full LMI or prevent occupational downward mobility accompanied by underutilisation of skills and poor pay owing to ethnicised ascriptions. This is also suggestive of the prevalence of significant brain waste among skilled tied migrants. While this may be the case, it does not suggest that the acquisition of institutional cultural capital is not beneficial: however, it seems to be significantly more useful when it is acquired in areas of skills shortages, which most of the tied migrants in this study did not have.

Precarity associated with ethnicised ascriptions was also associated with vulnerability to exploitation, fears of being summarily dismissed, feeling of a lack of security and non-belonging. Precarity was further associated with tied migrant status, particularly in so far as it was associated with piece jobs that did not provide decent work protection for tied migrants. Critically, the career gaps (of up to several years) associated with tied migrant status was likely to impact on the entire career trajectory, including vulnerability to exploitation evidenced by poor salaries. As previous studies have pointed out, it is difficult to recover loss resulting from downward occupational mobility over time.

As noted by Vanyoro (2021), identity markers can shift over time and space and this is true in regards to tied migrants. As shown in this study, tied migrant status was strongly linked to the job one might be more eligible for. Acquiring legal permissions to work (for example via attainment of permanent residence or work visas) did not necessarily provide any form of advantage in terms of labour integration owing to racialised and ethnicised ascriptions, but it was viewed as important towards allowing access to more formal work. This study confirms, consistent with the findings of Vermaak and Muller (2019), that barring the impacts of ethnicised ascriptions, naturalised citizens may in fact have greater advantages in the labour market, but perhaps only in so much as it opens up a wider range of employment opportunities than in the case of other migrant statuses. Interestingly, this study also suggests that asylum seekers may fare better in regard to integrating into the labour market when compared to tied migrants, that is, the type of documentation determines the possibilities (see Vanyoro, 2021). As stated before, mechanisms through which female

migrants are subjectified, either by design or default, define their rights and their ability to claim those rights (Holliday et al., 2018).

The significance of the impact of gender on migration cannot be overstated. Critically, for example, female migrants almost inevitably are almost always relegated to the position of accompanying partner on account of their gender (Raghuram, 2004; Cooke, 2007; Föbker & Imani, 2017). In regard to labour market experiences, in this study, surprisingly, gender appeared to only gain salience in regard to male-dominated, patriarchal work contexts and promotion opportunities. Extant research suggests that gender care responsibilities may be a significant barrier for female migrants in respect to LMI (Föbker & Imani, 2017; Ressa et al., 2017): however, this was not as distinct among tied migrants in this study. This may speak to the lesser importance attached to traditional gender role beliefs among younger, educated couples who have divorced themselves from hegemonic norms. Alternatively, it may speak to economic rationalities and the demands for migrant families to ensure socioeconomic wellbeing by having both partners well integrated into the labour market. In addition, migrant families in this context may have relatively fewer challenges around establishing a support network and accessing childcare for their younger children, which are deemed to be significant barriers in other contexts (Cooke, 2007) owing to relative proximity to host countries. Further, the relatively surprising low impact of gendered ascriptions in this study may point to the fact that relatively few of those who participated in this study had male-oriented critical skills which would have presented opportunities to work in typically male-dominated contexts, and this in itself could also evidence gendered stereotypes and inequities in regards to occupation choices and the existence of a gendered labour market (Crush & Williams, 2010).

In identifying locality as a mediating factor, this study similarly resonates with work done by Vanyoro (2021), who suggests that identity axes are not the only mediating factors in regards to intersectionality. Locality became a strong mediator of labour market experiences owing to the structure of the labour market. As Statistics South Africa (2019) suggests, certain localities are favourable for migrant LMI, and so is mobility. As Föbker (2019) and Riaño (2021) assert, regional labour markets and the availability of appropriate employment are critical to LMI. Language skills among tied

migrants are another key aspect to this (Ballarino & Panichella, 2017, Grigoleit-Richter, 2017) and, in this study, language requirements were strongly linked to locality.

Racialised ascriptions were regarded by participants to bear stronger influence in certain localities. Racialised ascriptions typically transcended the typical black/ white binary commonly associated with race and manifested in the differential treatment of blacks and coloureds, and Indians as well. This can also be attributed to South Africa's apartheid past. Racialised ascriptions were likely to be associated with career immobility, where those of other races in made faster progress up the corporate ladder where others were repeatedly passed over for promotion opportunities. As noted in Wojczewski et al.'s (2015) study, anti-racist consensus in the workplace is largely absent in the South African context.

Precarity arose in this regard from the propensity for poorer salaries or unfair treatment. In addition, regardless of migrant status, the present project found that family ties appeared to continue to play a significant role throughout the labour market trajectory of tied migrants (Ballarino & Panichella, 2017), contributing to spatial immobility and therefore also significantly impacting labour market experiences. Family ties in particular made it difficult for tied migrants to take advantage of employment opportunities in other regions and this supports Khattab et al.'s (2020) assertions that gender is strongly linked to mobility. Limited mobility also contributed significantly to the uptake of informal work, particularly within smaller towns in South Africa where professional employment opportunities tend to be rarer.

