



**UNIVERSITY of the
WESTERN CAPE**

**THE FAMILY LIFE AND WELL-BEING OF
MIGRANT DAY LABOURERS IN CAPE TOWN**

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A thesis submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy
(PhD) in the Department of Social Work,
University of the Western Cape

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ABSTRACT

Day labourers are individuals in the informal economy who make a living by selling their labour and skills on the streets in return for money. The aim of this study was to examine the lived experiences of day labourers in Cape Town, with a specific focus on the family life and well-being of migrant day labourers. Previous studies have indicated that day driving factors leading to the growth and existence of the informal labour market and day labourers were high unemployment, job scarcity and migration towards South Africa's urban centres and international migration from other mostly other Africa. The study furthermore determines how such factors of migration and level of income impact the family life and well-being of migrant day labourers in Cape Town.

The researcher made use of a mixed method research (MMR) design carried out in three phases of data collection: mapping data collection using GIS, quantitative data collection using semi-structured interviews and qualitative data collection using semi-structured interviews. During Phase 1 of the data collection, the researcher identified all known day labour hiring sites in Cape Town. During Phase 2, the researcher and research assistants made use of semi-structured quantitative interviews to collect biographical information on as many day labourers as possible. The participants at this phase of the study included both migrant and non-migrant day labourers. The quantitative data collected during Phase 2 was analysed using empirical data analysis. Phase 3 of the data collection involved conducting semi-structured qualitative interviews with 18 participants at six hiring sites. These participants included only migrant day labourers but included both international and internal migrants.

After analyses of the research findings from all three phases of data collection, this data was then integrated to make one meaningful outcome. The researcher established that day labour work, which forms part of the informal economic sector is growing and is likely to remain visible in South Africa because of high unemployment and high migration trends. The researcher also found that migrant day labourers are in general family-oriented individuals who are forced to migrate mainly due to economic reasons but also due to forced displacement caused by violence, famine, natural disasters, and political unrest. The researcher also established that despite being family-oriented, migrant day labourers usually migrate by themselves, providing financial support to their families back home. To this end,

day labourers experience remorse and guilt at the infrequency of contact with their families. With respect to well-being, as self-reported by the migrant day labourers, the research findings established that the overall well-being of migrant day labourers was not hugely negatively impacted by their work or by being away from their families. The instability of the work and the guilt of being away from their families were somewhat positively offset by the presence of support networks amongst day labourers and other migrants, and by their ability to provide financial support for their families. However, the majority of day labourers' self-rated their own happiness and life satisfaction relatively low on a happiness scale. Finally, the study presents a list of recommendations for day labourers, policymakers, civil society organisations and researchers which can potentially improve and promote the well-being of migrant day labourers.



DECLARATION

I hereby declare that the thesis entitled “The family life and well-being of migrant day labourers in Cape Town” is my own work, that it has not been submitted for any degree or examination to any other university and that all the sources used in the study have been properly acknowledged with complete references.

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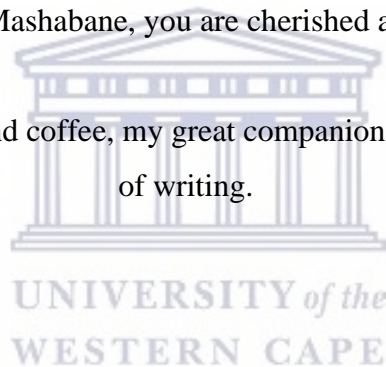
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Finally, many thanks to Gruu and coffee, my great companions through the many long nights of writing.



Dedicated to ME!



From me to me

UNIVERSITY *of the*
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KEYWORDS & PHRASES

Day labour hiring site: day labour hiring site, formal and informal centres which are used for soliciting work by day labourers.

Day labourer: a labourer who works by the day; for daily wages in an informal and temporary employment found in open-air markets, worker centres either organised or unorganised, on the street or outside home improvement stores (Blaauw, Botha & Schenck, 2018).

Family: a family is a group of two or more people that are related by blood, marriage (registered or de facto), adoption, step or fostering, and who usually live together in the same household. Furthermore, Family Plus foundation (2014) expands on this suggesting that a family is not limited to but can be summed up as a group of people that live together, share with one another, work together, care and support for each other.

Informal economic sector: diversified set of economic activities, enterprises, jobs, and workers that are not regulated or protected by the state (Abizaid, 2019).

Migration: a process of moving, either across an international border or within a state encompassing any kind of movement of people whatever the length, composition and causes of movement (International federation of Red Cross, 2014).

Mixed methods: use of both qualitative and quantitative methods in studying the same phenomenon (Creswell, 2003).

Systems theory: Systems theory is an interdisciplinary theory about the nature of complex systems in nature, society and science, and is a framework by which one can investigate and/or describe any group of objects that work together to produce some result (Environment and ecology, 2013: 01).

Well-being: the experience of health, happiness, and prosperity. It includes having good mental health, high life satisfaction, a sense of meaning or purpose, and ability to manage stress.



CONTENTS

ABSTRACT	i
DECLARATION	iii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	iv
KEYWORDS & PHRASES	vi
LIST OF FIGURES	xiv
LIST OF TABLES	xv
LIST OF APPENDIXES	xvi
CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION	1
1.1 INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND.....	1
1.2 CHARACTERISTICS OF DAY LABOURERS.....	5
1.3 SITUATING THE STUDY IN SOUTH AFRICA	8
1.4 PROBLEM STATEMENT	12
1.5 RESEARCH QUESTION AND AIM	12
1.6 RESEARCH OBJECTIVES	13
1.7 RESEARCH APPROACH AND METHODOLOGY.....	13
1.7.1 <i>Research setting</i>	14
1.7.2 <i>Motivation for study</i>	15
1.8 CHAPTER ORGANISATION	15
1.9 SUMMARY OF CHAPTER.....	16
CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW: THE INFORMAL ECONOMY AND DAY LABOUR	18
2.1 INTRODUCTION.....	18
2.2 THE INFORMAL ECONOMIC SECTOR AND INFORMAL LABOUR	19
2.2.1 <i>Introduction</i>	19
2.2.2 <i>Understanding the informal economic sector</i>	21
2.2.3 <i>Influence of global politics</i>	22
2.3 THE GLOBAL INFORMAL ECONOMY	24
2.3.1 <i>Background</i>	24
2.3.2 <i>Contributing factors</i>	28
2.4 THE INFORMAL ECONOMY IN SOUTH AFRICA.....	30
2.4.1 <i>Unemployment in South Africa</i>	30
2.4.2 <i>The informal economy in South Africa</i>	31
2.4.3 <i>The informal economy in Cape Town</i>	34
2.5 DAY LABOURERS IN SOUTH AFRICA	34

2.5.1 Introduction.....	34
2.5.2 Typical profile of South African day labourers.....	35
2.5.3 Lived experiences of day labourers	37
2.5.4 Family life of day labourers.....	39
2.6 CHAPTER SUMMARY	41
CHAPTER 3: LITERATURE REVIEW: MIGRATION.....	42
3.1 INTRODUCTION.....	42
3.2 UNDERSTANDING MIGRATION.....	43
3.2.1 Introduction.....	43
3.2.2 Different types of migrants.....	45
3.2.3 Classical theories of migration.....	47
3.2.4 Perpetuation theories of migration.....	49
3.3 UNDERLYING CAUSES OF MIGRATION	50
3.4 THE GLOBAL CONTEXT	52
3.5 GLOBAL POLICIES ON MIGRATION	55
3.6 MIGRATION IN SOUTHERN AFRICA.....	57
3.6.1 Background.....	57
3.6.2 Reasons for migration trends in southern Africa.....	60
3.7 SOUTH AFRICA: THE CENTRE OF SOUTHERN AFRICAN MIGRATION.....	61
3.7.1 Internal migration within South Africa.....	62
3.7.2 SADC and international migration into South Africa.....	64
3.7.3 Economic impact of migration: burden or benefit?.....	66
3.8 MIGRATION AND THE SOUTH AFRICAN ECONOMY	69
3.9 CHAPTER SUMMARY	71
CHAPTER 4: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK	72
4.1 INTRODUCTION.....	72
4.2 SYSTEMS THEORY.....	72
4.3 UNDERSTANDING SYSTEMS THEORY	73
4.4 CONTEMPORARY DEFINITIONS OF SYSTEMS THEORY	76
4.5 APPLICATION OF SYSTEMS THEORY TO THE STUDY	77
4.6 FAMILY SYSTEMS THEORY AND MIGRATION SYSTEMS THEORY	79
4.6.1 Introduction.....	79
4.6.2 Applying family systems theory.....	79
4.6.3 Applying migration systems theory.....	81
4.7 CHAPTER SUMMARY	83

CHAPTER 5: RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY	84
5.1 INTRODUCTION.....	84
5.2 CHAPTER ORGANISATION	84
5.3 RESEARCH APPROACH.....	85
5.4 MODELS OF MIXED METHODS RESEARCH (MMR)	86
5.5 RESEARCH DESIGN	87
5.6 RESEARCH SETTING AND POPULATION	89
5.6.1 <i>Research setting</i>	89
5.6.2 <i>Population and sampling</i>	89
5.7 ROLE OF THE RESEARCHER AND DATA COLLECTORS.....	90
5.8 SAMPLING, DATA COLLECTION PROCESS & DATA ANALYSIS.....	91
5.9 PHASE 1: MAPPING DATA	91
5.10 PHASE 2: QUANTITATIVE DATA	94
5.11 PHASE 3: QUALITATIVE DATA	100
5.12 ACHIEVING DATA INTEGRATION	109
5.13 ETHICS STATEMENT AND THE PRINCIPLE OF BENEFICENCE	110
5.14 CHAPTER SUMMARY	112
CHAPTER 6: PHASE 1: MAPPING DATA.....	113
6.1 INTRODUCTION.....	113
6.2 KEY FINDINGS	113
6.2.1 <i>Area of study</i>	113
6.2.2 <i>Documented day labour hiring sites</i>	114
6.2.3 <i>Location and distribution of day labour hiring sites</i>	118
6.3 OBSERVATIONS WHILE CONDUCTING MAPPING EXERCISE.....	122
6.4 KEY RECONNAISSANCE REFLECTIONS	125
6.5 CHAPTER SUMMARY	126
CHAPTER 7: PHASE 2: QUANTITATIVE DATA	127
7.1 INTRODUCTION.....	127
7.2 QUANTITATIVE DATA.....	127
7.3 DESCRIPTIVE DATA FINDINGS: QUANTITATIVE FINDINGS.....	128
7.4 PROFILE OF DAY LABOURERS IN CAPE TOWN.....	129
7.4.1 <i>Age</i>	129
7.4.2 <i>Gender dynamics of all day labourers in Cape Town</i>	131
7.4.3 <i>Country of origin</i>	133

