



**ANALYSING THE SUSTAINABLE LIVELIHOODS OF DOMESTIC FEMALE
MIGRANTS IN DUNOON, CAPE TOWN IN THE WESTERN CAPE OF SOUTH
AFRICA**

**BY
BERTHA TOKOYO**

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SUPERVISOR: PROFESSOR DA KOTZE

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DEDICATIONS

This thesis is dedicated to my mother and father, who always believed in me. Mom and dad, you can now rest-easy in your heavenly home because I have accomplished what you wanted.

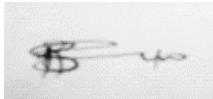
To my sisters, Nester and Munyaradzi, my brother Talent, all our children and grandchildren (Faith, Taku, Lorraine, Tino, Lexy, Tapiwa, Talisha, Rey, my hero Kendrick Tembende, and our own Rose), we did it! Friends and family, thank you for being a part of my challenging, exciting, and wonderful journey.

DECLARATION

I declare that this dissertation is submitted in completion of the requirements for the degree of **MASTER OF ARTS** in the Field of **DEVELOPMENT STUDIES** at the **UNIVERSITY OF SOUTH AFRICA**, in accordance with its Academic and Ethical prescriptions contained in https://www.unisa.ac.za/static/corporate_web/Content/Colleges/CAES/Research/docs/Unisa_Ethics_Policy.pdf

Date: 11 January 2023

Signature:

A small, square, grayscale image of a handwritten signature in black ink on a light background. The signature is cursive and appears to be the name 'B. van der Merwe'.

ABSTRACT

There is proof that women continue to migrate from other countries to seek better ways of survival and to increase their sustainable livelihood. These women's migration is linked to their provisional efforts and the challenges they encounter in salvaging and bettering lives within households (Kim 2014:553). When they migrate, a solid number of these women acquire jobs as domestic workers in the host countries.

The main purpose of this study has been to investigate the sustainable livelihoods of domestic female migrants in Dunoon, Cape Town in the Western Cape of South Africa. Sustainable livelihood is described as a person's capacity to support themselves in a way that is viably long (Serrat 2017). The research implemented primary and secondary data collection methods. The study employed a qualitative research method to investigate, in this context, thirty (30) migrant women working as domestic workers. Ten (10) domestic workers' employers, two (2) officials from the Department of Social Development and two (2) foreign community representatives were also interviewed and two (2) focus groups discussions were held to gather primary data. A snowball sampling technique was applied to select the respondents.

Evidence shows that the lives of women working as migrant domestic workers have improved positively when compared to their circumstances in their places of origin. When these women obtain jobs as domestic workers, they notice improvement in their livelihoods. However, they face difficulties at work and come across social challenges in the places where they live. Poor infrastructure, robbery, intolerance of foreigners, and uncooperative employers, *inter alia*, in the host countries are cited as detrimental rudiments to their progress. While policies are available to protect them, a vast number of these women fail to acquire such services due to lack of information, time, funds, and assistance to leverage these. Although the South African government provides services to assist and protect all women regardless of their country of origin, evidence shows that more programmes and facilities are needed and should be established to empower all women living in South Africa.

OKUCASHUNIWE

Kunobufakazi bokuthi abesifazane bayaqhubeka nokufuduka besuka kwamanye amazwe beyofuna izindlela ezingcono zokuphila futhi bakhulise ukuphila kwabo okuzinzile. Ukufuduka kwalaba besifazane kuxhumene nemizamo yabo yesikhashana kanye nezinsalela abahlangabezana nazo ekusindiseni nasekuthuthukiseni izimpilo zabo emakhaya (Kim 2014:553). Lapho befuduka, inani elikhulu lalaba besifazane bathola imisebenzi njengabasebenzi basezindlini emazweni asekhaya.

Inhloso enkulu yalolu cwaningo bekuwukuphenya izimpilo ezisimeme zebesifazane basekhaya abafudukayo eDunoon, eKapa eNtshonalanga Kapa yaseNingizimu Afrika. Ukuphila okusimeme kuchazwa njengamandla omuntu okuzisekela ngendlela ende (Serrat 2017). Ucwano lwenze izindlela zokuqoqa imininingwane eziyinhloko nezesibili.

Ucwano lusebenzise indlela yocwano echazayo ukuphenya, kulesi simo, abesifazane abangamashumi amathathu (30) abafudukayo abasebenza njengabasebenzi basezindlini. Abaqashi babasebenzi basezindlini abayishumi (10), izikhulu ezimbili (2) zoMnyango Wezokuthuthukiswa Komphakathi kanye nabamele umphakathi wangaphandle ababili (2) nabo kwaxoxwa nabo futhi kwaba nezingxoxo zamaqembu amabili (2) okugxilwe kuwo ukuze kuqoqwe imininingwane eyinhloko. Kusetshenziswe indlela yesampula engenakwenzeka ukuze kukhethwe abaphendulayo.

Ubufakazi bukhombisa ukuthi izimpilo zebesifazane abasebenza njengabasebenzi basezindlini abaphuma kwamanye amazwe zibe ngcono kakhulu uma ziqhathaniswa nezimo zabo ezindaweni abazalelwa kuzo. Lapho laba besifazane bethola imisebenzi yasezindlini, babona intuthuko endleleni yabo yokuziphilisa. Nokho, babhekana nobunzima emsebenzini futhi bahlangabezane nezinsalela zomphakathi ezindaweni abahlala kuzo.

Inggalasizinda empofu, ukugetshengwa, ukungabekezelelani kwabantu bakwamanye amazwe, nabaqashi abangabambisene nabo, phakathi kokunye, emazweni abambe iqhaza abalulwa njengezisekelo ezilimaza inqubekelaphambili yabo. Nakuba izinqubomgomo zitholakala ukubavikela, inqwaba yalaba besifazane bayehluleka ukuthola lezi zinsizakalo ngenxa yokuntuleka kolwazi, isikhathi, izimali kanye nosizo lokusebenzisa lezi zinsiza. Yize uhulumeni waseNingizimu Afrika ehlinzeka ngezinsizakalo zokusiza nokuvikela bonke abantu besifazane kungakhathaliseki ukuthi badabuka kuphi, ubufakazi bukhombisa ukuthi kudingeka

ezinye izinhlelo nezinsiza futhi kumele zisungulwe ukuze kuthuthukiswe bonke abesifazane abahlala eNingizimu Afrika.

OPSOMMING

Daar is bewyse dat vroue steeds vanuit ander lande migreer op soek na beter maniere om te oorleef en hul volhoubare lewensbestaan uit te brei. Die migrasie van hierdie vroue hou verband met hul pogings om te voorsien en die uitdagings wat hulle te bowe moet kom om lewens binne hul huishoudings te bewaar en te verbeter (Kim 2014:553). Wanneer hulle migreer, word heelwat van hierdie vroue in die gasheerlande as huiswerkers in diens geneem.

Die hoofdoel van hierdie studie was om die volhoubare lewensbestaan van vroulike migrante wat as huiswerkers werk in Dunoon, Kaapstad, in die Wes-Kaap van Suid-Afrika te ondersoek. Volhoubare lewensbestaan word beskryf as 'n persoon se vermoë om hom- of haarself te onderhou op 'n manier wat lewensvatbaar lank is (Serrat 2017). Die navorsing het primêre en sekondêre data-insamelingsmetodes geïmplementeer. Die studie het ook 'n kwalitatiewe navorsingsmetode aangewend om in hierdie konteks 'n ondersoek te doen na dertig (30) migrantvroue wat as huiswerkers werk. Onderhoude is ook gevoer met tien (10) werkgewers van huiswerkers, twee (2) amptenare van die Departement van Maatskaplike Ontwikkeling en twee (2) verteenwoordigers van die buitelandse gemeenskap, en twee (2) fokusgroepbesprekings is gehou om primêre data te versamel. 'n Sneeubalsteekproeftegniek is gebruik om die respondente te selekteer.

Die bewyse dui daarop dat die lewens van vroue wat as migranthuiswerkers werk, positief verander het in vergelyking met hul omstandighede in hul plek van oorsprong. Wanneer hierdie vroue as huiswerkers aangestel word, ervaar hulle 'n verbetering in hul lewensbestaan. Hulle kom egter te staan teen probleme by die werk asook maatskaplike uitdagings op die plekke waar hul woon. Swak infrastruktuur, diefstal, onverdraagsaamheid jeens buitelanders, en werkgewers wat onwillig is om hul samewerking te gee in die gasheerlande, word onder andere genoem as grondbeginsels wat hul vooruitgang nadelig beïnvloed. Alhoewel beleide bestaan om hulle te beskerm, verkry 'n groot aantal van hierdie vroue nooit toegang tot sulke dienste nie weens 'n gebrek aan inligting, tyd, fondse en hulp om dit optimaal te benut. Alhoewel die Suid-Afrikaanse regering dienste verskaf om alle vroue ongeag hul land van oorsprong by te staan en te beskerm, dui getuienis daarop dat meer programme en geriewe nodig is en ingestel moet word om alle vroue wat in Suid-Afrika leef, te bemagtig.

KEY TERMS

Female domestic workers; female foreign migrant; domestic employer; sustainable livelihood; policy guidelines

ACRONYMS

EEA: European Environmental Agency

IDWF: International Domestic Workers' Federation

ILO: International Labour Organisation

IMF: International Monetary Fund

OECD: Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development

RMFA: Revised Migration Framework for Africa

SADSAWU: South African Domestic Service and Allied Workers' Union

UDOSWA: United Domestic Workers of South Africa

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND TO THE TOPIC

1.1 INTRODUCTION

The focus of this study is to analyse the sustainable livelihoods of domestic female migrants in Dunoon, Cape Town in the Western Cape of South Africa. It resolves to examine if there are positive results obtained when female migrants seek a sustainable livelihood working as domestic workers.

The chapter begins with explaining migration to set the context to explore the livelihood of migrant domestic workers. It shall be followed by highlighting the objectives, research questions, relevancy, and importance of the study. The case study area will be described. The ethical aspects and the methodology taken to convey this research together with the scope and limitations of study will be accented. The last part of the chapter presents the layout of the chapters.

1.2 BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

Migration is the relocation of people from places of origin to other places of the world to settle temporarily or permanently. People migrate in search of better economic and social opportunities, political freedom, and technological transformation in countries with more resources and opportunities (Clark 2010:2). Macroeconomic factors such as “shortcomings and distortions in regional labour markets and struggling economies” have led to migration (Dinbabo & Nyasulu 2015). In the view of Miroslav (2018), changing demographics, advancing technology, evolving needs of labour markets and continued supply of goods and services are leading factors in this universal movement. Huge migration has also been noted from countries affected by social conflicts such as war and crises emanating from nature (Landau 2011). In recent years, Ukrainian people fled to all over Europe from conflict or humanitarian crises constructed by Russian leadership of Vladimir Putin (Knights, Munir, Ahmed & Hargreaves 2022). Another prime factor in the increased movement of people is because of climatic changes. Climatic changes may lead to drought that lowers production and the quality of food outputs. This results in economic, political, and social poverty, more vulnerabilities, hunger, and chaos (Finch 2021; Bogheiry 2022). As attested by Santic (2016:5), one in seven people is universally documented to be migrating due to distinct reasons. According to the Revised Migration Framework for Africa (2018), the number of international

migrants reached 244 million in 2015, and approximately 258 million migrants were recorded in 2018. Migration contributes to the distribution of people to places with already innovated industries and institutes, hence strengthening various economies. It is also regarded as a locomotive to accrue economic growth (Davis, Ergunova, Lizunkov & Malushko 2017).

In Africa, scholars writing about migration attest that female migration is compelled by hunger emanating from poor socio-economic and political challenges such as political tension, coups, and leadership conflicts. Female migration is also caused by drought, natural disasters, and climate change (Awumbila 2017:7). A critical factor that forces women to leave their countries is severe poverty, hence a general quest for a decent livelihood in other countries or places with better opportunities. When confronted with tough survival choices within places of origin, when their efforts are nullified and regarded as immaterial, sedentary, and inadequate, they resort to migration as a solution to survive elsewhere to be able to provide for their children and families. Other factors that increase female migration are related to running away from arranged early marriages, female genital mutilation, ethnic wars that lead to displacement of women, and gender-based violence that led to the killing and crippling of women. Such challenges impact women negatively when trying to acquire survival resources such as food and household related resources. Failure to obtain such supplies leads to more poverty and a limited sustainable livelihood, hence a call for migration.

As indicated by De Haan (1999) and Taylor (1999), migration has grown into a significant survival livelihood choice for households in the global South. In the view of Scoone (2015), when people encounter sustainable livelihood challenges in their places of origin, they seek opportunity in other places assumed to be lucrative and hence make various efforts to go there to make a sustainable livelihood. Haidinger (2008:8) confirms that females who migrate to work abroad do so to “maintain their households.” Kim (2014:553) indicates that women’s migration is linked to their provisional efforts and the challenges that they encounter in salvaging and bettering lives within their households. Mozambiquan women, for example, run away from food-insecure households to look for food, work, and other resources to sustain them and to be able to provide for their children’s needs such as education, medication, and food (De Vletter 2007). Similarly, Malawian females are in search of economic opportunities to reduce chronic poverty and food insecurity. This country is regarded as one of the poorest countries in natural resources and has poor infrastructure in the agricultural sector and is also prone to climatic calamities. As stipulated by Bhoojedhur and Isbell (2019), almost half of

Malawians consider emigration because of the country's failure to provide jobs for its people; for this reason, females look for better survival means in economically viable countries. Nigerian women migrate because of joblessness within their country. In the view of Atoyebi (2018), decomposed economies, corruption, and continuous electricity load shedding which causes "stoppages to day-to-day business transactions," has led to unemployment. Ongoing electricity load shedding disturbs women from running businesses such as restaurants, hair salons, bakeries, and tailoring. Ethiopian women also search for improved quality of life and a secure livelihood. Somalian women migrate to find better ways of living to be able to send their children to school and to increase the family livelihood (Raniga & Fitshane 2022). De Haas and Van Rooij (2010) suggest that economic and social freedom sometimes obtained by women elsewhere increases their sustainable livelihood.

Young and Crush (2019) argue that issues that deal with the informal food sector in African states are misconstrued and unsupported, hence disabling females to put food on the table. An absence of detailed empirical information and the need for government engagement are significant factors leading to female poverty-related challenges. Non-appearance of proper statutory commitment has restricted attempts to appreciate the dominant relationship that the informal food sector has with females and urban development processes. Women play a pivotal role in provision of food and livelihoods through the informal food sector. Failure to comprehend this sector has aggravated hunger and poverty for women in African states because food and household related resources are diminished.

According to Baaz and Stern (2013), Congolese women run away from wars as they are often subjected to sexual harassment and rape, and suffer from sexually transmitted diseases, stigmatization, and sometimes unwanted pregnancies because they are used as weapons of war leading to their incapacitation. Somalian women in Mogadishu experience sexual violence and gang rape at the hands of armed groups, including government forces (Wilson & Hurvitz 2014). Such gruesome acts are psychologically and physically damaging, contributing to women's failure to appropriately recover in their provision of sustainable livelihoods. When women are left as widows, they struggle to provide for their households with continuous improved food security after conflict (Devakumar, Birch, Osrin, Sondorp & Wells 2014). War also makes women war victims because they are left with daunting tasks of keeping families together after displacement. The effort they make in the war zone areas is invalidated because war leads to lack of resources, pressure, and persecution (Otto, Zachariah, Wolski, Pinto, Barimalala,

Nhamtumbo & Harrington 2022). Their ability to bring food, clothing, and shelter in devoured infrastructures for their children and their families, is limited. Due to stress caused by war, women opt to look for maintainable livelihood elsewhere.

1.3 BACKGROUND TO THE PROBLEM

Young African females continue to move to other countries for employment and to further their education. “Poverty and vulnerability of ecological degradation in Sub-Saharan African countries is understood to be increasing their rate of migration” (Chinyakata, Raselekoane, Mudau, & Mapaya 2019). They flock into the United Kingdom, United States of America, South Africa, and other countries that offer more potential and opportunities than their countries’ deteriorated economies, political unrest, and ecological conditions (Manase 2016; Moyo 2020). Edo, Osadolor and Dading (2020) suggest that obstructions in economic growth of Sub-Saharan African countries is due to ongoing poor political decision-making by political administrators. These declined economies have led to poverty which impels women into an unsustainable livelihood, a henceforth inconsistent and perverse manner of living, as well as diminished ability to empower themselves and to fight hunger. As a result, they seek a livelihood in countries comprehended to be more economically viable and that afford them a reasonable sustainable livelihood (Chikera 2015). After the late President Robert Mugabe imposed a land redistribution programme where white-owned commercial farms were forcefully confiscated from them and given to unqualified farmers, Zimbabwe’s economy declined, food supply worsened, and inadequate quality of life was encountered (Chipuriro 2021; Madimu 2020; Laurie 2016). Zimbabwe’s health sector (among others) also weakened, as it fails to provide medical assistance because the medical infrastructure is dire where one physician attends to approximately twelve thousand (12 000) patients (Witter, Chirwa, Chandiwana, Munyati, Pepukai & Bertone 2019). Malawians who were living in Zimbabwe also migrated in large numbers into South Africa to seek livelihood. Other Malawians migrated from Malawi due to poor climatic conditions (Rugunanam 2020:252).

Mbiyozo (2018) posits that while migration has led to realisation of goals, capabilities, and freedom for migrating women, it has also put pressure on receiving economies. The influx of other Africans into South Africa has overburdened the South African economy. Gordon (2020)

indicates that overpopulation, unemployment as well as race, tribal, cultural and language differences have led to social conflicts such as hate crime (xenophobia) where the victim (foreigner) is blamed for taking employment opportunities from locals. Over-urbanisation is also witnessed and has led to poor service delivery in South Africa (Turok 2012). An increase in migrants has led to high unemployment, and serious exploitation of the South African health sector (Kok & Collinson 2006).

When there are insufficient resources, females are subjected to complexities. They do not easily find immediate economic opportunities due to their deficiency in language expertise, skills training, and education. Some females encounter difficulties during recruitment processes when authorities are unhelpful. Tsega (2016) indicates that when migrant females delay finding permanent jobs, they also battle to find accommodation which exposes them to abuse. Those who are employed are not fully protected – for instance, their passports are seized, and their salaries are withheld by their employers. They suffer from verbal, physical, or sexual harassment and even murder. According to Choi, Kushner, Mill, and Lai (2014), migrant women encounter challenges due to their backgrounds, occupation, and family context. These women further encounter segregation, xenophobia, and discrimination in terms of gender and race. Regularly they come across their specific challenges that result from pregnancy and complications of giving birth.

1.4 STATEMENT OF PROBLEM

Zinatsa and Saurombe (2022) signify that those incidents that happen around female migrants are understudied. This means that a close look at their mechanisms to make a livelihood has been neglected, despite their struggle for a sustainable livelihood always having been of central concern to them. Again, efforts to pursue a sustainable livelihood have always been perceived as a principal task for them, thus a need to investigate how international female migrants sustain themselves, when far from their homes. Often, female migrants take long to acquire a sustainable livelihood because they pay recruitment fees to dishonest agencies through monthly salary deductions once they have started working (Platt, Baey, Yeoh, Khoo & Lam 2017). Although this route of employment might appear attractive, as promised to acquire jobs at a quicker rate, the method is detrimental to their progress in getting a sustainable livelihood, particularly amongst those with little access to sufficient income. Frequently, agencies use an outsourcing method of recruitment for this group and then pay them insignificant money

(Dadusc & Mudu 2022). Such recruitment and placement procedures show how migrant women are detrimentally affected financially as well as through employment conditions all of which expose them to continuous poverty (McKay & Markova 2010).

The disparity between households led by female migrants coming from cities and those from poor countries and rural areas is noticed (Calderón Cockburn et al. 2015:8 in Alaluusua 2017). Women coming from rural areas struggle more when looking for work because of a range of factors such as lack of language skills, experience, and education. In rural communities, Alaluusua (2017) contends that often education is possible only until the end of primary school as access to secondary schooling might require migration to a city. This often leads to marriage at an early age to ensure survival. As a female employee, failure to effectively communicate in employers' languages is detrimental to sustainable livelihoods because these employees fail to air their complaints when underpaid, exploited, and abused. Due to inadequate socio-economic, political, and physical systems and policies (deliberate or unintentional), female migrants seek and end up acquiring a sustainable livelihood through working as domestic workers.

Evidence shows that domestic female workers are the most underprivileged group and are the least to acquire fairness from both employers and systems. They are subjected to undefined terms of employment, which often implies that they get lower wages than average and work for excessively long hours. In most cases, they are denied a weekly day of rest (Mantouvalou 2012:133). Fish (2006:107) postulates that they lack knowledge on the policies guarding them and are hence disempowered by those with more resources. Exploitation of domestic workers can be partly attributed to disparities in national labour and employment legislation. Less protection at work and not getting paid cause delays and obstruct their efforts to a sustainable livelihood. Migrant domestic workers often do not have the knowledge of the labour rules that protect them, and therefore engage in jobs without contracts or sign contracts that do not fully protect them at work (Malit & Naufal 2016). Griffin (2011) designates that migrant woman working as domestic workers who are unshielded often encounter discrimination because of sex, race, and caste and those not documented are sometimes physically harassed or not paid sufficiently by their employers. These employers argue that they feed and accommodate them in their houses.

In certain instances, the salary that women receive as domestic workers fails to tally with previous work experience, educational background, or marital status (Lim & Paul 2021). These women are seldom regarded as having the capacity to look for income, wages or salary that

will provide a sustainable livelihood (Smith 2011). It is also believed that these women contribute to the attempts of other people chasing and achieving their dreams and goals, whilst theirs will be suppressed due to lack of recognition, time pressure, and a shortage of financial aid. Thus, these women's aspirations are highly concealed. Rao (2011:759) is of the opinion that they end up lacking substantial financial, human, natural and social reserves, and other life-needed valuables for their sustainable livelihoods. All these factors impact negatively on their sustainable livelihood. Such challenges expose them to naked relegation and hopelessness, and a delayed quest for a sustainable livelihood (De Villiers & Taylor 2019:13). For this reason, investigating their livelihood and survival strategies, and how they manage these various multifaceted situations in their attempt to make a sustainable livelihood, is essential.

Similarly, female migrants living in Dunoon and working as domestic workers are confronted with various struggles which impede their process of financial growth, safety, and security in their quest for sustainable livelihood for them and their families. According to Caarten, Van Heugten and Merkle (2022) the question about how migrant female domestic workers make a sustainable livelihood remains unanswered because most scholars studying migration to South Africa, approach it from a male perspective, hence entangling female survival strategies with that of men. Obtaining a sustainable livelihood remains a challenge for these women as they are subject to exploitation, crime, abuse, harassment, and poverty, especially in the context of lack of supportive measures, programmes, and policies. Considering this discussion, the following primary research question is posed: What are the livelihood strategies put in place by female migrants working as domestic workers to obtain a sustainable livelihood in Dunoon, Cape Town in the Western Cape province of South Africa?

1.5 OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

Considering the research problem outlined above, the primary objective of the study is to investigate the livelihood strategies of female migrant domestic workers living in Dunoon, Cape Town in the Western Cape province of South Africa.

To achieve this, the following secondary objectives are set:

1. To outline the push and pull factors for female migration to set the context to explore the livelihood of migrant domestic workers.

2. To present the sustainable livelihood framework as a theoretical foundation to assess the livelihood strategies of female migrant domestic workers.
3. To investigate the livelihood and survival strategies of female migrants as domestic workers in Dunoon.
4. To examine policies available to safeguard female migrants working as domestic workers to obtain and improve sustainable livelihood.
5. To make recommendations on how to improve the sustainable livelihoods of this group.

1.6 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

Considering the above research objectives and to address the primary research problem, the following research questions are set:

1. What are the reasons for female migration?
2. What is the sustainable livelihood that female migrants pursue?
3. What are the livelihood and survival strategies of female migrants as domestic workers living in Dunoon?
4. What policies are available to safeguard female migrants working as domestic workers to obtain and improve sustainable livelihood?
5. What should be done to improve the sustainable livelihoods of this group?

1.7 RELEVANCY AND IMPORTANCE OF THE STUDY

The question about whether the sustainable livelihoods of migrant female domestic workers improve after migration remains open to debate. Caarten et al. (2022) indicate that scholars studying South African migration trends took it from a male viewpoint hence intertwining female migration challenges with that of men. It also shows that incidents that happen during female migration are understudied. Hence, the study aims to validate if the assumption is appropriate. It is essential, therefore, that this research analyses whether the sustainable livelihood of female domestic workers improved after migration. The research also envisaged exploring the intricacies that female migrants experience as domestic workers. Investigating the sustainable livelihood of female migrants working as domestic workers will contribute to possible new findings that will assist other researchers in similar studies and hopefully in the

wider academic arena. Furthermore, the study will make recommendations regarding the sustainable livelihood strategies of female migrants.

1.8 CASE STUDY

The study was done in Dunoon, an area that is 34 kilometres away from the Cape Town central business centre. Dunoon first came into existence as a township after the farm, “Dunoon” was bought by the city for low-income housing development, to house the burgeoning informal settlement adjacent to Marconi Beam (www.groundup.org.za). Dunoon has a density of thirty thousand (30,000) square kilometres of land surface with a populace of approximately thirty-one thousand three hundred and thirty-three (31,333) people (Cape Town Census and Population Statistics 2011). The area has 3,765 formal houses, 9,177 backyard shacks and 345 apartments according to City records (2011). Dunoon’s racial components include 89.3% Black people (from the Eastern Cape, other provinces, and other countries) and 5.6% coloured, while slightly over 5% are a mixture of other races such as Indians and Asians.¹

Dunoon has three primary schools namely Dunoon Primary, Sophakama Primary and Silverleaf Primary and one secondary school namely Inkwenkwezi Secondary School. The population size makes it difficult for parents to send all their children to these schools as they cannot all be accommodated.

In Dunoon, a substantial number of migrants stay in Kwa 5 because of its affordability. Kwa 5 was once a veld and then became forcefully occupied by occupants but was later made a “legal informal settlement”. At Kwa 5, rentals are paid to the first occupant of the yard. Those who first occupied the yards became the owners of those yards. The area does not have electricity and running water. People at Kwa 5 use the bucket, bush, or removable toilet system. There is a Shoprite shopping centre next to Kwa 5 and a Shoprite shopping centre near Dunoon taxi rank where people buy their groceries.

¹ The latest available information at place-name level is from Census 2011. The Census 2022 results are not yet available. They are expected to be published in 2023. User Information Services Statistics South Africa. Tel: (012) 310-6947. User Information Services Stats SA 2023/06/19 14:42.

A day hospital was opened for residents in 2016 which serves to treat sexually transmitted diseases, HIV/AIDs, and Tuberculosis, and provides family planning services to females staying in Dunoon (Lusithi & James 2016). The clinic also provides trauma counselling as Dunoon is well known for domestic violence with females often being sexually harassed, raped, beaten, or even killed (<https://www.westerncape.gov.za>).

The main modes of transport are taxis and minibuses, in the area. The MyCiTi bus service (<https://www.myciti.org.za/en/home/>) was introduced to the area in 2012, but the MyCiTi Dunoon station was vandalised in 2020, when violence erupted. People from Dunoon had to walk a long distance to access the MyCiTi bus service which became a safety risk. To increase security, commuters resort to using taxis, which are more expensive than MyCiTi buses. The taxi and minibus services make it possible for most females to acquire jobs as domestic workers, in the nearby upmarket suburbs.

Dunoon is located near low-density suburbs such as Table View, Milnerton, Sunningdale, Richwood, Bloubergstrand, Melkbostrand and Parklands. Dunoon is situated near to the Killarney Raceway. The motor racing ground is one of the largest motor racing stadiums in Cape Town. Women usually seek employment from spectators and racers after major tournaments. It is also close to the industrial area of Killarney Gardens.

Figure 1: Images of the Dunoon informal settlement



<https://www.millefoto.com/online-store/dunoon2>

1.9 SCOPE AND LIMITATIONS OF STUDY

When looking at the scope of the study, the researcher considered the size of the task covered in the research (Creswell 2018). The study was conducted in Dunoon, Cape Town in Western Cape province of South Africa. This area houses migrants and the populace of the sample that was drawn consists of female migrant domestic workers between the ages of 18 and 65 years who have lived in Dunoon for more than five years. These include foreign female heads of households, as well as married and unmarried women.

Limitations of study refer to parameters that prevented the researcher from pursuing further studies. The researcher was afraid to openly walk with her electronic gadgets to take all relevant pictures of Dunoon. Again, electricity load shedding played a detrimental role during the

research. The researcher failed to conduct all her research in women's houses to "eyewitness" what assets they possessed due to electricity black outs. The researcher ended up interviewing the female migrants outside of their houses. More information on the limitations of the study is provided in section 4.10 in chapter 4, under the topic of methodology.

1.10 ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

Ethical considerations were applied in accordance with Unisa's guidelines, and all respondents contributed on a voluntary basis. Their participation in the interviews was determined by their informed consent to participate in the study, after being informed of its objectives and process. The research participants were assured of total confidentiality and that the information gathered was to be used solely for the purpose of the study. They were informed about the importance of the study and how it could help female migrant domestic workers in their quest for attaining a sustainable livelihood. There was no negative discrimination for or against, nor favouritism shown towards any research participant in the study; all participants were treated with dignity and integrity regardless of gender and ethnic group. The full ethical details are discussed in chapter four, section 4.7.

1.11 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This research study applied a qualitative research methodology, and a case study design was used to investigate the livelihood strategies of migrant female domestic workers. The study applied various data collection instruments to gather relevant information relating to the research problem and objective. The research design and methodology employed are discussed in more detail in chapter four.

1.12 CHAPTER LAYOUT

This chapter presented the background to the topic, research problem, the primary and secondary objectives. It also outlined the scope, significance, limitations, and research methodology it followed.

Chapter 2 presents the literature review with particular emphasis on female migration, reasons for migration, the typology of female migrants working as domestic workers, and universal and South African policies related to domestic work.

Chapter 3 provides an account of the link between the Sustainable Livelihood Approach (SLA) and sustainable livelihoods of domestic female migrants living in Dunoon. Accounts of asset pentagon, SLA capitals, vulnerability context, resilience, transforming structures and processes, livelihood strategies and livelihood outcomes, are subsequently demonstrated. Thereafter, and furthermore, the position of female migrants when applying the SLA and recommendations on improving their capitals, is simplified. Finally, the limitation of SLA is considered.

Chapter 4 clarifies the research methodology followed to convey the research. It focuses on the methodological approach used to collect data, then refines on the data collection and sampling techniques applied as well as the analysis of data. Ethical considerations considered in the research are explicated. The researcher's personal relationship with interviewees (relationality) is exemplified. Finally, the challenges met by the researcher throughout the research are disclosed.

Chapter 5 focuses on the presentation and discussion of the research findings. It discloses circumstances of female migrants working as domestic workers. It also investigates the reasons why they left their countries of origin and the experiences that they encounter in the host country. The research inspects their survival strategies when working as domestic workers and when staying in Dunoon, to find out if they obtain a sustainable livelihood. This chapter also discusses the findings of the circumstances and obstacles that prevent them from accessing resources.

Chapter 6 gives an overall account of the research outcomes. Then it lays down recommendations and gives the conclusion to the research.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

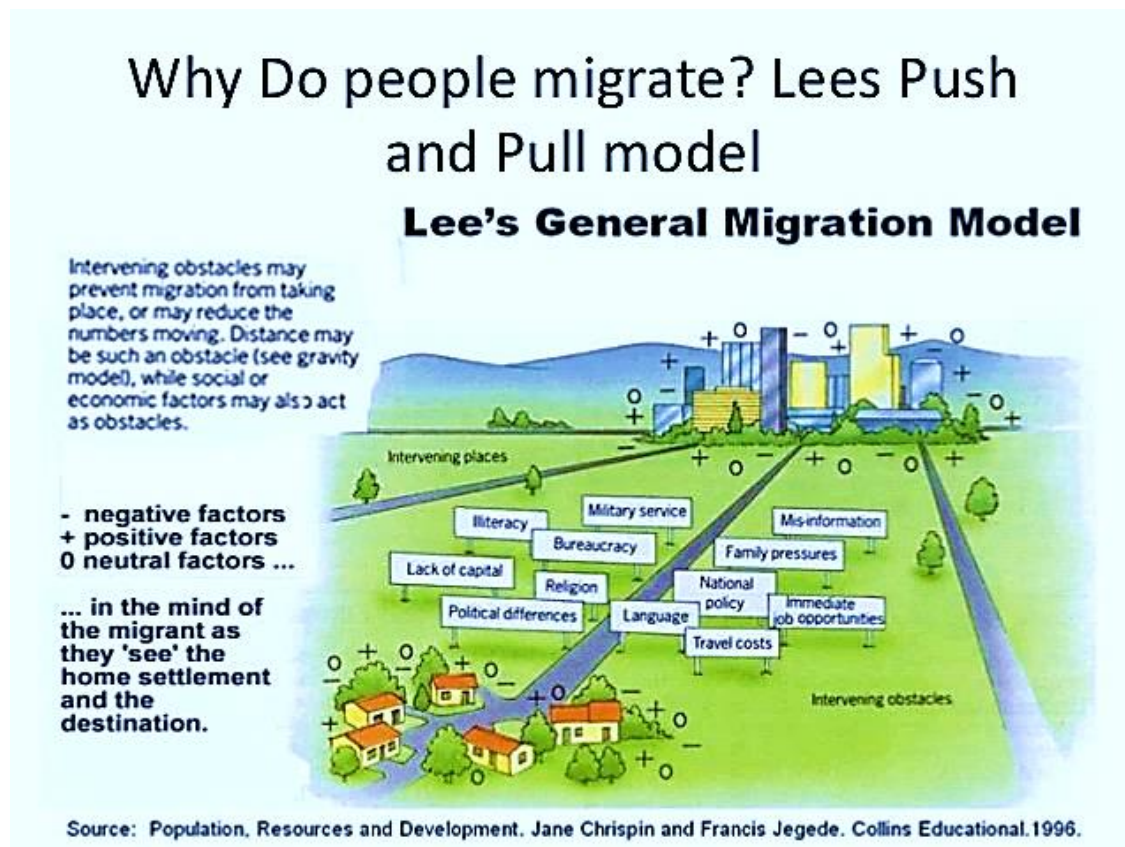
The focal point of the first section of this chapter is the literature on the push and pull factors for female migration. This literature is put forward to comprehend the significance of migration in the lives of females. It enables one to understand that “migration is an indispensable asset” used by women seeking a sustainable livelihood elsewhere (Cassanello 2022). This is followed by a discussion of the challenges encountered by female migrants, the typology of domestic labour, living standards and working environment of domestic workers and the significance of domestic work. Lastly, the chapter addresses the South African labour law and policy environment, and labour laws in other countries.