Owing to ethnicised ascriptions, tied migrants faced non-equality of opportunity. This is in keeping with the notion that migrants generally face hierarchical ascriptions (Adjai & Lazaridis, 2013). The distinct presence of notions of othering or non-belonging in the workplace were linked to discriminatory and exclusionary practices (Riaño, 2021) and a significant level of poor integration into South Africa as a whole.

4.6 Conclusion

Utilising an intersectional approach and the theory of governmentality, this study found that tied migrants are likely to experience informality, immobility and precarity in the South African labour market. Various intersections of ethnicity, migrant status, race,

gender, and locality were likely to be the greatest sources of disadvantage leading to generally poor labour outcomes.

Three key findings emerged from this study: i) the presence of broad ranging ethnicised deskilling, one of the main factors around unemployment and underemployment, ii) very limited returns to institutional cultural capital gained in South Africa and iii) the fact that attainment of the legal right to work could not guarantee full labour migration. This suggests the need for targeted interventions if high human capital bearing female tied migrants are to become significant contributors to economic development in South Africa.

Significantly, this study was able to contribute to extant literature in terms of understanding how tied migrants fared in the South African labour context which, as Föbker (2019) asserts, is important when it comes to determining policy.

4.7 Study implications

The intersectional approach provided great utility in understanding the labour market integration needs of tied migrants in the South African context.

This study suggests that interventions that ensure full labour market integration extend beyond solely granting a work permit to tied migrants as proposed in the White Paper for International Migration (DHA, 2017). There are a significant number of structural interventions that need to be taken into consideration if tied migrants are to achieve full integration and maximum contribution to economic development in South Africa. For instance, fostering gender equality is key to enhancing opportunities for tied migrants.

The employer is a key player in labour market integration (Confurius et al. 2018) whose ideologies concerning issues such as gender, ethnicity and race are very instrumental to determining labour outcomes. This study suggests a significant degree of wholesale deskilling based on ethnicity by employers in which equality of opportunity is significantly diminished. This implies that even where tied migrants are the most qualified or are in possession of critical skills, they are still likely to experience unemployment and underemployment. This is indicative not only of the loss of skills but also the long-term disruption of careers (Beukes et al., 2016).

Studies such as Föbker (2019) suggest that institutional cultural capital is important for facilitating access to labour market integration. This study however suggests that poor returns to institutional cultural capital attained at tertiary institutions in South Africa among female tied migrants. This is problematic not just for the host country but also for migrants themselves.

4.8 Suggestions for future research

This research suggests locality is a significant factor in determining disparate labour market outcomes. This suggests that region-specific research may elicit richer insights into the impact of governmentalities on migrants and region-specific needs for integration programmes.

Further research could investigate the labour market outcomes and experiences of tied migrants emigrating from the Global North to the Global South.

4.9 Limitations of the study

The study relied on a very small number of qualitative interviews (6) for which the main criteria used was correct documentation to work (either a work permit or permanent residence) and the relevance of their exposure in the workplace for the analysis at hand. However, the sample size was deemed to be sufficient to provide rich insights and for answering the research question.

This study made use of subjective views of underemployment and these were not triangulated with a quantitative approach.

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5 CHAPTER 5

5.1 Conclusions, limitations and recommendations

The problem statement for this research highlighted that, in the absence of support for integration, agentive accompanying spouses are compelled to devise their own strategies by which they can integrate themselves in the labour market in South Africa. This study took into consideration that little is understood about the experiences and strategies of tied migrants in the Global Southern context with respect to LMI. This argument was based on the importance of gender equality and the need to ensure the empowerment and advancement of women as proffered in the global agenda for women. This focus is important, particularly in South Africa, which remains a significant recipient of migratory flows, including skilled migratory flows, and, for some time to come. The study therefore sought to understand the way in which power relations impact tied migrant conduct with respect to the labour market, their attempts at overcoming barriers to LMI as well as how they fare in the labour market upon successful integration.

The present chapter expounds conclusions, limitations and recommendations as based on the preceding article chapters. The chapter seeks to amalgamate key issues highlighted in the discussion sections, provide a summary of answers to the research questions, give guidance on potential direction for future research and consider the theoretical and policy implications arising from the study.

The conclusions and recommendations are made on the basis of the objectives outlined for the study, as spelled out below again.

The main research objective for this study was to explore the self-initiated strategies for LMI among tied migrants and the sub-objectives were as follows:

- To understand the mechanisms by which tied migrant conduct is shaped concerning the labour market.
- To determine strategies that accompanying spouses utilise to overcome barriers to LMI.

- To deconstruct the practices and knowledges that shape the identities and subjectivities of tied migrants seeking LMI in South Africa.

The subsequent sections provide a summary of empirical findings with respect to the objectives spelled out for the research.

Mechanisms by which tied migrant conduct is shaped with respect to the labour market.

This study found that LMI of tied migrants was likely to be impacted mainly by gendered and exclusionary governing technologies operating at the meso and macro levels in the form of practices and policies. The use of “dependant” status to control tied migrant conduct on the part of the State fulfils a protective role in the labour market but it has inadvertent consequences such as the reinforcement of traditional gender roles and redomestication.