7.4.4 Province of origin	135
7.5 EDUCATION LEVEL	136
7.5.1 All participants.....	136
7.5.2 International immigrants	137
7.6 EMPLOYMENT AND WORK HISTORY	138
7.6.1 Types of work by all day labourers.....	138
7.6.2 Types of work by female day labourers	140
7.6.3 Frequency at day labour hiring sites.....	141
7.6.4 Regularity of work at hiring sites.....	143
7.6.5 Wage and income data for all day labourers.....	143
7.6.6 Wage and income data amongst migrant day labourers	146
7.6.7 Expectation versus reality of income	147
7.7 WORK LIFE OF MIGRANT DAY LABOURERS	147
7.7.1 Faithfulness to hiring sites.....	148
7.7.2 Duration of work.....	148
7.7.3 Work hours.....	149
7.7.4 Nutrition and care at the hiring sites.....	150
7.8 RELATIONS, SOCIAL NETWORKS AND LIFE SATISFACTION	150
7.8.1 Marital status.....	151
7.8.2 Children and dependents	152
7.8.3 Type of dependants	153
7.8.4 Regularity of family contact.....	153
7.8.5 Social networks.....	154
7.8.6 Treatment by the public and employers	155
7.8.7 Life satisfaction.....	156
7.9 SIGNIFICANCE OF THE DATA	156
7.9.1 Correlation between well-being and income	157
7.9.2 Correlation between well-being and family contact.....	158
7.9.3 Correlation between education and income	159
7.10. CHAPTER SUMMARY	160
CHAPTER 8: PHASE 3: QUALITATIVE DATA	162
8.1 INTRODUCTION.....	162
8.2 RESEARCH METHOD.....	162
8.3 CORE THEMES AND SUB-THEMES OF THE QUALITATIVE DATA.....	165
8.4 THEME 1: MIGRATION TRENDS	167
8.4.1 The journey to Cape Town.....	167
8.4.2 The push and pull effect.....	172

8.4.3 <i>The legality of the journey</i>	175
8.5 THEME 2: DAY LABOUR	176
8.5.1 <i>Employment history</i>	176
8.5.2 <i>Day labour – not a new phenomenon</i>	178
8.5.3 <i>The nature of the work and the work environment</i>	180
8.5.4 <i>Occupational hazards</i>	181
8.5.5 <i>Women’s experiences of day labour</i>	182
8.5.6 <i>Leverage to negotiate income</i>	184
8.6 THEME 3: HIRING SITES	185
8.6.1 <i>The unregulated nature of day labour hiring sites</i>	185
8.6.2 <i>Vulnerabilities at hiring sites</i>	185
8.6.3 <i>Frequency of work at hiring sites</i>	186
8.6.4 <i>Red tape</i>	187
8.7 THEME 4: FAMILY LIFE	187
8.7.1 <i>Disrupted family life</i>	188
8.7.2 <i>Transactional family contact</i>	189
8.7.3 <i>Children of migrant day labourers</i>	189
8.7.4 <i>The new normal: day labourers as income earners</i>	190
8.7.5 <i>Remorse: a family left behind</i>	191
8.8 THEME 5: FEARS AND CONCERNS AS A MIGRANT WORKER	191
8.8.1 <i>Working as an undocumented migrant</i>	192
8.8.2 <i>Safety and reception by the local community</i>	193
8.8.3 <i>Xenophobia</i>	194
8.8.4 <i>Fear of loss of income</i>	195
8.9 THEME 6: SOCIAL NETWORKS AND LIFE SATISFACTION	195
8.9.1 <i>The value of social networks</i>	196
8.9.2 <i>Self-view of life satisfaction</i>	197
8.10 CHAPTER SUMMARY	197
CHAPTER 9: DATA INTEGRATION AND CONSOLIDATED FINDINGS	199
9.1 INTRODUCTION	199
9.2 DATA INTEGRATION	199
9.3. INTEGRATED THEMES EMERGING FROM THE STUDY	200
9.3.1 <i>Marital status of day labourers</i>	200
9.3.2 <i>Gender of day labourers</i>	201
9.3.3 <i>Age of day labourers</i>	201
9.3.4 <i>Family life and well-being of day labourers</i>	202
9.3.5 <i>Networks and family connections of day labourers</i>	203

9.3.6 Migration amongst day labourers.....	204
9.3.7 Nature of day labour.....	204
9.3.8 Life satisfaction of day labourers.....	205
9.4 THE INTERGRATED PROFILE OF A CAPE TOWN DAY LABOUR.....	206
9.5 CONTRIBUTION TO KNOWLEDGE.....	206
9.5 CHAPTER SUMMARY.....	206
CHAPTER 10: CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS.....	208
10.1 OVERVIEW.....	208
10.2 AIM AND OBJECTIVES OF STUDY.....	208
10.2.1 Profile the distribution of hiring sites in Cape Town using GIS.....	209
10.2.2 Identify migratory patterns of day labourers in Cape Town.....	209
10.2.3 Explore the personal backgrounds of migrant day labourers in Cape Town.....	210
10.2.4 Explore and assess the family life of migrant day labourers in Cape Town.....	210
10.2.5 Determine the socioeconomic profile of migrant day labourers in Cape Town.....	210
10.2.6 Measure life satisfaction amongst day labourers.....	211
10.3 RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE STUDY.....	211
10.3.1 Recommendations for day labourers.....	211
10.3.2. Recommendations for policymakers, lawmakers, immigration officials and civil society organisations.....	213
10.3.3 Recommendations for future research.....	215
10.4 LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY.....	216
10.5 CONCLUDING REMARKS.....	219
REFERENCES.....	220
APPENDIX A: CONSENT FORM.....	268
APPENDIX B: MAPPING DATA RECORDING FORM.....	269
APPENDIX C: STRUCTURED QUANTITATIVE DATA COLLECTION QUESTIONNAIRE.....	271
APPENDIX D: SEMI-STRUCTURED QUALITATIVE DATA COLLECTION QUESTIONNAIRE.....	287
APPENDIX E: EDITORIAL CERTIFICATE.....	288

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1: Migration trends in South Africa

Figure 2: Data collection, analysis and integration schedule

Figure 3: Area of study

Figure 4: Distribution of hiring sites in Cape Town

Figure 5: Size and population distribution at hiring sites

Figure 6: Security warning against day labourers

Figure 7: Day labourers at a hiring site in Cape Town

Figure 8: Day labourers marketing their skills and displaying their equipment

Figure 9: Age distribution of day labourers in Cape Town

Figure 10: Gender of day labourers in Cape Town

Figure 11: Country of origin of day labourers in Cape Town

Figure 12: Province of origin of South African day labourers

Figure 13: Type of work undertaken by female day labourers

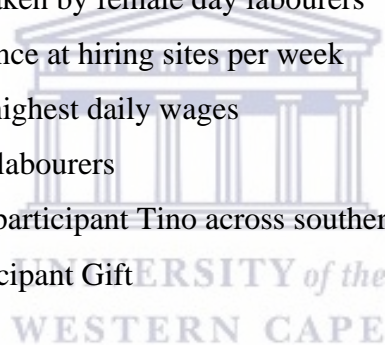
Figure 14: Frequency of attendance at hiring sites per week

Figure 15: Average lowest and highest daily wages

Figure 16: Marital status of day labourers

Figure 17: Migration pattern of participant Tino across southern Africa

Figure 18: Work history of participant Gift



LIST OF TABLES

Table 1: Mixed method research designs

Table 2: Locations of day labour hiring sites for the collection of quantitative data

Table 3: Sampling for qualitative data collection

Table 4: Profile of day labourers for qualitative data collection

Table 5: Number of day labour hiring sites recorded and size of sites

Table 6: Core quantitative outcomes and sub-themes

Table 7: Type of day labour work undertaken by participants in the previous month

Table 8: Regularity of work

Table 9: Lowest and highest daily wages of South African and international migrant day labourers

Table 10: Participants' perceptions of income level

Table 11: Time worked as a day labourer

Table 12: Dependants of day labourers

Table 13: Frequency of family visits

Table 14: Social networks amongst day labourers

Table 15: Self-ratings of day labourers on happiness scale

Table 16: Correlation between happiness and income of migrant day labourers

Table 17: Correlation between frequency of family visits and happiness

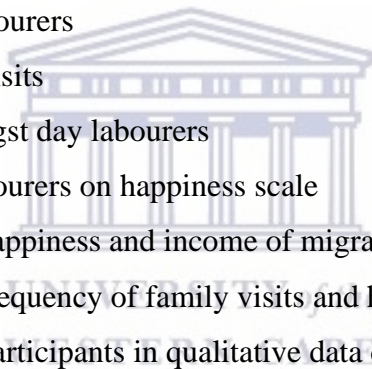
Table 18: Biographical data of participants in qualitative data collection phase

Table 19: Core themes and sub-themes of qualitative data collection phase

Table 20: Migration history of migrant day labourers

Table 21: Migration history of Tino: a case study

Table 22: Social networks of day labourers



LIST OF APPENDIXES

Appendix A: Consent form

Appendix B: Mapping data recording form

Appendix C: Structured quantitative data collection questionnaire

Appendix D: Semi-structured qualitative data collection questionnaire

Appendix E: Editorial certificate



CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

1.1 INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND

Day labourers are unemployed people, mostly men, making a living by selling their labour and skills on street corners (Schenck & Blaauw, 2018). A significant portion of day labourers are also migrant labourers, which can include local migrants and international immigrants. This study examines the family life and well-being of migrant day labourers in Cape Town, South Africa. Day labour work, like many other jobs in the informal economic sector, is largely a poverty-alleviation strategy in response to poor economic growth, high unemployment and urbanisation (Selwyn, 2020). Poor economic growth and continuous urbanisation have led to a growing number of migrant day labourers and desperate jobseekers forming part of urban landscapes.

Buchanan (2004), Mapendere (2018) and Turnovsky (2004) all state that day labour as a form of informal employment is not a new phenomenon and has become extremely common in many urban towns and cities, even in developed countries and economies. According to Turnovsky (2004), this is largely due to demand for “un-promised” workers – labourers who work by informal arrangements that are usually more beneficial to the employer than the worker. South Africa is no stranger to the phenomenon of day labour work; day labourers seeking work on street corners is a common sight in most South African cities. As noted by Pretorius and Blaauw (2014), many of the unemployed in South Africa have no other choice but to venture into the informal sector of the economy, including day labour, to raise an income.

Day labour is a spatial means of employment-seeking where labourers mostly flock together in particular places, usually in the early hours of the morning, to find a wage provider (Golden, 2015). Dhal (2020) refers to this as the sale of labour for the day, where workers stand and make themselves available to be hired by contractors or individual house owners for the day. Ligthelm provides a more precisely defined description of day labour, explaining it as a sub-sector of the informal economy characterised by unregistered and unrecorded economic activities that normally escape detection in the official estimates of gross domestic product¹

¹ Gross domestic product (GDP) is the total monetary or market value of all the finished goods and services produced within a country's borders in a specific time period (Amadeo & Anderson, 2021).

(GDP) (Ligthelm, 2006). This is supported by Pretorius & Blaauw (2014), who state that day labour can be defined as casual job-seeking activities, usually by persons who have been formally excluded from the formal labour market. These workers often work for different employers each day, are paid in cash and do not enjoy benefits like health insurance and unemployment benefits (Pretorius & Blaauw, 2014). Short-term work agreements, ranging from a few hours to several weeks, are established between workers and employers (Seixas, Blecker, Camp & Neitzel, 2008). Valenzuela (2001) provides an alternative definition of day labour, calling it entrepreneurship activity by the day labourer. According to Valenzuela (2001), traditional definitions of entrepreneurship are elitist, placing a large emphasis on firm size and location, innovation, proprietorship and capital start-up, unfairly overlooking the temporary, low-wage, self-employed individuals who solicit work on a daily basis. Valenzuela shows that day labourers can be viewed not just as jobseekers but as entrepreneurs as well. Fernández (1999) and Valenzuela (2002) both go a step further to state that day labour can also be seen as an occupation, an occupation in which mainly men congregate visibly on street corners or in empty parking lots of home improvement stores to solicit temporary daily work.