2.2 Push and pull factors of female migration

Reasons and conditions that lead to the movement of people are called push and pull drivers of migration (Ashby 2007:677). Push factors are non-conducive elements that estrange people from their places of origin. These include hostile economic conditions, ill-disposed politics, unsympathetic social conditions, unfavourable religious and cultural disorders, disadvantageous environments, and other counter elements that lead to deterioration of people’s circumstances (Cebula 2014:1; Krishnakumar & Indumathi 2014:2).

Pull features include but are not limited to attractiveness of resources in the receiving place, safety available within receiving countries, better education, family and career-development or advancement, better environments to improve lives and opportunities which change people’s lives positively (Castelli 2018:2). The push and pull factors as stemmed from Lee’s push and pull migration model (1966) encircled from Ravenstein (1885), together with privileges and challenges encountered by female migrants will be briefly outlined under this topic.

Figure 2:1 Diagram showing Lee's Push and Pull migration model



2.2.1 Push Factors

Economic disadvantage as cause for female migration

There is a link between the levels of economic development and migration (Massey 2019). Female migrants flee from their places of origin in exploration for new economic openings because of their countries' economic inefficiencies. In the view of Lulle, Janta and Emilson (2021:1735), the direct triggers for female youth migration from the South to the North include their need for human capital advancement, quest for better quality life and education, as well as a need for construction of skills, knowledge learning and employment because many countries from the South fail to offer better life quality.

Al Adeniran (2020) suggests that contemporary continental female migration of, and from, the South is increased by lack of economic development within their countries, which had led to closure in female financial openings. Economic underperformance has caused unemployment of women, resulting in financial hardship, debt, homelessness, family tension, alienation, and social isolation. Failing economies often experience high priced supplies of fundamental goods

and services such as food, water, and energy, leading to generational poverty (Gwartney, Stroup, Sobel & Macpherson 2021). Deficiency associated with weak institutional financial resources, such as a low level of education, less market skills, low literacy, and poor labour productivity, has a detrimental effect on women's economic participation. Armstrong, Cleckman-Krut, and Johnson (2018:1082) imply that in developing countries limited education and training affected by technological development has left most women unemployed, thereby exposing females to more vulnerabilities.

According to Phizacklea (2022), skilled women migrate to countries with higher wages and opportunity for career growth. They realise there is a significant gap in income between their places of origin and destination places. They also seek areas that are sustainable, which can help them to look after their families' needs. In South Africa, females migrate from one province to the other in search of employment opportunities. For example, women from the Eastern Cape search for work in other provinces as this province has the highest rate of unemployment. According to Statistics South Africa (2019), the Eastern Cape is less economically active compared to other provinces as it has 37.4% unemployment rate. Females suffer more as they are left without employment and must rely on inadequate government child support grants. This money does not meet all their needs and those of their children. Such financial lack overburdens them with more accountability for the upkeep of their families and children (Patel & Hochfeld 2011:229). Ethiopian females migrate to seek employment in other areas because they are not easily employed due to patriarchal culture which does not give educational access to women, thereby reducing their employability (Kebede 2002; Hyman, Guruge & Mason 2008).

Agricultural challenges as a push factor for migration

Women are highly affected when natural catastrophes such as floods, drought, tornadoes, and hurricanes occur (Mrsevic & Jankovic 2019). In various developing countries, more women live in rural areas where most people are found. As proposed by Kothari (2002:2), in rural areas, females' livelihoods are sustained by primary activities such as farming and fishing. When natural tragedies befall these areas, women are left extremely poor because their means of living have been taken away from them. Countries such as Mozambique, Malawi and Madagascar are extremely prone to climatic calamities which lead to less food production, hunger and communities being left "highly vulnerable" (Otto, Zachariah, Wolski, Pinto,

Barimalala, Nhamtumbo & Harrington 2022). Mozambique is regarded as one of the poorest countries with poor infrastructure in the agricultural sector. This has a direct impact on Mozambiquan women because natural disasters leave women more vulnerable, without food and unable to look after and ensure their children's livelihoods. Children in Mozambique suffer from "chronic child malnutrition" (Cunguara 2012). "Two thirds of children aged 6-59 months of age are affected by vitamin A deficiency and anaemia" (Picolo, Barros, Joyeux, Gottwalt, Possolo, Sigauque & Kavle 2019:1). One far-reaching consequence is that undernourishment of children inhibits their future development and their cognitive potential.

Forced marriages as a challenge

Many African and Moslem communities practice the culture of forcing girls into early marriages as a way of embracing culture, preserving wealth, and maintaining family status. Such inhumane, compelled procedures and actions are trivial ways of condoning certain cultures and religion (Razack 2004: 129'; Sarich, Olivier & Bales 2016). In India, Islamic men advocate for early forced marriages for their daughters as a way of guarding them from atrocities emanating from men (Bhanji & Punjani 2014:3). Forced marriages are also used to counterbalance debt, obtain financial leverage, and/or resolve controversies among families (Lee 2016). Homes that provide for orphaned girls often face challenges with early or unplanned marriages, early sexual introduction, and teen pregnancy. Indonesia is regarded as the country with the eighth highest recorded early marriage rate in the world (Rahiem 2021). Such deeds lock young women into suppressive and physiologically damaging relationships. Their developmental plans as individuals and in their societies becomes negatively impacted. Early marriage hampers girls' education, and exposes them to noncommittal marriages and health evils, which leads to deeper poverty, gender inequality, lack of awareness of law and other insecurities. Early marriage, furthermore, impounds women from procuring equal rights akin to men. It also impedes them from obtaining social and tangible resources. Migration becomes a medium to run away from such cultural afflictions and to make a livelihood elsewhere.

Female genital mutilation

Female genital mutilations are a practice prevalent in assumably culturalist communities done against females' will. This removal of partial or total external female genitalia is not only painful, but also inflicts health problems, violates girls' right to possession and control of their own body, and disseminates inequality between the sexes. According to Palermo and Peterman (2009:23), the process is a passage to justify introduction of an early arranged marriage since genital mutilation is normally done to teenage girls. However, due to globalisation and its offerings, particularly internet and televisions, women all over the world are now constantly closely checking and observing their own cultures and religions, and those of others. Such surveillance keeps helping them to understand their challenges and provides motivation to escape. When they note such harmful practices, they, consequently, use migration as leverage to escape (Temin, Montgomery, Engebretsen & Barker 2013).

Political instability

Women have migrated due to political precariousness. Political ideologies underly various institutional structures to shape the country's economy. If there is political instability within a country, various businesses are shaken and altered and opportunities for investments are minimised (Haggard 2000; Athari 2021). Constant adjustment in politics and policies due to political instability infringes relevant stakeholders and investors to do business. It also weakens them from making long-term economic plans within a country. Such fear leads to fewer business opportunities and growth (Bitar, Hamadeh & Khoueiri 2020). Fewer companies lead to fewer jobs and fewer chances for developing female employability, often leaving them less educated and less skilled. When women are not employed, their effort in economic construction is not seen. This also means a decrease in their development progress both in the public arena and at home (Amu 2005). Procuring a sustainable livelihood for their families is also reduced.

Coups, the absence of political rights and civil wars as causing political disarray

African countries are in chaotic positions, viz. a total of two hundred military coups, including fruitful and crashed coups, were witnessed in the continent between the 1960s and 2012 (Barka & Ncube 2012:1). Unstable civil-military relations and ethicised institutions, weak armed forces and bad governance emanating from an extension of presidential term limits have led to an inexhaustible number of coups in African countries (Marawako 2016:3). In other instances,

government adversaries topple their own government because they do not want them in power. In the view of Ong'ayo (2008: 15), other coups radiate from leaders who regards themselves as “protagonists” who control and use natural resources such as land, as if it were their own, whilst refusing to distribute it to those who did not fight liberation wars. As postulated by Marawako, Sixpence and Mapuvire (n.d), coups such as that of the Central Africa Republic emanate from “regionalism, marginalisation and religious intolerance” resulting in “authoritarianism and mismanagement of the economy that then promote social inequality...”, and unequal distribution of resources. Those not incorporated in the distribution of resources suffer more and the majority are women. Siegle (2021:1), indicates that “coups in Africa are devastating for the continent, contributing to instability, corruption, human rights abuses, impunity and poverty.” When coups take place, women are negatively impacted as restraints in physical and social interaction are witnessed during and beyond war disasters. Women who suffer from both wars and domestic aggressions are less productive, leading to both national and domestic underperformance (Chant 2008), causing a vicious cycle that leads to feminisation of poverty.

Afghan women flee because of political conflicts within their zones. Ukrainian women and children flee from their country because of war started by Russian President Putin (Knights et al. 2022). These political conflicts lead to a disrupted environment, where lack of food and water are prerequisite for survival. Inefficiencies to this degree inaugurate increasing struggles for women as they try to get to food and water from faraway places for survival since men will be at chaotic warfronts. Similarly, in Yemen, escalation of war is linked to an increased figure in violence against women hence the country declared a gender-based violence zone (Granzow 2015:167). Women then use migration as a sanctuary instrument to escape abuse, rape, and death. Rape is used as a war armament (Meger 2010:119). The women, therefore, necessarily migrate to look for food, water, medication as well as better survival mechanisms and livelihood.

A generation of civil wars bring about disarray in various countries adding to female burden. Civil conflicts sometimes emanate from people's differences in ethnic backgrounds. Ethnocentrism has assembled one group of people opposing other groups to compete for control. Such acts try to validate policies of barring other ethnic groups as means to claim dominion (Roessler 2011:2). During these conflicts, women are raped by men from different ethnic background. According to Handrahan (2004:429), the intention of men who rape women

from a dissimilar background is to produce biological children that are ethnically theirs. Females who are raped, deteriorate in productivity. An effort to stop such acts impacts women negatively. For example, American female defence personnel were left homeless and killed when they tried to stop men from raping females during the civil wars in Iraq and Afghanistan. In other cases, female defence employees were traumatised by the death of fellow soldiers who tried to stop such civil wars (Eager 2016).

Spanish fascisms were infamous under Franco's dictatorship, in southwestern Spain. Totalitarianism was motivated by the perception that women were second-class citizens and inferior to men (Munoz-Encinar 2019:47). European women who were in that section of the country encountered more civil war atrocities. This resulted in insecurity within their places of marriage and work because they were not of Spanish origin. Continuation of civil wars beget more female rape cases and deaths in that region. Similarly, the civil war which emerged between Kurdish groups in Ukraine led to sexual harassment and death of an enormous number of women (Darden, Henshaw & Szekely, Mogan 2016). They became more psychologically traumatised when they witnessed the death of their families and friends. These women were forced into looking after children on their own under dire and insecure circumstances. Inequality of women, who were left to bear challenges of looking after children's welfares with limited resources, was evidenced. On that account, a widened poverty rate was distinguished.

2.2.2 Pull factors

The following pull factors contribute positively to female migrants' sustainable livelihood.

Financial empowerment

Migration intensifies female sovereignty in considerable ways. Many Zimbabwean females migrate to South Africa because they consider the country to have better economic prospects for growth and the fact that the South African currency (Rand) has greater power compared to the Zimbabwean dollar (Chikovore & Maharaj 2023). In the view of Walker (2010:229), employment available in places of destination create openings for women to work independently for the first time in their lives, hence empowering them financially. It also avails more financial openings, thus empowering them to control their own time, lives, and bodies, and it increases their voice (Folbre 2019:100). Having access to their own money affords them

an upper hand in making decisions in the house and outside. This financial capital has significance in the remoulding of their wealth, human capital, and family wealth, and it can lead to them being self-employed (Dunn & Holtz-Eakin 2000). Furthermore, it has a huge influence on female's ability to run households and to start businesses (Coleman 2007). Being in possession of own money marks the beginning of sending remittances back home, and it also means opening doors to send children back home to school and to buy natural assets such as land to sustain their livelihoods. When females are employed, the family's diet improves because women are the primary caregivers (White 2014:225, Smart, Tschirley & Smart 2020). Moreover, women who build good relations with their employers, get treated with respect and dignity, and they enjoy tangible and non-tangible extra benefits from employers which betters them (Bhorat, Naido & Yu 2014:1402). There is high likelihood of such women to receive Unemployment Insurance Fund (UIF) cover, pension funds, subsidy in healthcare and other employment benefits outside of employment contracts such as being sent to receive training in childcare, adult care, or cooking courses which can become an enduring profession. Less occurrence of child and adult hunger is witnessed in households that receive valuable aid from their employers (Hondagneu-Sotelo, Montes & Raices 2021).

Educational opportunities

Financial empowerment affords women opportunity to advance their education. Women who are financially empowered send their children and/or themselves to school. The power of education openly exposes challenges that women encounter in their daily lives (Stromquist 2022). Obtaining better quality education assists in accomplishing desired outcomes such as being more productive, acquiring critical thinking skills and having a greater sense of discipline. Again, education has a positive influence on entrepreneurial development as it enables females to have skills to run their own businesses (Al Mamari, Mondal, Shukaili, Kassim 2022:23). Education allows women to increase skills and make constructive decisions. It also offers females competence to create careers, experience captivating occurrences, have greater confidence and self-esteem, and develop their ability to express opinions (Labrianidis, Sykas & Sachini 2022; Fereidouni, Mehran & Mansourian 2015:366).

Strengthening of cultures

A richer and diverse culture is the ramification of migration. When women mingle, they teach and learn new languages and cultures from one another (Bryan, Dadzie & Scafe 2018).

Grasping the two brings people together as it enables them to diversify, extend communication skills and learn life differently (Gallo 2001:109; Carlos-Chavez & Gonzales-Backen 2022). It further helps women to assimilate more easily through valuing and respecting others. Such developments facilitate their belonging as knowing culture and language helps them to be better communicators and fight culture shocks (Waite 2013:413; Wahyuningtyas, Sumbogo, Rusgowanto, Yunus, Willyarto & Cahyanto, 2021). Being better respondents paves the way to understanding activities and supports networking for job opportunities by leveraging chances to acquire more resources to empower them.

Reinforcement of networks

When people migrate, they network thereby creating a sense of belonging to others and their relationship expands. Bucholtz (2019) indicates that the process of migration is usually facilitated by networking, with social media being a very prominent platform used by migrants. Social media enables migrants to access information about activities occurring internationally and locally. Through social media, people can construct social networking sites which lead to more interpersonal relationship networks. In the act of using social media, friends and relatives who live in distant parts of the world, communicate, and find avenues to migrate (Wellman, 2018; Bucholtz 2019). The creation of social remittances results in codes of good disposition regarding how to be friendly and helpful to neighbours, which is reciprocated, leading to community participation, cohesion, and social progress (De Haas 2012:362).

2.2.3 Challenges encountered by female migrants after migration

Economic challenges and lack of funding

When females migrate, they encounter challenges on the receiving end such as delay in getting work due to lack of exposure and networking in new areas, hence inhibiting them from financial gains. Lack of income exposes them to various social and moral challenges. They resort to survival skills such as prostitution to earn a living, which is not unusual for females worldwide. Hungwe (2020), indicated that in South Africa, some foreign female migrants become desperate to earn money for survival, which forces them into sexual promiscuity and prostitution. Such survival skills are risky as they can lead to relationship conflicts, and hazards that jeopardise their health and physical well-being. Having no income forces female migrants

to live under poor conditions and unsuitable housing. They, furthermore, become exposed to sicknesses related to mental illnesses, non-transmissible diseases, and communicable ones such as HIV and AIDS, as well as breathing difficulties (Sam 2020).

Moreover, when female migrants get jobs, they are often employed as temporary workers with lower salaries compared to Indigenous people. They obtain insecure and temporary jobs which slow down their developmental pace. These irregular jobs do not assure them enough money to study further (Kim & Cho 2020). The inability to acquire the necessary financial resources to study further forces women to work for longer hours in foreign countries, succumbing to violations of human dignity such as discrimination, isolation, and abuse (Amnesty International 2014:44). Similarly, research conducted in Johannesburg (South Africa) by Ncube and Bahta (2022) indicates that a substantial number of migrant females lacks credit facilities from the government, banks, and loaning businesses as they do not hold proper documentation to allow the facilitation of acquiring loans, thereby leading to more economic disempowerment. Not having access to loans compromises the availability of cash which helps them to survive when encountered with shocks such as job losses, xenophobia, pandemics such as Covid 19, climate changes, fire, floods, thefts, and drought (Mutopo 2014).

Social discrimination

Female migrant groups come across discrimination based on migrant status, gender, racial class, ethnicity, legal status, age, histories of settlement, as well as xenophobic and anti-immigrant sentiment (Choi et al. 2014; Garcia 2017; Phizacklea 2022). Foreign females encounter problems when seeking accommodation, using public transport, as well as accessing education and health services. They are susceptible to harassment when using public services, amenities, and transport as they are easily distinguished from locals through their dress code and speech (Hungwe 2013, Chinyakata & Raselekoane 2021). These women are defenceless against abuse by property owners who do not pay attention to female migrants' inability to pay. They are also aware that migrant women cannot vacate housing because of limited alternatives. Property owners raise rentals, electricity and water bills and add other costs that are unclear to the tenants (Ayano 2020, Scheba & Turok 2020). In some instances, house owners sexually abuse migrant females when they fail to pay rent (Liu & Wong 2018; Tester 2008; Baruah 2007).

Exclusion faced by women

Women encounter exclusion in areas they migrate to. Evidence has it that female migrants in Turkey succumbed to exclusion and persecution at work and within their living spaces (Knappert, Kornau & Figengul 2018:3). This inhibits female migrants' access to professional development and career growth. Such oppression emanated from foreign women's incapacity to speak local languages and ignorance of policy knowledge needed to protect them as workers. The prohibition of female migrant PhD holders to work in universities in South Korea has also been demonstrated, citing lack of knowledge of local languages (Yoon & Kim 2019). In South Africa, xenophobic attacks on foreigners took place between 2000 and 2019. Many females carried the overwhelming burden of seeking safety for their children and themselves. According to Mlambo (2019), lack of accountability by officials to stop such hatred and seclusion is the major reason for the spread of abuses against foreign migrants.

Gender-Based Violence (GBV) as a social challenge

GBV is on the rise which increases female migrants' vulnerability. GBV is violence that is inflicted due to particularisation of gender. It transpires publicly or privately and normally emerges from harmful gender norms or stereotyping and is used to justify violence against women (Ofana 2019). In South Africa, one in every three women succumb to GBV. According to Makou (2017) in Banda (2020), in South Africa, a woman is killed by an intimate partner every eight hours. In Africa, GBV is considered a widespread practice against women (Muluneh, Stulz, Francis & Agho 2020). In their quest for sustainable livelihoods, migrant women are often sexually harassed, bodily harmed and sometimes even killed. This group – in search of food, shelter, and money – is more susceptible to being victims of GBV because of longer periods without income and thus dependence on others. In the research conveyed by Federici (2018) and Murray and Boros (2002:10) in Akhter and Islam (2016), it was identified that male relatives and spouses forcefully take women's money borrowed from various money schemes, leading to "feminisation of debts". This form of abuse leads to victimisation of women when they ask to be given back their money. Those who insist on return of their money are physically abused or killed by their partners.

In the view of Piper, Rosewarne, and Withers (2017), lack of instant networking, and limited knowledge of the environment and people in surrounding areas cause female migrants to take longer time to acquire jobs compared to Indigenous people. In 2020, a lockdown was introduced as a mechanism to lower the spread of Coronavirus, a pandemic which affected the

entire world. During lockdown, cases of GBV radiated from hunger and scarcity of food within poor households (Gould 2020). As postulated by Bettinger-Lopez and Bro (2020), “a double pandemic” was encountered in households with foreign migrant females because they did not only face “domestic violence in the age of COVID-19”, but they also failed to receive aid from the government.

McIlwaine and Carlisle (2011) argue that female migrants’ exposure to GBV is binary, as it affects them as migrants and as women. GBV transpires behind closed doors and continues to be hidden, unexplored and unaddressed because migrant women fear to reveal that they are abused. They also lack awareness of their rights about how to fight GBV and are ignorant of support services and places of safety. A massive number of them do not have knowledge on the topic (Freedman 2016:18). Nordby (2018) suggests that the inability to speak local languages and having less association with others in existing social structures increases female migrants’ exposure to this type of violence. GBV is detrimental to foreign females’ provisional efforts, robs them of their freedom and is an entrance to more female hunger, poverty, and suffering.

Time poverty

In the view of Blackden (2006:7), “time poverty” radiates from social unfairness experienced by women. An individual is “time poor” when working long hours yet remaining financially poor. They are also “time poor” if they lack financial gains and leisure time after engaging in the labour market. Additionally, they are “time poor” when they do the household’s chores such as cooking, fetching firewood, gardening, and looking after children and the sick for extended periods without financial gain (World Bank 2009). In research done in Mozambique, Arora (2015:196) discovered that “while women's labour allocation to economic activities is comparable to that of men, household chores and care work are almost entirely women's responsibility”, demanding responsibilities “leave women significantly time-poorer compared to men.” Similarly, with no choice and support, foreign women carry tiresome workload for exceedingly long hours (Oplatka 2017). This prevents them from looking for jobs which offer them financial leverage. Absence of financial gain is detrimental to their growth in a foreign land (Wright et al. 2015: 450). Women having both paid jobs and doing unpaid work simultaneously have less time to rest. The research conveyed by Martey, Etwire and Koomson (2022) indicates that “household income is the primary channel through which time poverty influences child work and school attendance”, leading to generational poverty. Sometimes

women doing unpaid jobs are downgraded by their own partners and taken as either useless and/or as extra loads on them. Doing unpaid jobs prevents foreign females from sending remittances back to their families in their original homes. Time poverty slows down female migrants' progress. It leads to slow integration and assimilation processes within new systems (Giurge, Whillans & West 2020).

A loss of identity to belong

Female migrants often discard their identities when trying to integrate and belong. They assume that holding on to their distinct ways of doing things hinders them from quick transition because of the slow pace of affiliation and acceptance. Holding onto their uniqueness will entail them being distinguished as “not our own.” Changing codes in dress, food, music, and “way of being” is a survival approach to avoid discrimination and for them to be accepted. This is a gendered problem as females are customary holders of tradition and cultures through what they eat and dress (Backstead 2018:245). Losing identity is a direct ruination and demolition of tradition and culture which are sorely needed contributors of comfort, belonging, and integrity. In the view of Lukács (2021), it is the “destruction of reason”.

Coronavirus as adding to female migrants' challenges

The aftermaths of the Coronavirus pandemic have been noticed as adding serious burdens to all structures of women's lives. The occurrences of violence have augmented universally (UN Women 2020). As more enforced lockdown regulations prevailed, people were restricted from going to work, and as a result companies lost income. This has led to more female migrants losing jobs or working reduced hours. Loss of jobs has placed greater economic pressures and social inequalities on female migrants. It has also exposed women to GBV and sexual harassment apart from Corona-infections (Malathesh, Das & Chatterjee 2020). According to Nicole Mason, the President and chief executive of the Institute for Women's Policy Research, female migrants were harshly affected by the consequences of the virus and found themselves without enough *financial support* and *government assistance*. This has led her to declare the period as a “Shesession era” – a name derived from the word “recession” (The New York Times 2020).

In South Africa, female migrants were enormously affected by the lockdown (The Star News 2020; Mukumbang, Ambe & Adebisi 2020). They failed to obtain help from social grants and a solid number of them were not registered for UIF. Foreign women were refused the

opportunity to obtain food parcels. Female jobs in the domestic workforce were terminated *in fear of Corona* contamination of employers and children. This has left female migrants struggling to provide for themselves and their children. Females in the houses were also faced with an increased responsibility of looking after children who were exempted from school in line with lockdown regulations (Alon, Doepke, Olmstead-Rumsey & Tertilt 2020). This added pressure to their already stressful circumstances. The pandemic has aggravated variation and disparity between genders, classes, and nationalities (The New York Times 2020; Rose-Redwood Kitchin, Apostolopoulou, Rickards, Blackman, Crampton & Buckley 2020).

2.3 Typology of domestic labour and its history

Universally, domestic employees are females because men do not compete in this job market (Tilly & Rojas-García 2021). In Britain in the 19th century, domestic work was used as a tool to lessen the challenges of unemployment. According to Flint (1988:1), a domestic worker was regarded as a person “whose main and general function was to be about their employer’s person, or establishments, residential or quasi- residential, for the purposes of ministering to their employer’s needs or wants, or to the needs or wants of those who were members of such establishments or those resorting to such establishments, including guests.” In the United States of America (USA) between 1870 and 1920, domestic workers were defined as non-industrial personnel (Cock 1989:2). When production of machines increased, more people were employed in the manufacturing sector. This increased people’s need for domestic workers in their houses (Romero 2016). The employer’s control over their domestic workers widened into the private lives of the domestic workers. Within the domestic services environment, not only gender and class inequalities were reproduced and reinforced, but also the inequalities of race (Romero 1992). This was still the case in developing countries in the 20th century and still is in the 21st.

Domestic work is women’s primeval responsibility that is regarded as inborn and untaught to anyone (Kabeer 2021). This industry is understood to be ancient, however, signs of fading are not prevalent, and although there are significant changes in this field, it is connected to a modern form of slavery. Mantouvalou (2015) explained that domestic work is linked to the history of enslavement that radiates from colonialism where domestic workers laboured in imperialist households. Domestic workers used to be distinguished as babysitters, bedmakers, and cleaners who performed their duties in houses or offices, institutions, or commercial

premises (Kraamwinkel 2016). Female house cleaners were the employer's personal assistant, helping with all their confidential tasks (Cox 1997). Cooking was the primary work they performed (Sharpless 2013). Nannies (nurses) took care of infants and children, whilst "wet nurses" often breastfed new-borns if their mothers could not or did not desire to do so themselves. The demand for domestic work and its labours has increased over time (Blofield & Jokela 2018).

2.3.1 The standard of life for domestic workers

Domestic work is done separately and privately and is in two forms namely, "live-in," and "live-out" (Chen 2011). Live-in domestic labourers reside at the employers' premises. In the view of Elius (2020), not all live-in domestic workers live in comfortable accommodation. These workers often live in insecure, unhealthy rooms and basements, while their employers still regard their houses as "shielding shelter." Live-in domestic workers can be isolated and sacrifice their own independence when they live with families that are not their own (Silvey & Parrenas 2020). They are often expected to be available to their bosses whenever required. This leads to less time for themselves and a "lack of separation between work and home space" (Tillu 2011:27). Vanyoro (2021) posits that live-in domestic workers work harder than live-out domestic workers.

Domestic workers living in the employers' houses frequently come from poorer contexts. They may have moved across national or regional boundaries, and do not have relatives or friends to offer them accommodation (Dinat & Peberdy 2007). According to Wolfe, Kandra, Engdahl and Shierholz (2020), local people do not prefer to do domestic work because of its long hours, low status, lack of freedom it brings and close supervision. Sharpless (2013) indicates that migrant domestic workers easily take the job offer because they are unfamiliar with information, advice, and other alternatives on what they could do to avoid further persecution. They do not have relatives and friends near them to help them out when in need. Parrenas (2017) points out that a certain number of live-in domestic workers do not socialise with others because their employers withhold their freedom of movement and interaction with others, for example by escorting them to church on Sundays (policing the house cleaner). Other employers limit domestic workers from interacting with friends and family by disallowing them WIFI facilities, not allowing them gadgets that enable them to send emails, audio calls, video calls or make phone calls, visiting, or meeting friends and relatives (Jureidini & Moukarbel 2004;

Silvey & Parrenas 2020). This prohibits them from independence and own self-authority. Stay-out domestic workers only work within the employers' premises, do not stay with employers, and often work for different employers, known as char jobs. In the view of Arcand (2020), domestic workers doing char work have more freedom, more spare time, and they obtain more money compared to live-in domestic workers. This type of domestic work has existed for centuries.

2.3.2 Domestic workers' working environment

The job entails holding maternalistic qualities such as being kind, forgiving, light-hearted, positive, and consolatory, amongst others, as the standard (Salami & Meheralli 2018). The job can entail affectionate labour, which is not remunerable, and can occur in secluded areas which cannot be easily regulated (Wilks 2019). Expectation of such affectionate nature often fabricates distinct types of association between employer and employees. Domestic work infers the involvement of mental and physical effort, dedication, resilience, patience, and extraordinary time. Some perceive the job as expendable job that is easily accessible by anyone who needs it because it does not require a specific skill. They deem this job as innately composed to be done by any woman and, therefore, not a valuable service. Domestic employers can assume that the recruitment of domestic work is a compassionate act, thus expecting it to be done as "an act of grace," ... very well, with courtesy and little or no pay (Shahvisi 2018). This leads to domestic work being invalidated, and unacknowledged.

There is a construction of madam-house cleaner, sister-employer, and mother-child relationships, which promote falsehood of familiarity. Bayane (2019:22) observed that domestic workers who work for their relatives are likely to have their work features (such as employment procedures, contracts, and wages) negotiated in informal and general context compared to non-relatives. Given that, this type of relationship contests balance between family and work relationship. Such relationships are expressively demanding and lead to the abuse of domestic workers (da Conceição Figueiredo, Suleman & do Carmo Botelho 2018).

When a "we are like family" statement is proclaimed, domestic workers are anticipated to satisfy extra household responsibilities without monetary benefit (Neves & Du Toit 2016). On the other hand, they are seldom rendered any family rights. For example, they cannot sit at the dinner table, and eat the same food as that of employers and are restricted from any freedom

which is rendered to “real family members.” Remarkable domestic workers embody “the ideal housewife” where they are asked to manage every household activity such as tending to children and doing and monitoring every house chore (Akalin 2007; Lutz 2016; Singh & Pattanaik 2020). Such proclamation ends up pressuring them to do unwanted or unjustified duties, and can result in them being exposed to verbal, physical, or sexual abuse.

Domestic workers are frequently overworked and persecuted but their context is not published. In Brazil, Mexico, South Africa and other countries, various other offences are continuously committed in the urban landscapes. Clark (2013) indicates that crimes emanate from socio-economic discrepancies that are institutionally manifested and societally inclined. Crimes such as gang violence, police brutality, robberies, and muggings are more broadcasted while accounts of domestic work victimisation are ignored because their challenges do not hold a “sizable approval,” leading to their problems not being recognised and publicised. In other instances, employers often disregard rules that defend the rights of domestic workers. When South Africa obtained democracy in 1994, “...servitude relations stubbornly resisted change”, as there was refusal to follow the rules that empowered domestic workers, implemented by the new government (Ally 2010:16). Employers ignored minimal employment laws and basic civil liberty rules and employed domestic workers without work contracts. Not signing contracts with domestic workers resulted in lack of information about their work rights, abusive discrimination, overwork, and devaluation. Buttell and Ferreira (2020), postulate that when exploited, women end up being ineffective, suffering from mental health illnesses such as neuromuscular disorders related to lifting heavy things at work, and chronic related diseases. Loss of productivity results in them failing to look after themselves and their children’s livelihoods. In contrast, enlightened domestic workers take legal action against their employers and seek to be compensated for abuses committed against them.

In the view of Erman and Kara (2018), domestic work is transmitted from one caste to another in the commodification of domestic labour. Domestic work is believed to be easily accessible to ample poor Black women or women of colour around the globe (van Meerkerk 2015, Nilliasca 2010). In rich countries such as America and Europe, deprived Black, Hispanic or Asian females and immigrant women work as domestic workers. Lutz (2016) indicates that these women are migrants who come from underprivileged families, towns, or countries. They view domestic work as their first option because they do not have other choices, are uneducated and unskilled, and lack options to do other profound jobs. According to Macdowell (2006),

rendering domestic work on gendered and genetic irregularities of wealth and social status intensifies class gap. When paying employees, Casanova (2013) indicates that employers use race and gender to discriminate one group of people over another. Employers of domestic workers pay their labourers based on their ethnic, social, or national origin, as opposed to the type of work performed or actual hours of work done (Gonalons-Pons 2015).

2.3.3 The significance of domestic work

Domestic work holds sustainable advantages as it enables domestic workers to survive and provide basic needs for their families. Certain women doing this job take pride in their work and view their prospects, and those of their families, through the job (Escriva & Skinner 2016). The job has immense potential to empower them to acquire various capitals that reduce poverty (Marais & Van Wyk 2015). Financial capital provides them with more power to make decisions in their homes and households (Blankson, Cowan & Darley 2018; Agbodji, Batana & Ouedraogo 2013). Money that they obtain from work bestows them a chance to send money to places of origin by way of economic and social remittances, thereby contributing to the development of their original countries. According to Simpson and Sparber (2020:12), women remit more significantly than men. UNWOMEN (no date) observed that when women remit, they normally send money to their female relatives and friends because they are trusted to use the money more productively than men. Their remittances confer resource-starved communities to control their own situations (Mehedintu, Soava & Sterpu 2019). Women from rural or other poor countries who benefit from domestic work, refer others to it.

Domestic work directly allows people to go and contribute to different economies by working there to earn a living for their own families. When people around the globe engage in other labour forces and productive jobs, they are still expected to do various tasks within their households. Hiring domestic workers to work in their houses grants them a chance to render central services elsewhere (Scrinzi 2017). Domestic work's contribution is not measured in real economic terms; however, the job is incredibly significant because it reduces pressure for domestic workers' employers. According to Whittle (2019), the job apporions domestic workers to be more productive and gain higher salaries or income.

Employers of domestic workers are enabled more leisure time to spend with families and friends and to do other things of their own interest, thereby achieving a balance between work

and family life (Hunt & Samman 2020). The job indirectly provides people with freedom to do things freely outside their homes (Roriguez 2007). ILO (2013) stipulates that this job affords the employer more time to be productive within their line of work, earn wealth and support families. According to Craig and Powell (2013), a domestic worker indirectly keeps global markets and economies operational, therefore, the job contributes to the smooth operation of the economy. In the absence of this work, middle- and upper-class families would find it difficult to balance their “productive work” and house chores. Domestic service rendered adds to domestic employers’ achievement of goals and a better quality of life (Verschuur 2013).

Furthermore, domestic workers play a pivotal role in lessening pressure from public care service providers. As many countries face a decline in public provision of care services, the presence of domestic workers decreases the government’s need to invest in public care facilities that look after children, the elderly, persons with disabilities and others who need care. The ILO (2015) indicates that ageing populations particularly in European countries and North America is increasing leading to an added demand for domestic workers who help to care for elderly people within their homes. The Bureau of Labor Statistics in the USA approximates that the need for care givers may double in the care industry due to the growth in number of elderly people and due to the Covid-19 pandemic (BLSUSA 2021). The findings obtained by Gallotti and Mertens (2013), revealed that by 2013, close to half of migrants offered household services in France, whilst in Italy, there are more than 1.2 million domestic workers, and a rise is expected due to an increased number of elderly people there who need care. In Britain, the requirement for more domestic workers, caregivers, and home nursing staff was deepened by Covid-19 deaths and disabilities, including those of the elderly, which have changed employment dynamics in the world. According to the then British Home Secretary Priti Patel, their care sector struggled extraordinarily due to lack of care personnel, hence a need to hire more care givers from all over the world (Elgot 2021).