Tied migrants were largely driven by economic rationalities of LMI, associated with securing their economic well-being in the country of destination and securing the welfare of family left behind in the country of origin. Furthermore, diasporic expectations had an unusual impact on tied migrant aspirations, where securing any job, even one that fell below one’s skills level, became more important than the overall quality of the job itself. This had a significant impact on labour market experiences.

Strategies utilised by tied migrants to overcome barriers to labour market integration

There are significant barriers for tied migrants with intentions to integrate in the labour market. This study showed how various strategies were instrumental in the process of trying to subvert governing technologies. However, while the strategies utilised were influential when it came to the attempt to subvert governing technologies impeding on LMI into the host country, they were not necessarily successful. Structural factors limited agency. For example, legality to work could only be acquired on account of the correct documentation issued promptly by the DHA: however, this was not always the case, despite eligibility.

A significant number of strategies employed by tied migrants were intended to subvert technologies of exclusion. An interesting finding emerging from this research was that

self-deskilling was a strategy used to ensure personal safety and wellbeing in the workplace as well as the role of social networks in delineating safe spaces around LMI. This study affirmed extant views that technologies of exclusion are a significant barrier to LMI.

5.2 Exploration of how tied migrants fare in the labour market

The final article in the thesis utilised intersectionality as a heuristic device and the theory of governmentality to explore the labour market experiences of tied migrants. The article showed that tied migrants were likely to be subjected to immobility, precarity and informality in the labour market, as linked variously to gendered, ethnicised and racialised governing technologies. In regard to their integration into the labour market, the participants were likely to cite issues such as underutilisation of skills as a result of being overskilled, underpayment, employment precarity associated with the nature of employment, that is, professional versus non-professional, and the inability to secure permanent contracts. These factors entailed relatively poor integration into the labour market and were not restricted to the initial period following migration, but were rather sustained for an extended period of time.

Critically, this study found that the governing technologies that appeared to be the most difficult to subvert were those relating to immobility on account of family ties and those relating to exclusion, particularly ethnicised exclusion.

5.3 Key findings

The following are the key findings engendered by the present study:

- i. Tied migrants bring skills and work experience to South Africa, which they can potentially utilise to benefit the South African economy. In addition, many tied migrants advance their skills at institutions of higher education in South Africa. They are therefore a critical but overlooked resource.
- ii. Tied migrants are not likely to be well integrated into South African society.
- iii. While tied migrants may be gainfully employed in the labour market, their employment does not necessarily equate to full LMI. A substantial amount of underemployment exists among tied migrants.

- iv. While tied migrants are unlikely to be regarded as vulnerable, this research suggests that considerable attention needs to be paid to this obscured group. Regardless of the tied migrant status, it suggests significant dependence of accompanying spouses as it relates to documentation and even financial support. Tied migrants are subject to precarity. In addition, they are likely to experience persistently poor LMI outcomes over the long term, that is, poor recovery from downward occupational mobility.
- v. Self-initiated strategies are useful for the purpose of subverting some governing technologies that prevent full integration but not all. Nevertheless, governing technologies such as ethnicised deskilling are likely to be pervasive. In the absence of support for integration, tied migrants (in particular women) are not likely to be empowered to a level that allows for maximum contribution to the South African economy. At the same time, their own economic wellbeing and the achievement of meaningful career trajectories are restricted. Their marginalisation means they are left behind in so far as the prescripts of the global agenda for women as espoused in sustainable development goals.

5.4 Implications for policy

The following section considers policy recommendations with respect to tied migrants. For the foreseeable future, South Africa is likely to remain a key hub for immigration in the sub-Saharan region, thus harnessing migration to achieve economic growth will remain a top priority. As espoused in the National Development Plan and the White Paper for International Migration, skilled migration will be critical with a view to achieving these ends.

In this regard, spouses of skilled migrants, many of whom are skilled in their own right, are a critical and important resource. South Africa faces a significant challenge around attracting and retaining skills for the development of the economy (DHA, 2017). Facilitating the full integration of accompanying spouses is a key consideration in this regard. A tied migrant can potentially be a useful resource and contribute to the South African economy. As succinctly espoused by Crush et al., (2018), South Africa has a challenging social and political environment which is characterised by xenophobia and patriarchal attitudes in which it is challenging to implement gender and migrants' rights.

A dual focus on empowerment and rights is therefore necessary to guide programming and policy development on gender and migration.