Despite these varying definitions of day labour, the common characteristics that define day labour across all literature are that it is largely an informal economic sector activity dominated by men who solicit employment on a daily or temporary basis (Blaauw, Pretorius & Schenck, 2006). Bradley (2005) described day labourers as men waiting for employment on street corners, in parks or in parking lots of home improvement stores, gardening supply businesses or other large retailers. These “waiting” places are sometimes referred to as hiring sites (Louw, 2007). The terms “day labour hiring site” or “hiring site” will be used throughout the study to refer to any space where day labourers gather and congregate to solicit work.

Day labour work is not a new phenomenon, either in South Africa or around the globe. Despite this long history of this type of work, day labour today is still characterised by visible chronic instability, low pay and weak institutional protections against violations of labour standards (Theodore, 2019). This has a significant impact not only on the work of day labourers but also on their well-being.

It is also worth noting that many day labourers are migrants or immigrants. This is largely a

result of the challenges faced by migrant workers in gaining access to the formal economic sector. In the United States (US), day labour mostly serves as an entry point into the labour market for migrant workers who hope to make the transition into the formal economy (Theodore, Valenzuela & Meléndez, 2009). This is also true for many Zimbabwean immigrants who find their way onto the street corners of South African cities and take work as day labourers in the hopes of transitioning into the formal labour market (Blaauw, Schenck, Pretorius & Schoeman, 2017). South Africa's growing informal economy, including day labour, has thus become an important source of income for internal and international immigrants who move mostly into South Africa's urban centres either from neighbouring countries or rural, under-developed areas of the country (Theodore, Blaauw, Schenck & Pretorius, 2017). The precarious immigration status of many day labourers, combined with the lack of a physical worksite and a lack of visibility while looking for work, results in migrant day labourers identifying as a vulnerable group (Haro & Garcia, 2020). This is further exacerbated by global capitalism², which has reorganised the supply of labour. To this end, global capitalism produces a constant supply of exploitable workers who are displaced from their native countries, usually poor or underdeveloped ones, to go in search of work opportunities elsewhere.

Demonstrating the extent of day labour in South Africa and South African cities, which is a common sight all over major cities, Harmse, Blaauw & Schenck (2009) stated that tens of thousands of men and occasionally women in South Africa gather at hiring sites in towns and cities, seeking employment for the day or for a limited period. In South Africa, day labourers, mostly men, are usually seen early in the morning, approaching potential employers for opportunities to earn a wage for the day (Louw, 2007).

Despite its long history, the history of day labour is not well documented, with only a limited number of studies available. Valenzuela (2002) wrote that day labourers have existed in Europe since the medieval era, when they would sit in open public spaces selling their services to potential employers on a temporary basis. Today, there is a growing population of day labourers across the globe, mainly because of high unemployment levels (Kabeer, 2012).

² Capitalism is an economic system in which private individuals or businesses own capital goods. The production of goods and services is based on supply and demand in the general market – known as a market economy – rather than through central planning – known as a planned economy or command economy (Cheng, 2021).

Considering the economic impact of the COVID-19 pandemic³ in 2020 and 2021, which has caused a considerable loss of jobs and income in formal economic sectors globally, the population of day labourers will likely grow even more in 2021 and beyond. The strict containment measures adopted by many countries to limit the spread of the virus, especially during the first half of 2020, put a substantial constraint on both formal and informal economic activities (Zeufack, Calderon, Kambou, Djiofack, Kubota, Korman & Cantu Canales, 2020). This may lead to an even growing number of day labourers in 2021 and years beyond, as formal economic sectors recover from the effects of the pandemic. Even before the COVID-19 pandemic, the United Nations (UN) had projected that global unemployment would increase by around 2.5 million people in 2020, while also finding that almost half a billion people globally were working fewer paid hours than they would like (United Nations, 2020a). The same report further projected that more people in 2020 would lack adequate access to paid work. These dynamics are all likely to lead to more individuals resorting to the informal economy. To highlight the extent of an already competing crisis for day labour work amongst day labourers, Kennedy (2010) recorded that it had become a common sight to see day labourers compete for work due to fewer work opportunities.

As economic activity is impacted for both employers and employees, day labourers are becoming an attractive option for small and growing businesses where contingent working arrangements are becoming increasingly common (Mapendere, 2018). In South Africa, where high unemployment is prevalent and an uneven distribution of economic activities is present, day labour, which Blaauw et al. (2006) refer to as one of the most visible forms of unemployment, has emerged as one of the only viable sources of income for many. According to Statistics South Africa (2021), South Africa's official unemployment rate during the fourth quarter of 2020 rose by 1.7 percentage points from the previous quarter to a record high of 32.5%. This means that 701 000 people became unemployed, bringing the total number of unemployed people in the country to 7.2 million (Mahlaka, 2021). StatsSA (2021) further reported more people in the year 2021 were seen entering the labour market and actively looking for jobs. Therefore, the informal economy has become a shock absorber for this economic crisis (Ngwenya, Blaauw, Pretorius, Claasen & Schenck, 2020). Despite the growth in the number of jobseekers, the job market is not creating sufficient jobs to

³ UNICEF states that "COVID-19 is a disease caused by a new strain of coronavirus. 'CO' stands for corona, 'VI' for virus, and 'D' for disease" (UNICEF, 2020b).

absorb enough people of working age into employment. This high unemployment has led to the growth and nourishment of day labour markets in South Africa.

1.2 CHARACTERISTICS OF DAY LABOURERS

Globally, deficits of decent work are visible everywhere (Hasby, 2020), and day labour provides refuge for many jobseekers. Of the rising number of unemployed, most are refugee migrant workers (Drinkwater, 2017). Hasby (2020) postulates that there were at least 10.4 million undocumented immigrants working in the US in 2020. This suggests that undocumented immigrants make up approximately 3.2% of the country's population and at least 4.4% of the country's workforce. A large contingency of working undocumented immigrants work as day labourers; this is supported by Banks & Kyckelhahn (2011), who reported that at least 75% of day labourers surveyed in the US in 2010 were undocumented Mexican immigrants. By participating in the workforce, day labourers contribute to the economy in vital industries that pay billions in taxes and contributions to the social safety net.

In regard to South Africa, there are no accurate, up-to-date official statistics on the number of migrants in the country. XenoWatch (2019) estimates this number to be around 3.6 million international migrants. Of the migrants in South Africa, at least 70% are estimated to originate from neighbouring Zimbabwe, Mozambique and Lesotho (XenoWatch, 2019). However, these figures are contested by researchers such as Heleta (2019) and Makina (2007) who estimate these numbers to be far lower.

Using data collected between 2004 and 2006, Schenck & Blaauw (2008) established that 88% of day labourers in Tshwane were born in South Africa, with 88.8% of these originating from outside the Gauteng Province. In a follow-up study where data was collected between 2015 and 2017, 44% of the participants surveyed identified South Africa as their country of origin (Blaauw et.al, 2017). The remaining 56% was made up of 49% Zimbabweans, 3.5% Basotho, 0.7% Mozambicans and 2.1% who identified as "other" (Blaauw et.al, 2017). This confirms the view that day labour work is an attractive industry and is dominated by internal and international migrants. The difference in the data collected between 2015 and 2017 compared to the data from 2004 to 2006 also suggests a shift from day labour being largely dominated by internal migrants to becoming more attractive to international migrants. Ultimately, the data suggests a strong relationship between migration and day labour in South Africa.

With most day labourers either being internal or international migrants, they are vulnerable to particular challenges which can affect their well-being (Menezes, Murray, László, Wehrmeister, Hallal, Gonçalves, Assunção, Menezes, & Barros, 2013). This was clearly visible during the national lockdown period implemented in 2020 by the South African government to slow the spread of COVID-19. According to the International Labour Organization (ILO) (2020a), migrant workers in both the formal and informal sector were more vulnerable than non-migrant workers in 2020 to losing work and economic opportunities due to COVID-19 restrictions. The ILO (2020a) also reports that a much higher percentage of migrant workers were unemployed in 2020 compared to non-migrants. This further illustrates the need to study migrant day labourers and the lived experiences that may impact their well-being. Another aspect of interest amongst migrant day labourers is aptly demonstrated by Abrego's 2011 study of undocumented immigrants' well-being, which revealed that undocumented immigrants experience high levels of stress due to various factors, including their immigration status (Abrego, 2011). Immigration policies and legal statuses therefore establish a hierarchy of well-being for migrant workers and their families.

Another feature common amongst day labourers both in South Africa and globally is that day labourers are in most cases excluded from the benefits which a society extends to its citizens, such as access to social services and opportunities for decent incomes. Highlighting the extent of this exclusion, Smith (2020), in a study conducted in Mbekweni, South Africa, found that not only were day labourers in Mbekweni experiencing barriers to access health and police services, but they were also excluded from any formal social protection. Smith (2020) thus concluded that day labourers, particularly undocumented migrant day labourers, are not exempt from social exclusion. This is heightened for international migrant day labourers, who find themselves in a new country and must begin to create a new family life, one that is influenced both by past cultural customs and by the ways of the new country, but is also different from both (Foner, 1997; Kibria, 1997). Such families show characteristics of an integrated mixture of cultures. Jastram & Newland (2003) suggest that, when this happens, migrants are often forced to adopt a new melted culture, one that recognises past and present cultures. The culture and family life of migrants is altered in the process. In addition, Brettell & Hollifield (2014) state that a migrant's family life in particular can be affected if they reside with their families, as legal systems may classify certain cultural practices as illegal. Brettell & Hollifield (2014) cite examples such as polygamy and corporal punishment, noting

that unfamiliar laws may interrupt the usual family functioning.

Research has found that many day labourers are family-oriented individuals and often function as the main source of financial support for their immediate and extended families (Valenzuela, Gonzalez, Theodore & Meléndez, 2005). The need for day labourers to earn an income is therefore more urgent because of the responsibility to support their families and a need to maintain family functioning (Huschke, 2014). In 2005, more than 69% of documented day labourers in the US had at least one child, of which almost 14% were not citizens of the US (Valenzuela et al., 2005). Often living away from their children, their ability to sustain and care for their families in person was therefore hindered by their work and geographical distance (Lewis-Fernández, Guarnaccia, Martínez, Salmán, Schmidt & Liebowitz, 2002; Fogel, 2012). As long as migrant labourers are able to work and generate income, they usually manage to maintain an uneasy tension between their success at providing for the family materially “as a good man should” versus their failure to be emotionally engaged fathers overseeing the discipline children and the wellbeing of their spouses in person (Huschke, 2014).

A day labourer interviewed by Walter, Bourgois & Loinaz (2004) stated the following:

I’m just floundering here. I don’t know if it is my nerves or because I left my family abandoned... Well, not abandoned. Because they have everything. I give them everything that they ask for. But I have to stay here to struggle to take us forward. Ay! We are very poor. We don’t have much money (Walter et al., 2004: 31).

This statement highlights the specific emotional and psychosocial experiences of migrant day labourers in relation to their families.