2.3.4 How domestic work is misinterpreted

According to Lutz (2016), this job is sometimes regarded as non-productive and unprofitable because no added value is openly accounted for it. Those who misconstrue it, reflect it as obscure and economically disadvantageous for the households employing domestic workers because the job does not directly contribute money and assets to them. Other people assume that the job reduces remuneration to certain households because of the salaries that they pay to

a domestic worker. As observed by Lutz (2016), when employers are dissatisfied with their own salaries, they pay domestic workers inadequately. Furthermore, when these employers encounter pressure from their workplaces, they pass it on to their domestic workers. In the view of Pande (2018), domestic workers' salaries are determined by the capacity of their employer/s to pay, and this work is considered as a job which does not subsidise the employer and therefore it not being taken seriously. Boris and Nadasen (2015), argue that domestic employers claim that elevating the position of domestic workers will call for increased remuneration. This might lead to employers failing to afford their employees' salaries. Domestic workers without other alternatives themselves would opt to work for an insignificant salary or for food stamps to feed their families and survive, rather than to stay at home and do their non-paid house chores. However, when they fail to receive any form of payment, these women are denied the liberty to empower themselves and those around them.

2.4 The South African labour law

In the 1970s and 1980s during the apartheid era, domestic workers in South Africa went through greatest deprivation because they worked long hours (65 hours per week) and were paid very insignificant wages (R50.00 per month when a bread cost R0.64 or 64 cents) (Cock 1989:41). They were breadwinners who looked after their families and extended family members with the salary that they got from work. Women who worked as domestic workers left their children with their parents, grandparents, or other children to look after them. This led to a circle of poverty because children failed to go to school whilst looking after their siblings (Cock 1984:5) Those who did not have relatives to look after their children also hired other women to look after their children (a situation which was hard and expensive for them).

The Basic Conditions of Employment Act, No.75 of 1997, in South Africa outlines a domestic worker as "...an employee who performs domestic work in the home of his or her employer ..." (South Africa 1997:5). To address labour needs and protect all people and those previously disadvantaged such as domestic workers, the South African government set rules under the Basic Conditions of Employment Act (BCEA), NO 75 OF 1997 after obtaining democracy (South Africa 1997:5). These rules were written for domestic employers and their employees and intended to communicate specific information of what is expected of employers when hiring domestic workers and to ratify the relationship between them.

The Domestic Workers' Act sets out minimum wages for domestics and stipulates their employment conditions such as hours of work, overtime pay, salary increases, deductions, annual and sick leave, termination of employment, family responsibility and parental leave. The clauses also included meal intervals, prohibition of employment and general administrative requirements (Sebola 2014, Gobind, Pless & Ukpere 2013). By establishing minimum wages, Budlender (2016) concurs that the domestic workers' enactment would not only correct domestic workers' conditions of service in South Africa, but also make positive impact on needs and legal position. In the view of Magwaza (2008), having written contracts will enhance fair and equal treatment of domestic work in the workplace and protect both employer and employee in conflict.

The South African government's position on a minimum wage for domestic workers in 2002 was a positive outcome that was welcomed by domestic workers. The position taken went a long way to diminish women's poverty and protect them from extremely low wages. Increased wages guarantee a reasonable share of progress and thereby contribute to economic and social independence for domestic workers (Budlender 2016). In the view of Oelz (2014), these labour laws for domestic workers, in addition to the available labour laws and other laws governing and controlling labour services, would contribute to protecting them from being too vulnerable. However, Odeku (2014), contradicts the aforementioned, as he pointed out that a minimum wage set for domestic workers was not satisfactory because it did not improve their lifestyles. According to a survey conducted in Pietermaritzburg by Economic Justice and Dignity Group (EJDG), "a minimum wage given to domestic workers could not offer an average family of four a balanced meal for a month." It was observed that a large quantity of domestic workers are Africans who came from families that surpass an average of four, hence these domestic workers' families are bound to starve (Opperman 2021).

In South Africa, as from 1 March 2021, the minimum wage for domestic workers was set at R19.09 per hour in 2021 and R23.19 in 2022 respectively (Damon 2022). Network Marketing (NWM 2020) argues that domestic workers' income is not usually increased in vast percentage because employers cannot always afford to pay higher salaries, as they also face monetary complexities within their own workplaces. They would rather preserve the domestic employment sector by offering their employees what they can afford to pay than not employing them to avoid job losses in this sector. In other instances, employers would not manage to pay or simply do not want to pay, hence increasing joblessness in the country. In defiance of moves

to empower domestic employees by giving them increases, a portion of employers do not want to follow rules (Budlender 2016). Consequently, not all domestic workers enjoy such enclosures in practical terms. Inadequate supervision to monitor compliance by employers further exposes domestic workers to indecent salary levels.

According to the South African legislation of domestic work, normal working hours for domestic workers was then set at 45 hours per week. When a domestic worker works more than the working hours as agreed in their work contract, they should be paid overtime. There are two types of overtime, namely normal overtime, and double overtime. Normal overtime is any extra hours worked outside the stipulated 45 hours from Monday to Saturday. These extra hours are paid at one and a half times the normal hourly rate. The second type is double pay overtime, which is any extra hours that a domestic worker may work on Sundays and public holidays for which they are paid twice the normal hourly rate. A domestic worker may not work more than three hours of overtime on a normal nine-hour workday and may not work more than 15 hours of overtime in a week. They may also not work seven days repeatedly (<https://www.gov.za/files>). In South Africa, public holidays include New Year's Day, Human Rights Day, Good Friday, Family Day, Freedom Day, Workers' Day, Youth Day, National Women's Day, Heritage Day, Day of Reconciliation, Christmas Day, and the Day of Goodwill (<https://www.gov.za/about-sa/public-holidays>). Any day officially stated by the government as a public holiday may be regarded as a public holiday and so should its conditions of work and payment (Gobind, Plessis, & Ukpere 2013).

Domestic workers may work on a standby basis agreed on between the employer and employee but should be paid standby allowance or be given "paid time off." Standby means "readily waiting to do work if requested." When on standby, a domestic worker is approved to rest or sleep, but must be available to work if needed. The standby period for domestic workers in South Africa lies between 8 p.m. and 6 a.m. When a domestic worker works for over three hours during any standby, the employer is required to pay, and it is limited to five times per month. Likewise, a domestic worker is permitted to do night work (work done by a domestic worker after 6pm and before 6am). Night work should be stipulated in writing by both parties. An employee must be compensated by an allowance of at least 10% of the ordinary daily wage for hours worked during the night (www.labour.gov.za). If a domestic worker works for a continuous five-hour period, they are permitted an hour break. However, agreements to break for 30 minutes may be arranged between employee and employer (Nani 2021).

Marais (2009) states that a full-time domestic worker like any other employee is warranted a three-week annual leave period or approved a day off after every 17th day of duty. Pregnant women doing domestic work are allowed up to a four-month parental leave and are not expected to return to work for a minimum of six weeks after giving birth. When a child is adopted, both parents are allowed ten continuous days of parental leave from the day on which the child is taken into their care. While parental leave and adoptive leave are unpaid, an employee may apply for UIF.

An employer is not legally obliged to pay a portion of the domestic worker's salary during parental leave but may do so if they wish to help. South Africa established the UIF in 2003 to offer short-term assistance to workers when they temporarily become jobless due to illness, or when they go on parental leave. The employee can claim from UIF during this period (Van Eck 2020). It is required that every domestic worker working for a minimum of 24 hours per month be registered for UIF. According to Bester (2020), a contribution of 1% from the employer and another 1% from the employee's wage will be paid towards that contribution. If a domestic worker works for more than one employer, each employer must register the domestic worker separately. UIF permits an employee who has contributed to the fund for more than four years, be granted a claim of up to 238 days. Women on parental leave can only make a claim for 121 days.

Drawbacks become apparent when women demand to be covered in the event of a crisis (Ncamane 2020). Women working as domestic workers lack resources such as time and transport money to go to UIF offices to submit application claims, thus endangering their livelihoods. UIF is not highly effective in checking if all domestic employers participate on behalf of their employees in the contribution (Tolla 2013; Fish 2006). Blaauw and Bothma (2010) implicate that lack of actions such as monitoring, and enforcement have significant negative impact on domestic workers. For example, some domestic workers who are not covered by UIF will incorrectly believe that they are covered. When a need for temporary help arises, they will be unable to obtain assistance from UIF and thus be exposed to more poverty. This was evidenced in 2020-2021 during the Covid-19 lockdown when domestic employees could not claim from UIF when they incorrectly assumed that they were covered through this fund.

Domestic workers are allowed sick leave. This sick leave is calculated on a three-year cycle, meaning that a permanently employed individual is permitted up to thirty days (six weeks) of

paid sick leave over three years. If an employee uses all the thirty days before the year ends, they may have additional sick leave days for which they are unpaid. Those employed on a temporary basis are authorised to work a number of days in a six-week period, in a three-year cycle. For example, an employee who works one day per week is entitled to six sick leave days in a three-year cycle. An employee should present an authorised sick letter from any medical professional, psychological or psychiatric institute, or traditional healer to the employer for sick leave taken on either side of a public holiday or long weekend, or when on sick leave for more than two days (www.labour.gov.za).

Under family responsibility leave, any permanently employed domestic worker may take paid family responsibility leave. This leave is usually given for three days when children, parents, siblings, or grandparents are ill or pass away. It is usually taken consecutively to allow the bereaved employee to arrange and attend a funeral when an immediate member passes on. If an employee takes family responsibility leave that is over and above these three days, they will be unpaid for absenteeism and may have money subtracted from their salary. If an employee, who works on a part-time basis, requests family responsibility leave, they may be asked to explain or provide medical proof or burial or death certificates as confirmation documents. (www.labour.gov.za). Any helper who has been employed for more than six (6) months must be given four-week dismissal notice when there are reasonable grounds to discharge her (Gobind et al. 2013). Only a week's dismissal notice may be given to an employee with less than six months employment.

Employers whose domestic workers live on their premises can subtract an amount of not more than 10% of their salary for accommodation. However, such a deduction may be made only if the rooms or housing provided for the domestic workers comply with the minimum standard. Minimum criteria include that the room must be well maintained, weatherproofed, and should have windows and a door which can be locked. A bathroom and a toilet should be available for every live-in domestic worker (Kubjana 2016).

As mentioned by Odeku (2014), proper administration rules and processes must be met to employ and pay a domestic employee, for instance, an employer is not allowed to employ any person under the age of 15 years. Also, when a domestic worker is given payments in cash, it must be sealed in an envelope. A pay slip which is given to the employee must total with money deposited or paid. The employer must keep copies of those pay slips (Sibiya 2006).

2.5 The position, shortcomings, and the policy environment of domestic workers in south africa

In 2021, people working as domestic workers in South Africa finally won the right for workplace injury compensation which was often at risk in the workplace. Goosen and Klugman (1996:113) indicated that this group, for instance, works with domestic chemicals, that they need to be taught how to use and be protected from, in the event of a risk occurring in their workplaces. The South African Minister of Employment and Labour at the time, Thulas Nxesi, proposed the Occupational Injuries and Diseases Amendment Bill. The bill states that all registered domestic workers (as with any other employees in South Africa) will be compensated when they are injured or when they contract diseases at work (Nani 2021). The passed bill stipulates that aid given to any injured domestic employee will be calculated in line with Schedule 4 of the Compensation for Occupational Injury and Diseases Act, which is published annually. Schedule 4 of the Act specifies that recompensating is calculated based on the degree of injury, ranging from the minimum to the maximum figure. The injury and death restitution bill also adds that compensation will be payable to the dependents of employees when they die or are injured on duty. For domestic workers, this is a great battle won (Kondo 2020; Groening 2022).

2.5.1 Commission for Conciliation, Mediation, and Arbitration (CCMA)

The Commission for Conciliation, Mediation, and Arbitration (CCMA) was founded in the year 1995 to deal with South African employees' problems related to labour disputes (Bhorat, Pauw & Mncube 2009). This mean that domestic workers have access and would be safeguarded by law through the CCMA. It also denotes that any foreigner legally working in South Africa as a domestic worker is protected. The CCMA searches for acceptable and corresponding procedures for an employer and employee to resolve challenges between them without having to resort to litigation during the arbitration process (Anevaska 2017). The commission assists both parties in finding better ways to communicate in the future should differences arise (Bhorat 2012). Maree, Klerck, and Benya (2021), indicate that the CCMA assists the employer and employee to find answers to their problems through interpreting the problem in a neutral way. The process of negotiating through the CCMA is accessible, flexible,

confidential, and inexpensive for domestic workers when presented with a labour crisis (Kwakwala 2010).

The CCMA offers help with issues pertaining to labour disputes; however, domestic workers may battle to understand the meaning of this alternative dispute resolution because they are uneducated. Lack of knowledge on such matters brings about poor negotiations even when their matter is tabled at the CCMA (Tiemeni 2018). In the view of Rapatsa (2018), employers involved in conflict resolutions sometimes channel conflicts in their favour during conciliation and arbitration due to having protection through wealth. They often have upper hand power because they possess knowledge of labour laws. Further in their favour is that they keep records as evidence of employees' wrongdoings when it suits to present them, whereas employees tend to fail to keep records of their employers' exploitative conduct towards them. When wrongfully treated, domestic employees fail to present records to support their argument submission. Consequently, there is serious need to carefully examine evidence and listen to such vulnerable employees when they present their cases to the CCMA. The CCMA's process of correcting and settling of disputes before dismissal (the pre-dismissal arbitration process) and the process where the commissioner meets with both parties to peruse and pursue an acceptable path to resolve arguments without employing litigation (conciliation-arbitration), is sometimes reflected as "symptomatic therapy" because the "pathogen" (root cause of workplace conflict) is ignored (Macun, Lopes & Benjamin 2008; Mphahlele 2016; Benderman 2006). Lack of deeper inspection can expose this group to sophisticated harm by the system that is meant to help them.

Furthermore, it is infrequent for a domestic worker and a domestic employee to recommence on a constructive working relationship after coming from a conciliation and arbitration process from the CCMA, hence a vast number of domestic workers end up having insufficient confidence to engage their employers on employment issues. Furthermore, considering the intimate nature of their work and voicelessness created and presented in that field of work, domestic workers are likely to fail to contest against their employers during mediation (Marais & Van Wyk 2015). Other domestic workers fail to report sensitive cases because they are scared to expose their pain and 'accept' that their livelihoods depend on their employers (Ghosh & Godley 2020). However, Benjamin (2009) alerts about employers who intimidate or swindle their employees to defuse the process and suggests that the CCMA should interrogate employers who interfere with the negotiation process or those who 'coach' or silence their

employees to weaken the reported cases. Mphahlele (2016) stipulates that CCMA negotiations do not necessarily always end with agreement from both parties although that is their aim. Anevaska (2017) contends that not starting on the variances between the employee and employer is sometimes better than admitting the failure of negotiations. Clisby (2005) calls for serious validation of poor females' affairs, since failure to act on issues that deal with them may lead to more disruption in their efforts to provide for their families. Not fully intervening in matters that affect them may result into their pleas being unattended.

2.5.2 Skills development projects

In the year 2002, the National Skills Fund offered a skills development project for domestic workers to advance them in terms of various domestic skills (Wessels 2006). The project envisioned to address their historical lack of education and enable them to acquire formal recognition for their skills. Implementation of the project showed that the South African government moved the "law from paper to practice" (UNWOMEN no date). Professionalising domestic work could enable the government to further regulate the sector. It could lead to domestic workers rendering improved services safely to their employers, thereby inspiring their employers to pay them fair wages, and provide them with better living and working conditions. According to Wessels (2006), this poverty-assistance driven, and skills transfer edge was a necessary tool not to armour domestic workers to compete in the labour market for better jobs and salaries, but also to shield them from socio-economic exposures on a larger scale. Over 27 000 women were trained on hygiene, cleaning, cooking, care giving for children and elders, and ancillary care including caring for HIV/AIDS patients. More than R120 million was set aside to execute the project with the Services Sector Education and Training Authority (SETA) monitoring participants' progress.

Limitations in the skills development projects are witnessed when female domestic workers were incompetent to access education due to illiteracy. These disadvantaged women did not have the time to attend training courses because they were busy looking for means of survival and income opportunities to feed their families (Molema 2011). Wessels (2006), suggests that the project runners lacked detailed knowledge about how a large project of such sensitive magnitude is run. Such lack was the result of poor administration and absence of coordination between the Department of Labour and trainers. Consequently, lack of specified stakeholder consultation before commencement of the project had negative outcome effects (Daniels 2007).

It became apparent that it was essential for well-informed outcome that the project runners engage with the domestic workers' employers and the domestic workers themselves to find out what they required to improve the domestic work industry. In the view of Davis (2014), involving concerned stakeholders assists in determining potential problems because they can identify a bigger picture experienced by others. Incorporating all participants' information is a solution where everyone benefits because they get the chance to give testimony, reduce distortions, help clarify decision uncertainties and project outcome expectations. This improves the decision-making process and overall, gives excellent quality and a better image to the program (Alsharqawi 2017).

Programs offered by SETA were noticeably short and speedily done, leading to non-connection of the trainers and the trainees. The women were not educated, and therefore needed trainers to have more time with them to grasp concepts. When such short courses are done hurriedly, the end results are insufficient knowledge gain that may detract the quality of job taught, poor execution of work, and increase in mistakes. Spaul (2015), proposes that obtaining inferior quality of education sets off an intergenerational cycle of poverty. Another aspect to consider is that upon completion of a course, these women were accredited qualification on National Qualifications Framework (NQF) level 1 (Budlender 2016). However, credits obtained from this program could not be accrued to other courses, yet these women needed quality training that could help them gain access to other career paths in, for example, Hospitality, Commercial Cleaning and Early Childhood Development (Budlender *ibid*). Failure to accumulate credits in other related skills, blocked achievement of the main goal of empowering women, working in the domestic field, to further their employability in other sectors of the economy (Wessels 2006). According to the ILO (2016), there is urgent need for standardised certificates for domestic workers to improve the status of this job.

2.5.3 Trade unions

Trade unions also play a pivotal role in safeguarding South African domestic workers. After years of attempts, the South African Domestic Service and Allied Workers' Union (SADSAWU) was formed in 2000. The union was launched because domestic workers wanted to be recognised in labour law (Fish 2006). Thereafter, domestic workers' labour unions such as United Domestic Workers of South Africa (UDOSWA) were formed. SADSAWU delivers training and workshops that educate domestic workers on the essentialness and advantages of

being included in the South African labour law. It plays a role in advocating domestic workers' legal issues such as mediation and support of members in CCMA cases. This union is effective for supplying essential information needed by domestic workers and employers (Vanyoro 2021; Tiemeni 2018; Budlender 2016).

In 2020, UDOSWA spoke on behalf of domestic workers on Covid-19 connected issues. According to Damon (2020), from GroundUp (a publisher of public news that covers education, health, sanitation, immigration, and human rights stories), the trade union leader Pinky Mashiane highlighted the need for employers to pay their domestic employees during the Covid-19 induced lockdown period. "Lockdown" was announced by the South African President, Cyril Ramaphosa as a measure to reduce the spread of the disease. Employers had started refusing to pay their domestic employees contending that they did not have any source of revenue since they were also not working. Employers, whose domestic workers did not render domestic services at their homes due to lock down, further argued that they could not pay them without receiving domestic services. According to James Stent of GroundUp News South Africa (2020), the Secretary General of SADSAWU, Eunice Dladla, was also vocal on issues related to protection of domestic workers when on duty, stating that domestic workers' employers needed to buy their workers sufficient gear and resources such as gloves, masks and antiseptics that would enable them to be safe from contracting and spreading the virus whilst on duty.

McQuinn (2020) presumes that due to poor structure depleted finances, and inadequate ability, African trade unions fail to frame operational policies and practices. In addition to the previously mentioned challenges domestic workers trade unions in South Africa encounter other difficulties such as the reduction of members, ageing leadership, and an absence of external financial inclusion, inter alia (Ally 2008). Shared leadership is essential because new leaders promote innovative behaviour and novel leadership ideas such as digital leadership that are key to adapting and transforming current approaches. Mature and experienced leadership is necessary because it provides guidance and direction to the organisation (Aguiar-Quintana, Nguyen, Araujo-Cabrera & Sanabria-Díaz 2021). Financial aid is fundamental to domestic workers' trade unions because its unions are comprised of members who belong to an extremely poor group that do not have the wherewithal to gather resources for constructive running of structures. Thus, there is need for government and non-governmental group intervention to assist domestic workers unions means to empower themselves.

According to Vanyoro (2021:16), there is division amongst domestic workers' trade unions and NGOs. Trade unions and NGOs contradicted the classification and clarification of migrant domestic workers' rights. Trade unions wanted migrant domestic workers' privileges to be aligned and limited to those of "international migrants," whereas NGOs wanted them to be entitled like innate-domestic workers. Trade unions that requested clear differentiation between MDWs and innate domestic workers, avoided giving equal power to the two. The trade unions that advocated for equality embodied the mantra "a worker is a worker." and argue that this maxim enables every domestic worker their right and reduces risks of tension, deportation, and xenophobic attacks. Discerning the rights of MDWs from that of innate domestic workers is impractical, time consuming and confusing, and it misdirects trade unions and NGOs from winning the main goal of inspiring all domestic workers.

In South Africa, "the state is the articulator, representative and protector of domestic workers." When domestic workers are aggrieved, the state is quick to respond to matters that affect them. In the view of Ally (2008:16), over shielding of domestic workers by the state "obfuscated the necessity of a domestic worker to join trade unions". Such interference ousts domestic workers' trade union positions. When silenced, administrators for trade unions fail to launch campaigns that enable domestic workers to have courage to express their wishes to employers. Participation of unions through campaigns is essential because it shapes and strengthens the industry (Rutherford & Frangi 2020). It also guarantees domestic workers that they have universal support, and it inculcates an outlook that domestic work is valuable, must be respected and recognised in the modern economy (Stekelenburg & Klandermans 2014).

2.6 Overview of labour laws for domestic workers in other countries

In Europe, countries such as Britain put in place legislation and social security systems to protect domestic workers. Similarly, in the United States of America, various support groups such as the National Domestic Workers' Alliance was successful in passing a Domestic Workers' Bill of Rights into state law in New York, Hawaii, and California (Goldberg 2014). This resulted in improved advocacy and involvement of organisations from other countries, such as the South African Domestic Service and Allied Workers Union. The influence and power of domestic workers improved drastically. They also advocated for higher standards of lifestyles in the field of domestic workers, equality, and enforcement of laws.

Below are discussions about countries that established measures and identified loopholes to protect migrant domestic workers.

France initiated the CESU (Cheque Emploi Service Universel) in 2006 for people rendering personal services including domestic workers (Windebank 2007). This universal service employment system cut off a 50% tax for domestic work employers to be able to pay their domestic personnel. Under this system, an employer acquires a special cheque book from a financial institution and pays their domestic employee the required minimum wage, which has proved manageable. In the same year of 2006, Uruguay passed a law, meant to protect domestic workers, in that all domestic workers' employers should register employees with the Banco de Prevision Social (BPS, Social Welfare Bank) (Bucheli, Forteza & Rossi 2010). Domestic employers and employees were additionally obliged to contribute towards monthly payments to the employees' pension and health fund. Through the law, domestic workers were enabled to report their grievances to the inspectorates who would then encourage their employers to comply. The government of Uruguay, furthermore, participated in engraining operations that sped up to provide regulations to the public. This process admirably cemented the way for their collective bargaining (UN WOMEN n.d).

Domestic workers in Ireland are treated like any other employees, hence are “supposedly assumed” to be enjoying their rights. In 2007, after consultation of both trade unions and employer representatives, a “Code of Practice for Protecting Persons Employed in Other People’s Homes” was conscripted by the Labour Relations Commission (Daly 2016). The code emphasises decency and protection of domestic workers and requires that every domestic worker has a work contract, sleeps in comfortable houses (live in), and must be in possession of their own identity documents instead of employers withholding them. This code is however regarded as “just a statement of good intentions” containing listed expectations that are not obligatory and legitimate. There is lack of follow-up on what transpires in the domestic work field in that country. Correspondingly, in October of the same year, the Philippines Senate adopted a ‘Freedom Charter’ that intended to provide domestic workers with dignified working and living conditions. The charter demands that they work a comprehensible eight hour working day, a normal working week, overtime pay, a weekly day off, annual leave, statutory wages, social security coverage, adequate private and safe living quarters, and fair treatment from employers (Affonso Souza, Steibel & Lemos 2017). However, such official demands are not monitored to ensure that domestic workers enjoy prescribed benefits.

Comparably, a National Steering Committee (NSC) in Lebanon was founded in 2007 to examine regulatory shortfalls affecting domestic workers (Pande 2013). In 2009, the government of Lebanon then drafted laws to further shield domestic workers; and in 2011, the UN Country Team delivered a Code of Conduct for UN staff in Lebanon employing domestic workers. Anti-trafficking law was approved in August 2011 to protect migrant women from being trafficked (Shamir 2012). More recently a revised unified employment contract was prepared to bring it in line with the new ILO standards: to guard migrant domestic workers against all forms of brutality (physical, psychological, and monetary) in their workplaces (Al-Hindi 2020). In July 2012, the UN Special Rapporteur on Contemporary forms of Slavery, inscribed that in Lebanon the “General Security” had succeeded in putting relevant policies that protect domestic workers together. However, for this initiative to be fruitful, the report requests serious political will (Allouche 2014).

Domestic workers who work under a listed contract in Brazil have access to various entitlements such as minimum wages, a weekly day off, and compensated breaks since 2013. Employing domestic workers and paying them according to legislation is a challenge to many employers in Brazil because they encounter their own financial difficulties and cannot offer domestic workers payment as prescribed by the government. Employers who are so financially insecure, consequently, resort to hiring illiterate, undocumented, and unregistered employees who come from poor and vulnerable backgrounds such as rural areas. These women are less educated and ignorant of their rights. They are disadvantaged because they work without contractual agreements (Byelova 2014).

In Belgium, migrant domestic workers sign a contract in accordance with Belgian legislation (Godin 2016; Magalhaes 2017). Both the employer and employee sign these contract letters. Domestic workers are further granted a “special card” by the Protocol Service at the Federal Public Department of Foreign Affairs. The Protocol Service at the Public Department of Foreign Affairs plays a role in informing contracted migrant domestic workers of their employment rights to safeguard them from unscrupulous employers. The contract also allows the authorities to enter employee information into the–government database, for monitoring their work situations. It is a *precondition* for migrant domestic workers employed in Belgium to fetch their special identity card, mentioned above, at the Protocol and Security service of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. This identity card is annually renewed. During the annual renewal

time the women's working and life conditions are investigated but this monitoring process is inadequate.

In the United States of America domestic workers are shielded through Articles 2, 3, 8, 21, 22, and 26 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights. It cautions domestic workers and their employers to be aware of, "violations of workers' rights, substandard working conditions, violation of personal rights, the rights to assemble, rights to free movement, the rights to privacy, freedom of expression, forced servitude" and articles 2 and 8 that forbids "slavery, servitude, or forced labor" (Theodore, Gutelius & Burnham 2019). In the opinion of England (2017:7), these laws are insufficient, and their enforcement is inadequate. There is evidence of employees who are still subject to captivity in their private workspaces which are "beyond government's intervention." Employers refuse to conform to rules, do not provide workers with adequate salary, food, medical care, and let them sleep in houses without heat, on hard floors or in neglected basements (Sternberb 2019). Some employers force domestic workers to use dangerous cleaning substances without providing adequate protection, and do not allow them to leave their jobs by withholding their passports. In the view of Romero (2016), foreign migrant employees working as domestics in the United States of America are sometimes threatened to be deported by their employers. Those without English language skills and proper, safeguarding information are left without alternatives except to endure.

This attitude of abuse by employers is deeply rooted in the American legal system which for years failed to protect domestic workers. Domestic workers were excluded from benefits derived through a National Labor Relations Act. According to De Witt (2010), in the 1930s most workers excluding domestic and farm workers secured all forms of labour protection such as a minimum wage, social security, unemployment compensation and the right to organize and bargain collectively. Those who failed to obtain rights were devastated African American women working as domestic workers who failed to secure social security until 1950. In the 1950s to 1970s, African American household workers protested traces of servitude related to the job. They pleaded for a federal minimum wage, which they secured in 1974 (Roman-Morfin 2015). The private nature of domestic work means that there is great need for an effective monitoring system and access to information. The United States has failed to recognize these unique needs and has provided neither adequate means of monitoring domestic work nor sufficient access to social or informational services. Domestic workers therefore lack the means to report violations and obtain remedies.

In destination countries such as Singapore, it is prohibited for a migrant domestic worker to marry a local citizen. Marriage with a domestic migrant can only occur before they arrive in that country or after they have left the country. Furthermore, it is mandatory for female migrant domestic workers to take pregnancy tests. When found pregnant, they are extradited to their countries (Constable 2020). Since deportation adversely affects employers of domestic workers, Goh, Wee and Yeoh (2017) noted that employers then go further to strictly monitor their employees to make sure that they do not become pregnant. Their surveillance covers strict follow-ups, creation of restrictive time boundaries, home detention measures and any form of restrictions which refrains domestic workers from having free time. Monitoring another human being in such negative ways creates questions about aspects related to individual human rights. Migrant female workers in Hong Kong are not afforded a chance to apply for permanent residency even when a seven-year term of living in that country has surpassed, whilst other expatriates working in different fields are allowed to apply for permanent residency (Constable 2020).

In the year 2011, the ILO instituted an article on “Decent Work for Domestic Workers” to protect domestic workers from any work-related harm (Tomei & Belser 2011). In this article, migrant domestic workers would be effectively defended against any form of harassment and abuse at work, such as not getting paid and doing involuntary work. Domestic workers ought to be guaranteed protection to ensure that they are entitled to decent working and living conditions and that their privacy is respected. The article proposes working contracts that are professionally written and understood in accordance with national laws for MDWs. Such a contract must include personal details and addresses of both the employer and of the worker. A specific workplace, duration of work, duties performed, salary, leave days, rest period, time of probation (if applicable), termination of employment terms, notice period and terms of repatriation of the employee should be detailed. It is through commitment of member states and goodwill that these issues can be settled, and domestic workers’ needs, grievances and expectations addressed, to achieve their goals. This can be achieved also by obtaining information through consultation with a relevant organisation’s representatives who deal directly with migrant workers. The article suggests that appropriate measures be taken when specific expectations are not met (Tomei & Belser 2011).

Following the acceptance of Convention No. 189, Royal Decree 1620/2011 of 14 November 2011 that oversees the protection work for domestic workers, Huerta (2013), indicate that Spain

was the first country to present new measures that intended to secure the interest of domestic workers, through preventing them from segregation, providing them with written work contracts, minimum wages, increased daily resting period to a minimum of 12 hours, and improved rules for standby periods. Spain approved further legislation in 2011 to spread the general social security system to domestic workers. It, however, restricted employers from giving their employees more than 30% extra monetary incentives. The same year of 2011, governments, civil society, and UN agencies held the Global Forum on Migration and Development (GFMD 2011). Forum members who were available framed international standards and requested those involved to execute these relevant policies, laws and programmes that disseminate and protect the rights of domestic workers. This forum highlighted awareness that domestic work is performed by females and girls from underprivileged communities, who are socio-economically disadvantaged and susceptible to abuses and discrimination, and therefore needed to be defended. They signalled that domestic work is undervalued and invisible and should thus be properly regulated because it has great social and economic significance. Regulation promoting human development and good governance lessens social and economic costs assumed by domestic workers, families, communities, and States.

Equivalently, the ILO (2013) recommends the monitoring of stipulated rules that protect domestic workers. It endorses that a migrant domestic worker should receive a clearly written employment contract which conforms to regulations and that these rules are enforceable in the host country. It calls for contracts to be signed and agreed upon by the parties prior to crossing the national boundaries. The signed document would address the agreed terms and conditions of employment. Emphasis should be on terms and conditions with regards to employees who stay in the employer's house. These include terms such as daily, weekly, or annual rest. A migrant domestic worker should keep their travel and identity documents.

In December 2013, the International Domestic Workers' Federation (IDWF) highlighted the importance of protecting domestic workers and the dangers of discrimination, exploitation, and infringement of domestic workers' rights (Oelz 2014). IDWF educated domestic employers on the importance of enfranchising their employees from different angles, for example, it helped them understand their rights as employers and those of their domestic workers. This means that they will be protected, for instance, from theft done by their employees, abuse against themselves and their children and other mischiefs done by employee's in employer homes.

This is acknowledged by Blackett (2012), who proposes the validation and control of the domestic employment relationship as benefiting both workers and employers because confrontations such as employee's frequent absence from work, poor and undistinguished services, vacating from work without giving agreed on and reasonable notification, robbery, manslaughter, and abduction for ransom, can be prevented if rights and duties of employers and employees are clearly stipulated. IDWF indicated that including both employers and migrant domestic workers in work discussions is a steppingstone towards the advancement of domestic workers and it would improve their job quality which reimburses the employer (Boris & Fish 2014). Pape (2016) further affirms that adhering comprehensively to domestic work laws obligates the worker to perform their work as required so that the employer may receive quality services. In turn, the employer may treat the employee with respect thereby augmenting their relationship.

The ILO (2016) advocates for assurance over issuance of a minimum wage for all domestic workers (Budlender 2016). It proposes that domestic workers should be remunerated without discrimination based on race, nationality, gender, age, or place of origin. Excuses regarding payment should not be allowed and employers and employees must agree on forms, and other matters, of payment. Employers are required to enquire from domestic workers on preferred method of payment (Husni & Suryani 2018). Salary payments may be made through electronic bank transfers, bank cheques, postal cheques, money orders, or any other lawful means of monetary payments, with the consent of the domestic worker, unless there are provisions in national laws, regulations, or collective agreements that state otherwise. A proposal for domestic workers to report and seek redress, in accordance with national laws or regulations through their representatives if their rights are violated, was made. Over and above the previously mentioned, the ILO (2016), pleads for migrant domestic workers to have access to courts, tribunals or other dispute solving mechanisms, under conditions that would ensure protection.

The ILO (2018) proposes that recruiting agencies for domestic workers should protect them from any harm that emanates from their placement process. It earnestly requests relevant representative organizations of employers and workers to monitor and consult domestic workers and their employers on relevant work procedures. Moreover, the ILO appeals for recruitment-agencies to investigate migrant domestic workers working and living conditions. Domestic workers who suffer abuses and deceitful practices from the employer, are advised to

inform agencies immediately. It gives a directive to agencies to comply with shielding migrant domestic workers and alerts them that if they refuse to obey, they will be held officially accountable, and their operation will be prohibited. The ILO, moreover, warns against recruitment agencies that use fraudulent practices such as deducting placement fees from domestic workers' pay long after the due date.