5.4.1 Policy recommendations

Policy frameworks have a direct impact on migrant outcomes and determine the opportunities that may be available for tied migrants to capitalise on. However, as noted in this study, policies developed in the host country do not constitute the entire solution to the problem. The suggestions from this study around improving the situation are therefore as follows:

- i. There is a need for the development and implementation of gender sensitive policies that take into account the complexities of family migration, specifically those that consider the integration needs of female migrants. Family aligned policies should take into account the need to foster the mobility of both lead and accompanying spouses. The policy framework should consider the inadvertent impacts of reinforcing traditional gender roles and fostering the redomestication of tied migrants caused by assigning “dependant” status, as demonstrated above. From the sending country’s side, migrants entering the country may be best advised about the structure of the South African labour market, prospects of employment and the possibility of the tertiary qualifications they could acquire to meet critical shortage skills in the market. This will ensure maximum contribution in the host country and the full benefits of remittances back to the sending country, that is, pre-planning is suggestive of better integration outcomes.
- ii. South African integration programmes should consider local language training in any of the main languages deemed important for LMI, such as Afrikaans and Zulu.
- iii. There is a considerable need to consider ways of fostering social cohesion, not within the community alone, but within workspaces. This research suggests that multicultural spaces provide safety and security, particularly as they allow for embracing all nationalities and creeds under one common language.

5.5 Model Framework

The model framework below reflects the salient findings of the study.

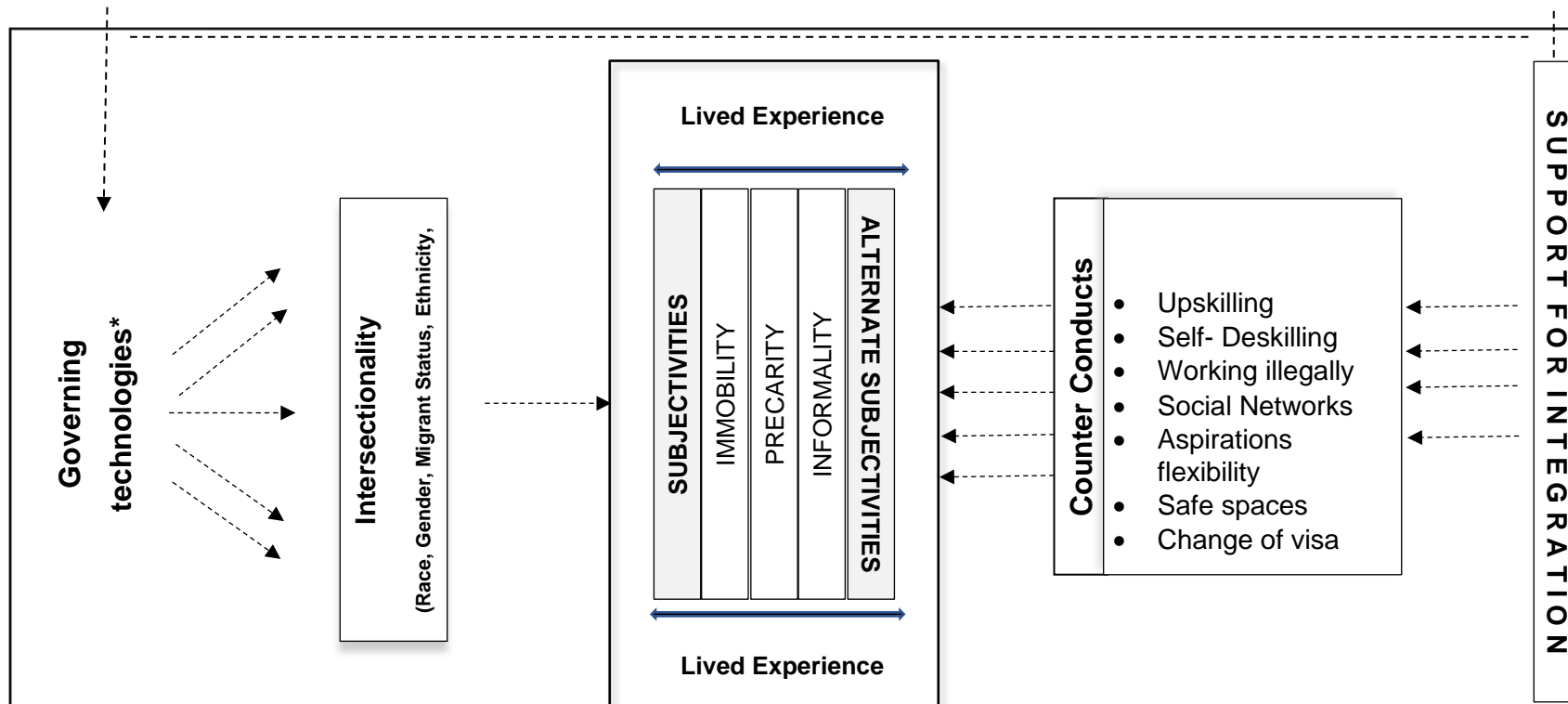


Figure 2: Model framework for LMI of tied migrants (author's own illustration)

- * Governing technologies including migration and employment legislation etc.

The model framework shows how;

- i. **Governing technologies** such as migration legislation, traditional gender roles and family ties, and employers' practices etc. shape the subjectivities of tied migrants.
- ii. The governing technologies are shaped by social structures (**intersections**), that is race, gender, locality, ethnicity and migrant status to produce unique subjectivities of tied migrants.
- iii. Tied migrants are not passive but active agents who in turn endeavour to resist (**counter conducts**) these governing technologies so as to produce **alternate subjectivities**.
- iv. Tied migrants' acts of resistance may not be adequate in subverting these governing technologies and therefore **support for integration** is required. This for example can occur through a change in legislation that impacts on tied migrant's entry into the labour market.
- v. **Lived experience** is the cumulative experience of subjectivities (as shaped by both the macrophysics of power and alternate subjectivities (as shaped by the microphysics of power and the strategies to facilitate integration).