On the family life of day labourers in South Africa, Blaauw et al. (2006) found that family ties are important, with 33% of day labourers during that study being married via either customary or common law, and 6% living with a partner. Blaauw et al. (2006) concluded that day labourers have families that need maintenance and support. The researchers also established that even day labourers who were not married displayed commitment to long-term partners, with some reporting difficulties in getting married given the costs of customary marriages in black African societies. Given their low incomes, day labourers’

ability to support their families and other dependants is a common concern (Blaauw et al., 2006). Van Wyk, Pretorius, Blaauw, Freeman & Schenck (2020) found that having to care for a high number of dependants on the small income typically received by day labourers can be stressful. Having little time for relaxation and family does not augur well for the quality of life of day labourers. This further demonstrates the need to pursue this direction of study and examine the lived experiences and well-being of day labourers.

Another significant characteristic of migrant day labourers is the split of the nuclear family into several households, which affects family functioning (Borjas, 2008). One of the functions of the nuclear family is socialising children to prevent a culture from becoming extinct (Murdock, 2017). In the absence of one or both parents, the families of migrants are greatly affected. It therefore becomes of paramount importance to examine the daily lives of migrant day labourers, with a focus on how their work impacts both their well-being and the well-being of their families. Previous studies on day labourers and migrant labourers have mainly focused on quantitative data and family life, with fewer studies focusing on well-being. By also focusing on well-being, this study is therefore an important broadening of the scope of literature on migrant day labourers.

1.3 SITUATING THE STUDY IN SOUTH AFRICA

While earning an income for themselves, migrant day labourers make key contributions to a country's economy. The impact of immigration on South Africa's GDP is projected to be a positive one, with estimates that immigrant workers both in the formal and informal sector would raise the South African per capita income by 5% in 2019 (Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, 2018a). Despite this positive outlook, information on the well-being and psychosocial functioning of the migrant day labourers who contribute to and make up a large percentage of the informal sector in South Africa is limited. This merits further investigation of the daily lives of migrant day labourers in South Africa.

The informal economy refers to activities that increases a country's employment and capacity but are not regulated by the government regarding tax payments, labour regulations, legal transactions and legal business licenses (Keen, 2015). Informal economies are often associated with low productivity and poverty, with policymakers in developed countries arguing that development in formal economic activities will lead to declining informal

economies (Keen, 2015). This narrative perpetuates the perception that the informal economy exists because of failures in the formal economic sector. This view has largely been ruled out, however, as informal economies across the globe appear to be exceptionally persistent, even in countries where there is growth in the formal economic sector (Keen, 2015). In South Africa, StatsSA measures employment in the informal economy through its Quarterly Labour Force Survey (QLFS). According to StatsSA (2020), about 3 million people were working in South Africa's informal sector as of 2020, with a projected increase to 4.2 million in 2021. This makes up 18.3% of South Africa's entire workforce.

Fewer people were working in the formal economic sector during the COVID-19 pandemic (StatsSA, 2021). Increased job cuts in the formal sector then led to an increase of participants in the informal economic sector. The unemployment rate rose from 30.8% in quarter 3 of 2020 to 32.5% in quarter 4 of 2020, the highest unemployment rate recorded since the start of the QLFS in 2008 (StatsSA, 2021). This increase was largely a result of the national lockdown implemented by the government in response to the COVID-19 pandemic.

Furthermore, StatsSA (2021) reported that informal employment in South Africa grew by 754 000 jobs from 4.2 million jobs in 2013 to 5 million in 2019. During 2013 and 2019, the formal economic sector accounted for 71.2% and 68.5% of total employment, respectively, while the informal economic sector's share of total employment increased from 15.3% in 2013 to 18.3% in 2019 (Mabuza, 2020). It is also noteworthy that many persons who could not enter into the formal economy due to lack of education or lack of opportunities were absorbed into the informal economy (StatsSA, 2021). The informal sector in South Africa, which Rogan & Skinner (2020) characterise as the "shadow economy", is therefore an integral sector of the economy that provides work and income for millions of workers and businesses (Fourie, 2018). Most operators within the informal economic sector in South Africa earn well below R79 000 per annum (about US\$5 372). For context, the hourly income of the typical own-account worker in the informal economy of South Africa in 2020 was R18 for men and R13 for women (Rogan & Skinner, 2020). Migrant day labourers operate within this context.

From 2004 to 2006, the estimated number of day labourers in South Africa was between 45 000 and 50 000, with Tshwane alone having approximately 2 500 day labourers (Harmse et al., 2009). Blaauw et al. (2016) found that the estimated number of hiring sites and day

labourers in Tshwane had increased from about 70 hiring sites and 2 420 day labourers in 2004 to more than 150 hiring sites and an estimated 4 240 day labourers in 2015. In the same period, Blaauw et al. (2016) noted that the proportion of foreign migrants in the sample of day labourers increased more than fourfold, from approximately 12% in 2004 to 55% in 2015.

Migration is another area of interest when investigating day labourers. Economic activities run and implemented by migrants in the informal economy contribute to the economy through creation of jobs. Peberdy (2016) asserts that immigrant entrepreneurs in South Africa are often perceived to have advantages in business skills and experience compared to South Africans. Immigrant entrepreneurs surveyed by Peberdy in 2013 in Johannesburg revealed that informal economy traders had a total of 1 586 employees or 2.6 jobs per business (Peberdy, 2016). As mentioned before, Schenck & Blaauw, (2018) found that at least 45% of day labourers surveyed in Tshwane were originally from South Africa, with the rest hailing mainly from Zimbabwe, Mozambique, Namibia, Swaziland and Lesotho. It is also interesting to note that at least 30% of all South African-born day labourers come from the Eastern Cape Province (Schenck & Blaauw, 2018). Internal and international migration is therefore key in understanding the trends and existence of day labourers in South Africa. The situation in South Africa differs from the US, where about 93% of day labourers are international immigrants, mostly from Mexico and Latin America (Theodore, Blaauw, Schenck, Valenzuela, Schoeman & Meléndez, 2015).

In addition to the above, there are other specific factors that characterise day labourers in South Africa. Bhowmik (2005) and Srinivas (2004) suggest that many day labourers are low-skilled and mostly unschooled rural migrants moving into cities for better income opportunities. Blaauw et al. (2006) found that as many as 99% of day labourers have no formal training whatsoever. Of the day labourers surveyed by Schenck and Blaauw in 2015, only 15% had passed grade 12, while nearly half (47%) indicated that they had never had any formal work before (Schenck & Blaauw, 2018). This not only reveals that day labourers' skill and education levels are relatively low, but that the informal sector is likely the first and only accessible favourable opportunity for many people.

The well-being of day labourers is another area of interest. Long spells of unemployment and an uncertain income impact negatively on the subjective well-being of day labourers (Van

Wyk et al., 2020). Van Wyk et al. (2020), using data collected in Tshwane, established that total number of dependants, living conditions and whether they had a full-time job before starting to work as day labourers were all significant in explaining the well-being of day labourers in Tshwane. These findings echo those of Passel (2002), who found that undocumented day labourers in California experience anxiety and fear, especially of having their legal status checked or of being arrested, which in turn affects their overall well-being (Passel, 2002). In addition, migrant day labourers are often targets of robbery and assault because they lack the knowledge or “street skills” necessary to avoid dangerous situations (Walter et al., 2004). These life experiences in turn negatively impact the well-being of day labourers.

One also cannot separate day labourers’ experience from the nature of their work. Day labour employers often do not have the same rules and regulations as standard businesses, and non-standard workers lack many of the rights that regular workers have (Golden, 2015). Many day labourers also endure insults and abuses by employers (Martinez & Valenzuela, 2006), and Kerr & Dole (2005) state that some labourers are even robbed, injured or beaten with impunity because of weak, under-enforced or antiquated labour laws. Day labourers are therefore subject to violence and abuse (Dlamini, 2014). Added to this, the work of day labourers is characterised by long days and low wages (Kerr & Dole, 2001). Typically, workers wake up around 4:00 and go to their hiring sites where they may or may not get work. They may start working around 9:00 and finish around 17:00, not returning home until 19:00. To this end, the outcomes of this research can be an informative for use in sectors such as the Department of Labour or in human rights movements.

Day labour is a male-dominated sector of the workforce. According to Gonzalez (2007), in many US cities, men, and less often women gather early in the morning on street corners, parking lots, storefronts and crowded intersections in search of work. Blaauw et al. (2006) found that 97.5% of the day labourers surveyed in 2005 in South Africa were male. In a similar study by Van Wyk et al. (2020), using data collected in 2015 and 2017, day labourers in Windhoek, Namibia, were almost exclusively male (98%), whereas 7.24% of day labourers in Tshwane were female during the same period of 2015 and 2017. This suggests that the number of female day labourers had increased from 2.5% in 2005 to 7.2% in 2015 in Tshwane. This is also supported by Das, Jain-Chandra, Kochhar & Kumar (2015), who found that there is a growing female presence in the informal labour force in India. Despite the

growth in numbers of women in the informal labour market, an analysis of South Africa's 2015 labour market dynamics dataset showed marked gender-based wage inequalities in informal employment in the form of a pyramid hierarchy (Bester, 2018). Women earn less and are concentrated in the lowest-paid types of employment in the South African informal economy (Bester, 2018). Men only make up a small percentage at the bottom of the pyramid, where earnings are lowest and poverty risks are highest. Moreover, most unpaid family workers are women (Bester, 2018). This demonstrates that inequality exists even in the informal economy.

1.4 PROBLEM STATEMENT

Schenck and Blaauw, leading experts in the study of day labourers in South Africa, conducted studies on day laborers in Tshwane in 2005 and a national study in 2007. They conducted follow-up studies in Tshwane and Windhoek between 2015 and 2017. They established that there are nearly 1 000 sites in South Africa where a minimum of 45 000 mostly black African men stand and wait to be picked up for day labour work (Van Wyk et al., 2020). The same studies also found that day labourers in Tshwane consist of both internal and international migrants, with a large percentage being male (Blaauw, 2010). Lerma (2011) and Zúñiga & Molina (2008), who conducted similar studies internationally, found that in the US, day labour hiring sites were mainly populated by international immigrants from Mexico, Cuba and Central and South America. The scholars also established that day labour affects the well-being of migrant day labourers, as also stated by Van Wyk et al. (2020). In addition, migration affects family life by disrupting socialisation, earning capacity and other facets of social functioning (Brettell & Hollifield, 2014).

Despite all of the aforementioned literature, global studies of day labourers have yet to capture the psychosocial experiences and family dynamics of day labourers. The researcher therefore decided to explore the well-being and family life of migrant day labourers in Cape Town, South Africa. This research is thus the first within its field and the first conducted in Cape Town, thereby making a significant contribution to new knowledge.

1.5 RESEARCH QUESTION AND AIM

The study had the following research question: what is the family life and well-being of

migrant day labourers in Cape Town, South Africa like?

The main aim of the study is to explore the family life and well-being of migrant day labourers in Cape Town, South Africa.

1.6 RESEARCH OBJECTIVES

The objectives of the study were to:

- Profile the distribution of hiring sites in Cape Town using a geographic information system (GIS).
- Identify migratory patterns of day labourers in Cape Town.
- Explore the personal backgrounds of migrant day labourers in Cape Town.
- Explore and assess the family life of migrant day labourers in Cape Town.
- Determine the socioeconomic profile of migrant day labourers in Cape Town.
- Measure life satisfaction amongst migrant day labourers by assessing their well-being and happiness.