The International Labour Organization's General Conference held in Geneva, Switzerland, solicits for the protection of migrant domestic workers' desires to see countries attain the ILO's goal of fundamental codes and entitlements of domestic workers at workplaces and in society (Mahon 2020, ILO 2019). In 2020, IDWF placed a policy to brief on the struggles surrounding domestic workers around the world amid Covid-19 such as crises of unemployment and non-payment of salaries. As specified by Anandhi and Deepa (2021), the policy assesses the unprotectedness of domestic workers due to Covid-19 related challenges, by taking note of how various countries are reacting to the virus to assist stockholders such as policy makers, organisations, and employers of domestic workers on issues regarding domestic workers' protection during and post Covid-19 period.

2.7 Domestic workers' sustainable livelihoods

After ten years, few domestic workers have encountered equality and a decent livelihood in their field of work since the inception of the ILO's declaration in 2011. This has been exacerbated by the Covid-19 pandemic which led to closure of business enterprises, loss of earnings, and multitudes of domestic worker' employees without sources of income. By 2020, more than 55% of universal livelihoods, which included domestic workers, encountered a sustainable livelihood risk due to the Covid-19 pandemic. Poor people failed to benefit from social protection projects, which led to them tackling the food crisis on their own (Kabeer 2021).

The ILO (2021), states that by the peak of the Covid-19 crisis, 75.6 million domestic workers universally have shown a significant deterioration in sustainable livelihood and sustenance due to job losses, failure to go to work when they were sick and when their employers were also sick. In countries such as America, conditions of domestic workers have worsened by 20-25%. A 5-20% decline in the living standards of domestic workers in most European countries has been noted. In addition to challenges brought by the Covid-19, failure to protect domestic workers worsened by demarcating migrant domestic workers from obtaining privileges. In

Lebanon where migrants are understood to comprise 99% of the domestic work sector, the situation of migrant domestic workers was worsened by the Covid pandemic. These migrant workers in Lebanon are refused fundamental human rights and are subject to abuse in the hands of their employers. They are “treated like human commodities” because they are beaten, deprived of food, and are prevented from seeking work elsewhere because their work permits do not allow it (Jawad of UN News 2021). In Germany and other European countries, live-in migrant workers from Central and Eastern Europe suffer working long-hours without overtime payment (Trebilcock 2018). In Africa, the situation is worse because countries such as South Africa, Zimbabwe, Mozambique, and others are seriously struggling due to worsened poor economic and political conditions (Vanyoro: 2016). This means that households have been negatively affected in dealing with their daily needs. According to the ILO Director General Guy Ryder, there is need for universal implementation of labour and social security laws to ensure that domestic workers gain access to decent work (Thomas & Turnbull 2018).

The effort to afford domestic workers decent work is diminished in various countries. Often rules are placed without precisely looking at the nature of domestic workers and their specific needs. Others are too ‘sophisticated’ making them unfeasible to implement. Lack of political will and commitment by countries involved to ratify the ILO Convention in protecting domestic workers is witnessed. Inspection to find out if employers comply is neglected. Lack of monitoring makes them seem unaccountable. In some cases, lawmakers, the public, and those required to monitor disregard and neglect the field of domestic work, hence they are not prepared to execute tasks to empower these workers. In some circumstances, the private nature of the job and the isolation of this group cause the authorities to monitor closely if employers comply with requirements. This results in domestic workers not obtaining merited justice from the structures that are supposed to protect them (UNWOMEN no date). Albin and Mantouvalou (2012), stipulate that fairness in working and living conditions in accordance with state laws, and communal agreements, must be followed and achieved. Acknowledging domestic work roles and its labourers is a step towards inspiring and encompassing them within the human rights framework. It also means that domestic workers’ rights may become universal.

Defending such rights is indication of a state's answerability to all people who live in it² (<https://www.anc1912.org.za/the-freedom-charter-2/>). Adhering to the protection of domestic workers reveals employers' willingness to respect government rules and regulations. Regulating migrant domestic workers' rights empowers them which is also a step towards rightly sought-after gender parity.

2.8 Conclusion

This chapter deliberated the push and pull factors of female migration. It described the typology of domestic work and stated the advantages, and disadvantages of the job for females around the world. It also reflected on policies available for domestic workers around the globe by citing, inter alia, what is embraced and their ambiguities. Of utmost importance, the chapter investigated legislature and programs available and evaluates their efficiency for South African domestic workers. The next chapter examines the Sustainable Livelihood Approach to consider its applicability for theoretical framework of the study.

²The Freedom Charter

26 June ,1955

As adopted at the Congress of the People, Kliptown

We, the People of South Africa, declare for all our country and the world to know:

that South Africa belongs to all who live in it, black and white, and that no government can justly claim authority unless it is based on the will of all the people; that our people have been robbed of their birthright to land, liberty and peace by a form of government founded on injustice and inequality; that our country will never be prosperous or free until all our people live in brotherhood, enjoying equal rights and opportunities; that only a democratic state, based on the will of all the people, can secure to all their birthright without distinction of colour, race, sex or belief; And therefore, we, the people of South Africa, black and white together equals, countrymen and brothers adopt this Freedom Charter; And we pledge ourselves to strive together, sparing neither strength nor courage, until the democratic changes here set out have been won (<https://www.anc1912.org.za/the-freedom-charter-2/>).

CHAPTER 3: APPLYING SUSTAINABLE LIVELIHOOD APPROACH (SLA) TO FOREIGN MIGRANTS WORKING AS DOMESTIC WORKERS

3.1 Introduction

This chapter begins by clarifying the relevancy of Sustainable Livelihood Approach (SLA) in this study. Accounts of the asset pentagon, SLA capitals, vulnerability context, resilience, transforming structures and processes, livelihood strategies and livelihood outcomes are subsequently demonstrated. Furthermore, the position of female migrants when applying the SLA and recommendations on improving their capitals, is simplified. Finally, the limitation of SLA is considered.

3.2 Outline of the Sustainable Livelihood Approach (SLA)

This study implements the SLA as its theoretical framework to analyse the sustainable livelihoods of migrant women working as domestic workers. The main aim of SLA is to eradicate poverty. As proposed by Chambers and Conway (1992), the SLA determines root causes and the dimensions of poverty, and hence focuses on complex issues around poverty and how poor people should arrange themselves to increase livelihood opportunities. Principally, the SLA looks at poor people's circumstances and their objectives to fight poverty, and it examines their capacity to transmute resources (assets) that surround them into positive livelihood outcomes (Bebbington 1999). It clarifies importance of economic security assets for poor people's achievement of positive livelihood outcomes, whilst cognisant that if poor people are properly assisted, provided with relevant information, and well guided, they can excel. The term "sustainable" refers to being able to continuously self-provide without depending on outside support or impairing the livelihood decisions of others (Sneddon 2000). Sustainability also implies the capacity to be supported by physical resources for a long time whilst making sure that the productiveness of those resources continues to be used by other generations. Being sustainable additionally means benefiting other livelihoods at individual, local and global levels and in the short and long term. Tiltonell (2020), refers to it as having an aptitude to experience external shocks or stresses and recover from those traumas and still be able to maintain or improve a livelihood. Multi-disciplinaries frequently amalgamate economic, institutional, social, and environmental performance and people's resilience ability, to measure

sustainability (Brink, Hengeveld & Tobi 2020). In the view of Neefjes (2000), to closely look at the poverty situation of the most vulnerable, an equilibrium must be noted when using these key measurements.

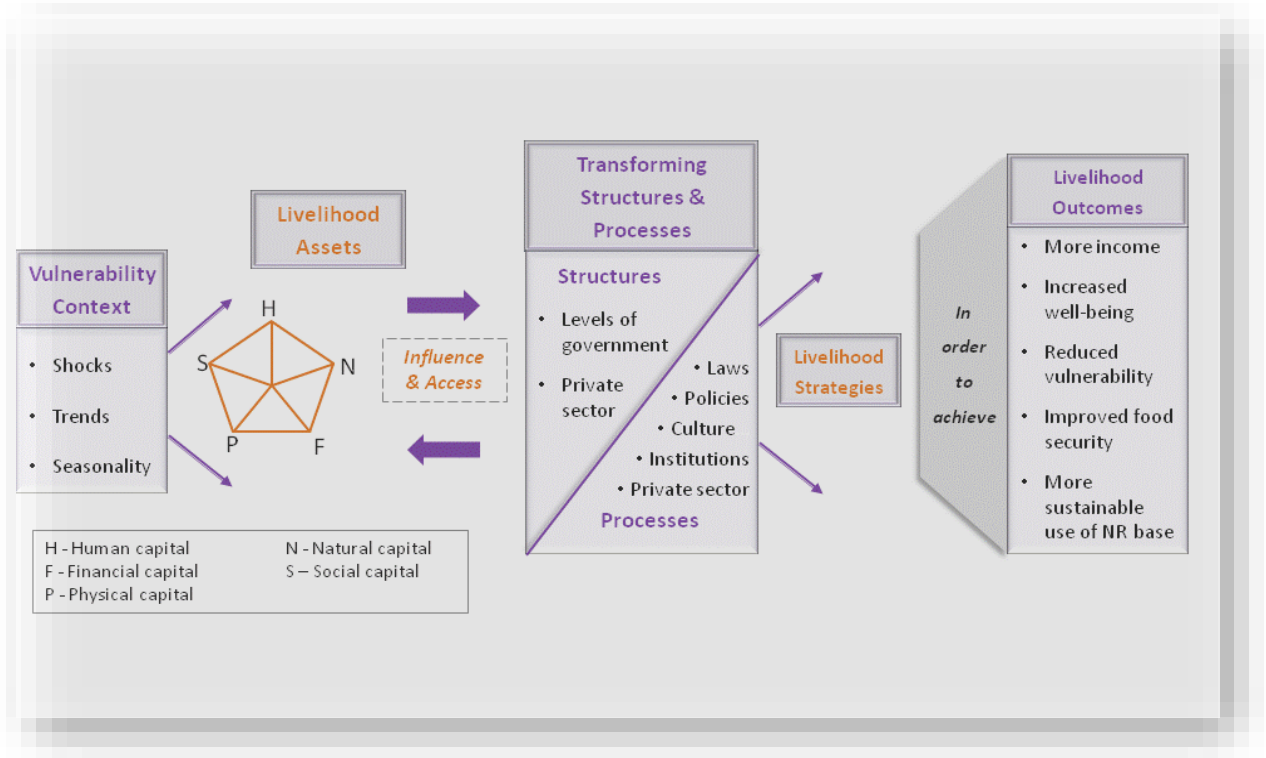
People require tangible and intangible assets to construct sustainable livelihood outcome. Likewise, people obtain positive livelihood outcome by means of perceptible and imperceptible material possessions. These possessions include financial, human, social, natural, and physical capitals (money, good health care and facilities, skills, networking, and necessary infrastructure) (De Haan, Drinkwater, Rakodi & Westley 2002). The SLA demonstrates how different capitals connect to one another and how each of them contributes to sustainable and dynamic development activities (Seraat 2017). It describes how poor people use their strength mechanism when accessing these assets. More so, the framework identifies the challenges that poor people face when accessing resources and the measures that they take to avoid being more vulnerable (Adjei-Mensah & Kusimi 2020). It goes on to reveal how the poor are vulnerable and exposed when structures fail to support them (Ncube, Bahta & Jordaan 2019). To achieve a SLA mandate, Gibbens and Schoeman (2020) suggest the necessity of appropriate structures to invent processes and policies that aim to empower the poor. In trying to eradicate poverty, SLA calls for dissemination of equity “among all people.” It further suggests nurturing a sense of connection to “local people” for them to be able to quicken investment through production and utilisation of their own resources in their communities whilst assuring that biodiversity is well protected. A sustainable livelihood framework includes the core principles of being people-centred, responsive, dynamic, asset-based, multi-level, holistic, strength building approaches and empowered. The aim is to produce a positive livelihood outcome for poor people.

In the view of Boris and Nadasen (2008), most migrant domestic workers are vulnerable and poor. Hall, Garabiles and Latkin (2019) identified through research that migrant women working as domestic workers are unshielded at work and in their places of residence. Their research on the sustainable livelihood framework assesses what their struggles are and rationalises their ways of eradicating poverty. This study regards the use of SLA as the most applicable approach to assess the capacities and capitals of migrant women working as domestic workers, and the challenges that they encounter in obtaining various assets. In the view of Ellis (2000), SLA assets are the most appropriate “measuring tools” to evaluate poor people’s livelihood outcomes. The research gauges the SLA capitals (natural, physical, human,

social, financial) prevalent for these foreign women working as domestic workers to see if each of them occupies a satisfactory role in empowering and uplifting themselves. SLA has relevancy for distinguishing how these women gain their human capital (work) and if they are physically and mentally fit enough to work and deal with work challenges that surround them. The financial resources that they obtain from work and other avenues are verified for sufficiency and if this adds other capitals. Ashley and Carney (1999) consider aspects such as social resources and physical activities as needed assets to fight poverty and improve a life. Therefore, SLA examines the presence of ‘social resource’ and significance to these women. SLA is appointed to interrogate various statutes, transforming structures, processes, policies, and institutional structures present for them to transform and enhance their lives. As suggested by Mcleod (2001), institutional knowledge and its capacity should be well-set to fight poverty intelligently. See section 3.3 for a detailed discussion of the capitals as reflected in the Sustainable Livelihood Approach.

SLA helps to discover how well-organised these migrant women are in using existing resources and to find out how they confront vulnerabilities and shocks. When facing a shock, the ability to resile enables them to properly arrange themselves and adapt effectively. As attested by Béné (2020), it is essential to establish a long-term flexible spirit (resilience) when encountering peculiar inauspicious circumstances whilst expediting attaining proper livelihood. Similarly, resilience is fundamental to these female migrant social set-ups as it strengthens them and reduces stress and shocks when seeking avenues to stable livelihoods that can sustain them.

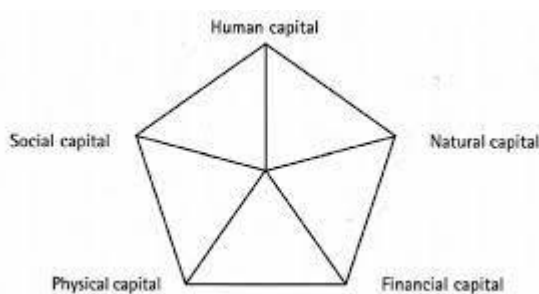
Figure 3.1 Sustainable Livelihood Approach Diagram



Source: Sustainable Livelihood Approach (DFID 1999-2000)

3.3 The asset pentagon

Figure 3.2: Asset pentagon

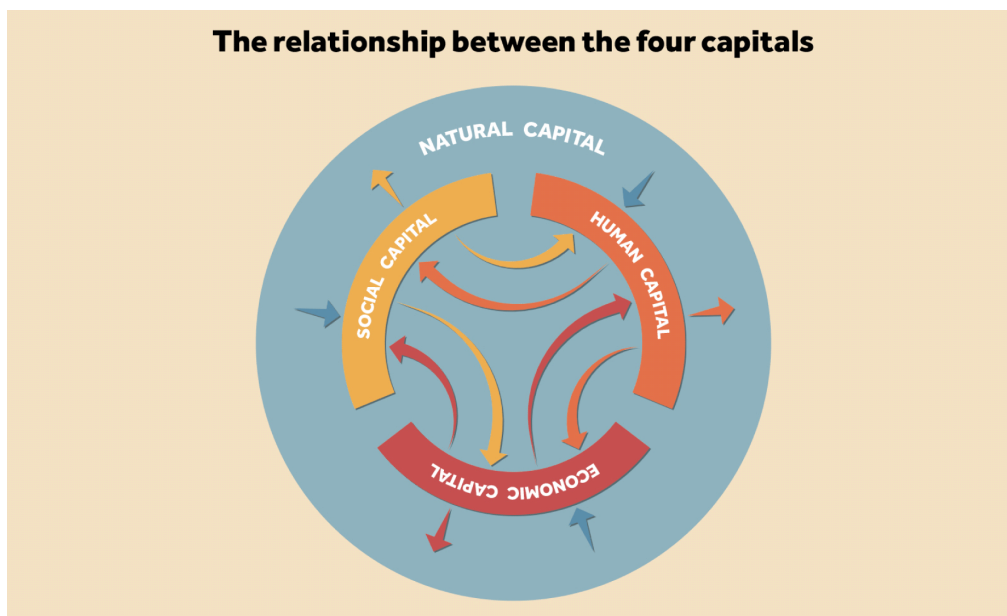


Source: The asset pentagon (DFID 1999-2000)

As explained by the European Environmental Agency (2015), a capital is anything that allows an individual to generate a flow to make life better. The pentagon lies at the core of livelihood framework and has five capital assets, namely natural, physical, financial, human, and social capital. The pentagon in the SLA explains how these capitals are shaped, function and influence one another. SLA capitals are the most effective assets used to assess the livelihood of poor

people. In the view of Marhajan (2019), capital assets collaborate with and complement one another to combat poverty: for instance, an individual uses networking (social capital) to acquire a job (human capital), which provides a financial asset and financial capital in turn, enabling one to buy land (natural capital). While people normally need all assets to achieve their livelihood objective, sometimes these assets are applied depending on the context that people are in. The pentagon is hence used to visually analyse people’s prevalent resources and to observe if there are active adjustments on those resources. The asset pentagon helps us to understand how varied households embrace and use these various assets (Kusumanti, Ferse & Glaser 2021). Information about the pentagon helps development planners to be aware of poor people’s various needs, and to establish and analyse appropriate ideas that improve their power (May, Brown, Cooper & Brill 2009). Knowledge about these capital assets enables development practitioners to depict which capital is first essential when people encounter trends, shocks, and seasonal shift. Scoones (1998) upholds that there should be more than five capitals in the SLA, because capital such as ‘political capital’ and others play a leading role in the lives of people.

Figure 3.3: Linkages between capitals and how they impact and determine one another



Cartographer: Hisham Ashkar Year: 2016

SLA capitals have close attachment, allow each other to function, are economically recompensed and can intensify each other (Auer, Von Below, Nahuelhual, Mastrángelo,

Gonzalez, Gluch, Vallejos, Staiano, Lattera & Paruelo 2020). Natural capital has great significance for people and their other capitals (financial, human, social and physical capitals). It is through this natural capital that people can produce goods and services, thereby generating money from produced goods. Working in partnership (social capital) enables families and communities to look after their natural capital and to acquire and uphold other capitals such as physical, financial, and human capital. Human capital (people's health, knowledge, skills, and motivation) is on the other hand needed to effectively produce those goods and services. Again, enhancing human capital through education and training is central to a prosperous financial capital. Physical (manufactured) capital creates jobs for people (human capital) to then acquire financial capital which plays a significant role in empowering poor people e.g., in the event of a crisis such as death, illnesses or an accident. It also brings human and social capital together and adds other capitals such as natural capital (land) and physical capital (infrastructure) to people. However, financial capital has no implication if it is not parallel to natural, human, social or manufactured capital (Managi & Kumar 2018).

3.4 Vulnerability context (shocks, trends, seasonality) and resilience

While vulnerability and livelihood contexts are related, the vulnerability context is pivotal in the lives of poor people. It explains how forces remotely and outside their control impact their survival decisions (Erikson & Silva 2009). The vulnerability context is shaped by the outside environment in which people survive and it plays a huge role in shaping people's assets (Devereux 2001). These external environments include global, economic, technological, political, legal, socio-cultural, war conflicts (both national and international wars), and competitive environment. Olayide and Alabi (2018) postulate that when outside forces alter, they have direct impact on how people increase or fail to acquire assets. Global recessions, natural calamities, and pandemics can quickly shake economies.

Shocks and stress co-exist, and they impact the livelihoods of people. Arnas (2009) indicates that shocks are events that start the unfolding of a trend. Shocks take part when there is a shift in trends. Trends are actions and directions taken when environmental, economic, social, political, technological, and physical adjustments occur. Environmental conditions such as floods, drought and pandemics can compel people to abandon their homes or evacuate their agricultural areas to start new lives elsewhere as part of coping strategies (Schneiderbauer, Pisa, Delves, Pedoth, Rufat, Erschbamer, Thaler, Carnelli, & Granados-Chahin 2021).

Seasonality refers to patterns, variation or fluctuations that are correlated with a season (Martin-Martin, Fernandez, Martin & Ostos 2020). Changes in seasonal patterns may lead to floods or shortages of water, which can negatively affect food production.

Resilience occupies a significant position in the SLA. In the view of Debase, Tolossa and Denu (2022), the poor use it to cope when they encounter a shock and when seeking a positive livelihood outcome. Being resilient enables more concise coping when poor people are trying to control overwhelming experiences (Tittonell 2020). It nurtures them to maintain balance and take inventory of what resources they have, their background, and their ability to quickly adjust and adhere (restructure) (Blay-Palmer, Sonnino & Custot 2016). Resilience reinvigorates those who are already impoverished to reposition themselves and participate after succumbing to various obstacles (Hynes, Trump, Kirman, Latini, & Linkov 2021). It also capacitates people to recover and provides the poor with a flexibility to penetrate more problematic situations without giving up (Sarker, Wu & Alam 2020). Bad recovery ability may lead to the needy withdrawing from activities that may afford them a sustainable livelihood.

3.5 Transforming structures and processes

Transforming structures and processes inhabit a pivotal place in the SLA and the vulnerability context. When psychoanalysing capitals in the SLA, it is necessary to look at the institutional processes and organisational structures and consider poor people's knowledge of them and know how significant these structures are in matters that affect them. According to Scoones (1998), for a person to comprehend the multifaceted and distinguished processes through which livelihoods are formed, it is vital to first understand the institutional and organisational structures that link capitals. Krantz (2001) employs that these structures play a controlling role in defining the lives of people because they influence them at a micro, meso and macro level. Different structures are significant in determining how capitals benefit ordinary people: e.g., it is through these that people can be employed to expand human capital, make decisions in community developments aspects, and facilitate ways for people to gain physical facilities such as technology, education, and clinics. They also influence shocks, trends, and seasonality e.g., when structures fail to place policies and rules that mitigate shocks, trends, and seasonality in place, they leave the poor more vulnerable, thereby confining their livelihood outcomes. Institutions increase people's access to financial services such as micro finance to avert hindrances related to poor people's lack of collateral (Corrado 2020; Karlan & Morduch 2010).

3.6 Position of migrant domestic workers in terms of SLA's capitals

Sustainable livelihood strategies are ways in which people collate a range of activities and ideas to obtain their livelihood objectives. These plans include people's capacity to decide on which assets to invest in first and their abilities to look after those assets (Sharaunga & Mudhara 2021). The way people deploy their human capital, and arrange their income generating activities, social actions, and other plans that help them to survive, are strategic. When these objectives are well placed, people obtain more income, enjoy increased well-being, reduced susceptibility, improved food security, and good maintenance of natural resources. It also enables them to reclaim their human dignity (Kapembwa, Gardiner & Pétursson 2021). Mensah (2011) posits that a sustainable livelihood framework is accomplished when more weight put on poverty reduction thinking is finally achieved by obtaining positive livelihood outcomes. Livelihood outcomes are the results obtained from gathering and making use of different assets to reduce vulnerability (Thompson, Kamal, Alam & Wiebe 2012). This includes tangible and non-tangible resources such as food, an income, improved skills, good health, easy access to education and health facilities, and other services needed by individuals to survive and improve themselves. Livelihood outcomes shape the sustainable livelihoods framework differently: e.g., they provide an understanding of how people respond to innovative ideas and changes. They further encourage relevant stakeholders to appropriately employ germane measures to improve poor people's lives. Mathie and Cunningham (2003) call for people's livelihood circumstances to be constantly assessed to achieve a SLA. It is against this background that the SLA is employed in this study to examine how well-organised and resilient migrant domestic workers are when they encounter situations that increase their vulnerability.

3.6.1 Natural capital and female migrant domestic workers

Natural capital is fundamental and plays a most significant role, not only for production purposes, but for life itself. According to Díaz et al. (2018), there is relationship between people and their possession of natural capital. People's cultural perspectives, such as indigenous knowledge, norms, and beliefs, regarding how to interact with nature is influenced by natural capital (Kumagai, Wakamatsu, Hashimoto, Saito, Yoshida, Yamakita, & Managi 2022). Similarly, female migrants who have access to natural capital such as land and water can use their indigenous knowledge to plant fruits and vegetables, to grow, prepare and eat their

traditional dishes. Access to this land does not only add to their food, but also increases financial security within their households if they sell their yielded products, thereby promoting sustainability for their well-being and that of others. However, access to this capital is a challenge for foreign women because they cannot easily acquire natural capital such as land in the host country. Non-procurement of land is exceedingly burdensome to female migrants as it inhibits their livelihood diversification, and long-term quality and sustainable livelihood.

3.6.2 Financial capital for female migrant domestic workers

Start and Johnson (2004) indicate that accessibility to financial capital is reliant on people's socio economic and political networks, and their effort to request outside support. This ability to acquire finance intensifies their capacity to acquire other capitals, produce, purchase food, and then live a sustainable livelihood (Gaillard 2009). Similarly, when migrant females working as domestic workers obtain financial capital from the work they do, they buy basic commodities, pay rent, remit, send children to school, and save. These savings help during emergencies, can start businesses, and hence mitigate against sudden joblessness, limit debt, give financial freedom, help in financing education, and look after their health (Kabir, Hou, Akther, Wang & Wang 2012). Those with reliable savings can buy other capital such as land or property (Pistor 2019). Financial capital necessitates cooperatives and enterprises that lift them and their poor communities out of poverty (Dunn & Holtz-Eakin 2000). However, in the view of Garabiles and Latkin (2019), financial capital is scarcer for this group because they are neither paid well nor protected well at work. As suggested by Awumbila, Teye and Yaro (2017), inadequate defence leads to their easy dismissal from work, thus ceasing to obtain financial capital.

Bouyon (2014) found that insufficient financial acquaintance is a catalyst to more poverty among such a poor group. Therefore, to help female migrants working as domestic workers to be financially empowered, they should be educated in ways to acquire skills that provide them with future excellent quality jobs. Additionally, it is incumbent for these women to save in preparation for unforeseen contexts such as prevalence of pandemics, wars, dismissals, or illness (Sabri & Juen 2014). Structures must be able to help this group when in need since "It is becoming rarer for a country not to have a crisis than to have one" (Stiglitz 2003). Strategists need to typify foreign migrant women with low income and those with a dire low standard of living, to quickly intervene appropriately when needed (Clark, Frijters & Shields 2008).

As suggested by Chambers (1997), it is important for poor people to have diverse sources of income to fight vulnerability and precariousness. Dissimilar sources of income may come from other businesses and collective savings or from pooling money. Correspondingly, female migrants may save their income through engaging in money pools. In the view of Ardener (1964), migrants are thought to have initiated and produced the idea of money pools namely 'stokvels'. This money pool (*stokvel*) authorises participants to accumulate savings together. Coming together breeds ideas which are economically empowering for migrants: for example, together they reduce financial burdens and improve savings (African Response 2012). Money pools exonerate them from financial regulatory conventional systems. According to Gobezie (2011), engaging in money pools plays a meaningful role in socialisation with more friends and family members whereas it would otherwise, normally, be absent. However, not all of them can engage in these money pools because they have other responsibilities such as remitting, paying rent, sending children to school, and taking responsibility for parents and relatives back home.

3.6.3 The importance of physical capital in the lives of female migrant domestic workers

Infrastructure investment is a key element to alleviate inequality and poverty (Marinho, Campelo, França & Araujo 2017). Access to infrastructure such as schools, roads, clinics, communication systems, and technology, leads to the creation of employment and smooth running of people's lives. When more of these are constructed, more people get employed, hence there is more need for domestic workers. Infrastructure also contributes to economic development and is regarded as a promoter of prosperity because of its ability to facilitate the occurrence of production, trade, and connectivity (Maryati, Humaira, Afriana, Roekmi & Suhartini 2021). Its presence furthers economic inclusion for people, especially the poor.

Migrant domestic workers who have access to fully functional infrastructure such as schools, hospitals, technology, communication, sewerage management, and transport have greater chance and opportunity to achieve a sustainable livelihood. Technology plays a huge role in the improvement of their lives because it provides and transfers information. In the view of Chauhan (2015), it enables them to transfer money easily: e.g., mobile phones facilitate remittances to be paid to their families back at home. Through technology, they also have instant information of what is taking place within their work and social environment. According to Neumeyer, Santos and Morris (2020), those who use it and are digitally literate

find that it adds value and efficiency to quality of life. Technology is however not easily accessible to migrant domestic workers because they do not necessarily have access to WIFI or data and are sometimes too uneducated to use it to their advantage (Uy-Tioco 2019). For technology to have a positive meaning in this group, having correct information about their needs and their capabilities is essential.

Access to clean and safe water and sanitation infrastructure is essential to lead a healthy and active life. The delivery of effective and efficient water and sanitation services to urban communities is paramount to ensure sustainable human and economic development. The UN Water Report (2015) states, “poverty-oriented water interventions can make a difference for billions of poor people who receive very direct benefits from improved water and sanitation services through better health, reduced health costs, increased productivity and time-savings”. Safe drainage and sanitation afford domestic workers easy access to toilets therefore they become less vulnerable as there will be no need to walk into bushes for defecation or urination. Proper sanitation affords them a clean environment which is more hygienic, and they are less susceptible to airborne infections (Mara et.al. 2010). A healthy body enables them to work and fend for their families. Poor women often live in impoverished communities where poorly maintained drainage, sewer systems, and sanitation facilities lead to compromised hygiene. In these areas, protests and vandalism occur on a large scale which results in burning and destruction of infrastructure.

To improve the lives of these women, it is paramount to procure suitable physical capital for them. Cheruiyot (2020) suggests that policymakers should exploit participatory livelihood analysis when looking into household specifics. This method guides strategists to identify priorities of the poor group, and thereby give them power to tackle their self-defined goals. It contributes to distinguishing factors that can help in progressing from those that can prevent progress (Bamman 2019). Ignoring the approach may misdirect influential development officials to invest in infrastructure which is not imperative for poor people: e.g., investors may capitalise in the construction of internet technology in a community that needs more water catchment basins; or they may provide internet to the illiterate who need basic education.

3.6.4 The role of human capital on female migrant domestic workers

As suggested by Ali and Ahmad (2013), human capital plays a significant role in reducing poverty amongst poor people. Similarly, migrant domestic workers executing their job regard it as a significant capital that generates financial capital for them. Vidotto et al. (2017), contends that human capital is efficient when it is collaborated in three forms namely, “time, talent, and energy”. For migrant women working as domestic workers to work and improve their livelihoods, they need to own it in those three forms. These women require enough time to freely do their job as domestic workers. They also require sufficient time outside their workplaces. Time outside their work is necessary to rejuvenate, have energy to discover more talent, think freely and be innovative in developing more ideas. Hosain and Roy (2016), argue that ownership of talent and energy makes a connection between specific skill and execution of community strategies.

Physical and mental competencies are also essential to support human capital because a body and mind that is healthy is functional and able to do more work. Mental competency allows them to be “consistent, have clear goals, hence work productively” (Onkelinx, Manolova & Edelman 2020; Yon et al. 2014). Torabi et al. (2021), stresses on upskilling the poor to amplify them to be employable, create work, and sustain created jobs. Hart, Drummond, and McIntyre (2013), evoke on the essentialness of explanation of expectations, plans and goals in an authentic way to poor people to improve their skills. The inability to endorse a proper human capital has disadvantages, namely, time wasting, failure to identify instrumental and relevant ways to empower poor people, more gender inequality, and escalating poverty.

As identified by Parrenas (2021), Angeli (2016) and Lan (2003), some domestic workers are hired using referral method, where a relative or friend commends a person for employment. Sometimes, employers themselves make recommendations for a domestic worker they know or who has worked for them to the next prospective employer. Applying the same job search method such as referral has its own bad connotations. In the view of Merluzzi and Sterling (2017), exploiting the same informal referral method when seeking employment has shown retrogressive career growth, because people end up doing the job readily available to them. This is detrimental to those who have enough requirements to do other jobs that can advance their quest for sustainable livelihood. According to Rajzman and Gesser (2016:1), a mismatch between skills and job is detrimental to an individual’s career advancement.

3.6.5 The benefits and limitations of social capital on female migrant domestic workers

The benefit of social capital to female migrant domestic workers includes its contribution towards their devotedness and new thinking (Sundararaj & Rejeesh 2021). Through networking, they share stories of what happens in their places of work, they seek ideas on how to save their money to improve their lifestyle, hence become ameliorated (Chen et al. 2018). Networking cushions them to cope with shocks collectively because a ‘we are in this together’ mental attitude reinforces them to hold on to a shared responsibility. Influential people within these social groups may have strong social norms and beliefs that can improve the pace and rate of change experienced by these women. They may disseminate necessary information to other female migrants to acquire jobs (Aguilera & Massey 2003). Through social networking, they can further assign members of a group to assist others in times of distress and encourage vulnerable people to look for help when in need (Smith & Fink 2019). Distribution of knowledge brings them together thereby enhancing their participation and advancement of their goals.

In the view of Gambas (2012), overemphasis of a social capital may raise a clear distinction between ‘them’ and ‘us’. ‘Them’ are people not involved in social capital network groups and ‘us’ are those partaking in social capital network. Such a mindset commands “identity politics.” A strong attachment inherited from social capital can discredit poor people as they may be retarded in progress and issues related to tribal conflicts that may arise. Kearns and Leonard (2004), signal that in groups of concentrated ethnic subgroups, the overuse of social capital is detrimental because of “inborn feelings of threat”. Push for conformity among members of diverse cultures can generate tension and conflict.

Pervaiz (2016), postulates that members in the group may create social relationships with people of same power as theirs (horizontal connectivity), while others may have networking systems built on hierarchy (vertical). Horizontal networking allows people who have same needs to communicate without much form of intimidation whereas the nature of communication in a vertical system usually gives rise to more fear. Associations built on ranking (vertical networking) can therefore be too commanding and intimidating, inflexible and unapproachable towards migrant women which can prevent them escaping from poverty (Claridge 2018). Those who feel rejected might end up quitting and fail to cherish the advantages of networking. Leaving the group could lead to lack of trust and can undermine

social capital. Although not the aim, group members within the social capital circle might misuse the essence of social capital through engaging in drugs, crimes, theft, and in doing so damage community welfare (Mishra 2020). Social networking may also lead to ‘phishing’ by scammers (Azeez, Salaudeen, Misra, Damaševičius & Maskeliūnas 2020). Phishing is when a ‘conman’ sends messages to individuals to inform them of job or business opportunities. During the process, a defrauder ‘hacks’ the user’s electronic devices to obtain individual sensitive information such as identity documents and bank cards. Migrant females are more likely to be conned by these ‘conmen’ because of their desperate need to get employment to fend for their children.