5.6 Limitations

- i) Owing to the snowball sampling method used, there was not a wide array of representation among participants in terms of nationality. As such, the majority representation in the study was Zimbabwean female tied migrants.
- ii) . Since the study was conducted for the sake of a doctoral thesis, the researcher was influenced by time and budgetary constraints, hence the decision not to stretch the data collection period past six months.
- iii) The interviewer relied on the results of one interview and informal follow-up engagements, whereas a formal follow-up interview with each participant might have been more useful to confirm the accuracy of narratives.
- iv) The research was highly dependent on subject recall of their own migratory trajectories.

- v) While the study participants were elected based on their legal status as accompanying spouses, it became apparent that, within this category, a significant number of sub-categories resided. Migrant status appeared to be fluid among this group of migrants.

5.7 Generalisability of findings

The following types of generalisability may be attributed to this study;

5.7.1 Internal generalisability

Internal generalisability refers to the generalisation of study findings to persons not directly interviewed in this research but those within the case studied (Maxwell & Chmiel, 2014, Smith, 2018). The validity of findings and therefore internal generalisability was elevated through robust attention to the sampling strategy, data collection and data analysis (Maxwell & Chmiel, 2014) as set out in Chapter One. In regard this study, generalisability of findings could possibly be extended to other female tied migrants not interviewed in this study but who similarly seek to be fully integrated into the South African labour market.

5.7.2 Case to case generalisability

Case to case generalisability is achieved when the findings of a study can be extended to a completely different group or setting (Polit & Beck, 2010). In order to facilitate case to case transfer, the focus in this study was to provide rich, thick and detailed descriptions so as to allow other readers to make inferences and transfer the findings of the study to new settings. This included rich description about the sample, demographic details about participants as well as the study setting.

5.8 Recommendations for future research

Suggestions for further research include the following:

- i) A large-scale survey or mixed methods research incorporating a larger number of skilled migrants of both genders. Incorporating both genders will be useful to facilitate greater understanding of how male and female migrants' experiences compare.

- ii) Focussing on particular industries, for example a male-dominated industry, and garnering the perspectives of women's labour-market experiences in these industries.
- iii) Research could also focus more pertinently on women who failed to integrate themselves in the labour market.
- iv) A comparative research approach focussed on reciprocal LMI prospects.

5.9 Contribution

The study sought to answer the following question - What are the labour market experiences and self-initiated⁸ strategies of accompanying spouses in their attempt to achieve labour market integration in South Africa? The study took into account that support for labour integration in Global South is limited in comparison to the Global North where the need to fully integrate migrant women is regarded as an imperative (Agatiello & Humer, 2018). The study therefore considered the labour market integration experiences and outcomes of skilled female tied migrants in South Africa and the following contributions were made to the literature.

5.9.1 Empirical contribution

The study makes a contribution to the literature in various ways. Firstly, it contributed overall to the literature on migration in the south-to-south context which remains largely understudied (Gisselquist & Tarp, 2019; Bastia & Piper, 2019). Secondly it focused on skilled tied migrants who are primarily invisible in the research on labour market integration and whose integration in the global South has not been considered. As noted by Souza and Flippen (2018) studies on labour market integration in South Africa are rare. This study also made a contribution from a qualitative perspective and forms a part of a broader discussion on gender, gender equality and migration.

5.9.2 Theoretical contribution

The study focused not only on the macrophysics of power but explores the link with the microphysics of power utilising the rarely considered theory of governmentality, in

⁸ Self-initiated strategies are those strategies employed by the tied migrant without the support of the host society, i.e., where programmes for integration are absent.

particular counter conducts, as espoused by Michel Foucault. This was regarded as useful in determining not only the governmentalities that are challenging to labour market integration but also the strategies that tied migrants engage in an attempt to subvert these governing technologies.

Utilising the intersectionality theory, the study also revealed how diverse intersections of power or social structures interact to give rise to the unique subjectivities of tied migrants and associated disadvantages in the South African labour market. This was also regarded as useful in the determination of the integration needs of tied migrants in South Africa in their endeavour to seek full labour market integration.

5.9.3 Practical contribution

The study makes practical contributions by making policy recommendations (see Section 5.4.1) which take into account the global agenda for women as specifically concerns gender equality and empowerment. Practical considerations also take into account the need for interventions in the country of origin as well as the host country but more importantly whole of society approaches to social cohesion and integration.

5.10 Conclusion

The global development agenda for women, as demonstrated through the sustainable development goals and the global compact for migration, emphasises the imperative for gender equality and the need for the empowerment of all women. This includes female migrants arriving in host countries. In this regard, legislative instruments that perpetuate gender inequality and precarity in the labour market should be scrutinised. Furthermore, LMI is a key social process with long-term ramifications for integration into society and also for children's integration, as is acknowledged in extant literature.