1.7 RESEARCH APPROACH AND METHODOLOGY

Researchers usually opt to do either qualitative or quantitative research. Alternatively, as in this study, a combination of both was used. Qualitative research methodologies are used to explore why or how a phenomenon occurs, to develop a theory or to describe the nature of an individual's experience, while quantitative methodologies address questions about causality, generalisability or magnitude of effect (Fetters, Curry & Creswell, 2013). The use of both methods is referred to as mixed methods research (MMR), which, as defined by Schoonenboom & Johnson (2017), is a research type in which a researcher or team of researchers combines elements of qualitative and quantitative research in one study. Using both qualitative and quantitative data collection methods expands and strengthens a study's conclusions (Schoonenboom & Johnson, 2017). MMR also provides a more thorough understanding of the research phenomenon. This view is echoed by Bhattacharjee (2012) and Fetters & Freshwater (2015) who wrote that neither quantitative nor qualitative methods in isolation are enough to capture the intricate details of any research phenomenon at any given time. However, when used in combination, quantitative and qualitative methods complement

each other, allowing for a more robust analysis and a more comprehensive set of findings (Bhattacharjee, 2012).

By using qualitative methods in this study, the researcher produced a detailed study that not only documents trends and experiences but also details the lived practices, emotions and values of the research participants. Furthermore, by also using quantitative-based methods, the researcher was able to map the statistical distribution and profile of participants on different factors such as sex, place of origin, employment history and migratory patterns using.

The researcher made use of MMR sequential exploratory design for the study. According to Bryman (2008) and Greene (2006), this works on the premise of collecting and analysing quantitative data followed by the collection and analysis of qualitative data. This improves understanding of the research problem by converging the numeric trends from quantitative data and the specific details from qualitative data (Berman & Hirschman, 2018). The converging of numeric and quantitative data in the data analysis was essential to the study, since the use of both qualitative and quantitative data collection methods in a single study is not sufficient to categorise a study as an MMR study (Berman, 2017); it is in the integration or linking of the two strands of data that defines MMR and highlights its value. Noting this, great emphasis was placed on making meaningful integrated findings across the different data collection methods.

Three systematic phases were followed in sampling, data collection and data analysis in the study:

- Phase 1: Identifying and mapping the day labour hiring sites and day labourers
- Phase 2: Quantitative data collection
- Phase 3: Qualitative data collection.

Analysed data from all stages of data collection was integrated to make one meaningful report using sequential exploratory design.

1.7.1 Research setting

The research was conducted in the Western Cape, a province of South Africa with a total

population of 5 822 634 as of 2020 (StatsSA, 2020a). This is an increase from 2011, when the province had an estimated 3 740 026 inhabitants. The largest population group in terms of race is coloured (47%), followed by black (38%), white (15%) and Asian (less than 1%) (Stats SA, 2020a). Mitchley (2021) attributes the population increase in the Western Cape and specifically in Cape Town to migration, suggesting that the province receives the second-highest number of migrants from other provinces and other countries, fewer only than Gauteng Province. The inward migration towards Cape Town and the Western Cape can be understood in the context of the province's relatively low unemployment rate, making it an attractive hub for economic migrants and jobseekers. As of quarter 4 in 2020, the Western Cape Province had the lowest expanded unemployment rate in South Africa compared to other provinces, at 26.8% (StatsSA, 2021). It must be noted, however, that this number has increased from 20.9% in 2019 (StatsSA, 2021). The increase can, to a great extent, be attributed to the loss of jobs and economic activities due to the COVID-19 lockdown restrictions.

1.7.2 Motivation for study

Day labourers are a prominent feature on the street corners of Cape Town and many other cities in South Africa. The visible presence of day labour hiring sites and day labour activities is recorded in many different countries, including Namibia, South Africa, the US and several Asian countries. However, these studies have mostly focused on statistical distribution, the nature of work undertaken by day labourers and their relation to the economy. Thus far, little is known about the well-being, psychosocial aspects and family functioning of day labourers, especially in relation to migrant day labourers (Ordóñez, 2015). This research will fill this gap by focusing on the well-being, family life and family functioning of migrant day labourers in Cape Town. The study also incorporated a focus on understanding life satisfaction and functioning of day labourers. To this end, findings of the research add to the knowledge and understanding of day labourers and their daily experiences.

1.8 CHAPTER ORGANISATION

Chapter 1 gives an introductory overview of the project. It contextualises the study, providing background into the lives of day labourers, both globally and in South Africa. The research question, aim and objectives are briefly discussed. The researcher also briefly confirms the

ethical practices and processes followed in the study.

Chapter 2 provides a literature review for the study. This chapter explores the phenomenon of day labourers in detail, looking at the history and functioning of day labourers. The chapter also discusses the links between day labour and the formal and informal economy in detail.

Chapter 3 is an extension of the literature review, focusing on the link between migration and day labour. Migration trends and policies on a local and global level are discussed.

Chapter 4 discusses the theoretical framework used in the study, with an emphasis on linking the theoretical framework and its application to the study.

Chapter 5 provides a comprehensive description of the methodological framework and research design methods applied in this study. The research methods and research design are fully explained, including how the researcher applied MMR to the study. The chapter also describes the study population and why the selected study population and area are suitable for representing the research phenomenon.

Chapters 6, 7 and 8 discuss the research findings. Chapter 6 includes all data findings from the mapping data; Chapter 7 discusses findings from the quantitative data; and Chapter 8 examines the qualitative data findings. These are all integrated in Chapter 9 to make a consolidated report. Where necessary, discrepancies between the current literature and the data collected are explained. Pictorial evidence, graphs and tables are also presented as visual aids to substantiate some of the findings of the study.

Chapter 10, the final chapter, provides a summary of the study. The chapter also outlines recommendations for future researchers who explore similar topics. Recommendations are also provided for various agencies in government and civil society on how each of the stated industries can play a role in aiding and supporting day labourers.

1.9 SUMMARY OF CHAPTER

Chapter 1 provided an overview of what is to come and the structure of the thesis. The researcher placed emphasis on introducing the concept of day labourers and their basic

functioning. The chapter also highlighted the research approach implored in the study. This was coupled with listing the research question, aims and objectives of the study. The chapter concluded with a brief on the structure and chapter organisation of the thesis. This also included discussing the relevance and potential contribution to existing and new knowledge emanating from the thesis.



CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW: THE INFORMAL ECONOMY AND DAY LABOUR

2.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter provides a historical and contemporary background of day labour, globally and in South Africa. Other studies that have studied day labour in South Africa and internationally are examined. In order to better understand day labour in South Africa, factors contributing to the existence of day labour are also discussed.

Individuals who cannot find employment in the formal economic sector usually rely and fall back on informal economic activities (Blaauw et al., 2018). Informal economic activities such as day labour therefore play a significant role in providing relief and employment opportunities to a large number of individuals who would otherwise have no opportunity to earn a living (Blaauw et al., 2018).

Informal economic activities refer to activities that fall outside of the conventional formal economy. The informal economy can be viewed as systems of trade or economic exchange that exist outside of state-controlled transactions (Chen, 2012). “Practised by most of the world’s population, informal economic activities include barter of goods and services, mutual self-help, odd jobs, street trading and other forms of work such as direct sale activities. Income generated by the informal economy is usually not recorded for taxation purposes and is often unavailable for inclusion in GDP computations” (Chen, 2012: 13). It is within this context that day labour exists.

The reasons why day labour exists cannot be attributed to only one historical event. Furlong (2016) states men gathering in public spaces to seek temporary work on street corners across Cape Town is now a common phenomenon with different reasons cited for the presence of day labourers and informal economic workers. In the US, day labourers worked on docks, railroads and construction sites as far back as the late 1700s, with workers gathering for work at docks, mines and farms (Obenzinge, Chang & Fishkin, 2020). To expand on this history of day labour work with specific reference to the US, Glyn (2006) suggested that the collapse of state-led capitalism in the golden age of capitalism in the 1950s and 1960s paved the way for a return to neoclassical economics before the Great Depression. The rise of neoliberalism in the early 1970s subsequently led to a labour market system that emphasized the flexibility

and liberalization of the labour market (Glyn, 2006). Under this regime, “employment” underwent significant transformation, with an unprecedented erosion of standard employment (Webster, 2006) and a rise in contingent forms of employment (Buhlungu, 2010). These transformations also created new boundaries; as Webster (2006: 14) states, “liberalisation of the economy and informalisation of employment led to a growing differentiation of work”. This “informalisation” of work in part channelled the birth of a growing trade of day labourers who are casual, usually part-time workers that rely on outsourcing and rendering of temporary employment services or labour brokers (Littler, 1992 cited in Mapadimeng, 1998). Blaauw et al. (2006) provide a similar definition, describing day labourers as workers who wait on street corners or in other public places for opportunities to work.

2.2 THE INFORMAL ECONOMIC SECTOR AND INFORMAL LABOUR

2.2.1 Introduction

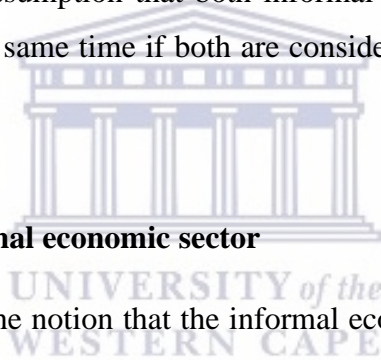
“The informal economic sector functions in unincorporated, small or unregistered enterprises” (Pillay, Rogan & von Broembsen, 2018: 02). Schneider (2011) refers to this as the grey economy. It is neither taxed nor monitored by any form of government, in contrast to the formal economy (Schneider, 2011). The informal economic sector accounts for about a third of all economic activity in low-income and middle-income countries, and at least 15% in advanced economies (Deléchat & Medina, 2020). It is within this sector that day labour work takes place. Krugell & Blaauw (2014) affirm this, asserting that day labour work is a subset of the employee side of the informal economy in South Africa.

“Street vendors in Mexico City, pushcart vendors in New York city, rickshaw pullers in Calcutta, jitney drivers in Manila, garbage collectors in Bogotá and roadside barbers in Durban: all these groupings speak of a growing global informal economic sector, each with its own unique form” (Bonner & Spooner, 2012: 06). The informal economic sector in many countries, including in South Africa, exists largely as a result of growing unemployment and growing poverty, forcing people to seek alternative means to sustain their livelihoods (Hatton, 2017; Schenck & Blaauw, 2011; Wandner 2012). This view is supported by Barker (2007), who writes that poor and impoverished people who fail to find employment in the formal economic sector are forced to enter the informal economy as a way of generating an income. Perry, Maloney, Arias, Fajnzylber, Mason & Saavedra-Chanduvi (2007) provide a

different view, suggesting that the informal economic sector suits younger and older individuals who do not have the necessary educational requirements needed to participate in the formal economy and those employees who were fired or retrenched in the formal economy during an economic crisis. Skinner & Rogan (2019) partly disagree with this outlook, arguing that the informal sector does not act as a “shock absorber” during a significant economic crisis. The assumption that the informal sector will regularly absorb jobs lost in the formal sector does not appear to be supported by the evidence. Perry (2007) further argues that accessing the informal economic sector is in many instances a choice and not necessarily forced by poverty. Perry (2007) suggests that the informal economy is the preferred choice of employment, especially for women and youth, due to its flexible working schedule. However, there is also the realisation that for woman in particular, in a context predominantly patriarchal such as South Africa, where “low educational levels among women and a comparative skills deficit exists as an exclusionary mechanism of patriarchy” Matebula & Motsoeneng (2015: 12), woman are in many instances left with no choice but to join the informal economic sector.