3.6.6 Vulnerability context and migrant female domestic workers

In the view of Hellgren and Serrano (2019), when a shift and trend take place in a country, migrant female domestic workers are more vulnerable: for example, if “innate females” from other sectors lose their jobs, they look for domestic work because it is more accessible. Competing over domestic work means increasing the migrant females’ joblessness and vulnerability. Those who become unemployed are incapacitated to save for unanticipated situations such as illnesses and death of a member, which increases their poverty. Dercon et al. (2008:47), recognised that poor people that do not seek assistance are easily exposed to shocks that range from “individual to specific (such as illness, theft or unemployment).” To resolve shocks such as illnesses or death of a relative, they seek loans that must be paid back with added interest which further inflates their poverty. Others end up requesting money already sent back to help their families in their original countries. Such increasing poverty does not only add to their incompetence and inadequacy to acquire other resources, but it hinders them from fighting risks and shocks (IMF 2003). These shortcomings make them less able to manipulate or influence demanding situations and as a result, they become increasingly vulnerable (Sabates-Wheeler & Devereux 2013). Only those who can cope with new conditions and situations, respond to shocks by adjusting to the resulting dynamics of livelihood trends.

Environmental conditions such as floods, drought and pandemics can compel people to abandon their homes and evacuate from their agricultural areas to start new lives elsewhere as part of coping strategies (Schneiderbauer et al. 2021). Female migrants working as domestic workers fail to adjust and adhere to this new ‘irregularity’ because they do not have enough resources to use and recover. When the Covid 19 pandemic occurred, a considerable number

of female migrants working as domestic workers lost their jobs and failed to provide food for their families. Furthermore, the recurrence of natural calamities damages foreign migrants' properties and diminishes their chance to recuperate because they do not have easy access to financial funding and readily available relatives to help them. For these women to procure assets after a disaster, they should be assisted to fight shocks, trends, and seasonalities (Tripathy & Bardhan 2019). They must be availed with relevant information to assist them to respond effectively during seasonalities (Buheji 2018). As postulated by Dercon et al. (2008), poor communication debilitates them to respond efficiently to shocks.

3.6.7 The role of institutes, policies, and structures to improve the lives of migrant female domestic workers

Davies et al. (2009) mention that extremely vulnerable people have inadequate information on institutions, structures, and policies. Alike, information about institutes that protect migrant domestic workers is not properly imparted to empower them. Gutman and Thompson (2004:3) in (Chen 2021), call for policies and programs that create platforms for reasoning, storytelling, moral appeals, and fact findings to be prevalent to help both strategists and the poor to engage and simplify complex policy issues. These discussions must be made prevalent to migrant women working as domestic workers regardless of originality, gender, colour, caste, and age as they afford people ways to solve their problems.

To improve migrant females' financial autonomy, informal sectors may be regulated to protect them since these women add their income through informal trading. Informal sectors usually lack stipulated rules to safeguard the poor, which makes them more vulnerable (Banks, Lombard & Mitlin 2020). Organisations, such as UNDP and CARE, which envisage eradicating poverty must openly communicate issues surrounding informal structures' influence on the livelihood outcomes of the poor (Krantz 2001). Transforming structures should delve deeper into how informal structures operate to give these women proper information on how to operate productively. Also, informing migrant females about institutes such as banks that give loans is key to ventures into other businesses that can improve their livelihood. Teaching them about how saving institutes operate, can acquaint them with information on benefits of banking, liquidity, collateral, and accessibility issues. Institutes that provide loans should explain issues about the inflation rate, interest rate and returns to the poor (Mcguire & Conroy 2013). Bongomin, Ntayi and Malinga (2020) explain that significant

numbers of migrant domestic workers do not enjoy pension benefits from the work they do. It is therefore imperative that they be acquainted with knowledge on personal retirement systems, savings, and fiscal management. The legislature working towards reforming financial services should provide safety nets such as pensions for them (Hashemi & Rosenberg 2006).

3.7 Limitations of the SLA

Chambers (2009) states that, although sustainable livelihood's approach transcends other approaches in improving the livelihoods of poor people, it has various weaknesses. These include failure to finely distinguish who the poor are, overlooking the comprehensiveness of poor people's social settings that affect their capabilities to obtain a living, and inability to provide novel and distinct solutions to specific problems which can alleviate poverty. Incapacity to appropriately characterise the poor may lead to aid given to irrelevant people and an intensified unfair distribution of resources (Folbre 1997). SLA looks at the fraction of details that may lead to one becoming poor such as financial position, but it does not explain the issues surrounding power relations and dissimilarities, gender related issues, welfare among household members, and intra-house inequalities which can obstruct the poor from acquiring financial assets (Bonnal et al. 2018).

Furthermore, SLA does not provide solutions on how to deal with those in power and deeply involved in bureaucracy, who ignore the input of poor community participants in matters that directly affect them (Sanga, Benson & Josyula 2021). It does not suggest how the poor and rich people should relate and join in the fight against poverty. Engaging and building a good relationship may bring about ideas for job opportunities for the poor, raise their incomes and find new ways of fighting poverty.

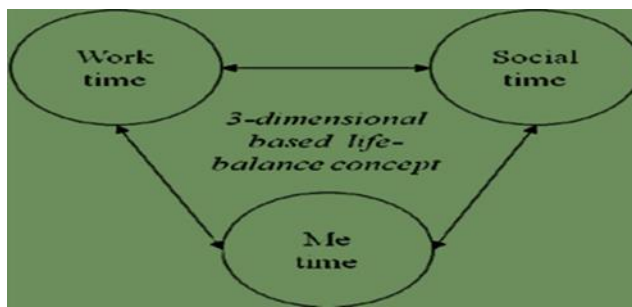
While ladylike empowerment issues are present in the "framework," there is less emphasis on practical steps to increase and inspire women empowerment. The approach does not offer solutions to poor women who are frightened to communicate their views in front of men and community strategists; thus, there is proposal for the inclusion and participation of both men and women in SLA discussions to foster equal decision making and role accountabilities (Mdee, Ofori, Chasukwa & Manda 2021). The lack of empowerment, causing women not to participate in decision making and in aspects that affect them directly, leaves them vulnerable and disempowered (Mosse, Gupta and Shah 2005).

In addition, SLA overemphasised livelihood outcomes, namely “end-products,’ whilst ignoring the processes and challenges encountered by poor people in acquiring those outcomes (Molosi-France & Dipholo 2020). Frequent issues are encapsulated in the sustainable livelihood’s framework, within the transforming structures and processes and the 'vulnerability context' but, in practice, people have used the idea of the five capitals more than they have the linkages between those and the wider environment in which people live. It is particularly important to keep in mind that the wider environment affects not only the assets to which people have access, but also what can be achieved with those assets.

Furthermore, SLA emphasizes the vulnerability context, but it understates the issues of vulnerability management and “remediation process.” It also pays no attention to institutional gaps and regulatory weakness when disasters occur (Deen 2015). Vulnerability mediation and management assist poor people to learn how to cope with and monitor further vulnerabilities, which can enable them to reduce the impact of threats (Shackleton et al. 2021). Morse and Mcnamara (2013), suggests that there is a need for a comprehensive approach which gives a fine distinction between making a sustainable living and a need to live sustainable lives. Mclean (2015) also highlights the need for the approach to explain the sensitive short- and long-term difficulties poor people encounter when engaging in adaptive strategies.

SLA considers that social capital should be one of the prevalent assets to satisfy a person’s livelihood outcome. However, it ignores the significance of “a balance actor model” of an individual and the society, in terms of the time spent on work, the person self and social component to obtain that social capital. For one to acquire a social capital effectively, “a balance factor model” should be included because it permits one to function efficiently with enough work time, “me time”, and social time. Time spent at work allows an individual to interact with others when performing work tasks. It enables one to acquire income to achieve personal goals, whilst contributing positively to organisational productivity (Schiffinger & Braun 2020). Esch (2014), notes that “me time” is vital because it reduces stress, assists individuals to think clearly and creatively, and to know themselves better, thus increasing productivity, happiness, gratitude, and empathy. It also affords one time to plan on other ways to improve life. Cook-Sather (2014), highlights that engaging well with others permits an individual to reach out to make collective and essential decisions. For one to achieve a profound social capital, one should be fully aware of the “me time, work time and social time.”

Figure 3.4 The three-factor based life-balance model



Source: Diagram by Grisslich, Proske and Koerndle (2012)

SLA produces an excellent instrument to construct development studies thereby expanding the competency of development projects. The main aim of SLA is to apply “a holistic approach” to reduce poverty at local or policy level however, in recent years, the prominence of the five capitals has been criticised by development practitioners for focusing too much on the micro-level and neglecting the 'higher' levels of governance, the policy environment, as well as national and global economic growth (Morse & MacNamara 2013). This has restricted understanding of how markets work. Failure to understand how markets may elongate strategists’ implementation processes, hence stretching the period for the poor to earn a secure income.

All the criticisms and limitations of the sustainable livelihoods approach outlined above are indeed valid. The approach recaps tremendously sensitive poverty issues in a solitary set of diagrams. However, addressing issues of such subtle magnitude is not sufficient because SLA has connected and complex terms. Tackling SLA in a single diagram entails that certain elements will be highlighted more than others depending on the interests of the users. Therefore, diverse reasons for poverty and the possibilities for addressing them should be varied. Furthermore, for SLA to be fulfilled, policy makers, when executing their duty, need to be fully financially resourced, have time to do their work and work together collaboratively. They must profoundly understand international policy settings, national administrative environment, demography, legal, socio and cultural forces and their impact on poor people’s individual decision-making process (Grisslich, Proske & Körndle 2012). There is further need for SLA to highlight how intermediate forces such as political parties, ethnic groups, organisations, communities, systems, and regulations affect poor households. Overlooking such crucial factors may give rise to misunderstanding of the impact of various sectors on poor

people's income. There is need for connecting local practicalities to institutions and policies for the framework to be more effective (Serrat 2017).

Despite the above limitations, the application of SLA was regarded as very valid by Chaudhuri (2013) in his research for domestic workers in Kolkata. In a comparative study between domestic workers of South Africa and India conveyed by Seedat-Khan, Dharmaraja and Sidloyi (2014), use of SLA was truly relevant to comparing poor migrant people's livelihoods and the role of their institutes. Similarly, application of SLA remains extremely useful for our purposes in this study for considering both the micro-level details of poor people's livelihoods and the wider context in which those livelihoods operate.

3.8 Conclusion

This chapter clarifies the relevance of the Sustainable Livelihood Approach (SLA) in this study, followed by an explanation of the asset pentagon, SLA's capitals, vulnerability context, resilience, transforming structures and processes, livelihood strategies and livelihood outcomes. Furthermore, it explains the position of Migrant Domestic Workers in terms of SLA's capitals. Finally, the limitation of SLA was presented. The next chapter presents the research methodology followed in this study.

CHAPTER 4: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

4.1 Introduction

Chapter four explains the research methodology which was followed to conduct the research study on the sustainable livelihoods of female migrants working as domestic workers living in Dunoon, Cape Town. The chapter goes on to clarify the data collection and sampling techniques implemented. Ethical considerations in the research are elucidated. The researcher's interpersonal relationship with interviewees (relationality) is illustrated. Finally, the challenges encountered during the research (limitations of research) are unfolded.

4.2 Research design

The research design encompasses the identification of the problem, review of existing literature on the topic, formulation of research questions, the type of information necessary to achieve the research objective as well as the research methods and methods of analysis. In this research study, a case study design was applied to investigate the livelihood strategies of female migrants working as domestic workers while living in Dunoon, Cape Town in Western Cape province of South Africa. This made it possible to do an exploratory and descriptive investigation to provide answers and to gain insights into and familiarity with the research problem. According to Creswell and Creswell (2018), the case study design enables the researcher to do an in-depth study of a specific problem when not enough is known about an issue or phenomenon.

Qualitative research methodology was applied to investigate the livelihood strategies of female migrant domestic workers living in Dunoon. A qualitative method is centred on *why* processes, situations, scenes, or a set of social interactions are taking place (Babbie 2020). Burnham et al. (2008:40) suggests that a qualitative method is the best option when obtaining multifaceted and profound information from a limited number of cases. In the view of Maxwell (2012), the approach enables researchers to apply a "friendly step-by-step guide", thus, disclosing how components of design interrelate with each other. Creswell (2016:30) contends that through qualitative investigations, the abundance of communal human challenges is identified.

The researcher used a descriptive and explorative method based on a case study. This was done to obtain information about female domestics' survival strategies, livelihood, personal lives, lived experiences, emotions, and their cultures (Babbie 2020). Moules (2000) calls for a thorough interrogation of information and observation of participants to obtain a good research process and its proper completion. A phenomenological paradigm was instituted as a research design in this study. In the view of Creswell and Creswell (2018), a phenomenological paradigm is an essential design used in viewing the world through the eyes of the participants. The study observed, examined, and then described situations and events of migrant females working as domestic workers who have stayed in Dunoon for longer than a five-year period.

4.3 Pilot study

A pilot study was done during the month of September 2021. According to Creswell (2016), it is paramount for a researcher to negotiate access to penetrate the area of study because it constructs a trust relationship with those to be researched.

Sequence of Events

The researcher penetrated Dunoon through negotiating with the Dunoon taxi rank community leaders who showed benevolence by distinguishing two men that they assumed to be relevant to help in the study. These men became informants #3 and #4 respectively. One of the two selected men, informant #4, volunteered to escort the researcher around the community which led to identification of key informant #1 for the pilot study. Key information that informant 1 brought forward, consequently resulted in the identification of key informant #2 for the study.

During the pilot study, the researcher was assisted by four (4) female migrants who came from Malawi and Zimbabwe, respectively. Two of these were brought forward by informant #1 and informant #2. The researcher was also helped to obtain two (2) more foreign female migrants by her friend whom she stayed with during the research. These two women originated from the Democratic Republic of Congo and Swaziland respectively.

The researcher proceeded to phone the Department of Social Development (DSD) officials to clarify and understand the services they offered and the role they played in empowering female migrants working as domestic workers. The telephonic communication process prepared the

researcher for her main study. The DSD representatives then became informant #5 and informant #6.

The pilot study generated goodwill and paved a way to identify and involve prospective participants. It also contributed to evaluating if questions in the interview guide were germane to the study. In addition, it gave an indication of the time needed for actual primary research. The pilot study played a useful role in predicting gaps and preparing the researcher with mitigating measures to improve the actual research. The pilot tests took thirty (30) minutes with each individual participant and an hour with the entire focus group. The previously mentioned, in its entirety, contributed positively towards the researcher's access to fundamental information about the Dunoon community prior to the actual primary research activities.

Key Informants

Informants have huge significance in providing needed information. The way they position themselves determines the information gathered from them (Mckenna & Main 2013). Marshall (1996) accentuates that if key informants are well informed about activities that happen in their community, willing to participate, communicate, and are impartial on matters that happen around them, they can provide the researcher with the key information required. The two key informants were women identified because of the researcher's discussions held with local community leaders during her initial visit to Dunoon. The community leaders helped to identify women for the purpose of enriching the research. One community leader accompanied the researcher to the house of the one informant (hereinafter referred to as informant #1 or Mantoe). With the aid of a community leader, the researcher explained her intention to this key informant. The informant agreed to assist in the study. She also attested that she was well versed in activities that transpire in Dunoon. Furthermore, she shared information about the other key informant (informant #2) and took the researcher to her house.

Informant #1 (Mantoe) is a South African, widow of a Zimbabwean man. She had worked as a domestic worker for a period of 17 years. She owns two houses in Dunoon. One of her houses is leased to a Somalian man who uses it as a spaza shop. The other house is rented out to people from different countries. After her husband's death, she opted to stay in the backroom as she no longer needed a big house. She also owns a 'shebeen' (an informal place that sells alcohol and other beverages). Mantoe employs people who cook trotters and pap to sell to her customers before they have alcohol at her shebeen. She escorted the researcher to conduct focus

group interviews. She ushered the researcher to ensure that she was safe because Dunoon was described “as a highly dangerous place to walk alone when one is not familiar with it” by Informant #1 (Mantoe). She further assisted the researcher in moderating the second focus group.

Informant #2 (Margaret) is a Zimbabwean who has lived in Dunoon for 19 years. She has worked as a domestic worker for a total of 25 years, of which 22 years were spent working as a child-minder. At the time of this study, she was working for one of the women that she had raised. Margaret is also a secretary of ‘stokvels’ created by foreign women and a member of a burial society for foreigners.

Considering the time that they had lived in Dunoon and the time they had worked as domestic workers, these two informants had valuable experience and held great understanding and knowledge of life that transpired in Dunoon. These women contributed immensely to the research by providing the researcher with access to a requisite substantial number of women (Emmel & Clark 2009). They also provided fundamental information about the foreign women and activities that emerge in Dunoon.

Informants #3 and #4 were two community leaders. Informant #3 is a South African and the other is a Congolese man. Informant #3 owned seven houses in Dunoon and 11 taxis that travelled from Dunoon to other areas. He had direct influence on issues that happened at the taxi rank and had information about housing issues. Foreign nationals rented five of his houses. Informant #4, the Congolese community leader, was a property owner and an overseer of the Dunoon burial society for foreigners. He was also engaged in issues that concerned foreigners.

Informants #5 and # 6 were officials from the DSD. The researcher first contacted the Directorate: Research, Population, and the Knowledge Management Department of Social Development in the Western Cape Government, for permission to conduct research with the DSD officials. She was granted permission to do so and was provided with essential details of these two officials. She then contacted these officials telephonically to set up appointments for interviews when they clarified the role of DSD in spearheading South Africa’s campaign for advancing feminine awareness and protection against all forms of social coercion. They certainly provided pertinent information for research.

4.4 Population frame and sampling group

Demographic analysis

Charmaz (2006) argues that conceptual and demographic analysis is essential when understanding the topic being examined. Therefore, the researcher explored the demography of Dunoon. According to Cape Town Census and Population Statistics (2011), Dunoon has approximately thirty-one thousand one hundred and thirty-three people (31 133). These include 89.3% Black people from the Eastern Cape, other provinces and from other countries, and 5.6% people of colour, while slightly more than 5% are a mixture of other races, such as, Indians and Asians. For the purpose of this study, the target population included all migrant female domestic workers living in Dunoon from which a sample was drawn. However, the size of the sampling frame was not known as no statistics were available of the female migrants who were working as domestic workers and living in Dunoon. Babbie (2020) described sample frame as elements of a research population that reflect the characteristics of the population to be studied. From the sample frame, a group of migrant women from Dunoon, working as domestic workers, has been sampled as participants for this study. Comprehending the population frame contributed to bringing out information from a sample population with similar traits. These women were selected through participative observation and through ethnography.

According to Babbie (2016), sampling can be defined as the process through which individuals or sampling units are selected from the sample frame. From these sections of Dunoon, a simple random non-probability sampling method was used to choose women for the study according to its set parameters. This is discussed in more detail in the following sections.

Female migrant domestic worker participants

Dunoon is partitioned into various sections, namely Kwa 5, Kwa 23, Kwa 28, and Kwa Ngenani. The researcher executed a participative observation method in finding women to be interviewed. She stood at previously mentioned sections of Dunoon where she approached women passing by to find out if they were interested in participating in a study pertaining to the analysis of sustainable livelihoods of migrant women working as domestic workers and living in the area. The researcher greeted the women in Xhosa. Some Non-South Africans quickly responded that “they did not understand Xhosa very well”, whilst others tried to speak in Xhosa at first but struggled to express themselves. Three women asked the researcher to speak to them in Chichewa, Shona, Nyanja or alternatively in English as they could not speak Xhosa. The researcher went on to enquire whether the women she spoke to were employed as domestic workers. From these sections of Dunoon, the researcher managed to engage two women from Kwa 5, two women from Kwa 23, two women from Kwa 28 and two women from Kwa Ngenani, all foreigners as required, to participate in the study. The researcher, therefore, obtained a total of eight women from different areas of Dunoon for the study.

Selection of these eight (8) women from different areas, comprising all sections, of Dunoon was done to harvest requisite information for inclusion in the study. The researcher wanted to add a true reflection of activities that happen throughout Dunoon. Identifying women from each section of Dunoon added to the strength of the study, because all sections of Dunoon had two women participating into the study. Furthermore, for inclusion of value in the study, the researcher identified four (4) more women during her three weeks stay in Dunoon. In addition, another four more women were brought forward by Informant #1 and Informant #2 (Mantoe and Margaret) of the pilot study. This total of sixteen (16) women agreed to participate as interviewees with the researcher. The researcher wrote down their mobile phone numbers and addresses to arrange convenient interview dates with them.

To obtain more women for the study, the researcher employed a snowballing technique. Snowballing is non-probability sampling from referrals introduced by already chosen members who, at this point, were eight (8) women picked from all sections of Dunoon, four (4) were living nearby the researcher and 4 were brought forward by informants #1 and #2. Thereafter, the researcher recruited more women until thirty (30) had been picked. Having over thirty (30) employees willing to participate in this research revealed to the researcher that there is a high number of foreign migrants working as domestic workers in Dunoon that could be extrapolated

to Cape Town. The snowballing technique was conducted with due diligence to avoid exposing female migrants' personal positions. It was done assiduously to prevent harming participants and exposing their privacy, since it is a 'revealing' type of sampling if it is not professionally and discreetly managed (Babbie 2016:188).

Focus group discussions

To strengthen the quality of investigation and to add more information for research, twelve (12) women were picked, through purposive sampling from the already selected thirty (30) women, for them to participate in focus group discussions (FGDs). Purposive sampling is a non-probability sampling technique, where the researcher picks participants with clear intention of fitting them into the study, based on the researcher's subjective judgement. In this method, samples are selected in a way that is not suggested by a probability theory (Babbie 2020).

In terms of process, the group of twelve (12) women was divided into two (2) focus groups, each consisting of six (6) foreign women working as domestic workers. As pointed out by Morgan and Hoffman (2004), focus groups are essential elements in research because they enable the researcher to "examine aspects of the interactive dynamics". The focus groups established a feeling of 'sharing and comparing' among participants. Their feelings, views, and inspirations were investigated and explored in an abbreviated period (Powell & Single 1996). The researcher closely observed the resulting conversation between interviewees. This provided participants chance to avail themselves of information initially not shared and helped to elicit more stories. Focus groups afforded the interviewer in-depth examination of issues that arose during the discussions. Members of both focus groups gave accounts of their lives and challenges encountered at home and at work, as well as previously in their original places. Most women explained what they have achieved and what they still wish to accomplish in life whilst working as domestic workers.

Employers

Ten (10) employers of foreign female migrants working as domestic workers were purposively selected and interviewed. Initially, the researcher had intended to interview all the employers of the thirty (30) female migrant females. The researcher also observed that most employers of

domestic women were females. Ten (10) of the migrant domestic workers had given the researcher their employers' details to request their participation in the study. After interviewing two (2) sets of employer-employees, the researcher, however, became suspicious of the responses given. She sensed an element of 'partiality and over-glorification' about one another which could distort the research. The researcher therefore selected eight (8) employers of migrant domestic workers from her work at an old age home and from the congregants of the church that she attended, respectively. Andrade (2021) indicates that purposive sampling can only be generalised to the sub-population from which the sample is drawn and thus cannot be generalised to the entire population because this would reflect research bias which should be avoided. To minimise bias, the researcher began by identifying prospective interviewees that she did not work or closely associate with. A sufficient number of suitable subjects from the church congregation were randomly included in a WhatsApp group that had been created for the researcher to choose from. Of the 500 hundred members of the church, the researcher randomly chose five (5) employers, in the aforesaid way, to properly circumvent bias.

The researcher worked at an old people's home that employs various categories of employees such as nurses, nurse assistants, administrators, and maintenance personnel. She enquired from colleagues if they had migrant domestic workers working for them and if they were willing to participate in research that required her to interview employers of migrant domestic workers. The matron and the village manager agreed to be interviewed because their domestic workers were migrant females.

The matron had a Malawian woman working for her. She had left Malawi to look for work in Cape Town because their farming had not provided enough food, for the family, for three years. During these conversations, the matron referred the researcher to a friend who also had a Malawian woman working at her house. The researcher obtained the contact details and arranged to interview the matron's friend.

The village manager informed her, at this time, that she had a woman from Zimbabwe working at her house twice per week. She had left Zimbabwe because that currency had depreciated drastically and she had heard that if she migrated to South Africa, her chances of employability were higher.

Five (5) more employers were identified from congregants of the church that the researcher attended: after a Sunday church service, the researcher had requested church leaders if they

would announce on the church’s WhatsApp group, that foreign migrant females working at their houses in Dunoon, should contact the researcher if they were willing to join the research study. The researcher obtained thirty-three (33) positive responses from those willing to participate in this research; and the researcher decided to interview five (5) employers.

Total number of main participants

In this study, the main participants were therefore, thirty (30) female migrants working as domestic workers, and ten (10) employers of domestic workers: two (2) employers of participating domestic workers; two (2) employers from the researcher’s workplace; one (1) employer referred by a colleague of the researcher; and five (5) employers were from the church. The remaining participants were two (2) key informants, two (2) community leaders and two (2) officials from the DSD. All participants in the study provided information which enabled the researcher to assemble true reflection of the group.

Table 4.1 Categories of research participants

Participants	Number	Data collection technique	How data was collected	How participants were acquired
Foreign female migrants working as domestic workers and living in Dunoon	30	Face-to-face interviews	Semi structured interviews, individual storytelling, guided by research guide	Participative observation, ethnography, snowball sampling
Focus groups (2)	12 (6 in each group)	Group discussions	Semi-structured interviews, guided by research guide	Purposive sampling from a total of 30 women

Employers of domestic workers	10	Face-to-face interviews	Semi-structured interviews, guided by research guide	Purposive sampling
Department of Social Development (DSD) officials	2	Face-to-face interviews	Semi-structured interviews guided by a research guide	Information of officials was provided by the Directorate: Research Population and Knowledge Management, DSD in the Western Cape Government
Community leaders	2	Face-to-face interviews	Semi-structured interviews guided by a research guide	Preliminary participative observation (obtained during a pilot study)
Key informants	2	Face-to-face interviews	Semi-structured interviews guided by a research guide	Preliminary participative observation (obtained during a pilot study)

4.5 Data collection techniques

Literature review

As suggested by Babbie (2020), data collection is a process of collecting essential information to enrich the study. The study used primary and secondary data collection techniques. Literature from scholarly books, scientific journals, authorised published documents, political commentary, biographies, and policies from the government were used to obtain theoretical knowledge of the sustainable livelihood framework, female migration, domestic work, and policies put in place to safeguard domestic workers. The literature was also used to refine and construct ideas and analyse social science theories within primary sources. Mouton (1996:20) considers social science theories as precious instruments to justify events that occur in the

social setup. These theories succinctly state ideas as they are, and they provide concrete analogy of concepts whilst citing examples. They also simplify how people approach life, justify their actions and how they embrace their values. Secondary sources were used to identify the roots of the investigations. The literature provided insight into female migrants' sustainable livelihood mechanisms as domestic workers. The primary collection of data was gathered through participative observation, ethnography done during the researcher's stay in Dunoon, as well as through interviews and focus group discussions.

Participative observation method

A participative observation method was used to ensure clear collection of information. It enabled the researcher to be aware of subjects and activities occurring in Dunoon and allowed the researcher to be an insider (Strydom 2011). The researcher lived in Dunoon for three weeks during October 2021 to engage with foreign women working as domestic workers. Through staying with participants, observations, and engaging with these women, a strong relationship was formed. Cresswell (2013:166) described participative observation as an "... act of noting a phenomenon in the field setting through the five senses of the observer...", where one "may watch (the) physical setting, participant's activities, interactions, conversations," whilst "watching own behaviour". When using this method, De Vos, Strydom, Fouché, and Delport (2005) caution on the dangers of obstructing the natural response of the respondents and manipulation of results that may jeopardise the validity of results. Their conduct was captured in the different contexts: for example, two (2) key informants informed the researcher about activities that had transpired in Dunoon.

Face-to-face interviews

To allow-clear and direct communication with participants, the researcher conducted all the interviews-face-to-face so that the women could relate their own meaning, which provided first-hand experiences of living in a foreign land whilst working as domestic workers. De Vos et al. (2005) indicate that face-to-face interviews enable a researcher to collect large volumes of in-depth information in an abbreviated period. Semi-structured interviews with open- and close-ended questions were used to delve intensely into personal, and sometimes sensitive, issues about the women, for the purpose of determining how they obtained sustainable livelihood.

Semi-structured interviews

The semi-structured interview also allowed the researcher to obtain in-depth information using storytelling. In the view of Serrat (2008), storytelling is used as a communication tool to value, share, and capitalise on the knowledge of individuals. Storytelling assists a researcher to put stories into context, and that the acquaintance of hearing stories should remind the researcher to not harbour preconceived notions of those stories as they are told. The technique of storytelling is used to “persuade, share troubles, establish shared values, learn social behaviours, and entertain” (Bowden, Oraby, Wu, Misra & Walker 2017). During storytelling, details catch the participant and researcher’s attention, thereby helping them to engage more closely. Storytelling tends to drive participants closer to their emotions because of memories that arise.

In-depth interviews

During October 2021, in-depth interviews based on an interview guide were conducted with thirty (30) migrant domestic workers, ten (10) employers for domestic workers, two (2) community leaders, and two (2) DSD officials. In addition, two (2) key informants provided information on how people in Dunoon live, interact, collaborate, and spend their time (going to church, taverns, malls, or the nearby beach in Bloubergstrand). The two (2) key informants shared information about Dunoon, such as the lack of service delivery, overcrowded areas, pollution, poor waste management, and high crime rate. The key informants contributed meaningfully to exploration of participants’ thoughts and feelings, which led to useful research analysis of answers given.

Open-ended questions

The researcher asked open-ended questions to provide the participants with freedom to respond, hence adding value to the research. Data was collected and recorded through taking notes, audio recordings, taking photos of Dunoon and using transcripts from interviews of individual experiences and focus group sessions. Interviews were guided with concrete questions and ideas from a tried-and-tested research guide. Flick (2020) stipulates that the research guide should comprise reflective questions that are clear. Reflective questions such as “Did you encounter an improvement in resources and assets after migration?” and “Is there an improvement in networking after migration?” as well as lucid questions such as “Kindly

explain the reasons for choosing to migrate” and “What resources and assets did you have before migration and what did you acquire after migration?”, enabled participants to answer without confusion, which afforded the researcher opportunity to have relevant discussions. This contributed to trustworthiness, reliability, and credibility of research findings. For more questions asked, see research guide under Appendix B.

Interviews

Individual participant interview

The researcher took an hour to interview each woman. A handful of women were not comfortable with interviews at first but eventually reached out. One participant invited the researcher to her church because she declared that only then could she have time for the interview. Thereafter, she became amazingly comfortable and gladly answered all questions which contributed to needed information. There were days when the participants were busy with house chores and refused to participate in the interview. Such days allowed the researcher to observe local activities. Imprints of Dunoon were taken through photography and mapping.

Individual employer interview

Ten employers were interviewed to explain on how they contribute to livelihood and survival strategies of female migrants as domestic workers in Dunoon. The researcher also wanted to assess if employers of female migrant domestic workers had registered and safeguarded their employees in terms of employment policies and if their employees enjoyed other work benefits. The researcher further wanted to research whether and how the employers assist their domestic workers to empower them.

Focus group discussions

As stated earlier, two focus group discussions were held with six participants in each. The focus group discussions helped the researcher to accumulate essential information on Dunoon activities. Interviews proceeded easily with smooth flow of discussions. The first FGD was conducted within two hours, with a 15-minute break in between. The topic guide comprised questions to ask the participants. The discussions enabled the researcher to accumulate

information constructed from a “collective view.” Each woman was given a chance to tell her stories without interference. Those who could not express themselves in English, were told they could speak in Shona, Chichewa, Ndebele, and Nyanja because the researcher is able to communicate in these languages.

Meeting for discussion with *all* the participants was essential. It became a challenge to meet for discussion with all participants of the second focus group because three of the women were busy. As a result, all participants were advised that the meeting was postponed to the following week. When the date arrived, four women did not turn up. When faced with complexity in the field, Malkki (2008) suggests that a researcher must think fast and conduct “a simulated” research. On this basis, the researcher asked for permission from each participant to form a WhatsApp group for all six women to ensure their availability at the same time. It took the researcher two weeks to obtain confirmation of their availability on a designated day, however, one member did not turn up and the researcher solved this by incorporating a newly chosen woman who was not part of the identified thirty (30) respondents. The woman was sixty years old, from Nigeria and very co-operative in her responses. The second FGD ran for three hours with a thirty-minute break in between. It took the researcher a longer time to conduct the second FGD because group members were noisy and disorganised at first. The researcher explained the purpose of the discussions in a calm manner for every participant to understand.

The two FGDs contributed to understanding how migrant women working as domestic workers typify themselves and how they operate collectively. Both groups helped to reveal how unevenness in terms of spatial distribution influences their livelihoods. The respondents were deferential and gave each other time to explain their experiences. The discussions, in the abbreviated period, generated rich and comprehensive information about the livelihood strategies of foreign women working as domestics. See Focus Group Research Guide in Appendix C.

DSD interviews

As mentioned earlier, two (2) officials from the DSD were interviewed to find out the role they play in relation to assisting females working as domestic workers. To further understand the role of the DSD, the researcher studied the applicable documents: see under Literature and Bibliography.

Two (2) community leaders (members representing foreigners in Dunoon) were interviewed to find out how they contribute to the lives of female migrants who stay in Dunoon. See Research Guides for Employers, Community Leaders, and DSD Officials under Appendix F.

4.6 Analysis of data

Data analysis relates to the researcher's ability to recognise and sieve valuable information that is relevant to research and implemented to effectively structure all essential data collected. It is also a process of reducing raw information to present orderliness in the research conveyed. This systematisation of order can be done through proper structuring and interpretation of all data presented (Cresswell 2013). In the view of O'Dwyer (2004), data analysis is a "process for transforming a messy but attractive nuisance", into reasonable data. Data obtained must be overseen 'creatively' to give a relevant message to the reader (Thorn 2000).

To find meaning in data collected and presented in this study, information was analysed using two approaches as advocated by (Thorn 2000). Firstly, data was gathered for analysis when relevant participants were interviewed during a pilot study, the actual study and after the study, through chronicling participants' various stories. This approach permitted the researcher to develop new insights into realities, revise data, and verify information and findings. Secondly, the researcher used triangulation to delve into a comprehensive understanding of phenomena. Patton (1999) refers to triangulation as a plan used to evaluate the validity through the union of information from diverse sources. In this study, triangulation was conducted by using various sources, namely stories presented by domestic workers, and those of their employers, government department officials, community leaders and prevalent policies. Out of these chronicles, data was interpreted and analysed systematically. Every participant's feedback was iterated in their own voice. Similar subject topics that emanated from stories told during interviews were converted into themes which were then anatomised concurrently with stories told. Thematic analysis was used to examine interviews, focus groups, and field research as well as secondary sources, as suggested by Clarke and Braun (2019:843). Developed themes were classified, translated, and attached properly in labels. A description of events then followed. All participants were recorded for transcription.