Tied migrants who participated in this study showed a significant level of precarity owing to their subjectification as dependants and followers, which suggests a need to interrogate further how this important but obscured group of migrants could be supported with greater efficiency through programmes of integration. Policies are means to rights, and this is a key recognition for women whose vulnerability may be exacerbated in the process of migration. The full integration of migrant women into the labour market suggests greater benefits for the host country in the form of

contributions to the economy as well as social cohesion. For the sending country it represents improved remittances and, for the migrant herself, improved socioeconomic and even psychological wellbeing.

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APPENDICES

- Appendix 1:** Consent form
- Appendix 2:** Letter for psychological counselling
- Appendix 3:** Ethical clearance
- Appendix 4:** Interview guide
- Appendix 5:** Language editing certificate
- Appendix 6:** Turnitin Report

Consent form



RESEARCH STUDY INFORMATION LEAFLET AND CONSENT FORM

DATE

June 2020

TITLE OF THE RESEARCH PROJECT

Self-initiated strategies for labour market integration among tied migrants in South Africa.

PRINCIPLE INVESTIGATOR / RESEARCHER(S) NAME(S) AND CONTACT NUMBER(S):

Name of student: Farirai Zinatsa Student number: 2014182501 Contact number:0611307336

FACULTY AND DEPARTMENT:

*Name of Faculty: Economic and Management Sciences
Name of Department: Centre for Development Support*

STUDYLEADER(S) NAME AND CONTACT NUMBER:

*Name of Study Leader (UFS staff member): Dr Musewenkosi D Saurombe
Contact number: 0514013823*

WHAT IS THE AIM / PURPOSE OF THE STUDY?

This study to understand the strategies for labour market integration that are utilised by women who immigrate to South Africa in the context of family migration.

WHO IS DOING THE RESEARCH?

I (Farirai Zinatsa) am a PhD student in Development Studies at the University of the Free State. I am undertaking this research as part of my PhD.

HAS THE STUDY RECEIVED ETHICAL APPROVAL?

This study has received approval from the Research Ethics Committee of UFS. A copy of the approval letter can be obtained from the researcher.

Approval number: *UFS-HSD2020/0123/0506*



WHY ARE YOU INVITED TO TAKE PART IN THIS RESEARCH PROJECT?

You have been chosen because you have been identified as someone who could provide in depth information about your experiences as a migrant woman and in particular as an accompanying spouse. You were chosen on the basis that you fit the inclusion criteria for this study, that is, you are a migrant woman above the age of 18 who immigrated to South Africa as an accompanying spouse (someone who entered into South Africa together with her husband or at a later stage to be united with her family), you are legally resident in South Africa and you are now employed in South Africa. I have contacted you as another individual (name will be supplied) who participated in this study put forward your name as a potential respondent. Up to 26 participants will take part in this study.

WHAT IS THE NATURE OF PARTICIPATION IN THIS STUDY?

Your role in this study will be that of an interviewee. The study involves the recording of a one on one, semi-structured interview. You will be asked questions such as your motivation for immigrating to South Africa, your experiences as an accompanying spouse and any challenges you may have experienced in integrating into the labour market. It is anticipated that each interview will last up to one and a half hours and every effort will be made not to exceed this time frame. There are no anticipated risks to participating in this study.

CAN THE PARTICIPANT WITHDRAW FROM THE STUDY?

Your participation is entirely voluntary there is no penalty or loss that will arise from you choosing not to participate in the study. You are not obligated to consent however should you decide to participate a copy of this information sheet will be made available to you and you will be asked to sign a consent to indicate that you have given your consent to participate. Please note that at any time, you are free to withdraw from the study and you will not be required to give a reason for doing so.

WHAT ARE THE POTENTIAL BENEFITS OF TAKING PART IN THIS STUDY?

By participating in this study, it is hoped that you will contribute to an in-depth understanding of the experiences of accompanying spouses and their particular needs in integrating into the labour market. It is hoped that by sharing the aggregate experiences of migrant women we will be able offer insights that may ultimately influence policy. Your participation is completely confidential.

WHAT IS THE ANTICIPATED INCONVENIENCE OF TAKING PART IN THIS STUDY?

There are no potential risks to participating in this study. The nature of the study does require significant time to be spent in the interview setting however every effort will be made to meet at a time and place that is convenient and suitable for you. Should you experience any emotional distress arising from this study and do not have medical aid cover, upon request you can be referred to a state psychologist for counselling with whom you may meet should you wish.

WILL WHAT I SAY BE KEPT CONFIDENTIAL?

Your confidentiality is of utmost importance. Your name will not be recorded in the audio recording. Any forms that you sign will be maintained in a locked cabinet in an office which has restricted access. No one will be able to connect the answers you give. You will be referred to by a fictitious code or pseudonym in the data, any publications or conference proceedings. Your answers may be reviewed by people responsible for making sure that research is done properly, including the study leader (whose details are captured herein) and members of the Research Ethics Committee. Your data may be used in research reports and journal articles but in all instances you will remain unidentifiable, your privacy will be protected. Please remember that you are free to withdraw from the study at any time with no consequence to you.