Estimates by Chen (2012) suggest that, in developing countries, the informal economy’s share of non-agricultural employment is roughly between one fifth and four-fifths. Furthermore, the informal economy accounts for between 25% and 40% of the annual GDP in developing countries in Asia and Africa (Chen, 2012; Kalyani, 2015). A more recent study by Etim & Daramola (2020) suggests that informal employment has since risen to at least 60% of the global labour force and at least 90% of all small- and medium-scale enterprises. This is supported by Jackson (2016), who found that the informal economy has become highly profitable for economies and countries alike. In 2015, Jackson (2016) estimated that the average size of the informal economy as a percentage of GDP in Sub-Saharan Africa was 41%. The informal economy was therefore identified as a huge employer, representing about 75% of non-agricultural employment and about 72% of total employment in Sub-Saharan Africa (Jackson, 2016). Jackson (2016) maintains that about 93% of new jobs created in Africa during the early 1990s were in the informal economic sector. The African Development Bank (2020) expanded on this assertion, estimating that the informal economy contributes about 55% of Sub-Saharan Africa’s GDP. The prominence of the informal economy in African economies stems from the opportunities it offers to the most vulnerable populations, including the poor, women and youth (Maliehe & Sharp, 2018).

Both Adhikari (2018) and Maltman & Dunn (2013) state that, until recently, literature on the informal economic sector was mostly focused on micro-enterprises in developing economies. Micro-enterprises, according to the Small Enterprise Development Agency (SEDA) (2016), refer to businesses that operate on a very small scale, especially in the developing world, and are supported by microcredit. These businesses sometimes have a “survivalist” nature, such as when individuals venture into the informal economic sector because of a need to survive and earn an income (Adhikari, 2018). Vanek, Chen, Carré, Heintz & Hussmanns (2014) also state that the informal economy traditionally takes the form of entrepreneurial activities, attracting individuals with risk-taking or innovative mindsets. Entrepreneurial activities in the informal economic sector are usually regarded either as an indication of underdevelopment or as a stepping stone towards participation in the formal economic sector (Vanek et al., 2014). Altman (2007) dismisses this argument, however, maintaining that the informal economy will be phased out with rising per capita incomes and more employment opportunities. However, Altman’s view dismisses any assumption that both informal employment opportunities and formal business can grow at the same time if both are considered as potential contributors to the economy.



2.2.2 Understanding the informal economic sector

Many economists subscribe to the notion that the informal economic sector and the informal labour market are comprised of informal entrepreneurs who chose or volunteer to work informally (Maloney, 2004). Yet other economists, including Stephen Edgell, Heidi Gottfried and Edward Granter, recognise that the informal economic sector and informal labour market tend to expand during an economic crisis or downturn of the economy, which suggests that necessity, in addition to choice, drives the informal economy and informal labour market (Edgell, Gottfried & Granter, 2015). These varying views have led to scholars such as Medina, Jonelis & Cangul (2017) developing models that seek to capture the various components of the informal economic sector. These theories can provide insight into the various factors driving the growth of the informal economy.

It is important to understand these theories as “conditions of work and the level of earnings differ markedly among those who scavenge on the streets for rags and paper, those who produce garments on a subcontract from their homes, those who sell goods on the streets, and those who work as temporary data processors” (Chen, 2012: 07) Even the informal economy

is highly segmented by sector of the economy, place of work, and status of employment and, within these segments, by social group and gender (Chen, 2012). It therefore becomes critical to understand the various theories of the informal sector as a varied informal economy, made up of different theories. The dualist school of thought views the informal economic sector as consisting of marginal activities distinct from and not related to the formal economic sector and providing income for the poor and a safety net in times of crisis (Hart, 1985, Medina et al., 2017; Sethuraman, 1976; Tokman, 1978). Dualist theory also argues that the informal economic sector is excluded from modern economic opportunities due to imbalances between the growth rates of the population and of modern industrial employment, and a mismatch between people's skills and the structure of modern economic opportunities (Williams, Shahid & Martínez, 2016).

Structuralist theory is another notable school of thought. This theory argues that the informal economic sector is a “subordinate economic unit (micro-enterprises), with workers that serve to reduce input and labour costs” (Chen, 2012: 08) and, thereby, increase the competitiveness of large capitalist firms (Castells & Portes, 1989; Siba, 2015; Yusuff, 2011).

The legalist school of thought, pioneered by De Soto (1989) provides a different view, suggesting that the informal economic sector is comprised of “plucky” micro-entrepreneurs who choose to operate informally in order to avoid the costs, time and effort of formal registration and who need property rights to convert their assets into legally recognised assets (Chen, 2012: 08) Legalists argue that a hostile legal system leads the self-employed to choose operating in the informal economic sector with their own informal extra-legal norms (Cleave, Nikiforakis & Slonim, 2013).

Closely linked to legalist theory is voluntarism, which focuses on informal economic entrepreneurs who deliberately seek to avoid regulations and taxation (Hoff & Stiglitz, 2004). Herbst & Mas (2015) elaborate on the voluntarist's school of thought maintaining that individuals in the informal labour market choose to operate informally after weighing the costs benefits of informality relative to formality.

2.2.3 Influence of global politics

The global economic crisis and recession of 2016 saw falling stock markets, low commodity

prices, risks of debt crises in developing countries and risks of deflation in developed countries (Wray, 2016). Other problems faced by many countries include global inequality and unequal economic development, global poverty, the exhaustion of non-renewable resources, depletion of the environment and global warming, and systemic problems associated with inadequate regulation of financial markets (World Bank, 2020). These factors can negatively affect available formal employment opportunities, especially in developing economies where recovery from negative economic growth happens at a slower pace (World Bank, 2020). A recent example of global trends that affected both the formal and informal economy is that of trade tensions between China and the US which re-escalated in 2019 (United Nations, 2019a). The US imposed tariffs on Chinese imports. In retaliation, China introduced additional tariffs on \$75 billion of imports from the US. These developments triggered sharp movements in global equity markets, a decline in global oil prices and higher capital outflows from the emerging economies. This global fight dampened domestic demand growth in the major economies, namely China, the US and Europe (United Nations, 2019a). This in turn also had indirect effects on third-party countries through disruptions to global value chains, decreasing the demand for intermediate inputs. The impact of global tensions and globalisation can also affect economic migration, both internally and internationally, reducing skilled labour in the original countries while increasing labour costs in developing nations (Aguirre & Reese, 2004). This can also lead to fewer jobs, as well as faster and more dramatic economic decline (United Nations, 2016).

A more recent global trend which has had an impact on both the formal and informal economic sector is the COVID-19 pandemic. In efforts to address the health crisis brought about by COVID-19, countries across the globe slowed down economic activities. This meant that millions of people globally lost their jobs and many self-employed workers saw their incomes disappear (Bank of England, 2020). The ILO (2020b) estimates working hours lost in 2020 were equivalent to 255 million full-time jobs globally leading to \$3.7 trillion in lost labour income globally. These global trends highlight factors that can easily shift the growth and presence of informal economic activities in an area, and South Africa is not immune to these global factors.

It is important to note that trends that affect economic sectors of South Africa are not always negative trends; changes can come about as a result of positive developments such as the arrival of the Fourth Industrial Revolution (Ruzow-Holland, 2020). The growth of artificial

intelligence and quantum computing have resulted in unprecedented losses in human labour requirements (Ruzow-Holland, 2020). This speed of change will bring much-needed advancements but will mostly likely result in the loss of more jobs and labour forces. This in turn will likely lead to an increase of participants in the informal economy (Ruzow-Holland, 2020).

2.3 THE GLOBAL INFORMAL ECONOMY

2.3.1 Background

Day labour activities are part of the informal economic sector, which refers to unregistered and unrecorded economic activities that normally escape detection in the official estimates of GDP (Blaauw & Pretorius, 2007). Menzel and Gutierrez (2010) define day labour as informal and temporary employment found in open-air markets, organised worker centres, on the street or outside home improvement stores. Short-term agreements, ranging from a few hours to several weeks are established between workers and employers. Individuals involved in these activities are referred to as day labourers (Blaauw, Botha & Schenck, 2018). Day labourers largely include a population of migrant unskilled workers hired and paid by the day (Buchanan, 2004 and Blaauw et al., 2018). Despite day labourers falling under the informal economic sector, it also must be acknowledged that day labourers often work off the books for employers engaged in the mainstream economy (Theodore et al., 2017). Day labourers are often paid in cash and endure systematic instability within minimum government support and security (Theodore et al., 2017).

To this end, scholars such as Blaauw and Schenck have at an extent described day labour work as precarious work. Precarious work is “typically understood as work that is low paid, especially if associated with earnings that are at or below the poverty level and variable; insecure, meaning that there is uncertainty regarding the continuity of employment and the risk of job loss is high; with minimal worker control, such that the worker, either individually or collectively, has no say about their working conditions, wages or the pace of work; and unprotected, meaning that the work is not protected by law or collective agreements with respect to occupational safety and health, social protection, discrimination or other rights normally provided to workers in an employment relationship. A defining characteristic of precariousness is that the worker bears the risks associated with the job, rather than the

business that is hiring the worker” (ILO, 2016: 18).

The growth in the number of day labourers is largely attributed to high unemployment and a need to alleviate poverty (Blaauw et al., 2006). Blaauw et al. (2006) found that high unemployment in the formal sector has forced many workers to venture into the informal economy. Theodore et al. (2017) adds on to this suggesting that the growth of the large informal economy in South Africa is a symptom of a formal economy that has been unable to generate enough employment opportunities, particularly for less-skilled workers. Furthermore, with reference to the context of South Africa, “unemployment in South Africa has risen since 1993, only beginning to fall in the latter part of the 2000” Leibbrandt, Woolard, McEwen & Koep (2010: 09) which to a greater extent can be attributed for the growth of the informal economic sector and jobs like day labour work.

Day labour activities often have recurring, identifiable traits. Day labour is largely an informal economic activity dominated by individuals who solicit employment on a daily or temporary basis (Blaauw et al., 2006; Gorman, 2005; Kennedy, 2010). As mentioned before, often wait for employment on street corners, in parks or in parking lots of home improvement stores, gardening supply businesses or other large retailers (Kennedy, 2010). These spaces are referred to as day labour hiring sites or worker sites (Schenck et al., 2012). Day labour hiring sites are technically staffing hotspots that function as rendezvous spots for the hiring of day labourers by potential employers (Guerette, 2006). To an extent, one might regard hiring sites as recruitment agencies for desperate jobseekers, day labourers. The nature of day labour hiring sites varies from country to country. The US, for instance, has some established labour worker centres, which have emerged as an important mode of regulatory action in the informal economy of major US cities (Visser et al., 2017). This is different to the South African context, where most day labourers use parking lots and street corners with minimum support. The extent and visibility of these hiring sites is best noted by Theodore et al. (2017), who note that day labour hiring sites have become a common feature of the post-apartheid city. Johnson (2010) describes day labour hiring sites as the emergency rooms of today’s sick economy. Visibly so, day labour hiring sites are usually concentrated in construction, manufacturing, agriculture, and other industries that rely on a large number of relatively unskilled workers (Guerette, 2007).