4.7 Ethical consideration

According to Brittain et al. (2020), when doing social science research, one needs to distinguish what is ethically accepted from what is not. Similarly, this research was carried diligently with thoughtful consideration of ethics to avoid any harm to and hurting of participants' and female migrants' feelings. Physical discomfort, emotional stress, disrespect for culture, humiliation and embarrassment were not experienced by anyone involved in the study. The researcher clarified the purpose of the study, in precise and understandable language, to the participants. Consent forms were written in simple language to make participants understand the implications of being involved. The participants understood the consent forms and signed them without difficulty. Importantly, the researcher minimised identifiers and participants were requested to sign anonymity and a confidentiality clause. Guidelines pertaining to informed consent, confidentiality, and acceptance of freedom of withdrawal by respondents at any time, were explained. The study did not force, entice, or make leads to the participants into signing consent forms. The study was conducted with an open mind free of judgement (the researcher kept eyes and ears open, but mouth shut on issues that did not relate to the research). See participant information sheet distributed to women under Appendix A and consent form given to women who participated in the study under Appendix G.

4.8 Data collection methods and procedure during covid-19 regulations

In-depth interviews and focus group discussions were used for primary data collection. Considering the Covid-19 pandemic, however, the researcher acknowledged that it was essential to adhere to the protocols of social distancing, sanitising and compulsory wearing of masks during face-to-face interviews and focus group discussions. A distance of 1.5 metres was set between the chairs of participants in the focus groups. The researcher explained the Covid-19 protocols to the participants and requested them to follow her example and guidelines. This helped the participants to understand, and they willingly cooperated and enjoyed their achievements. All the previously—mentioned arrangements were strictly conducted to ascertain and ensure research rigour, trustworthiness, reliability and credibility of data and research findings.

4.9 The researcher's interpersonal relationship with interviewees (relationality)

In the view of Berger (2015), the essence of understanding the researcher's position in research is paramount. Similarly, the researcher's position in this research needs to be understood. The researcher was initially an outsider but navigated into acquiring passable knowledge of the place and actions that take place in Dunoon. The researcher stayed in Kwa 23 with a friend during the research period. The friend had stayed in Dunoon for over ten (10) years and was well versed in circumstances and cultures in Dunoon. Kwa 23 is "somewhere in the middle of Dunoon", about 500 metres away from Kwa 28, 700metres from Kwa Ngenani and a Kilometre away from Kwa 5. The "almost central position" of where the researcher stayed during the research made it easier for her to walk to participants' houses to conduct the research.

The researcher was easily accepted, hence created a solid relationship with informants and participants during her stay in Dunoon. Given that trust was built, participants considered her an 'insider.' The researcher's stay in Dunoon made a vast number of participants become comfortable around her, leading to her being able to probe and accumulate necessary information. Becoming an insider contributed to a trust relationship with targeted participants and informants. It can be argued that a too familiar relationship with participants can lead to subjectivity that might affect the outcome of research. Lincoln and Guba (1985) indicate that when a researcher's relationship with the participant is solidified, so will be the outcomes of research. A well-grounded relationship constructed by the researcher became an essential tool used by the researcher towards admission of information from participants objectively. "Rapport, respect," and ethical relations were negotiated, and finally constructed as suggested by Guillemin & Heggen (2009).

4.10 The limitations and challenges of the research

The greatest challenge encountered by the researcher was fear of being robbed of her electronic support gadgets. Dunoon is crowded and unsafe, hence the researcher feared behaviour that could lead to loss of documentation of evidence relevant to the study. Another limitation was that Dunoon experienced electricity power outages every evening while the researcher was staying there. This was a challenge, and it delayed the researcher's meetings with participants because it was risky and inappropriate to interview them in the dark. One other limitation was

that a few women argued they had chores to do at their houses and could not meet with the researcher immediately after getting home from work.

Initially, the researcher had intended to interview each employer and employee pair (from the batch of ten of the domestic workers and their employers) to compare their feedback. After interviewing the first employees and her employer and the second employee and her employer, the researcher noticed that there appeared to be a notable element of partiality and partisanship between each pair. In the view of Sajjani (2012), a researcher needs to be openminded and tolerant of uncertainty but needs to be quick to respond to any form of alterations. Such skills help a researcher to adjust, improvise and generate better research. As a result, the researcher was obligated to interview employers outside of the intended group. Another challenge was that some participants initially refused to be interviewed. They were not willing to participate without receiving food parcels. Their argument was that they were hungry and that they did not have time for “tomfooleries.” However, after the researcher explained their significance in the research which included, but was not limited to, a “sense of liberation, an upsurge in wisdom that might come as a result of the study and the fun of being a participant,” they then agreed to participate. Further persuasion was that the researcher had stayed in Dunoon for three weeks and therefore they welcomed her to interview them.

A couple of women in the second focus group were too vocal and bossy. Upon noticing that these women were imperious, the researcher counterbalanced the group by explaining research objectives in a constructive, clear, and calm way. There followed a happy and conducive atmosphere that was created for every member of the focus group.

Another challenge was that some of the women did not want to be recorded; so, the researcher took notes when they were telling their stories. Their refusal to be recorded caused the researcher to miss harvesting “direct quotes as told”. Challenges explained by Dickson-Swift James, Kippen and Liamputtong (2009) such as fatigue and feelings of guilt when hearing difficult stories, confronted the researcher. To overcome fatigue, the researcher stayed active in her daily routine and rested when there was need. To fight guilt, the researcher explored those feelings with curiosity instead of judgement. The researcher also became vulnerable upon “earshot of familiar migration stories”. The researcher had, similarly, encountered enormous challenges when she migrated. She did use a method by Pearce (2010) of accepting vulnerability (by being willing to be present and expose feelings and problematic emotions to

move on). Showing personal vulnerability gave the participants ability to share explicitly their deepest opinions, beliefs, and anxieties.

Lastly, the study was limited in scope as it is a case study of female migrant domestic workers in Dunoon; thus, making it not representative of all female migrants working as domestic workers in South Africa or elsewhere.

4.11 Reliability and validity

Validity is very significant in any study and basically shows that a specific instrument measures what it is supposed to measure while reliability refers to the fact that similar results in any similar context will be achieved should the same instruments be used (Walizer, Wiener, Kruskal, Wish, Alwin, Dukes & Armstrong 1979). The research applied suitable sampling in order to collect high quality data, as well as data collection instruments to ensure that collected data was appropriately treated, so that errors were significantly reduced. The instruments were pre-tested in the pilot study in order to ensure that an accurate and appropriate instrument was used when collecting data in the field.

4.12 Conclusion

Chapter four explains the research methodology followed to analyse female migrants working as domestic workers and living in Dunoon, Cape Town. The chapter began by explaining the methodological approach used in research. It described the data collection method, sampling techniques used, ethical considerations taken in research, the researcher's relationship with the participants and the limitations of research. A consent form used in research, individual research guide and the focus group topic guide are attached as appendices to demonstrate how answers to the study were obtained. This research was done during the Covid-19 pandemic (2021) with relevant rules followed precisely as explained in the chapter.

The chapter that follows presents and discusses findings taken from the analysis of female migrants working as domestic workers and living in Dunoon.

CHAPTER 5: PRESENTATION AND DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

5.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the findings of the sustainable livelihoods of female migrant domestic workers living in Dunoon, Cape Town in the Western Cape province of South Africa. The findings were obtained from the primary data collected from the participants through interviews, focus group discussions, storytelling, observation, and their narratives. Furthermore, their experiences at work and at home in the host country were acquired from their discussions. The women's anecdotes help to analyse if resources they obtain are valuable and well placed to improve their well-being when in the host country. The chapter presents answers concerning these women's awareness of policies that safeguard them and if they understand and apply them when working as domestic workers. Recitations in the research are presented to find out if policies are significant in bettering their livelihoods. On the other hand, this chapter chronicles the challenges encountered by the women during the process of acquiring survival resources, and it explores ways used to mitigate such difficulties. The chapter is also poised and set to allow all stakeholders involved to spell out the relationship or links they have with the women investigated in this study.

5.2 Presentation of results for female migrant domestic workers

All the women interviewed were between the age of 20 and 65 years. They were all properly documented and held documents such as South African identity documents, workers' permits, asylum seekers' permits, and proof of other refugee status. All the foreign females interviewed had lived in Dunoon for more than five years. They mentioned that Dunoon was a strategic township to stay in because it was close to "wealthy residential areas" such as Melkbostrand, Bellville's Welgedacht and Durbanville. The place was conveniently situated to enable them to secure jobs as domestic workers. It was less expensive in terms of transport costs to commute to and from work. Relatives and friends who were already staying in Dunoon welcomed a substantial number of these women.

Table 5.1. Demographic information of female migrant participants

Country	Age	Reason for Migration:	Education Level	Number of years in Dunoon	Number of years as a domestic worker
Zimbabwe	64	To stay with her husband.	Grade 5	24	24
Zimbabwe	60	To sell crocheted doilies with friends.	Grade 3	22	16
Zimbabwe	58	To seek jobs after the death of her husband.	Grade 7	23	22
Zimbabwe	53	To assist with her brother's burial process.	Form 4	21	19
Zimbabwe	50	Economic reasons and lost a husband.	Form 4	12	12
Zimbabwe	50	She came with her partner for the 2010 World Cup football tournament.	Tertiary	12	12
Zimbabwe	47	Economic reasons and fending for children because the husband neglected them.	Teaching Diploma	10	9
Zimbabwe	43	Pregnant and her boyfriend refused responsibility therefore came to look for a job to fend for her twins.	Tertiary	20	10
Zimbabwe	40	To join her husband after her father-in-law stole their money.	Form 4	15	15
Zimbabwe	37	To work and go to college.	Upper Six	12	12
Zimbabwe	35	Economic reasons and wanted money to raise her children.	Tertiary	11	11

Country	Age	Reason for Migration:	Education Level	Number of years in Dunoon	Number of years as a domestic worker
Zimbabwe	30	Abandoned by her husband. Economic reasons.	Form 4	9	8
Zimbabwe	26	She came to be with her boyfriend.	Form 4	7	6
Zimbabwe	24	To work and look after her parents.	Form 4	6	5
Malawi	44	Ran away from forced marriage.	Grade 5	17	16
Malawi	43	Wanted to work and help her family.	Grade 7	9	9
Malawi	46	Economic reasons because there was severe drought in Malawi.	Grade 6	16	16
Malawi	39	Wanted to work and send children to school.	Form 2	14	13
Malawi	33	Her husband abused her. Came to look for a job.	Form 2	10	10
Malawi	32	Wanted to raise money to go to college.	Form 4	10	8
Lesotho	41	Pregnant. Abandoned by husband.	Form A	10	10
Lesotho	39	To seek a job and go to college.	Grade 6	9	7
Lesotho	27	To look for a job and look after her children because the husband refused to be responsible.	Grade 4	11	8

Country	Age	Reason for Migration:	Education Level	Number of years in Dunoon	Number of years as a domestic worker
Swaziland	39	Ran away from poor politics. Needed work and income.	Grade 3	9	9
Swaziland	41	Required work for money to send siblings to school.	Grade 4	18	18
Mozambique	29	Needed money to fend for children and send them to school	Grade 5	6	6
Mozambique	53	Abused by her husband. Economic reasons.	Grade 6	15	14
Mozambique	51	Economic reasons.	Grade 7	11	8
Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC)	38	Fled from war and wanted to raise money to start a business.	Grade 6	16	15
Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC)	33	Abandoned by husband. Economic reasons.	Grade 3	13	12

A total of thirty (30) migrant women working as domestic workers were interviewed. Amongst them were fourteen (14) Zimbabweans, six (6) were Malawian, three (3) were from Lesotho, two (2) were Swazis, two (2) came from Congo and three (3) were of Mozambican origin. 42.9% of Zimbabwean women who participated in the research indicated that they had completed their first phase of secondary school and obtained an ordinary level certificate. In Zimbabwe, secondary education is based on the Cambridge two-tier system. The first tier: Ordinary Level (O-level) certificate is obtained on passing the exam following four years of study to gain Symbols A, B and C in five subjects that allow an individual access to a college diploma OR entry into the second phase of secondary school namely Advanced Level (A-level). Symbol A at advanced level-amounts to five points, B to four points, C to three points,

D to two points, and E to a single point. Obtaining three points and above at Advanced level is regarded as a pass to apply for entrance to a university degree program. Only four of the 14 (28.6%) Zimbabwean women had acquired a tertiary diploma. The other three of the 14 (21.4%) Zimbabwean women had completed primary school and never went to secondary school.

Three of the six Malawian women mentioned that they dropped out of school at primary school level. One of these Malawian women had dropped out of school because her parents had arranged for her to marry an old man, in return for an agreed herd of cows. Subsequently, the forced marriage failed. She divorced him and escaped to South Africa. The other three of the six Malawian women had gone to secondary school but did not complete the required four years to study further.

Of the three females from Lesotho, only one had gone as far as secondary school, while the other two had not furthered their education because their parents could not afford it. *"My mother couldn't send me to secondary school, she needed to send my brothers, and wanted me to look for a job"* (Percy).

All three Mozambican females interviewed had dropped out of school at primary level. One of these ladies did not continue due to a continuous poor academic result. *"School wasn't for me"* (Linda). One became pregnant at primary school and could not continue. The third woman experienced epilepsy whilst young and her parents requested that she drop out to seek assistance from traditional African healers.

The two women from Swaziland did not complete their primary education because the polygamous family did not have resources to care for thirty-six children. *"My parents' input towards our primary education was too high and my father had eight wives and thirty-six children, sending me further than grade four was too much for him"* (Nono).

The two women from the Congo had dropped out of primary school because of war.

How their migration processes were facilitated

When the women, under study, were asked how their migration processes were enabled, 80% mentioned that they were assisted to migrate by people already in South Africa, or by people who had friends and relatives already staying in South Africa. This concurs with the literature

in chapter 2 in section 2.2.2 wherein Bucholtz (2019) indicates that the process of migration is usually facilitated by networking, and social media is the most prominent platform used by migrants. In contrast, two women migrated without help from anyone. Those who migrate on their own usually use resilience as a mechanism to travel and live in a host country (Brinkerhoff 2011). *“I came on my own, knowing no one, overcame all migration adversities on my own, here I am”* (Linda). *People did not want to help with information and money to start on a new life elsewhere, so I packed my bags, took my passport, and got in the bus”* (Ruth). All the women interviewed stipulated that, at some time, they had engaged in social networking with others. *“I got more business ideas, friends, and job through engaging with others”* (Rita).

Table 5.2 Female migrants’ migration processes

Women who facilitated their own migration process.	Number of participants who were assisted to migrate and how they were connected.	Number of participants who assisted others to migrate and how they helped them.	Number of participants who did not assist anyone to migrate and why they chose not to.
2	24	20	8
6.7%	80%	66.7%	26.6%
Took their passports and money and left for South Africa without any support from family/friends in home country or South Africa. No survival strategy was in place.	13 participants were assisted by siblings and other relatives who were already in South Africa.	11 participants connected with friends and relatives through Facebook and WhatsApp to help them with information.	3 participants feel that South Africa is not a safe place to advise others to come to.

Women who facilitated their own migration process.	Number of participants who were assisted to migrate and how they were connected.	Number of participants who assisted others to migrate and how they helped them.	Number of participants who did not assist anyone to migrate and why they chose not to.
Both participants travelled with a friend that was in the same position.	9 were assisted by friends who were already staying in South Africa.	3 phoned and sent their friends and relatives money to obtain passports to later join them.	2 are too busy with work and do not have any time to exchange migration related topics with others.
	2 were given information by their neighbours in their home countries.	6 returned to fetch their children, sisters, and brothers from their original countries.	3 agree that they should help but do not have enough resources to help others.

5.3 Reasons for migration

5.3.1 Push factors for female migrants working as domestic workers

More than 56% of the women’s migration stories reveal a connection between their reason for migration and their need to fend for children. *“I grew up without a father, without education, raised by a struggling mother, now my husband left me with my children”* (Ruth). 46.7% of the women disclosed how circumstances surrounding their relationships with men contributed to their migration decisions. Sue migrated after a failed marriage: *“I came to raise my children after their father left me for another woman.”* Lo and Rita migrated after the death of their spouses: *“My husband die”* (Lo). Two women were determined to migrate after they had become pregnant, and their partners had refused responsibility. In another case, the man had refused to assume responsibility for their children’s upkeep: *“I came to find a decent life for my children, their father didn’t want to”* (Zee). One woman (Nono) migrated after her husband had abused her physically and emotionally, *“I was beaten every time I asked my husband to*

take responsibility for our children.” Lu indicated that she had left home as she did not have a good relationship with her father-in-law because he had diverted money which he used recklessly: *“My father-in-law stole our money sent by my husband through him, and my children would sleep hungry.”* Kee migrated because of “an agreed elopement” with her boyfriend. When he became abusive and negligent, she looked for a job as a domestic worker: *“When he became violent, I immediately looked for a job.”* Cynthia was sold to an old man for a herd of cattle and ran away from the forced marriage: *“I could not stand calling an old man five times my age, a husband.”*

As suggested by Ashby (2007:677), push factors such as poor politics, hunger, wars, bad climatic conditions, unfriendly socio, and religious cultures alienate people from their places of origin (push factors), and lead to people leaving their countries. Taylor (1999) further accentuates that migration is a significant survival livelihood choice for households in the global south. Haidinger (2008:8) corroborates that females who migrate to work abroad do so to “maintain their households”. Similarly, women who participated in the study verified their distinct reasons for migrating, which were linked to the push and pull factors, as indicated in chapter 2, sections 2.2.1 and 2.2.2 of the study.

Another reason for migration is connected to their countries’ poor economic performances due to economic mismanagement, political instability, and bad governance. According to Sipiwo *“Bad politics has led to suffering of the masses in Zimbabwe,”* which is supported in literature contained in chapter 2, section 2.2.1, wherein Haggard (2000), Massey (2009), Gwartney et al. (2021) and Athari (2021), suggest that there is interrelatedness between economics and politics, for example, if a good political atmosphere is set, the chances are better that good economic policies prevail, whereas ‘bad politics’ impact negatively on the economy. A deficiency in political administration translates into inequitable distribution of resources. Nono, from Eswatini, explained that in her country, there is too much concentration on *“royal power politics”* and *“constant adjustment in politics and policies which hinders smooth flow of business”*. This supports the opinion of Bitar et al. (2020) in section 2.2.1, that when political leaders ignore factors that disturb economic improvement and overlook the interests of women, women become poorer. Malawian and Mozambican women mentioned that in their countries, climatic conditions such as poor rainfall patterns negatively impact the livelihood of people in their countries since they depend on agriculture. *“We depend on agriculture, if it does not rain, we starve”* (Cynthia). *“I came to work and to buy farming equipment for my family”* (Linda).

Two women who worked as hairdressers in Congo felt disturbed by the effects of war “*Kabila and his war in Congo forced us to run away*” (Sisana). War has led to dilapidation of infrastructure, hence continuous inaccessibility of water and electricity. “*A hairdresser needs water and electricity to run a hair salon. Without the two one’s business becomes profitless. So, coming to South Africa was an option*” (Moe). These reasons are in accord with those suggested under the literature review in chapter 2.

5.3.2 Pull factors for female migrants working as domestic workers

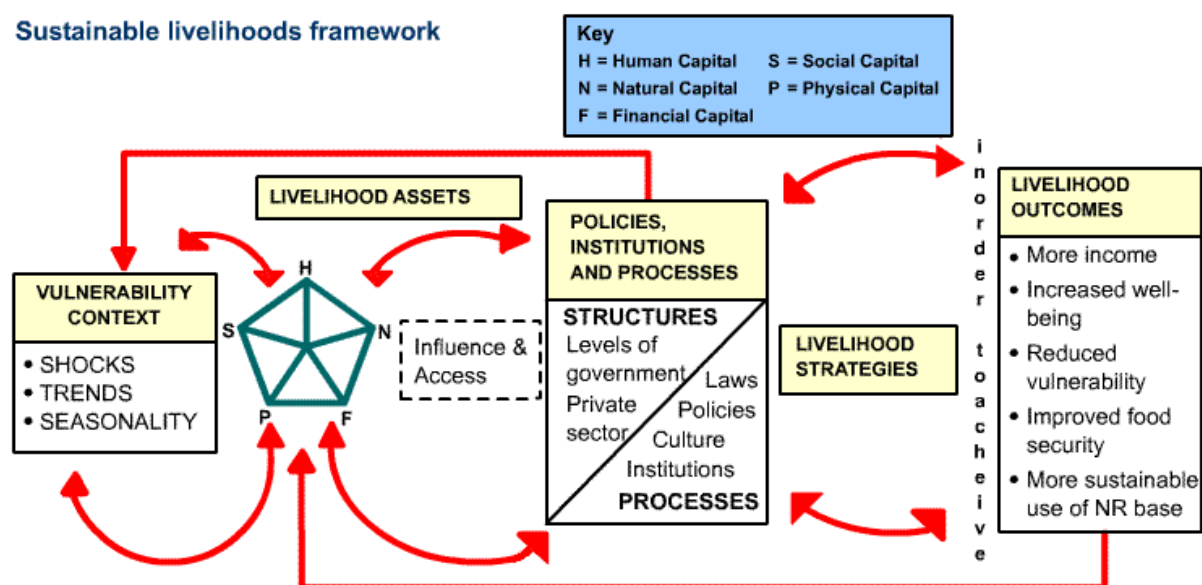
When these women were asked why they had decided to migrate to South Africa, all responded that they had heard that the country offered better job opportunities, good health facilities, was tolerant of cultural and religious differences and that its political atmosphere was favourable. These findings from primary data can be found in the literature in chapter 2, section 2.2.2, given by Castelli (2018:2), Folbre (2019), Al Mamari et al. (2022), Rahman (2018), and Bucholtz (2019), who explain that pull factors of migration such as good education, employment opportunities, lucrative climatic conditions, and other optimistic constituents, draw people to a particular place. “*I knew that coming to South Africa will open doors for me to be employed for the first time, there was always war in Congo and women could not go to work easily*” (Moe). “*The political setup in South Africa is much better than ours, so we came to stay here*” (Sisana). Others had already been informed by relatives and friends whilst they were still in their home countries, that as soon as they get to South Africa, they would get a job. “*I came here determined that I will work and feed my family back home, and I am doing so*” (Zee). “*I knew that as soon as I get to South Africa, I will get a job and get money to send my children to school and I did*” (Cynthia). “*As soon as I came to South Africa, my chronic disease which needed chronic medication was fixed, I just went to Dunoon Clinic to get help, since then I do not buy medication, I get it for free*” (Nono). “*I gave birth to my first child at Somerset Hospital, without incurring any cost. The preparation was unbelievably cheap too. My bosses at work gave me clothes, wrapping towels, a pram and other things, the things I could not have bought for myself. My friends also assisted with a baby welcome party which I will not forget*” (Kee).

All the women who had their children educated by Dunoon’s government schools confirmed that education in South Africa is very affordable. They also attested that the uniforms and stationery were affordable compared to their home countries. However, 46.7% of these women

revealed that they cannot bring their children to obtain an education in South Africa because they felt that the norms and values inculcated was vastly different from theirs, so they would rather let them obtain an education back home. The informant (Mantoe) mentioned that Dunoon has a “private school” meant for foreigners. Documented and undocumented foreigners send their children to that school. The presence of the school helps undocumented foreigners who cannot afford to send their children to formal government schools. It also assists children who cannot speak local languages. Mantoe was not sure if the school was operating legally and if it had adequate resources such as books and teachers. Parents who send children to that school do not incur transport costs because it is in their neighbourhood. To reinforce information given by an informant, the researcher went to this school to find out more about its activities. According to one school authority, the school offers a nursery school and crèche facilities. It also offers the Cambridge syllabus for parents who can afford it. Furthermore, the school provides students with the Zimbabwe School Examinations Council (ZIMSEC) curriculum and a Malawian syllabus. It came to the researcher’s attention that children travel back to their home countries for those final examinations because the school does not have a permit for children to write external examinations. Migrants are thus enabled to give children education in this way.

5.4 Livelihood assets for female migrants working as domestic workers and the focus groups

Figure 5.1 Sustainable livelihoods Framework



Natural capital for female migrants working as domestic workers

Natural capital includes natural resources such as land, forests, water, and air used by people for their livelihood. Hugo (2008) postulates that there is a relationship between the performance of natural resources, development, and migration. This idea is also discussed in chapter 2 section 2.2 and in section 3.9 of chapter 3.

Migration function cannot be separated from the social, economic, and political and institutional structures of which they form a part (Carr 2009). When asked if they have free access to natural capitals such as water, fresh air, and land, 20% of domestic worker respondents unveiled that they are denied free access to water by their property owners. They lived in rooms without inside taps and toilets. There is no provision for taps and toilets in the yards as well. The taps and toilets are in the property owners' houses. *"We wait for our landlord to come back from work to open for us inside the house to have access to water, during weekends he locks and comes back the next day, the situation is hard for us"* (Percy). These women are inconvenienced more so because they seldom associate with locals and therefore find it hard to ask for water or toilets when in need. *"My neighbours reminded me that I do not give them rent and needed to deal with my own landlord to have access to water"* (Lo). Informant #1 (Mantoe) also indicated that in Dunoon, water pipes burst frequently and there are no other sources of water such as community boreholes. Foreign women battle because when the water-trucks deliver in their absence, they do not have relatives to collect water for them. *"There is segregation in the distribution of water and locals want to be given water first before foreigners, sometimes water in the truck runs out before everyone has water"*, Informant #1 (Mantoe).

Concerning foodstuff, the women rent rooms in houses and have no land to do gardening. Available land for gardening It is important to note that unoccupied spaces are rare in overcrowded informal settlements and gardening land for both locals and migrants is minimal in Dunoon. Not having space to grow their own vegetables means that they are forced to buy tomatoes, onions, carrots, and other vegetables, whereas they could grow vegetables if there was land to do so. *"There is no land to grow vegetables in Dunoon"* (Lo). The women further complained about not having fresh air to breathe. Dunoon has serious sanitation problems in that the drains are constantly blocked, and the sewer overflow pollutes water and the air. *"We*

smell sewage, we step on it” (Lu). When these women were asked if they have managed to acquire natural resources for themselves, 23.3% of the thirty (30) respondents asserted that they have remitted and bought their pieces of land to farm or to build their houses and land for other projects back in their countries. Massey et al. (1987) also supports these achievements by stipulating that when cash is remitted, migrants usually purchase assets such as land and livestock, thereby increasing agricultural production within their countries. This discussion synchronises with that in section 2.2. of chapter 2 and section 3.9 of chapter 3, respectively. 10% of women running projects in their home countries, have drilled boreholes to have access to free water. The other 20% have put savings aside to buy land but are still waiting for the authorities responsible in their countries to provide land for them to buy. The rest would like to buy land but do not have sufficient money yet. They all realise that owning a piece of land can be *free passage* to having access to water.

Diekmann, Gray and Baker (2020), indicate that access to backyard gardening can improve the quality of food and family health. It can also add to income of a family. However, it is not simple for these women to access land to grow their own vegetables instead of buying. When the participants from both groups were asked if they had access to backyard land to plant their vegetables, all of them complained of the unavailability of such land to plant vegetables. *“We do not have access to free space where we stay, hence we cannot plant our own tomatoes, spinach, and onions like we used to do back at home. We are forced to buy every single fruit and vegetable”* (Bee).

When respondents from two focus groups were asked if they had easy access to water, 50% of them complained that they did not easily have access to water. *“I live in big flat with only one water tap outside the house, sometimes, that tap gets stolen. We have complained to the property owner, but he does not fix the problem”* (Zee). Lo could only fetch water inside their landlord’s house when he was available: *“When my landlord is not there, we struggle.”* Bee had water at her live-in job but ... *“Whenever I come home for weekends, I usually find a fault with our outside tap, either it is stolen, or the tap was taken out because it was leaking. My property owner is not regularly available to open his door for me to have access to water. I struggle too much.”*

Financial capital for migrant women working as domestic workers

Financial capital refers to monetary reserves possessed by an individual that enables them to buy what they need (Danes et al. 2009). It includes any form of savings which affords access to financial services, and regular inflows of money. This financial capital has significance in the remoulding of women's wealth and affords them ability to run households efficiently. This argument is supported by Folbre (2019:100), Walker (2010:229), Dunn & Holtz-Eakin (2000), Coleman (2007), White (2014:225, Smart, Tschirley & Smart (2020), Borat, and Naido & Yu (2014:1402) in chapter 2, section 2.2.2.

When these migrant women were questioned on the significance of the money that they procure from being employed as domestic workers and if it improved their wellbeing in the host country, 56.7% of foreign migrants confirmed that they realise positive changes. These women explained that when they get paid, they buy food and clothes for their children and families. When basic needs are met at home, their sustainable livelihoods are improved leaving them with peace of mind (Gaillard 2009; Hutchison 2020). *"My mind is at peace because my family's nourishment is now far much better"* (Rita). When their employers remunerated them, ten of them embarked on different projects such as sewing, baking, and cooking. 30% of the thirty (30) respondents had started small businesses such as vending fruit and vegetables, or selling clothes, shoes, and kitchen utensils. This entrepreneurship has increased their chances of remitting for acquiring assets (such as land, houses, farming equipment), and even making friends. *"I have built my house back at home"* (Zee). This financial security is important because it has *"mitigated our insecurities and vulnerabilities. I can support my family and I am now listened to when I contribute to family discussions, unlike before"* (Lu). These proclamations are contended in chapter 2, section 2.4.3.

To add to their financial security, Margaret (informant #2) disclosed that foreign migrants participate in various 'stokvels' that are started and regulated by foreign women. She indicated *"that these money pools afford women opportunities to pool financial resources and buy groceries collectively"*. At the end of the year, they share the groceries equally amongst members. Another type of 'stokvel' allows a member of the group to collect money from other members *"umgalelo, mkando,"* on a weekly or monthly basis. The sequence continues from one member to the other, until everyone involved receives a convenient lump sum of money. In certain instances, the last recipient becomes the first recipient of a lump sum in the next round, followed by the previous second last member (it rotates going backward). Members of

the group usually plan on a meeting date to give the recipient their money. Another kind of money pool (*stokvel*) authorises participants to accumulate savings together. At a later stage, its members can borrow money from the account when faced with emergencies (African Response 2012). Interest on a borrowed principal amount is decided upon by members.

Financial capital for two focus groups and the challenges encountered

Out of twelve women who participated in focus groups discussion, eight of them have achieved a sustainable livelihood because they can provide fundamental needs such as food, education, shelter, and clothes for their children. *“My family can eat healthy meals with enough protein and vegetables, it was hard when we were still home”* (Nono). *“I now have freedom of choice on what I eat”* (Zee). Four of these eight women had done significant projects such as building houses, buying land to do projects, advancing themselves academically and saving money to use in the event of an emergency. This argument is highlighted in section 2.2.2 of chapter 2 in this study. Two of the twelve respondents had money to build houses back in their home countries and to start sustainable projects but will only do that once they return. Three of these women can provide food and live decently, but they do not yet have tangible assets, hence, they wish to stay in South Africa for a prolonged period to work and advance themselves. One woman does not want to go back because she would be worse off in her country. She has all her children in Dunoon but would like to move and stay somewhere else where it is safer. The fear of these women is that they are growing old in a foreign land. All of them have noticed the escalation of prices in South Africa, and that conditions in their countries are worsening. *“This country is deteriorating every day and prices are going up uncontrollably”* (Rita). Eight women would like to go back home because they are tired of working as domestic workers.

Through two focus groups, the researcher learnt that women working as domestic workers ingeniously formed co-operatives and synergies to buy clothes, shoes and other accessories from Dubai, China, Johannesburg, Durban, and other places. These women work together and use diverse ways to improve themselves. Engaging in group businesses affords those involved with more communication opportunities and contributes to bettering relationships and participation dynamics (Zhang & Leung 2015). These women appoint *‘runners’* to buy them clothes, shoes, blankets, mats, and other things at wholesale price. The *‘runner’* then sends items by bus or through POSTNET. The sea and air routes are used to transport goods from Dubai and China. Kee (FDG 1) expressed that she has bought a stand to build a house from the

domestic work money and profits that she made from selling goods bought together with other women. *“I can now save, invest, and do not depend on a man anymore.”* Lu started a flea-market business, that her sister runs, back home in Zimbabwe, with things bought together with other women. Revenues generated from the flea market help her parents back at home. These findings are in line with the points offered by Folbre (2019:100), Walker (2010:229), Dunn and Holtz-Eakin (2000), Coleman (2007), White (2014:225), Smart, Tschirley and Smart (2020), Bhorat, Naido and Yu (2014:1402) in chapter 2, section 2.2.2. and Sime and Aune (2009), Start and Johnson (2004) and Gaillard (2009), in chapter 3, sections 3.5 and 3.9.

When the researcher explored what challenges they experience in these collaborative businesses, women complained that *‘runners’* sometimes buy wrong items and inferior quality goods. Also, goods from China and Dubai take too long to reach them. They ordered winter items long before winter began, but their goods arrived only in Spring. Sue’s customers used to settle debt as agreed when she sold clothes ordered from Johannesburg and Durban as a group but later her customers were taking a long time to honour their debts. Sometimes they do not pay on time, making it tough for her to stay in the business. When customers fail to settle debts, she used her domestic work salary to stay in business but was sometimes left without enough money to buy food for her children. *“My customers are letting me and my plans down”* (Sue). Noe’s husband is detrimental to her business. When he admires a product from the things she orders, he takes it for himself and sells to friends but never accounts for the money. *“My husband is pulling me down”* (Noe).

The researcher probed and found other obstacles that hinder their businesses. Bee (FGD 2) highlighted that she encountered challenges related to dishonesty and theft. She set-up a fruit and vegetable shop, then hired a lady to help her but had to discontinue her services due to theft of proceeds. *“The fruit and vegetable shop were very tiring for me because I doubled up as a live-in domestic worker and could only sell my goods during weekends.”* At times, the employee would sell her own stuff instead of Bee’s goods. The other challenges mentioned included that of competing for customers. *“My clients are not loyal, they go to this one and that one, maybe we need to be taught how to run businesses”* (Ntoe). Sisana, who does hairdressing during weekends complained of other hairdressers taking her clients during the week when she works as a domestic worker. Another complaint came from Zee and others concerning the exorbitant fees charged by money agents for remittance services. *“Mukuru (money agent) charges 10% for every transaction made, its charges are far too high when*

transferring my money back home” (Zee). Exorbitant fees charged by remittance agencies cause significant financial stress for migrant workers (Garabiles and Latkin 2019). However, such challenges do not stop them from pursuing their business. When they fail on their first attempts, they do not stop, but try again. *“We push even harder”* (Rita). *“We work very hard in our business groups”* (Lu). *“When faced with business challenges, we bounce back and eventually win, we use innovative means of improving our incomes”* (Zee). As Béné (2020) notes, this resilience mechanism is a necessary tool for the poor to acquire a living. To underpin the study, discussions on resilience are explained in chapter 3, section 3.6.