HOW WILL THE INFORMATION BE STORED AND ULTIMATELY DESTROYED?

Printed copies of the transcribed interviews will be kept in safekeeping by the researcher for a period of five years in a locked filing cabinet at the University of Free State for future research or academic purposes. All electronic information will be stored on a password protected computer. Any future research utilizing the stored data will be subjected to further Research Ethics Review and approval if applicable. After this period has lapsed, all hard copies will be disposed off via shredding and files will be deleted from computer storage.

WILL I RECEIVE PAYMENT OR ANY INCENTIVES FOR PARTICIPATING IN THIS STUDY?

Please note there are no payments nor incentives for participating in this research. It is not anticipated that any costs will accrue to you at all. It is not anticipated that you will experience any level of inconvenience or discomfort. There are no anticipated risks of harm or potential side-effects that are foreseen to arise from this study.

HOW WILL THE PARTICIPANT BE INFORMED OF THE FINDINGS / RESULTS OF THE STUDY?

Should you wish to be informed of final research findings, please feel free to contact Farirai Zinatsa on 0611307336 or email zinatsaf@gmail.com. Should you be in need of any further information or wish to contact the researcher about any aspects of the research please feel free to contact me on the numbers given above. In addition, should you have any concerns about how this research has been conducted please contact Dr Musawenkosi D. Saurombe on 0514013823 or email SaurombeMD@ufs.ac.za

Thank you for taking time to read this information sheet and for participating in this study.

CONSENT TO PARTICIPATE IN THIS STUDY

I, _____ (participant name), confirm that the person asking my consent to take part in this research has told me about the nature, procedure, potential benefits and anticipated inconvenience of participation.

I have read (or had explained to me) and understood the study as explained in the information sheet. I have had sufficient opportunity to ask questions and am prepared to participate in the study. I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time without penalty (if applicable). I am aware that the findings of this study will be anonymously processed into a research report, journal publications and/or conference proceedings.

I agree to the recording of the *insert specific data collection method*.

I have received a signed copy of the informed consent agreement.

Full Name of Participant: _____

Signature of Participant: _____ Date: _____

Full Name(s) of Researcher(s): _____

Signature of Researcher: _____ Date: _____

Psychological counselling support

5/7/2020

Gmail - Ethical Clearance letter request



Farirai Zinatsa <zinatsaf@gmail.com>

Ethical Clearance letter request

Ettienne Van Lille <0727743006e@gmail.com>
To: Farirai Zinatsa <zinatsaf@gmail.com>

Thu, May 7, 2020 at 11:25 AM

This email is to confirm that I (Ettienne van Lille, Clinical Psychologist: Free State Department of Health), was approached by Me. F. Zinatsa on 06/05/2020 (10:17am) regarding psychological support to research subjects where the need may arise during the student's interaction with her subjects which forms part of her research.

The Mental Health Clinic (Gateway Clinic) will be able to provide these individuals with psychological support should the correct referral protocol be followed (individual visit local PHC/Hospital - individual is seen by PRN/MO and provided with H301 - individual contact Gateway Mental Health Clinic [0514039652] or visit mental clinic in person to make appointment).

Yours sincerely
[Quoted text hidden]

Ethical clearance letter



GENERAL/HUMAN RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE (GHREC)

05-Jun-2020

Dear Mrs Farirai Zinatsa

Application Approved

Research Project Title:

Self Initiated Strategies for Labour Market Integration among Tied Migrants in South Africa

Ethical Clearance number:

UFS-HSD2020/0123/0506

We are pleased to inform you that your application for ethical clearance has been approved. Your ethical clearance is valid for twelve (12) months from the date of issue. We request that any changes that may take place during the course of your study/research project be submitted to the ethics office to ensure ethical transparency. Furthermore, you are requested to submit the final report of your study/research project to the ethics office. Should you require more time to complete this research, please apply for an extension. Thank you for submitting your proposal for ethical clearance; we wish you the best of luck and success with your research.

Yours sincerely

Prof Derek Litthauer

Chairperson: General/Human Research Ethics Committee

Digitally signed
by Derek
Litthauer
Date: 2020.06.08
15:47:48 +02'00'