Another trait of note is that most workers in the informal economy including day labourers

are amongst some of the most marginalised and vulnerable groups in the informal economic sector (Alfers, 2020). Haro et al. (2020) refer to the nature of jobs undertaken by day labourers as the “3D” jobs: dirty, dangerous and difficult. On a day-to-day basis, day labourers solicit work on street corners and in store parking lots, seeking one of the most extreme forms of contingent employment (Meléndez, Visser, Theodore & Valenzuela Jr, 2014). Day labourers perform a range of manual-labour jobs for low pay, usually for non-union contractors in the residential construction industry, landscaping contractors and private households (Meléndez et al., 2014). Both the nature of the work and its unreliability leave day labourers highly vulnerable. This trend of vulnerability is visible in both developed and developing economies. Ojeda & Piña-Watson (2013) expand on this, suggesting that the long waiting times at hiring sites and the desperation to obtain jobs result in day labourers suffering abuse at the hands of their employers and being subjected to health and safety risks. This view is further supported by a study conducted in Seattle in the US in 2012, which found that day labourers are exposed to various risks such as lifting of heavy objects (69%), eye hazards (52%), exposure to airborne chemicals (52%) and exposure to dust (40%) (Seixas et al., 2008). Seixas et al. (2008) report that risks are common, with almost half of all day labourers having at some point in their career experienced at least one instance of wage theft. In addition, 44% were denied food and water or breaks while on the job. Furthermore, Haro et al. (2020) using data from a 2015 American study, found that workplace injuries and chronic health problems were a common occurrence associated with day labour work. Health disadvantages resulting from a series of negative social experiences coupled with unsafe working conditions strengthen the view that day laborers are a high-risk and highly vulnerable group (Haro et al., 2020).

Across Asia in 2006, the ILO (2006) reported a rather interesting dynamic to day labour, suggesting that many day labourers across the continent are native youth who struggle to find decent work. Achieving decent work aspirations in the face of slowing economic growth remains a challenge that inevitably forces young men and women into day labour (ILO, 2006).

In examining day labour in relation to the informal economic sector, only a handful of scholars such as Fernández (1999) and Valenzuela (2002) define day labouring as an occupation. They also emphasise that day labour is dominated by men, which introduces another dynamic of day labour, namely that women are the least visible day labourers (Chen,

2012). This, as suggested by Kabeer (2012), points to an asymmetrical relationship between gender and economic growth. It indicates that the majority of women are still restricted to accessing workspaces, both in the formal and informal economic sectors.

Fernández (1999) and Valenzuela (2002) also emphasise an important element of day labour, maintaining that day labour is common and popular in immigrant-rich cities and regions. The Pew Research Centre (2020) estimated that, in 2014, California was home to between 2.35 and 2.6 million undocumented immigrants. Nationwide in the US in 2014, an estimated 78% of undocumented immigrants were from Latin America, the majority (52% coming from Mexico alone (Pew Research Centre, 2020)). Because many day labourers are undocumented migrants, there are no policies globally that provide sanctuary to them while seeking work. Undocumented migrants therefore experience frequent anxiety and fear, especially fear of having their legal status checked or being arrested (Passel, 2002). As mentioned, migrant day labourers are also regular targets for robbery and assault (Walter et al., 2004). They are also reluctant to report theft, assault or other cases to the authorities, as many of them are fearful of any interaction with law enforcement. This experience is constant and is seen as a hindering experience which affects their daily lives (Hastings, 2012).

In the context of southern Africa, Zimbabwe is one of the countries that relies the most on the informal economical sector and day labourers. According to the ILO (2017), Zimbabweans earning a living from the informal economy rose from 84% in 2011 to 95% in 2014. Chiumia (2014) estimates that 5.7 million people were working in Zimbabwe's informal economy as of 2013, either as day labourers or as informal traders. These numbers have, however, been disputed by Mavhunga (2018), who suggests that the number of participants in the informal economy was actually just 11.3% of the total population in 2017. The difficulty in providing comparable figures arises because researchers are not in agreement on what is understood by the term "informal economy" and how it should be measured (Williams & Windebank, 1994). As a result, there is no single, widely accepted definition or measure of the informal economy. According to Mavhunga (2018), the definition of unemployment in Zimbabwe is also ambiguous and does not conform to local needs. Mavhunga (2018) argues that Zimbabwe's unemployment rate and rate of participation in the informal economy should not include persons in subsistence farming and those working as street vendors. Despite this, Chiumia (2014) maintains that the number should include all workers working outside of formal economic activities, including subsistence farmers. Comparable data for 2011 by the

Zimbabwe National Statistics Agency (ZIMSTAT) (2015) showed that in the three years leading up to 2014, the informal economy had grown by a staggering 29% from 4.6 million participants to 5.9 million participants. In 2014, formal employment was calculated as at 606 000 people working in the formal sector (ZIMSTAT, 2015).

2.3.2 Contributing factors

In the US, where immigrant workers are mostly from Latin America, day labour is often a strategy for migrant workers to get a foothold in the economy of their host country (Cooper, 2011). This has led to a natural growth of day labour, with persons hoping to progress into the formal economic sector. However, in South Africa, Muller (2013) suggests that the largest part of the informal economy tends to occur in the form of self-employment, with little to no support from the state. South Africa's informal economy is therefore mainly the catchment area of those who have lost their job in the formal economy and are unable to secure re-employment. This is further affected by the influx of migrant workers of around 1.5 to 3.5 million undocumented immigrants estimated to enter the country on an annual basis from neighbouring countries, notably Zimbabwe, Malawi and Mozambique, into South Africa's labour market, to compete with their South African counterparts for the temporary employment on offer (Crush, Tawodzera, Chikanda, Ramachandran & Tevera, 2017).

There is evidence of rising wage inequality globally. Rodrik (1997) explains this as being a result of greater global integration, where capital is mobile but labour to meet this growing demand is less. This has led to increased labour migration to meet the labour demands. Another note as a factor is that cost pressures in the industry have induced construction contractors to adopt alternative hiring practices and many have increased their use of contingent workers who are hired on an as-needed basis (Steidel & Contreras, 2003). This has also been documented in South Africa, where the growth of day labourers is linked to the ongoing demand for provisional workers within the construction industry and allied activities such as landscaping and material hauling (Haupt & Harinarain, 2016). The growth of day labour is therefore in part linked to a need for an easily dispensable non-comital labour force.

Another contributing factor leading to an increase in day labourers is decreasing employment opportunities (Bosch & Farré, 2013). Tabuchi (2011) states that job prospects for youth in

parts of the Asia-Pacific region are dim, as unemployment amongst young jobseekers is high. In Indonesia, one in every five young people in the labour force are unemployed, and in China the Philippines and New Zealand one in six are unemployed (ILO, 2016). The lack of available employment forces the young labour force into day labouring. Of South Africa's socioeconomic problems, unemployment is one of the most serious and intractable (Uys & Blaauw, 2006). The increase in unemployment, including people who have stopped looking for work, inevitably contributes to an increase in persons in the informal economy. Of those affected by unemployment in South Africa, youth are regarded as the most severely affected group (Mukwevho, 2021).

Some scholars suggest a different way of looking at unemployment and the informal economy. According to this view, modernisation in the 1950s and 1960s led to the belief that traditional forms of work and production would disappear as a result of economic progress in developing countries (Mago, Musasa & Matunhu, 2013). This view prompted increased recognition of the informal economic sector as an alternative to growing unemployment, particularly amongst the youth and the poor (Oosthuizen, 2019). According to the ILO (2018a), this means the informal labour market consists of approximately two billion people, most of them in emerging and developing countries. This suggests that more than 61% of the world's employed population make their living in the informal economy (ILO, 2018a). However, this also means that two billion people lack social protection in their work, rights at work and decent working conditions (IOL, 2018b). Further studies conducted by ILO (2020c: 02) states "that 85.8% of employment in Africa is informal". This is compared to 68.2% in Asia and the Pacific, 68.6% in the Arab world, 40.0% in the Americas (North and South America) and 25.1% in Europe and Central Asia (ILO, 2018b). With specific reference to South Africa, Sumner, Hoy & Ortiz-Juarez (2020) found that about three million out of 16.53 million people work in the informal economy, making up about 18% of all employed people in the country.

One of the most visible trends in the informal economy is that day labour is highly prevalent amongst migrant workers. According to Pew Research Centre (2020), an estimated 78% of undocumented immigrants in the US were from Latin America, the majority (52% coming from Mexico alone). Migration is therefore recognised as another factor contributing to an increase in the day labour workforce. Passel (2002) and Valenzuela, Theodore & Melendez (2006) agree with this, suggesting that the increase in the number of day labourers and hiring

sites is directly related to patterns of migration. Hum (2003), Sassen (2005) and Valenzuela et al. (2006) all maintain that increased immigration in towns with abundant employment opportunities leads to a drastic increase in low-wage occupations, labour migration to these areas and day-labour hiring sites, which then act as a mechanism for organising the supply of migrants to different sectors of the economy.

2.4 THE INFORMAL ECONOMY IN SOUTH AFRICA

This next section provides an overview of the employment and unemployment dynamics of South Africa, before discussing South Africa's informal economy in more detail.

2.4.1 Unemployment in South Africa

South Africa reached a new high of unemployment in the second quarter of 2021. According to StatsSA, the country's official unemployment rate rose to 34.4% from 32.6% in first quarter of 2021, a record high (StatsSA, 2021). According to StatsSA (2021), this was the highest rate since quarterly data became available in 2008. This data suggests that more people than ever are out of work and actively looking for jobs in 2021. This increase is largely a result of the job market not creating sufficient jobs to absorb people of working age into employment. Looking at the data of quarter 4 of 2020, the number of discouraged work seekers increased by 234 000 (up by 8.7%) from the previous quarter and the number of people who were not economically active for reasons other than discouragement decreased by 1.1 million from quarter three of 2020, resulting in a net decrease of 890 000 in the population who are not economically active (StatsSA, 2021). The researcher supposes that discouraged workers were likely to resort to the informal margins of employment such as day labour. Discouraged workers are those who want and are available to work, but have dropped out of the labour force because they believe there no jobs for them (Amadeo & Rasure, 2021). According to StatsSA (2021), the unemployment rate in South Africa averaged 25.27% between 2000 and 2015, reaching an all-time high of 32.5% in the fourth quarter of 2020 and a record low of 21.50% in the fourth quarter of 2008.

With such a high unemployment rate, few opportunities to enter the formal economic labour market has become one of the greatest factors contributing towards the presence of day labourers and the informal economic sector. Davies & Thurlow (2009: 01) expands on this

point, purporting that “South Africa’s high involuntary unemployment and small informal economic sector are a result of an underperforming formal economic sector and barriers to entry in the formal sector”. Despite the overall validity of this assertion, Harmse et al. (2009) state that the presence and number of day labourers is not always an indication of high unemployment but rather an indication of job opportunities in the informal economy.