The researcher continually refers to female foreign migrant domestic workers who bought houses or who are building houses to clarify and emphasise how infrastructure and construction of a house is important to female migrants. A house not only protects them against being vulnerable when they go back to their countries, it also assures them that they can avoid being “vagrant and exposed”. Owning a house is uplifting and grants the women a sense of security because a house can be converted into cash if needed. A house also gives them more autonomy since it is an appreciating investment (Chen & Kuo 2021; Ruprah 2010). Woldehanna, Mekonnen and Jones (2008), discovered that more households in possession of their own houses can send their children to secondary school than those without houses.

Table 5.3. Financial distribution of female migrants

Women with other income	Women who can send money to their families back home	Women who have acquired properties	Women who can save
9	17	7	8
30%	56.6%	23.3%	26.6%

Social capital for foreign women working as domestic workers and living in Dunoon

Social capital is an association constructed by people who live and work in a specific community. This resource permits a group of people to live productively together in a society. Good social relationships are not simply a means, they are an end in themselves. Relationships are measured at personal or social level in terms of networks and norms of reciprocity and consortium held within those networks (Perkins, Hughey & Speer 2002). This discussion on

social capital and its significance is accentuated in chapter 2 section 2.2.2 and section 3.9 of chapter 3. When the women under study were requested to describe their social relationships with others, it was observed that their networking style is constructed by those at the same level as theirs (horizontal connections), or membership of groups or organisations to fulfil their various mandates. Such networking affords these women a transformable and contented environment to discuss without fear of intimidation (Pervaiz 2016). A total of 86.7% of the women who partake in one or another form of networking have good relationships with fellow female foreign migrants, and 73.3% of them have close ties with female foreign migrants working as domestic workers. Lo from the first focus group highlighted that more than half of her customers are foreign women working as domestic workers: *“In Dunoon, many of us work as domestic workers, so our friendship and business is constructed from our work.”* Rita from the first focus group provided transport to and from work for domestic workers which led to symbiotic relationships with them: *“We are in a WhatsApp group together, to discuss about transport fares, now we are more than sisters because we check on each other to make sure that we are all okay. I feel like I have sisters.”* In turn, *“We built our relationships on our way to work.”* said Moe (from the second focus group).³

When asked about how they network, fourteen (14) women interviewed revealed that they preferred to live in the same neighbourhood as foreign migrants. Other women opted to live together as neighbours or in the same yard. *“We live together as sisters to help and fight our fears together”* (Ruth). They preferred being close to each other to expand their good relations and share resources such as food in times of need. Staying close to one another augments job opportunities for them. *“It was easy for me to get a job, my fellow Basotho friends working as domestic workers arranged for a job for me”* (Percy). By living together and as neighbours, these women also venture into fundraising projects, thus creating opportunities for more resources. *“We rise and fall together as foreign women; our aim is to excel”* (Moe from the second focus group).

Rita who worked as a domestic worker, raised her late sister’s children. The children later became a lawyer and a doctor, respectively. Her niece and nephew then bought her a car, which she used to ferry domestic workers to work. She also used her car to transport vegetable and meat products from the farm to sell to people in Dunoon.

Margaret (informant #2) indicated that network interaction allows women working as domestic workers to share information about their working conditions, thereby becoming more influential in renegotiating job terms and salary with their employers. Bee signalled that live-in domestic workers such as herself build relationships with other domestic workers during the working days when they take their bosses' children to parks, when they get into taxis, at church and during weekends when they are off duty. *“Through networking with other domestic workers, we reveal our salaries to each other to see if we are not underpaid and mistreated. We also provide each other with ideas on how to improve ourselves.”* These women also associate closely with one another in the event of death, during birthday parties, baby showers and general get-together parties. *“We laugh and cry together”* (Zee). A “we” proclamation evokes that there is an existence of robust social capital among these female migrants in the community of Dunoon. The researcher highlights this to prove that these women are willing to share and protect their friendship. Informant #2 (Margaret) indicated that their *“friendship is founded on an exotic distinction of foreign hood.”*

Láštiová (2014) cautions on the dangers of mishandling networking. He indicates that if it is not carefully managed, it creates alienation with the host people, thereby leading to vulnerabilities. When foreigners find it inessential to be assimilated and engage with local people, a “them and us” distinction may become noticeable. Sue disclosed that local people thought that *“Malawian women are too proud and do not want to assimilate with the locals.”* Three respondents out of thirty in the study notice how networking is detrimental to them. Sanga et al. (2021), also contends that the sustainable livelihoods framework has been condemned for failing to take power dynamics into consideration, as it relates to how the poor obtain social capital. While such dynamics are included in the framework, they have been neglected in practice. Social capital has often been seen as simply “a good thing” whereas in reality, social networks can be both inclusive and exclusive, with often the weakest and most vulnerable excluded. This argument is also prevalent in chapter 2, section 2.3 and chapter 3, section 3.5, and section 3.9. *“A lot of gossiping results from these social networks and women fight amongst themselves, those that are weak exclude themselves, and we never hear from them”* (Siphiwo). Social capital often involves hierarchical and coercive relationships that limit options for those at lower levels, and even when relationships are more horizontal than vertical, the obligations that reciprocal relationships involve can be onerous. *“Women are given directives by their leader from burial society or stokvels on when to pay money for those burial societies or stokvels and cannot argue because group administrators tell them what to do and*

they must comply” (informant #2 Margaret). Lulu lost R15 000 when the shack of the house of their stokvel leader burnt down. She kept the money for other members in preparation to take it to the bank the following morning. Lulu was not certain “*if the shack was purposely burnt or it accidentally caught fire,*” but all members’ money was lost in that fire. “*We were told that an accident had happened, and we could not dispute.*”

Human capital for migrant women working as domestic workers

Human capital is referred to as “skills, knowledge, and capabilities of workforce.” In addition, good health is a prerequisite for one to work efficiently. Healthiness is not simply a means of earning a livelihood, it is an end. This argument concurs with those of Kucharcikova (2011), Schultz 1961 in Vidotto et al. (2017) and Ali Ahamad (2013), in chapter 3, section 3.5 and section 3.9 respectively, who suggest that if a person is in good health, holding appropriate skills and knowledge, they become competent to work and produce more. Similarly, for domestic workers to do their work effectively, they are expected to be physically, emotionally, mentally, and spiritually fit (Eichler & Albanese 2007). “*When I am sick, I don’t go to work but still get paid, the job requires me to be fit*” (Rita). However, Cynthia’s employers do not really care when she tells them that she is not feeling well. They tell her to take it easy, but when they come back from their work, they still expect her “*to have cooked, cleaned, and done their laundry, my body is really tired.*”

When foreign women working as domestic workers were asked how they acquired jobs as domestic workers, 53.3% highlighted that they were referred for the jobs by either a relative or a friend. As declared by De Regt (2009), domestic work is commonly obtained through referral system, when either an employer refers a friend or relative to a known hardworking domestic worker. Similarly, referring others for work was quite a common way used by women to acquire jobs as domestic workers. In the view of Hondagneu-Sotelo (1994:61), when domestic workers do quality work, they can easily use networking to refer other people to employers. “*I work for different employers who referred to each other*” (Zee). “*My friend told me that her employer’s sister wanted a nanny, then I got the job*” (Ruth). When the women refer one another for job opportunities, financial security is infused amongst them. Rita noted that her niece first referred her to a prospective employer that she knew wanted a domestic employee to work on Mondays. “*When I worked for my Monday employer, she referred me to her sister to work for her on a Wednesday. My Wednesday employer further referred me to his friend,*

whose friend wanted me for two days and to also work for his mother.” A friend also referred Lu to work for her employer’s brother. *“My friend told me that her employer’s brother wanted someone to work for him, then I got a job.”* Dill (1994) further suggests that domestic workers’ employers can also network on behalf of their employees or jobs. As highlighted in section 2.4.1 of this study, this continual route of seeking multiple employers has supported char work over generations.

Domestic work does not necessarily require an individual to have experience, because it is easily dispensable and domestic workers are easily replaced (Jureidini 2011). However, due to the need for quality services, many employers demand that a domestic worker has required years of experience and reference. When the women were requested to explain if they had domestic work experience when they first got jobs as domestic workers, 73.3% of women interviewed indicated that when they started working as domestic workers, they did not have any experience but had general ideas of domestic work since they work in their own homes.

Doreen indicated that the first time she went to work she was truthful in telling her employer that she had never worked as a domestic worker before. *“I told her that my hands had valuable experience of doing housework in general since I also came from home. All I needed from her was to be shown how she wanted me to do her work.”* Lo pointed out that when she started working as a domestic worker, she struggled to do all the work successfully, her employers were very patient with her. *“I told them I needed the job but had never worked as a domestic worker before. They acknowledged my honesty, they were very patient with me, now I know exactly what my job entails.”*

It is demonstrated that 93.3% of the women interviewed employ informal networking style when seeking a job. Sipiwo worked as a teacher back in Zimbabwe. When she migrated to South Africa, she was referred by her sister for an available domestic job. She has worked as a domestic worker for nine years after she failed to acquire a teaching job in South Africa. The teaching positions she got were from *“informal private colleges”* which offered her a low salary in comparison to her domestic job. She has since opted to stay working as a domestic worker. *“It’s sad because I have wasted my teaching diploma.”* These findings are also cited by Kracker and Klug (2021) and Raijman & Gesser (2016:1) in chapter 3, section 3.9, who indicate that the referral method can be detrimental to an individual’s career advancement particularly where there is a mismatch between skills and job done.

Physical capital for migrant females working as domestic workers

Physical capital is the fundamental infrastructure, tools and equipment needed and used by people to live decently (Lax & Krug 2013). It comprises transport and communication systems, shelter, water and sanitation systems, and energy. In terms of facilities affecting sanitation, health, and safety, when asked to talk about how infrastructure affects them, sixteen participants divulged that in Dunoon, they live in houses owned by men that do not have outside toilets. They are only inside the owners' homes. Such houses do not fully accommodate females' hygiene needs. Poor accessibility to toilets is detrimental to their safety (Paul et al. 2020). *"When the property owner locks the door and goes with his keys, we use buckets, sometimes we walk to open defecation sites in the dark"* (Lo). Another detriment is that women must escort their children to toilets that are located far from their houses. When women are not safe, spontaneity, affability with others (social capital), self-hood and their autonomy diminishes.

Rodina and Harris (2016) declare that excluding women in the construction of infrastructure or in planning and decision making may lead to the building of facilities that are dissatisfactory to women's needs. In terms of gender-sensitive sanitation, facilities such as ramps for heavily pregnant women and private spaces for lactating mothers, are often absent when only men plan these structures (Khanna & Das 2016). Alda-Vidal et al. (2021) indicate that infrastructure arrangements that exclude women often omit issues surrounding their menstrual period which leads to a social stigma surrounding menstruation. Some of the women who were interviewed are negatively affected by a combination of *"gender-blind infrastructure"* and *"domestic work blind infrastructure."* During Lulu's menstrual cycle, she does not go to work sometimes because one employer's houses does not have toilets accessible for visitors or workers. They have built-in toilets that are in their bedrooms and in their children's rooms. This makes it hard for her to use the toilets freely during menstruation, hence she opts to not go to work. At home, she also struggles to have access to a free toilet and bathroom because her property owner locks his door when he goes to work. *"I lose some income every month"* (Lulu). The researcher reveals this to help one realise how some domestic workers lose dignity daily and some income monthly. Such stigmatisation and prejudices against women restrain them from accessing a profound and sustainable livelihood (Shannon & Melendez-Torres & Hennegan 2021). This view is signified in section 3.9 of chapter 3 of the study.

Public sewage in Dunoon presents additional health hazards. The researcher observed that sewage pipes in Dunoon are usually damaged and blocked and the pavements are dirty. When these pavements are filthy, women cannot sell their goods such as fruit and vegetables. *“People’s stools are everywhere. I cannot sell the vegetables I get from my boss which he brings from his father’s farm every weekend” (Nono).* Women who normally spread their clothes and other items on the pavement to sell, are unable to do so due to the exposed human waste and thus lose extra income, *“I can’t easily sell my clothes and the meat at a strategic place I used to sell” (Rita).* These sewer systems that lack proper servicing make it difficult for employers to drop their domestic workers in Dunoon. One of Zee’s employers stopped dropping her at home. *“She complained of conditions of roads and that the place is filthy.”* Being offered a free ride home by the employer saved her money. *“We are not different from cows living with their own dung in the kraal.”*

Figure 5.2: Dunoon fieldwork pictures



Captured by Bertha Tokoyo on 20/11/2021

Infrastructural resilience

Infrastructure resilience is the capacity to survive natural disasters caused by change in weather patterns or climatic changes (Satterwaite et al. 2020). Chapter 3, section 3.6. and section 3.9 argue correspondingly. Not all houses in Dunoon can withstand shocks and stresses that emanate from changing weather conditions. These rooms are not built to standard. Some of them have no toilets. Tenants share outside toilets or use the toilets in the main house. Some of the back yards do not have electricity meter boxes and often tenants get electricity from the main house or use illegal electricity connections. Such places are normally leased by migrants because they are desperately in need of accommodation. Informant #1 (Mantoe) explained that in June 2020, innumerable foreign women living in Dunoon were left exposed to destructive weather. Their properties were destroyed because they stayed in houses that were not strong enough to withstand the storm. Foreign females were the most severely affected as they did not have relatives to offer them immediate help. Bee was also severely affected because she found all her property under water. *“I threw away my bed and other furniture because I found everything damaged by rain after coming from my live-in job, then, I started afresh.”*

5.5 The vulnerability context of migrant females working as domestic workers

The vulnerability of migrant females is noted when they fail to acquire decent jobs in the labour market, and when they come across exclusion. This is further exacerbated by language barrier, dissimilarities in spiritual beliefs, and cultural practices (Collins, 2020:1; Yoon & Kim 2019; Mlambo 2019; Backstead 2018:245; Knappert et al. 2018:3; Romi et al. 2018:17; Murphy 2013:3). This subject is outlined in chapter 2, section 2.2.2 of this study. Upon enquiring about their vulnerable circumstances and how they mitigate their exposure, all interviewed women complained of insecurity and being vulnerable to xenophobic attacks. They are easily robbed of their property whenever there are incidents of xenophobic assaults. All mentioned that local people complain about them taking their domestic work jobs. Out of thirty (30) women who were asked, all of them said they felt unsafe in Dunoon. A total of twenty-three (23) had encountered a robbery at their houses or in the street. Informant #1 (Mantoe) mentioned that *“the way foreign women dress and speak make them easily identified by robbers, hence are easy targets to robbery”*. Nono explained that she was once attacked when returning from fruit and vegetable business and ended up in hospital. They cannot report crime easily because there is not a police station in Dunoon. Bee stipulated that the robbers used a panga to snatch her phone when she was coming from her live-in job. Loe’s purse was grabbed when she was

leaving the shop area. Rita's money was forcefully taken from her when she was putting her things in the car. *"We hold our stomachs in our hands with fear because we are easy targets to any danger"* (Rita).

Six of the migrant females interviewed found their partners had strayed "My husband has now normalised his promiscuousness, today he is with this local woman and tomorrow he is with another. When I ask him why he does that, he molests me" (Noe). If they try to fight back for their husbands, they would be quickly reminded (by local women) that they are migrants ("amagweja") and that they could be repatriated if they continued being "isicefe" (annoying and boring). Property owners bullied them. Ruth's husband had an affair with their property owner. Her husband supported their property owner financially. "My husband sometimes takes my char money and gives to his girlfriend who is my landlady" (Ruth). Informant # 3 (community leader), in turn attested that foreign woman report cases of local women "charming their husbands and taking them away from them".

In other instances, property owners charge higher rentals to migrants than local citizens: *"My landlord increases rent without any notice"*. Nono's rent was increased when her sister came to stay with her. Four women mentioned that they encounter pressure from property owners who continually ask them for food like sugar, salt, tomato, onion, and cooking oil which makes them run out of groceries before the month-end. *"I easily run out of budget because of these people"* (Sue). Zee has produced a mechanism of lending money to her property owner. She then subtracts that money from rent at the end of the month. *"I don't sleep early sewing my bags after having done a char job, then they ask, ask, ask, when they spend the entire day watching repeat series of Generation and Muvhango."* Bee's property owner's children stole her groceries during the week when she was away at her sleep-in job. *"I was reluctant to report the matter lest I could be vacated from their premises."* When she did finally complain, she was ordered to "pack her bags and go". Two of the women, in turn, attested that they lived harmoniously with local South African citizens in their living areas.

Another vulnerability is clarified by Informant #2 (Margaret) as the death or illness of a friend or relative. To mitigate such vulnerabilities, foreign migrant females have established their own burial societies through networking. These burial societies are based on the concept of dependency on each other as members provide moral, financial, and social support. When a member dies or a relative of a member dies, other members from a burial society contribute money to help towards the funeral expenses. *"Other burial societies have readily available*

financial resources collected from individuals each month for that purpose” (Informant #2 Margaret). Some burial societies have members who collect money from fellow contributing members in the event of death of a member. They buy food for mourners and coffins from the money contributed. *“When my brother-in-law died, we transported his body back home easily because I have always made contributions”* (Lu).

One disadvantage of burial societies is that members may fail to contribute to the fund because *“death happens when people do not have money.”* According to Lu, another problem is that members are sometimes *“dishonest”* when it is time to contribute. Sometimes, funds are not enough to meet all burial costs, and then relatives of the deceased have to top-up the money. *“Particular leaders steal from the burial society fund after collecting from members”* (Informant #2 Margaret). When burial societies are not run accountably, women members are sometimes left with debt. Female migrant domestic workers often ask for loans from employers. When this money is deducted at the end of the month, the women’s income flow is disrupted. When Zola contributes towards a burial scheme, she fails to *“buy enough food for the children.”*

When requested to clarify how they fight shocks related to illnesses and death of a member, Moe indicated that they *“save together with other Congo women to fight such adversities when they occur”*. Informant #1 (Mantoe) made the researcher aware that these women face shocks that emanate from chronic illnesses or injuries, such as when robbers stab them. Such health shocks prevent a person from doing jobs which usually sustain them. Dercon et al. (2008:47), Sebates-Wheeler and Devereux (2013), Hellgren and Serrano (2019) and IMF (2003) in chapter 3, section 3.9, suggest that the poor who do not obtain help become more vulnerable and thus encounter massive shock. These shocks *“have implications for consumption and nutrition”*. Women who do not network or with limited networking skills and those who usually show limited commitment towards others, are not assisted easily. This means that their households are not likely to be fully insured in the event of a shock and may face an intense socio-economic shock. When faced with challenges related to illnesses and injury, they lose income because they are unable to perform their domestic work tasks.

Federici (2018) and Murray and Boros (2002:10) in Akhter and Islam (2016) identified that male relatives and spouses forcefully take women’s money borrowed from various money schemes, leading to *“feminisation of debts”*. This idea is suggested in chapter 2, section 2.3. Women in the foreign land tend to suffer more as they fail in turn to pay rent and fend for

children. Similarly, in this research, the women involved in *stokvels* are unable to pay back their loans when they borrow money from the *stokvels* to satisfy household needs or their spouses fail to take responsibility for their families. *“My husband forces me to borrow money from our money pool when my clients fail to pay back their debts in time. I pay it back with 25% interest”* (Noe). Linda encounters a similar problem, *“when my house runs dry of food, my boyfriend asks me to borrow money from our stokvel, but he ignores or even beats me up when it is time to pay back the money.”* When women fail to generate adequate income to repay their loans, they sell household goods to settle their debts. In other cases, when they ask for money from their husbands to settle debts, they are harassed and lose dignity (Brett 2006, Banerjee, Breza, Chandrasekhar, Duflo, & Jackson 2012). Due to the absence of relatives in proximity to help them out, some are “thrown into the street”. When involved in *stokvels* and other money borrowing schemes, Lusardi (2019) calls for an urgent need to educate women on “financial literacy”. This is suggested in chapter 2 and 3, section 3.9.

5.6 Stories of migrant women working as domestic workers

In this section, stories of nine migrant women working as domestic workers are presented to help comprehend the living conditions and situation of these women and to reflect on the participants’ experience in context. These stories of female migrants working as domestic workers are compiled and written in a short and structured way, rather than facts alone, to become more memorable. The stories clearly show that accessibility to finance is determined by people’s socio-economic situation, and a network structure. It also depends on their effort and capacity to request outside support (Tchamyou 2020, Start & Johnson 2004).

In the first case, live-in domestic worker Rachel has stayed in comfortable rooms with a toilet, shower, fridge, microwave, and WIFI with the same family for eleven years. She shares the same meal at the same table with her employers during the week, then during weekends she takes her food to her room. She usually leaves to visit her friends and relatives on a Friday evening and returns to work on Monday morning. Rachel regards her job highly because she gets fair and humane treatment from every member of this family. The only challenge is that whenever she asks for a raise in salary, her “boss” reminds her how comfortable she is, and she remains “trapped”. All the money she gets from work is sent to her children and parents back home to buy food: *“There is nothing else my money can do for me except to buy food, clothes and to send my children to school. My fear is, I do not have anywhere to start from when I go*

back home, no house, no business. People will laugh at me and say I obtained nothing in South Africa, it is scary.”

In the next case, Cynthia is a live-in babysitter who does *“not have starting time and finishing time at work.”* She wakes up at 04:00 and cleans her room, takes a shower, then bathes the children and feeds them. When the children are fed at 08:00, she cleans the house, cooks, washes dishes, and does laundry. During her lunch break, she takes the children to the park. When she gets back from the park, she feeds and bathes the children. She then sends the children to bed at 20:00. After sending them to bed, she goes back to the kitchen to do dishes and cleans the sink to lessen the next day’s work. *“I feel overburdened because when these children cry, I am the one supposed to calm them.”* She goes back to Dunoon (where she rents a room) twice per month (every second weekend). During her weekends off, she does spring cleaning in her room, engages with a few of her friends, goes to church, and goes to pay her stokvel and burial society money. *“I have very limited time to deal with all my personal requirements”.* She sends money to her children and family in Malawi. She told the researcher that the whole family in Malawi anticipates being assisted by her. She cannot save because she sends money home and finances school for her children, cousins, nephews, and nieces. *“It looks like I look after the whole village. I sacrifice far too much, and I am tired.”* Leaving her job is not an option because she does not have time to look for another job. *“Maybe one day when my children are educated, I will rest.”* Her hope lies in the future.

The third scenario concerns Bee who works as a live-in domestic worker. She starts work at 06:30 and works until 23:00. She goes to bed very tired. She complained of sleeping in dilapidated and uncomfortable rooms in an uncomfortable bed. She also lamented that her portions of food are ruthlessly measured and monitored so that she ends up buying food for herself and is left with little money to save. The sad thing according to her is that they throw away leftovers despite her not having enough to eat. She was given her own plate and cup to use. She uses only these utensils when her “bosses” are around, but when they are not home, she uses utensils they use. She gets time off on Saturday afternoons and is expected to go back to work on Sunday before 16:00 *“I feel much better when I am back home during weekends.”* Her boss sells the family’s clothes when they no longer need them. *“I buy these clothes because they offer superior quality at cheap prices which I would otherwise not manage on my own, I send those clothes to my children, I sell some of them during weekends, although my weekend is too short.”*

In the following instance, Percy does char work for rich employers, and others who are middle-class. She clarified that her char work is beneficial because she gets different remuneration for each char job. The total amount she earns is far better than for an individual who works for one family. She also benefits from gifts from all her employers. She is satisfied doing the job because two of her employees are very flexible with regards to starting and finishing times. *“Sometimes I knock off around 2pm, sometimes at 3, then I can do other personal things that give me money. It is only at one house that I knock off at 5pm”*. However, char jobs can be tiresome, and it is *“new dirt every day”*. She has built her own house back at home from personal savings working as a domestic worker. She is planning to start a business project before the year ends. She participates in two *stokvels* and every year she gets a substantial amount of money which makes it possible to engage in a business venture. To Percy, domestic work is a job which has opened doors for important opportunities. Apart from her earnings, she has acquired experience through housekeeping work such as meeting and managing different employers’ expectations and has acquired communication skills which are a pre-requisite in the domestic work sector.

Doreen works for one family on Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays and another family on Tuesdays, Thursdays, and Saturdays. As she alternates her days with two families, her *“char job is methodical”*. She has worked for these families for more than ten years. She works for two rich families with remarkably similar personalities. She feels uncomfortable in the presence of these families. She mentions that the *“boss ladies are too strict and want-their tasks and duties to be attended in very distinctive ways”*. These families only talk to her about duties to be done in the house. They do not bother to find out how she is, what her expectations and worries are, and how to help her improve in life. *“I am just a domestic worker”*.

Sihle, also working as a live-in domestic worker, lives in a comfortable room with a bathroom, microwave, fridge and WIFI. She works for a *“flexible family.”* Their warm-heartedness has made her relax in their presence and continue working as a domestic. These employers have encouraged and motivated her to work hard and improve her life in all areas. The family respects her and encourages her to study further and as a result she did a caregiving course through the Red Cross organisation. By the time the researcher interviewed her, she was *“busy on an English course to obtain The Teaching of English as a Foreign Language (TEFL) and The International English Language Testing System” (IELTS)*. When she has met all requirements to apply for a Visa, her employer promised her assistance to relocate to Australia.

She is well remunerated by her employer. She managed to start various grocery businesses and flea markets back at home. For her, domestic work has opened significant opportunities.

This next case is quite different in that Zee is a char domestic worker for five different employers. She went to a sewing school paid from her char earnings and subsequently uses her income to buy material for sewing big and strong bags every evening. She sells these bags to people going back to their homes during holidays. During Easter and Christmas festivities, she sews more, which adds to her income. She sells these bags for cash and can offer readily available money credit. She can remit money to her family in Zimbabwe that enables her family capacity to produce and purchase more food. She is also capable of sponsoring relatives who wish to come to South Africa. Zee also bought a piece of land for her chicken projects and her mother is running it efficiently back home in Zimbabwe. She indicated that *“There is huge positive change in my life, I am progressing”*. One drawback is that customers that buy bags on credit from Zee take too long to pay her back.

Rita, in turn, works as a char domestic worker. Rita paid for her nephew and niece’s school fees from the money for her domestic work. The children’s mother (her sister) passed away more than a decade ago. After doing well at school, and at university, her niece is now a medical doctor, and her nephew is an accountant. They started building her a house at home and they bought her a car. She now ferries other women going to work, thereby adding to her income. During weekends, she buys Grabouw farm chicken and beef products which she sells in Dunoon. *“Working as a domestic worker is finally paying me off, I feel rich.”*

Lastly, Dintle works as a live-in domestic worker. She lives in the backyard of her employer’s place in what she termed a *“beautiful granny’s cottage.”* She describes it as a bigger than usual space because *“the cottage has a bedroom, mini-kitchen and a bathroom.”* She has worked for ten years as a domestic worker. She complained that the job was tough and did not pay her enough money to improve herself. She cannot save any money and does not belong to any stokvel or burial society. She is not involved in any concerted business with other foreign women. She complained of her bosses being mean, as *“they never give her any assistance whensoever.”* Every time she asks for aid, she is quickly reminded that she is given a salary and stays in a comfortable place. *“I do not have a life, a future, a career, money, or friends. I am just a hopeless kwerekwere (foreigner) working for nothing.”*

5.7 Domestic work remuneration data obtained from employees and employers

When the live-in domestic workers in this study, were solicited to discuss remuneration, they stated that they were paid between R1600.00 to R7000.00 per month. The char employees indicated that they received R150.00 to R500.00 per day (at the time of study in 2021/2022, the government had gazetted a R19.09 hourly rate for a domestic worker in 2021 and a R23.19 hourly rate in 2022 respectively). They clarified that char workers are paid either daily, weekly, fortnightly, or monthly. They explained that an employer calculates the number of days worked, then multiplies those days by the given daily rate. Six of the women doing char work specified that their salary was fixed regardless of the days worked. *“My char wages are the same regardless of the days worked a month, for example I am given R2000.00 for my Monday work every month, if the day falls on a holiday, I am still given that money even if I don’t work on that particular day of the month”* (Zee).

Ten employers interviewed highlighted that they paid their domestic workers daily figures of around R200-R550. Employers of the live-in domestic workers interviewed, gave their employees between R3000 to R9000 per month. Other employers mentioned that they deducted *“little”* accommodation and upkeep fee from a domestic worker’s salary. Most employers interviewed indicated that they deposited money monthly into their domestic employees’ accounts. A handful gave them cash after a daily char job. *“I give my helper cash because she asked me to give her in cash, although I always ask her to be very safe and ferry her home when she has cash with her.”*

Informant #2 (Margaret) stipulated that woman who work in homes in wealthy suburbs such as Constantia, De Bosch, Hyde Park, the Durbanville area, Bellville’s Welgedacht and Melkbostrand are paid more than those who work in *“not so rich”* suburbs like Table View, Milnerton and Sunningdale. According to Margaret, the *“very rich suburbs”* are farther from Dunoon and therefore transport costs more than to, and from, the *“not so rich”* suburbs. For example, travelling to Hyde Park requires one to board four (4) taxis a day, whereas to Milnerton two (2) taxis must be paid for.’

The researcher was privileged to obtain a char job in the *“expensive suburb of Constantia”*. Constantia is thirty-six (36) kilometres from Dunoon. The researcher, at the time, was staying in Dunoon with a friend whose employer had asked her to bring someone to help clean their house the day after a tenth anniversary celebration party, for which she was paid R500.00.

Thereafter, the researcher had opportunities to interview this same employer who told that their work contract was for monthly payment into her employee's bank account. The employer has paid her employee's flight ticket to go home, for her annual leave, as well as groceries and clothes for her children. The employer had however not registered her for UIF and Compensation for Occupational Injuries and Diseases. *"We look after her because she works very hard and honestly."*

Table 5.4 Payment periods of migrant women working as domestic workers

Women who receive money daily	Women who receive money weekly	Women who receive money fortnightly	Women who receive money monthly
10	3	2	15
33.3%	10%	6.7%	50%

5.8 Available policies to safeguard female migrants working as domestic workers to obtain and improve sustainable livelihood

A total of twelve of the thirty migrant domestic workers interviewed had signed employment contracts that covered benefits such as pension, paid annual leave, sick leave and UIF. They were permitted three weeks annual leave, and their employers added more days for them to travel to their homes during their annual leave. Four women without work contracts specified that they did not get paid when they went on leave. An aggregate of these workers did not understand the terminology in their contracts or had never bothered to read through their contracts to understand what was written in them. The absence of contractual work agreements between the employer and employee leads to failure to understand terms and conditions of work that can make employees, susceptible to abuse from their employers (Varia 2011). *“I really do not know what is written on my contract, I was only excited to get the job”* (Linda). *“Written contract or not, that does not change the work I do”* (Sisana). Some of the women stated that their employers openly exploited them, whereas others observed that they sometimes suffered *“concealed exploitation and fake acknowledgement”* which they termed *“kumbunyikidzwa”* that refers to a feeling of being deceitfully exploited. This type of abuse is not easily noticed, seen, or understood by the victim but the impact is often degrading and devastating.

A total of 83.3% of women interviewed had heard about CCMA (see section 2.5.1), although only 20% of them are enlightened about labour mediation processes in the event of a dispute with an employer. Those who are knowledgeable about the CCMA were afraid that leveraging would create a rift in their relationship with employers or lead to them being dismissed. Loe would rather *“endure any pain than go to CCMA”*. Sisana reported her previous employer to

CCMA after she was unfairly dismissed and was reinstated after the conciliation and mediation process. However, she decided not to continue working for her employer because their relationship had become strained. *“We could not look into each other’s eye”*. None of them had ever gone to the DSD. One of them mentioned that in 2020 during lockdown, her sister-in-law went to the DSD to seek aid, after she had been assaulted by her husband. The DSD intervened by sending her to a home in Cape Town where she obtained all the necessary help.

5.9 Interview with the domestic workers’ employers

The researcher interviewed ten domestic workers’ employers: three that employed live-in domestic workers and seven that employed chars. They made known to the researcher that employers now prefer to hire char domestic employees rather than live-in domestic workers, because *“live-in are more expensive to maintain than char workers”*. They also mentioned that they *“preferred having their privacy without outsider interference living on their premises”*.

Table 5.5 Employers and their relationships with their domestic workers

Number of employers who have improved domestic worker’s lives	Those who have not empowered domestic worker’s lives	Employers that face challenges with their current domestic workers	Those who do not encounter challenges with their domestic workers	Employers who faced challenges with previous domestic workers
6	4	2	8	8
60%	40%	20%	80%	80%
<i>She built her a house.</i>	<i>He thought she was happy being a domestic worker.</i>	<i>Retrogression in the work she does.</i>	<i>She is loyal.</i>	<i>She stole from us.</i>

<i>He sent her to school.</i>	<i>She has never thought about it.</i>	<i>She is “always” late for work.</i>	<i>She is hard working.</i>	<i>She was dishonest.</i>
<i>She helped her to take a course in cooking and baking.</i>	<i>She does not have extra money to help her.</i>		<i>She is like family.</i>	<i>She was full of “excuses and often asked to go home before knock-off time.”</i>
<i>She sent her to take a sewing course.</i>	<i>She cannot afford to help her.</i>		<i>She works hard</i>	<i>She stole my children’s clothes.</i>
<i>He sent her to take a course in baby minding and first aid.</i>			<i>She is honest</i>	<i>She stole my earrings.</i>
<i>She gives her extra money to send home.</i>			<i>She is honest</i>	<i>She stole my clothes.</i>
.			<i>She is hard working.</i>	<i>She was dishonest.</i>
			<i>She is hardworking.</i>	<i>She was too often late for work.</i>

All the employers had employed their domestic workers for a period longer than five years. Most employers acknowledge that their employees were hard working, loyal and honest. “*She is like family*” was common phraseology from most employers interviewed. All of them emphasised the importance of “*trust and honesty*” as an attribute needed when hiring domestic workers. Eight employers mentioned that their previous domestic workers were lazy, dishonest, and stole from them whereas eight employers mentioned that they prefer employing foreign

women as their domestic workers because they are honest, hardworking, arrive at work on time, and do not complain about the amount of work assigned. Eight of the employers indicated that they were able to communicate efficiently with their domestic workers. *“She gets the message and instructions once and for all.”*

A total of 80% of employers interviewed mentioned that they expected their employees to *“cook, clean and care”*. As suggested by Lutz (2004), these “three C roles” of domestic work are key roles which lead employers to employing domestic workers. These deliberations are in chapter 2, section 2.4 of the research. They further expected their domestic workers to do laundry, iron their clothes, and some wanted them to look after their children. In addition, one employer hired her domestic worker to babysit her pets and take them to the park daily. Half of them had written employer-employee contracts. Those who did not have employment contracts with their employees, stated that their work relationship was based on issues of *“trust without paperwork”* and hence found it inessential to have written employment contracts. A total of 70% of domestic employers hired their domestics through referrals from friends and family members.