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Interview guide

INTERVIEW GUIDE

SECTION 1: MIGRATION/MIGRATION LEGISLATION/INSTITUTIONAL LEGISLATION

1. Please briefly describe your circumstances and motivation(s) for immigrating to South Africa.
2. What were your main considerations in deciding who between yourself and your spouse would be the lead migrant? Prompt: Do you feel that traditional gender role expectations played a role in your final decision as a family? Please further expound on that.
3. In what ways has migration legislation impacted on your settlement process in the country as a family?
4. In what ways has being classified as a dependant or having a spousal permit restricted your freedoms within the household/family and/or elsewhere?
5. In what ways has migration or any other institutional legislation or licencing requirements shaped your freedoms in terms of what career/studies you wanted to pursue upon arrival in South Africa? Prompts SAQA, professional registration, licencing requirements etc.
 - 5.1. Since emigrating to South Africa, have you ever had to put your career on hold? Please expand on the reasons for this.
 - 5.2. Have you ever engaged in voluntary work to enhance your work experience so that you increase your chances of being employed?
 - 5.3. Have you ever worked in a job offering you irregular hours or irregular pay? Please explain your reasons for this.
 - 5.4. Is your current occupation an outcome of your initial plans upon migration or have you had to review your plans in light of limitations imposed on you in the process of migration? Could you describe how this has come about. Prompts: Have you had to change career or/and pursue tertiary studies to enhance your chances of being employed? Please expand on this.
6. In what ways have your desires, aspirations, interests and beliefs in general been shaped by your migration into South Africa? (Either positively and negatively).
7. Have any challenges that you have faced (if any) as a result of migration as a family or individually made you consider returning to your home country or migrating to another country at all? Please further expound on your reasons for this.

SECTION 2: TRADITIONAL GENDER ROLE EXPECTATIONS

8. Please describe how, if at all, traditional gender role expectations in your home country as well as your post-migration have influenced you in your job/career?
9. How if at all, have traditional gender role expectations within the home or work environment been a challenge or a hindrance with respect to your career trajectory?
10. Has having young children ever stalled your career? Please explain the context in which this occurred. Prompts: Poor social networks? Economic considerations? Gender role expectations?
11. How have traditional gender role expectations impacted you in your chosen occupation and/or the workplace?
12. Have you at all attempted to negotiate or overcome traditional gender role expectations with your spouse/family? Or in the workplace?
 - 12.1. What have been the responses to these negotiations? How successful to you think you have been in attempting to shift traditional gender role expectations? What is different now?
13. Do you feel your professional status now has in some way liberated you from traditional role expectations or do you still feel encumbered by traditional gender role expectations?
14. Do you feel better off now than you were prior to migration with respect to traditional gender role expectations? Prompts: do you feel more liberated post migration?

SECTION 3: LABOUR MARKET/LABOUR MARKET CONDITIONS/DISCRIMINATION

15. In your opinion are your current job role, salary and benefits commensurate with your work experience and qualifications?
16. Are you aware of industry standards with respect to remuneration and benefits for your position?
 - 16.1. Do you feel you are adequately remunerated in line with the standards for your profession?
17. How long did it take you from the time of your migration to South Africa to become fully integrated into the labour market?
18. At the time of your relocation did you do a prior investigation of the labour market conditions in South Africa? What did your investigations reveal? Who were your sources of that information?

- 18.1. How did you utilise this information to shape your future career/job trajectory?
 19. Did any particular locations in the country feature in your choice of where you would want to settle?
 20. What role if any did your social network play in assisting you to integrate themselves in the labour market?
 21. How proficient are you in any of the local languages in South Africa? Has your proficiency or lack thereof played a major role in influencing your ability to gain employment? Has being integrated into the labour market had an influence on your proficiency do you think?
 22. What obstacles have you had to overcome to be integrated into the South African labour market? Prompts: employee legislation, verification of qualifications by SAQA or any other professional body?
 23. Have you ever faced discrimination/misogyny or xenophobia in your quest to get employment on the basis of either your gender, your country of origin (ethnicity) or as a result of your migration status (Critical skills permit/work permit/PR vis a vis citizenship)?
 - 23.1. Have you encountered discrimination at any point in the employment cycle? (Application, employment, promotion, retrenchment) or in attaining relevant permits that allow you work? Prompts: delays etc.
 - 23.2. Are there any cultural nuances or unspoken rules of the labour market that you have encountered in your quest to gain employment?
 - 23.3. What strategies did you employ to become integrated into the labour market? Prompts. Did you have to go back to school? Did you at any point have to put off having children?
 - 23.4. Do you feel like your gender, nationality or migration status have been a source of discrimination in either looking for a job, settling into a role in the work sphere getting a promotion or otherwise?
 - 23.5. How has being integrated into the labour market assisted you in the settlement process? Prompts: housing, health, education?? What material changes have taken place as a result of it.
 - 23.6. What other benefits do you feel you have derived from being fully integrated into the South African labour market?
- Prompts? Understanding better the South African culture, language, traditions or people?
Economic self-sufficiency?
24. In your line of work have you faced strict employment or qualification regulations?
 - 24.1. How do you feel migrant women can be better supported in terms of integrating into the South African labour market?
 25. In what ways do you feel either migration legislation or employment legislation could change to better accommodate female migrants and in particular accompanying spouses.

Language editing certificate



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DECLARATION OF LANGUAGE EDITING

I, Juan Etienne Terblanche, hereby declare that I edited the thesis entitled
**SELF-INITIATED STRATEGIES FOR LABOUR MARKET INTEGRATION AMONG
TIED MIGRANTS IN SOUTH AFRICA**

for F. Zinatsa for the purpose of submission as a postgraduate research
degree. Changes were indicated in track changes and implementation was
left to the author.

Regards,

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Etienne Terblanche

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File size: 3.06M
Page count: 191
Word count: 59,088
Character count: 327,859
Submission date: 08-Feb-2022 11:58AM (UTC+0200)
Submission ID: 1757633959