Apart from a salary, all the employers gave their domestic workers *“clothes and things they do not need anymore”* including phones, TVs, beds, couches, fridges, and kitchen utensils. An intriguing story was of one employer, who built her domestic worker a house because she realised that her *“helper and her children, just like any other decent human beings, needed their own shelter”*. This employer explained that when she helped people and gave kindness, she became happier and more contented. *“Helping my domestic helper and her children increases my self-esteem”*. Building her domestic worker, a house, has improved their relationship *“My helper now sees me as her sister, and she refuses to call me anything else”*.

Six of the interviewed employers spoke about having sent their domestic workers for computer, baby minding and first aid courses. According to extracts from the interviews, one employer gave her employee time to study, another one sent money to her employee’s children every month, whilst others sent their employee to a cooking and baking school. After the employee obtained the school’s baking certificate, her employer bought her a stove for baking in her free time. This employer allows her employee to use her electricity and helps to sell her cakes. Two other employers *“have never really thought of ways to improve their domestic workers”* because they feel that they are happy working for them. One of them indicated that she had

never given it a thought since the domestic worker works as a char; and the other employer explained that she did not have money to send her employee to study.

Eight employers mentioned that they did not encounter any problems. Two employers encountered retrogression in employees' work performance. *"When they work for a longer time, they relax and end up not doing all work they are assigned to do"*. Two employers could not effectively communicate with their domestic workers because their domestic workers' English was described as either "bad;" or *"I initially thought she was as foolish as her English. I could write down instructions for her, if she got them right, good."* England and Stiehl (1997) mention that some employers of domestic workers regard, classify or judge their domestic workers according to the way they communicate with them. Effective communication of an employee may earn respect from her employer, but the inability to communicate may make them vulnerable to dismissal because they may struggle to grasp and comply with instructions. Six of the employers interviewed registered their employees with the CCMA. Eight of them had not registered their employees for UIF. All the employers had not yet registered their employees, for occupational injury or disease, with the Workman's Compensation Fund. Those who had not done so indicated that they wanted to thoroughly interrogate and understand its effectiveness.

5.10 Interview with community leaders

The two community leaders (informants #3 and #4) are a South African and Congolese man, respectively. Informant #3 informed the researcher that he became a community leader after he realised that he cares and has a responsibility towards the Dunoon people. *"I have houses and taxis in Dunoon, so, I got involved in matters that affected people's housing and transportation in Dunoon. In 2010 members of the Taxi Rank Association chose me to lead the community; I then established my office near the taxi rank, to assist people."* The second community leader was a Congolese man who owned houses in Dunoon and had saloons next to the Dunoon taxi rank. He started a burial society after hearing that foreign nationals could not afford to transport their dead relatives back to their original countries *"From there I engaged with foreigners, and they chose me to be their leader to guide them in housing issues and burial societies. I also own houses in Dunoon, as result, I am involved to safeguard my properties."*

The two leaders added that women complained of problems related to security issues. These women report to them when there is an incident of house-breaking and when their property gets stolen. The two leaders do follow-ups, and at times, they recover the stolen goods when they get tip-offs about culprits. Foreigners also ask them to intervene when their property owners treat them badly, raise rents and/or that they vacate their premises without notice. They are required to sit down with property owners to discuss reasonable figures to charge the tenants. *“It is not easy because they tell you that it is their houses and they pay bond and mortgage, but when we knock sense in them, it helps, they reduce the figures. We collaborate with foreigners because that is where our income comes from. We obtain money from them when they hire our taxis and when they rent in our houses. We must protect them.”* (Informant #3). These community leaders also settle disputes between foreigners and local people. They mediate and arbitrate to solve differences before the conflicts degenerate into xenophobic attacks that spread hatred into the community. The two leaders work to avoid losing lives, theft, and tension. They also help to solve disputes that arise amongst the foreigners themselves. *“A woman migrant came with an issue of another woman who snatched her husband. Another one came with an issue of a woman refusing to pay back her money. We intervene to help those involved to avoid the serious repercussions. We also call police if the cases are serious.”* (Informant 3). Informant #4 also informed the researcher that he intervenes when a foreigner dies by encouraging members to send the deceased back to their original countries *“I facilitate to make sure that the dead go back to be buried decently back home”*. They explained that the absence of a police station near Dunoon *“is a huge blow because there is a high rate of crime and women, especially foreigners, are easy targets.”*

5.11 Interview with the department of social development officials

Two DSD officials provided pertinent information for the research. They clarified that the DSD is the most relevant department to spearhead South Africa’s campaign for feminine awareness and protection against all forms of social coercion. When the need arises, the DSD takes immediate action to place abused women and children in *“comfortable”* institutions. The department also takes part in rehabilitation processes of abused victims and follows-up cases to see if there is improvement in their lives. They do not only safeguard and care for the vulnerable, but also offer counselling services and follow-up on victims to see if they have been fully re-integrated into society. The officials amplified that the DSD *“is inclusive and*

assist everyone particularly women with social problems". They assist all women irrespective of where they originate from. These officials also mentioned that *"women that come to DSD offices are not required to disclose their job titles, therefore, these offices do not keep records of foreign women working as domestic workers who seek assistance"*.

Examples of DSD interventions

The first DSD official presented *"four recent case scenarios"* of women from other countries who got assistance from their offices. The first was that of a woman from Nigeria who went to them because she had been severely beaten bloody, *"beaten hard"*, by her husband. When they summoned the husband for *"interrogation"* they discovered that he regarded the duties of DSD officials as *"ludicrous, irrelevant and destructive of their traditional norms."* According to him, *"beating a woman is normal and regarded as part of disciplining her."* The DSD intervened by placing the woman at a Wynberg home for the vulnerable, where she was safe. She finally found a job and managed to rent her own house. They also called in the police to take the matter further. The police arrested the man.

Another case was that of a Zimbabwean man who continuously molested both his wife and his child. The man failed regularly to financially support his family. On the occasions when he did pay, he first beat them up. When the woman had had enough of such assaults, she reported the case and sought help from the DSD. The department assisted both the mother and the child by placing them at St Anne's home in Cape Town. They arranged that the child attend a good school where he obtained good matric results. Sadly, they later learnt that the mother had passed on due to health complications.

The third circumstance was that of a Zimbabwean man who abducted two children without the consent of their mother. The man refuses to bring the children back because he feels that he is the rightful person to look after his children. The officials are making concerted efforts to assist the mother to reunite with her children. *"It is a big case which needs intervention of both countries, but it is solvable."*

They also intervened in a case where a mother dumped a baby at their offices. The woman mentioned that *"she had suffered enough alone with the baby and wanted to give away the child"*. After she was counselled and a home arranged, the woman kept her child and still looks after it. The DSD officials observed that most women who came to seek help *"are financially*

crippled,” hence vulnerable to any form of abuse. Foreign women who visited their offices for help were made cognisant of South African laws that protect women against gender-based violence. “*They now know the South African style and way of doing things hence can easily report home related crimes committed against them*” (the first official).

Projects put in place for vulnerable women

The second DSD official mentioned that the DSD collaborates closely with stakeholders such as South African Police Services (SAPS), City of Cape Town Municipality, the Department of Home Affairs, and with institutes such as The Saartjie Baartman Centre for Women and Children that assists vulnerable, women and children. The DSD often renders its services to highly poverty-stricken areas that suffer joblessness and inequality (Department of Social Development Annual report 2021:28). They review cases presented to them, recommend, and place individuals into a suitable institution. This department also assists survivors of violence such as rape and domestic violence by providing counselling services (Naidoo 2011:102). When there is a case for SAPS to investigate and make arrests, it assists by bring in the perpetrator. SAPS works together with the DSD “to ensure effective implementation, thereby empowering survivors of violence” (Naidoo 2018:41). Victims sent to the City of Cape Town Municipality acquire relevant programmes that aim to alleviate their poverty. These programmes are “behavioural change programmes that teach parents and children good behaviour and the consequences of misbehaving.”. The City of Cape Town provides food and blankets to vulnerable people, whilst the Department of Home Affairs intervenes by providing them with identity documents.

The DSD also send women and children to The Saartjie Baartman Centre for Women and Children where they receive assorted services from volunteers. It is a foundation established by Black women who wanted to uncover the “resilient and positive” tales of Saartjie Baartman (Ashley 2021) who was an African woman forcefully abducted to Europe by a Dutch farmer from Cape Town. In Europe, men sexually exploited her, and she could not resist because she was a slave. They admired and desired for her “steatopygic body type” (an accumulation of a large amount of fat on the buttocks). After her death, her slave-master exhibited her body “as a freak” to Europeans and tourists (Catanese 2010). Saartjie Baartman’s history reflects how women are “tormented with unendurable torture” and “how these women live with uncomfortable feelings”. By giving this account of Saartjie Baartman, the researcher

emphasises the establishment of the foundation to show “*how migration or forced migration can be burdensome to women*”. The centre provides pro-bono legal services to the vulnerable. Delivering such legal-aid services enables vulnerable people, to acquire identity documents and to seek justice when needed. The centre also has participants who provide job-skills training for women to improve their employability and provides arts and crafts opportunities that benefit women and children. Women receive education on how to access health care services, regardless of their social status, and are taught about the dangers of unprotected sex, sexually transmitted diseases, and HIV/AIDS (Naidoo 2018). The centre helps women to reach out to each other by sharing their circumstances and encourages them to use social media platforms to raise awareness. Well-wishers bring gifts for children while others spend time engaging with them, and volunteers offer entertainment to women (Mudavanhu & Radloff 2013). This entertainment is socially and psychologically therapeutic because it relaxes them, stimulates their minds, improves their creative skills, and encourages healthy interaction with others. Relaxation of mind helps people to cooperate, connect, improve social skills and eventually “heal their emotional wounds” (Daniel & Wassell 2002).

5.12 Conclusion

The assessment and judgement of the research have been given in line with the main aim of the study and its objectives guided by the sustainable livelihood approach. The purpose of this study has been to investigate the sustainable livelihoods of domestic female migrants living in Dunoon in Cape Town in the Western Cape of South Africa. This chapter thus discloses the contexts in terms of push and pull factors of female migrants working as domestic workers. It gave accounts of their work and social experiences in the host country while working as domestic workers. Research and empirical findings uncover and suggest “successful livelihood tales,” because these women are industrious, hardworking, compliant, and they value their domestic work jobs. When they earn money from the jobs they do as domestic workers, they venture into other businesses, and buy land and other property back at home for themselves. They can efficiently remit, further their studies and those of others around them, send their children to school, and feed their households despite encountering formidable challenges and setbacks. The female migrant domestic workers’ tales inform that they encounter social challenges such as insecurity and lack the ability to fully access resources such as physical capital (which emanates from poor service delivery) and natural capital (water and land), which

result from property owners' non-compliance. These women fully network and upskill each other, seek work and gather money together to curb effects of crises. The role of institutions and policies that help this group have been outlined. It was identified that policies to safeguard these women are available, however, some are reluctant to make use of them for various reasons.

The next chapter summarises the findings of the full research and presents recommendations.

CHAPTER 6: SUMMARY, RECOMMENDATIONS AND CONCLUSIONS

6.1 Summary

The purpose of this study has been to investigate the sustainable livelihoods of female migrant domestic workers living in Dunoon in Cape Town in the Western Cape. The study consists of five chapters and this summary (chapter six).

The first chapter focuses on the outline of the study, the topic background, the research problem, objectives, and the scope of the study, concerning female migrant domestic workers living in Dunoon in Cape Town in the Western Cape.

The second chapter covers a literature review of female migration and domestic workers. This chapter explains domestic work, sighting its significance to the employee and employer. It reviews policies available for domestic workers around the globe. Of most importance, chapter two deliberates on legislature and programmes and their efficiencies available for domestic workers in South Africa.

Chapter three provides an in-depth evaluation of the Sustainable Livelihood Approach that looks at why it is the most applicable framework for the study. Five sustainable livelihoods capitals (natural, financial, physical, human, and social), their benefits and how they should be assigned to the poor are demonstrated. Vulnerability context, and asset pentagon framework flow of capitals dynamics that can transform livelihoods are clarified. Finally, in chapter three, the Sustainable Livelihood Approach is critiqued.

Chapter four explains the research methodology followed for inquiry into female migrants' domestic workers living in Dunoon as the case study. It described the data collection method, sampling techniques used, ethical considerations taken in the research and the researcher's relationship with the participants.

Chapter five concentrates on presentation of primary data surrounding the female migrant domestic workers. Crux accounts of their lives as migrants and domestic workers inform this research study in terms of sustainable livelihood effects. The struggles encountered, circumstances surrounding sharing of space with unknown people, milieu, and limited resources, emerge from the stories told by the foreign women working as domestic workers.

These “social battles” encountered by foreign women disrupt them from obtaining a sustainable livelihood in a frictionless manner (Chase-Duhn 2017).

This concluding chapter six summarises the main findings in terms of stated objectives. Academic suggestions and recommendations for further research plans are provided in conclusion.

6.2 Findings of the study

The findings are discussed and analysed in terms of the objectives as set out in section 1.5.

1. To outline the push and pull factors for female migration and set the context to explore the livelihood of migrant domestic workers.

At a macro level, women’s reasons to migrate are related to political administrators’ inability to run their economies efficiently. There is full evidence in the primary data in chapter 5, section 5.3.1, that those in power fail to oversee the socio-economic grievances of poor people, such as those of the women interviewed and discussed in this study. Such failure serves to increase female migration. Primary evidence from chapter 5, section 5.3.2, unveiled that women migrate to South Africa because the country offers jobs, and has better health facilities and opportunities when compared to their countries of origin. The primary evidence in chapter 5, section 5.3.2, obtained from women interviewed, concur with literature in chapter 2, sections 2.2.1, 2.2.2, and 2.3, that women often migrate because of poor weather conditions, forced marriages, war, and abusive practices. Primary data gathered from women, as contained in chapter 5, section 5.3.2, and literature in chapter 2, sections 2.2.1 and 2.2.2, reflect the arguments of Castelli (2018:2), White (2014:225), Smart et al. (2020) and Walker (2010:229), that appealing economic elements that result in individual growth; easy access to education; fair social and religious conditions; better environments that improve the lives of people; and, other opportunities which positively change people’s lives, act as migration pull factors. The argument, contained in the primary findings in chapter 5 section 5.3.1, made by the women under study attest to harsh economic conditions, ill-positioned politics, insensitive social conditions, adverse religious and cultural differences, and other detrimental environments. This is affirmed by Otto et al. 2022; Rahiem 2021; Armstrong et al. 2018:1082; Cebula 2014: Krishnakumar & Indumathi 2014:2; Ashby 2007:677 in the literature review in chapter 2,

section 2.2.2, that such negative elements are push factors that alienate people from their places of origin.

The fundamental proof given by women in chapter 5, sections 2.21 and 2.2.2, substantiates that when females face stressful pressure in matters that involve feeding and looking after family members and being unable to fend for children, they migrate to look for sustainable livelihood in other countries. Such experiences at household levels have powerful impact in their migration decision making. Evidence in the literature suggested by De Haan (1999) and Taylor (1999), complements these women's reasons to migrate.

2. *To present the sustainable livelihood framework as a theoretical foundation to assess the livelihood strategies of female migrant domestic workers.*

When women in this study gain access to financial resources through the job they do as domestic workers, they upskill themselves, while some, individually or collectively, venture into other life-sustaining projects. These women go on to collaborate and network to enlarge their financial and social resources, and they notify each other regarding job opportunities to expand their human capital resources. These views are validated by Ellis (2000), and Chambers and Conway (1992) in Chapter 3 that SLA assets are the most fitting “tools” to appraise poor people's livelihood outcomes. The main evidence from the women in chapter 5, section 5.4.2, is further supported by the argument made by Seraat (2017), and Bebbington (1999) of chapter 3, section 3.9, that the SLA's main use is to permit the poor to confront and overcome poverty as does that of De Haan et al. (2002) which stipulates the link between these capitals and its contributions to the development and well-being of poor people.

Primary evidence confirmed in chapter 5, section 5.5.3, suggests that these women do not have easy admittance to other assets such as natural capital like water, land, and fresh air. Dunoon does not have reservoirs and boreholes, and as a result foreign women's struggles increase when water is not running in the taps or when there are faults emanating from lack of service delivery. The sewer in Dunoon is usually blocked, hence the air is polluted. Furthermore, there is insufficient and inaccessible space for the women to grow food. They avoid being vulnerable by saving money and buying their own natural assets such as land back in their home countries. The declaration by Adjei-Mensah and Kusimi (2020) which specifies that the SLA looks at the difficulties that poor people encounter when procuring resources and the measures they take to avoid being more vulnerable is therefore connected to the above argument.

Evidence from the primary research of the study strengthens the SLA in disclosing how the poor are susceptible and subjected to abuse when structures fail to support them (Ncube et al. 2019). Basic pointers from the women show that poor service delivery and the substandard infrastructure surrounding them play an intricate role in their quest to obtain sustainable livelihood. Their dignity is lost when they use the bucket system and when they have to ask to use toilet facilities elsewhere. Their security is compromised when they walk at night to access toilets far from their houses. Due to blocked sewers, their businesses are disrupted. Poor migrant women become vulnerable as their homes are often not strong enough to withstand severe weather conditions. They lack information and knowledge on how to prepare for and mitigate dangers.

3. *To investigate the livelihood and survival strategies of female migrants as domestic workers in Dunoon.*

The prime manifestations founded in chapter 5, section 5.5, proves the deliberations by Escriva and Skinner (2016) in chapter 2, section 2.4.3, and discussions in chapter 3, section 3.9 by Seraat (2017), that poor people use different strategies to seek sustainable livelihood. The women in this study not only obtain financial capital from domestic work, but they combine this financial capital with other capitals to obtain suitable livelihood. They add to their financial capital by venturing into different projects individually or with others. When they accumulate money, many of the women use their financial capital prudently. During the process of procuring finance collectively, they construct and reinforce social capital. Social capital establishes human capital because when these women are together or stay near each other, they inform each other about domestic work opportunities, and social networks and groups (use referral method to help others to acquire jobs). They fight vulnerabilities together. In this way, human capital is constructed.

4. *To examine policies available to safeguard female migrants working as domestic workers to obtain and improve sustainable livelihood.*

South African laws cover all documented migrants working as domestic workers. Documented foreign women can enjoy all prescribed work benefits, and they can seek assistance at the DSD when they encounter abuse. Thus, there is corroboration between data in chapter 5, section 5.8, and literature on South African policies in chapter 2, section 2.5. There is further substantiation in literature in chapter 2, section 2.5, and primary data in chapter 5, section 5.8, that those who

do not seek help, do not have passable time to report on matters that affect them, while others are ignorant and are scared to ruin their relationship with their employers.

5. *To make recommendations on how to improve the sustainable livelihoods of this group.*

6.3 Recommendations

It is essential for policy makers to declare female migrants' discourses as valid and to quickly respond to their migration concerns and challenges. Favourable socio-economic and political environments for women must be created by people governing various countries' economies. This can be achieved through development of guidelines to increase the livelihoods of migrant domestic workers. Establishing more projects, programmes, and centres to empower women is fundamental to the process of creating sustainable livelihoods. Public participation and engagement can be set to increase voices when looking at ways to improve female migrants' wellbeing. Projects and programmes can create awareness and educate and train women. For programmes and projects to be fruitful, migrant women's viewpoints are surely required.

To reduce the vulnerability of female migrants, government is required to train more agencies such as migration experts, the police, and health service providers to directly engage with female migrants' unique needs. Effective association with female migrants may enable these women to freely report issues that affect them such as abuse and violence in public and private entities. With enough knowledge, agencies can reciprocally learn from foreigners and impart inspiring knowledge to them. They can be "agents of change," for informing and educating communities on the effects of xenophobia such as the resource loss from destruction of buildings built to benefit all members of the community. These debates are essential because they not only influence public and political discussions, but they also contribute to their decision making. They may learn that xenophobia scares away tourists and potential business investment. Awareness of the effects of Xenophobia means that foreign *and* local women can be protected because *all women* fending for their children are highly disrupted.

Governments and media houses are duty-bound to avoid making reckless public statements in announcements on issues that may lead to or exacerbate community violence, xenophobia, and national chaos. In the year 2021, when an announcement to stop an extension for Zimbabwean permits was proclaimed, chaotic circumstances, theft and murder of foreigners began in South

Africa as “Operation Dudula”. This operation which started in Johannesburg spread to other areas such as Daveyton, Ekurhuleni, Alexandra, and Soweto. According to the head of the operation, Dennis Molefe, they will introduce themselves to other sectors of the economy to make sure that all “illegal foreigners go back to their countries” (Naledi Shange of Times 2022). This has a negative effect on the security of every resident, foreign and local, in South Africa and abroad. Backlash spreads everywhere.

Social tensions and poor relationships between “local females and foreign women,” due to competition for domestic work and “snatching of men” can be avoided by putting steps in place to protect and empower both foreign and local women working as domestic workers. There is an urgent need to introduce an inclusive social protection mechanism for both foreign and local women since local women are not immune to issues believed to negatively affect migrant women. Both foreign and local women should gravitate towards working and helping each other with ideas and opportunities. Churches, burial societies, stokvels and other platforms where people gather can also be useful conduits for encouraging networks of reciprocity and cooperation between foreign women domestic workers and local women domestic workers. Implementing a comprehensive framework and programmes to create conversations between all parties may lead to harmony and women empowerment so that they may fight shocks together (Sweetman 2011). Engaging with one another may create tolerance and harmony. These women may also learn how to empower each other since “the bigger aim is to empower all women of the world”.

Further research is essential to assess a wider population and to investigate on a bigger scale design and policy guidelines that can be implemented to address the livelihood of female migrant domestic workers. This can be achieved by pitching government and public awareness campaigns through the media, to construct public recognition of migrant females’ challenges. These campaigns can target many people. Although the International Labour Organization (ILO) is available in South Africa (Cape Town and Johannesburg), it should be more effective in monitoring rules that are followed to support the global initiative of protecting migrants working as domestic workers.

6.4 Conclusion

This study has investigated the sustainable livelihoods of domestic female migrants living in Dunoon, in Cape Town in the Western Cape. The first chapter concentrated on the outline of study, background to the topic, the research problem, objectives, and the scope of the study. The second chapter enfolded the literature review of female migration and further explained the taxonomy of domestic work, clarifying its implication for both the persons executing and to the persons receiving domestic services. The chapter elucidates the global policies around migrant domestic work.

Chapter three discusses the SLA and assesses the capitals prevalent in the approach and its relevancy for female migrants working as domestic workers. This study observed that SLA is the most applicable approach used to examine migrant women working as domestic workers. Chapter four explains the research methodology followed to communicate the research into female migrant domestic workers living in Dunoon as the case study. All steps to gather information from women on the study are clearly explained. Chapter five presents primary data and discussions of stories of foreign female migrants working as domestic workers. In closing, chapter six summarises the main findings in terms of stated objectives and concludes with suggestions and recommendations for further research plans.

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APPENDIX A

Participant information sheet

Date:

Title: An analysis on sustainable livelihoods of female migrants: Case study of domestic workers, Dunoon, Cape Town.

Dear Prospective Participant

My name is Bertha Tokoyo. I am a postgraduate student registered for the master's degree in Development Studies at the University of South Africa (UNISA) under the guidance and supervision of Prof Derica Kotze.

I am inviting you to participate in a study entitled: Title: An analysis on sustainable livelihoods of female migrants: Case study of domestic workers, Dunoon, Cape Town.

WHAT IS THE PURPOSE OF THE STUDY?

The purpose of this study is to explore the sustainable livelihoods of female migrants working as domestic workers in Dunoon, Cape Town. This study is expected to collect important information that could assist other female domestic workers to increase their sustainable livelihood and improve their coping and survival strategies. The aim is to collect information about the coping mechanisms that these women apply to reduce risks, vulnerabilities, and poverty.

WHY BEING AM I INVITED TO PARTICIPATE?

I obtained your contact details through your friend who is a migrant and works as a domestic worker. The reason you have been selected is that you have experience and knowledge of the mechanisms, ways, and methods that female migrants apply to reduce risks, vulnerabilities, and poverty in their effort to make a sustainable livelihood in Dunoon. I will interview thirty women and two focus groups comprising of six people in each group.

WHAT IS THE NATURE OF MY PARTICIPATION IN THIS STUDY?

The study involves semi-structured face-to-face interviews with selected participants as well as two focus group discussions. The interviews will be recorded by using audio technology. The findings of this study will be processed into a research report, journal publications and/or conference proceedings. All the details about the interviews and participants will be kept confidential unless otherwise specified. Participation in the interview will take approximately 60 minutes. It is estimated that the duration of the focus group discussion will be three hours.

Data collection methods and procedure during Covid-19 regulations

In-depth interviews and focus group discussions will be used for primary data collection. However, considering the current COVID-19 pandemic, the researcher acknowledges that it is essential to adhere to the protocols of social distancing, sanitizing and compulsory wearing of masks. Should it be possible to conduct face-to-face interviews and focus group discussions, the researcher will ensure that the necessary measures will be taken and social distancing, wearing of masks and sanitizing protocols will be followed. For direct participation, before the interview starts, the participant must complete a screening letter (see Annexure A). Should the COVID-19 regulations, however, do not permit face to face interviews or focus group discussions, telephonic interviews will be used to collect primary information. All interviews will be recorded for transcription. All the above arrangements will be conducted very strictly, as it will be part of ensuring research rigor, contributing to trustworthiness, reliability and credibility of data and research findings.

CAN I WITHDRAW FROM THIS STUDY EVEN AFTER HAVING AGREED TO PARTICIPATE?

This study will be voluntary, and you are under no obligation to consent to participation. There is no consequence or loss of benefit for non-participation. If you do decide to take part, you will be given this information sheet and be asked to sign a written consent form. You are free to withdraw at any time and without giving a reason. It will however be difficult for you to withdraw once your responses have been incorporated in the study. To protect your identity your personal details and name will not be recorded. You may pass on any question that makes you feel uncomfortable. There is no penalty for discontinuing participation.

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

You may find the learning experience enjoyable and as a participant you can contribute to knowledge about the mechanisms that migrant women apply to reduce risks, vulnerabilities, and poverty. Your participation can also assist to make recommendations on how to improve the sustainable livelihoods of female migrant domestic workers.

ARE THERE ANY NEGATIVE CONSEQUENCES FOR ME IF I PARTICIPATE IN THE RESEARCH PROJECT?

There are no known risks to you as a participant. Should you, however, feel any discomfort you are welcome to withdraw as a participant.

WILL THE INFORMATION THAT I CONVEY TO THE RESEARCHER AND MY IDENTITY BE KEPT CONFIDENTIAL?

You have the right to insist that your name will not be recorded anywhere and that no one, apart from the researcher and identified members of the research team, will know about your involvement in this research. Your name will not be recorded anywhere, and no one will be able to connect you to the answers you give. Your answers will be given a code number, or a pseudonym and you will be referred to in this way in the data, any publications, or other research reporting methods such as conference proceedings.

A report of the study may be submitted for journal publications and/or conference proceedings, but your participation will be kept confidential unless otherwise specified.

While the researcher will make every effort to ensure that you will not be connected to the information that you share during the focus group, I cannot guarantee that other participants in the focus group will treat information confidentially. I shall, however, encourage all participants to do so. For this reason, I advise you not to disclose personally sensitive information in the focus group.

HOW WILL THE RESEARCHER(S) PROTECT THE SECURITY OF DATA?

Hard copies of your answers will be stored by the researcher for a period of five years in a locked cupboard/filing cabinet at her residential place in Welgemoed Bellville for future research or academic purposes; electronic information will be stored on a password protected computer. Future use of the stored data will be subject to further Research Ethics Review and approval if applicable. Information will be destroyed, if necessary, for example hard copies will be shredded and/or electronic copies will be permanently deleted from the hard drive of the computer using a relevant software program.

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

There will be no compensation in this research.

HAS THE STUDY RECEIVED ETHICS APPROVAL

This study has received written approval from the Research Ethics Review Committee of the College of Human Sciences, Unisa. A copy of the approval letter can be obtained from the researcher if you wish.

HOW WILL I BE INFORMED OF THE FINDINGS/RESULTS OF THE RESEARCH?

If you would like to be informed of the final research findings, please contact Bertha Tokoyo on 0834110981 or at berthatokoyo1@gmail.com. The findings are accessible for five years. Should you require any further information or want to contact the researcher about any aspect of this study, please contact Bertha Tokoyo at email: 53434323@mylife.unisa.ac.za or telephone number: 0834110981.

Should you have concerns about the way in which the research has been conducted, you may contact Prof DA Kotze at

Telephone number: 082 882 5314

Email: kotzeda@unisa.ac.za

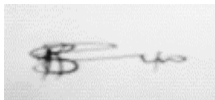
Alternatively, contact the research ethics chairperson of the Research Ethics Committee, Prof KT Khan at email: khankt@unisa.ac.za.

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

Thank you.

Researcher's Name & Surname: Bertha Tokoyo

Researcher's signature:

A small, square image showing a handwritten signature in black ink on a light background. The signature appears to be 'B Tokoyo'.

ANNEXURE A:

Screening letter attached to APPENDIX A

(PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET)

Dear Participant

Re: COVID-19 Screening

To protect the health and safety of the researcher and yourself as participant of this research study, you are kindly requested to answer the following questions as a screening tool for symptoms or other risk factors of COVID-19. Please indicate your answer as “yes” or “no”:

1. Have you experienced any of the following symptoms in the past 48 hours: fever or chills, cough, shortness of breath or difficulty breathing, fatigue, muscle or body aches, headache, new loss of taste or smell, sore throat, congestion or runny nose, nausea or vomiting, diarrhoea?

No Yes

2. Within the past 14 days, have you been in close physical contact (2 meters (6 feet) or closer for at least 15 minutes) with a person who is known to have laboratory-confirmed COVID-19 or with anyone who has any symptoms consistent with COVID-19?

No Yes

3. Are you isolating or quarantining because you may have been exposed to a person with COVID-19 or are worried that you may be sick with COVID-19?

No Yes

4. Are you currently waiting for the results of the COVID-19 results?

No Yes

If you answer “yes” to any of the above questions, you are requested to withdraw as participant of this research study.

Should you consent to participate as respondent in this research study, please be informed that personal information will be made available should any participant report a case of being in close physical contact (2 meters or closer for at least 15 minutes) with a person who is known to have laboratory-confirmed COVID-19 or with anyone who has any symptoms consistent with COVID-19.

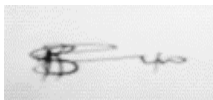
Name of participant:

Signature of participant:

Date:

Name of researcher: Bertha Tokoyo

Signature:

A small, square image showing a handwritten signature in black ink on a light-colored background. The signature appears to be 'Bertha Tokoyo' written in a cursive or semi-cursive style.

APPENDIX B:

Individual interview guide

What is yourself, age, marital status, educational level, nationality, have you got identity documents?
How long have you stayed in Dunoon and why did you choose to stay in Dunoon?
When did you leave your place of origin into coming to South Africa/Cape Town?
May you please kindly explain the reasons for choosing to migrate. What factors contributed to your movement, where they are personal, economic, political, socio-cultural related?
Are you noticing any changes or improvements after migration? <ol style="list-style-type: none">1) What resources and assets did you have before migration and what did you acquire after migration?2) Did you encounter an improvement of resources and assets after migration?3) Is there an improvement in networking after migration? Please explain your networking mechanism its benefits and challenges.
Are you able to send money back at home?
What benefits or challenges do you come across at work as a domestic worker, if so, please share your experiences?
What is your salary?
Are you legally employed; do you have a contract?
Do you know of any government department, or institution for example, Social Development, Employment and Labour, Commission, for Conciliation, Mediation, and Arbitration (CCMA) offices to go to when encountered with work related issues?
Have you ever encountered a situation which called for you to go to the CCMA? Please share if so.

Please kindly share with me any other experiences at home and at work and how you tackle them with regards to how you help yourself to survive, for example, do you encounter any social challenges at home and work-related challenges. How do you tackle them?

What methods do you use to engage with other women to improve your life for example? Are you involved in any saving method, for example, stokvel, burial society, group businesses or any other project?

Please share on the benefits and the challenges of such saving methods

How would you like to improve yourself?

APPENDIX C

Focus group interview guide

What is your age, marital status, educational levels.
Nationality:
How long have you stayed in Dunoon and why did you choose to stay in Dunoon?
When did each of you leave your home of origin into coming to South Africa/ Cape Town?
May you please kindly explain the reasons for choosing to migrate/ What factors contributed to your movement, were they personal, economic, political, socio-cultural related?
Are you noticing any changes or improvements after migration? a) Did you encounter an improvement of resources and assets after migration? b) What resources and assets did you have before migration and what did you acquire after migration? c) Is there an improvement in networking after migration?
Are you able to send money back at home?
What privileges and challenges do you come across at work as a domestic worker, if so, please share your experiences?
Does anyone of you know of any government department or institution for example Social Development, Employment and Labour, Commission for Conciliation, Mediation and Arbitration (CCMA) offices to go to when encountered with work related issues?
Have you ever encountered a situation which called for you to consult with any of the above? Please share if so.
What methods do you use to engage with other women to improve your lives for example? Do you network? Please explain what social networks you are attached to, their benefits and challenges. Are you involved in any saving method for example, stokvel, burial society, group businesses or any other? Please share the benefits and the challenges of such saving methods

Are there any other projects you engage in to increase your income?

How would you like to improve yourself?

APPENDIX D

Interview guide for employers

How do you view your employee?
What are her duties at work?
Do you have a contractual agreement for her?
For how long she has been working for you?
How much does she earn? How does she receive her money, for example cash or through bank card? Daily, Weekly, or monthly?
What other benefits has she got apart from salary?
Do you help her to improve herself? If yes, how?
What challenges do you encounter as an employer of a domestic worker?
What other information would you like to share?

APPENDIX E

Interview guide for community leaders

What role do you play in safeguarding international female migrants?
What problems do foreign international female migrants present to you?
How do you assist them?
What other information would you to share?

APPENDIX F

Interview guide for officials

What challenges do international migrants domestic workers present to you?
What programmes are in place to assist these female domestic workers?
What are the policy guidelines in assisting migrant female domestic workers?
What mechanisms and/or procedures are in place to address the challenges or complaints of international female migrants working as domestic workers?
How does the Department promote the rights of domestic workers?
What is your response rate in assisting them?
What other information would you like to share?

APPENDIX G

Consent to participate in this study

RESEARCH STUDY: An analysis on sustainable livelihoods of female migrants: A case study of domestic workers, Dunoon, Cape Town.

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 an 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 opportunities 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.

I am aware that the findings of this study will be processed into a research report, journal publications and/or conference proceedings, but that my participation will be kept confidential unless otherwise specified.

I agree to the recording of the interview.

I will receive a copy of this informed consent agreement.

Participant Name & Surname

Participant Signature.....Date.....