The Western Cape, the research setting for this study, has the lowest official unemployment rate (25.8%) and the lowest expanded unemployment rate (29.1%) of all the provinces in South Africa, as of quarter 2 of 2021, as indicated in the QLFS (StatsSA, 2021). The QLFS report for quarter 2 of 2021 further revealed an increase of 121 000 jobs in the Western Cape, the highest increase of all the provinces. This was described as encouraging by StatsSA (2021), especially given that this noticeable growth was happening in the context of the COVID-19 pandemic. Given this, higher levels of employment and better-functioning job creation systems in the Western Cape are likely key attraction points that draw migrants to the Western Cape.

2.4.2 The informal economy in South Africa

The informal economic sector is a significant segment of the economy which provides livelihoods, work and income for millions of workers and business owners (Brink, 2018). Within Africa, there appears to be disagreement around the definition of employment and unemployment, which prevents the attainment of exact data about the informal economic sector (Burger & Fourie, 2019). Nevertheless, according to Burger & Fourie (2019) and Rogan (2017), the South African informal economy remains quite small compared to the informal economies of other developing and emerging economies countries. This does not mean that it is insignificant; in fact, Rogan (2017) asserts that informal employment in South Africa makes up roughly a third of total non-agricultural employment. This is a large segment of the South African workforce. Although relatively small, Blaauw (2017) notes that the informal economy in South Africa is distinctly long term in nature. In fact, amongst 914 street waste pickers surveyed, Blaauw (2017) found that the longest-working street waste picker had been in the occupation for 37 years, while some day labourers in South Africa have performed this type of work their entire working lives. The informal economy in South Africa therefore does not conform to the notion of being temporary (Blaauw, 2017). In addition, despite gains in the formal employment sector since 1994, the country is now losing

the battle against high unemployment (Rogan, 2017), leading to a rise in the informal sector and informal employment.

“Over the years, the informal economy has become of global interest and is a critical component of the development agenda contributing to 60% of the world’s employed population” (Maluleke, 2021: 01a). This is no exception for South Africa where Maluleke (2021a) reported that the informal economy of South Africa makes a significant contribution to the formal economy and the economy, in general, employment creation, income generation, reducing poverty and inequality. In South Africa, “informal employment grew from 4,2 million informal jobs in 2013 to 5 million informal jobs in 2019 and accounted for almost a third of total employment respectively” (Maluleke, 2021a: 08). Males had a high share of the employment more females (StatsSA, 2020), with an increase from 52.3% in 2013 to 56.2% in 2019. The increases and rise of persons in the informal economy as recorded by Rogan (2017) is mainly in response of a need to curb high joblessness.

A further review of the gender dynamics of the informal sector between 2013 and 2019 indicates that women were more likely to work without pay in household businesses compared to men, and that men were more likely than women to be employers and wage-earning workers (Dawson & Fouksman, 2020). Between 2013 and 2019, men’s participation in the informal economic sector peaked in the age group 25 to 34, while women’s participation in informal employment peaked in the age group 35 to 44 (Dawson & Fouksman, 2020). The reasons for this dynamic require further exploration.

Scholars such as Ndabeni (2014) have provided data suggesting that between 1997 and 2005 about 1.1 million jobs were created in the informal economic sector. This has continued, with the informal economic sector adding 73 799 jobs in 2013 compared to a total decline of 241 536 permanent and temporary jobs in the formal economic sector market during the same period in 2013. This reflects the growing importance of the informal economy in the South Africa labour market (Etim & Daramola, 2020). Given its role as a source of income for mostly poor households, Fourie (2018) suggests that informal-sector income is relatively effective in reducing poverty. Participating in the informal economy enables the marginalised to survive economic downturns when formal sector jobs are in short supply and when social security systems are inadequate (Etim & Daramola, 2020).

The Survey of Employers and the Self-employed, as published by StatsSA (2017), suggests that approximately 95% of informal business owners in 2017 had only one business, and the majority of them had been operating the business for five years or longer, with men more likely to run businesses and work in the informal economic sector than women. The duration of five years and longer highlights the long-term presence of the informal economic sector in South Africa and its key contributions to the livelihoods and social protection of many unemployed South African residents. Another notable feature of the informal economy, as suggested by Blaauw (2017), is that white South Africans tend to view the informal economy as a temporary fall-back option, while black Africans are generally forced to remain in the informal economy for much longer periods.

Despite the substantial contribution of the informal economy to the country's total employment, there is a clear disparity in earnings between those in the formal and informal economic sectors. Maloney (2004) and Rodrik (2008) state that this disparity in incomes is clear. According to Maloney (2004) and Rodrik (2008), informal economy workers in South Africa earn between one fifth to almost half of their counterparts in the formal economic sector. Fourie (2018) expands on this, writing that one must caution against romanticising work in the informal economy. Working hours are long, working conditions are often difficult and earnings and returns are very low if there are any at all (Fourie, 2018). The working conditions, type of work undertaken and the levels of earning therefore differ markedly between the formal economy and the informal economy (Devey, Skinner & Valodia, 2003). Earnings also differ within the informal economy. For example, people who sell goods on the street, work as temporary data processors or produce garments on a subcontract from their homes are likely to earn a better wage than day labourers who forage for work on a day-to-day basis. The informal economic sector in South Africa is therefore highly segmented, with one commonality: it lacks legal status.

Another significant aspect of South Africa's informal economic sector is the prevalence of migrants. There is a clear relationship between migration and the informal economic sector, with the South African informal economy in 2016 estimated to employ 2.6 million people with a majority estimated to be migrants (Skinner, 2016). It must, however, be taken into consideration that the numbers of migrants and individuals in the informal economy are poorly documented in South Africa. No accurate statistics exist on the number of undocumented migrants living in the country (Makina, 2007). The narrative that the

majority of workers in the informal economy are migrants arises from the assumption that new migrants might have difficulty finding formal employment, so many of them end up working in the informal economy (Abdulloev, Gang & Landon-Lane, 2012). This often means that the concept of informal employment becomes a substitute or shorthand for migrants.

2.4.3 The informal economy in Cape Town

In addition to the global and South African overviews provided above, it is essential that the researcher also focus on the size and context of the informal sector of Cape Town specifically, as this is the study area for this project. Skinner (2014) states that the size of the informal economy in South Africa is frequently cited as an unusual case. The unusual nature of the informal economy is also evidenced in Cape Town. In Cape Town during the period 2013, Skinner (2014) found that the informal economic sector was particularly small with only 11% of the labour force working as informal labourers. This was also at a time when job losses and unemployment rates were rising. This prompted Skinner to raise the question “what are the barriers to entry to the informal sector?” (Skinner, 2014: 29). Contemporary data on the size and percentage of the informal sector in Cape Town is not readily available. What is clear, however, is that the informal economy includes people engaged in trade of goods and services and is comprised of a mixture of businesses that represent the diverse people of our cities. Businesses such as waste collection, home-based care, car guarding, hair salons and street trade make up a large percentage of this trade and are important to Cape Town’s healthy local communities (Futurecapetown, 2020).

2.5 DAY LABOURERS IN SOUTH AFRICA

2.5.1 Introduction

Day labourers exist (Bivens, Engdahl, Gould, Kroeger, McNicholas, Mishel, Mokhiber, Shierholz, von Wilpert, Wilsonb& Zipperer, 2017). World Bank (2020) asserts that South Africa has one of the highest unemployment rates in the world, which has propelled day labour to emerge as an immediate source of untaxed and unrecorded income for vulnerable populations. The day labour community in South Africa consists of a population predominantly made up of men who are hired as temporary workers for both skilled and

unskilled work without the security of a permanent job with regular wages, reliable hours or worker protections (Bivens et al., 2017).

2.5.2 Typical profile of South African day labourers

There are fundamental factors that characterise the profiles of day labourers. Bhowmik (2005) and Shekar (2015) suggest that a majority of day labourers are low-skilled and low-educated rural migrants moving into cities for better income opportunities. A study by Blaauw et al. (2006) conducted in Tshwane in 2004 suggests that as many as 99% of day labourers admitted to having no formal training whatsoever. This finding suggests that, in general, the skill level of day labourers in South Africa is very low. However, in a follow-up study using data collected between 2015 and 2017 in Tshwane, Van Wyk et al. (2020) found that 34.14% of respondents in Tshwane have completed matric or some sort of higher education or training. This shift in data suggests a possible increase of formally trained and educated persons that were not absorbed into the formal economic sector and were finding their way in the informal sector of South Africa, specifically day labour work.

Mapendere, Schenck & Blaauw (2019) conducted a survey of day labourers in Cape Town in 2016. They found that the ages of the participants ranged from 20 to 60 years, and 41.6% fell into the range of 36 to 45 years. The youth group, participants between 20 and 35 years of age, also made up 41.6% of participants, while the remaining participants were older men between 46 and 60 years of age. Blaauw (2010) cited in Mapendere et al. (2019) states that due to the strenuous nature of most types of day labour, being young and physically strong gives individual workers a clear competitive advantage in securing informal employment for the day. This provides a rationale for why the majority of day labourers in Cape Town are younger than 45 (Mapendere et al., 2019).

Examining the data collected by Blaauw and Pretorius (2007) in 2005, it is also noteworthy that the majority of day labourers are internal and international migrants. In a 2005 study conducted in Tshwane, Blaauw et al. (2007) concluded that as many as 215 or 88.8% of day labourers interviewed came from outside Gauteng to seek employment in Tshwane. Most were born in South Africa, followed by Zimbabwe and Mozambique, although some respondents did not want to specify their country of birth. It is likely that those that did not wish to say were born outside South Africa (Blaauw et al., 2007). In a follow-up study using

data collected between 2015 and 2017, Van Wyk et al. (2020) found that at least 44% of persons surveyed in Tshwane were South African citizens, while 49% were from Zimbabwe. The other respondents included persons from Mozambique and Lesotho. When analysing data from 2005 to the year 2015 migration, whether internal or international, was consistently central to the presence of day labour work. In 2005, however, most migrant day labourers were internal migrants, whereas most migrant day labourers in 2015 were international migrants. Theodore et al. (2017) also reported that the number of foreign-born day labourers in Tshwane increased significantly between 2005 and 2015, growing from approximately 12% in 2004 to more than 50% in 2005 and subsequently peaking at 60% in 2007 (Theodore et al., 2017). The influx of foreign migrants likely increased competition for limited informal job opportunities. This trend is not unique to South Africa; according to a study by the Pew Research Centre (2018), the number of Latin-American migrant workers employed in the US quadrupled from 342 000 in 1980 to more than 1.4 million in 2004, an overwhelming majority of which are recently arrived and unauthorised immigrants.

Foreign-born day labourers in South Africa often work without authorisation (Blaauw et al., 2012). In a 2007 survey, to ascertain the immigration status of foreign-born day labourers, interviewers asked workers to show them whatever documentation they had that could be used to determine their status in South Africa, and 72% of foreign-born day labourers acknowledged that they were in the country without immigration authorisation (Theodore et al., 2017). Just 11% could produce a visitor's passport or visa (Theodore et al., 2017). This is key to understanding the growth of migrant day labour in South Africa, as being an undocumented migrant can strongly deter migrants from seeking work in the formal labour market.

Day labour generally pays poorly (Valenzuela et al., 2006). The median hourly wage for day labourers in the US is \$10 for an average of about two to three days of work a week, although day labourers normally look for work five days a week (Gonzalez, 2007; Valenzuela et al., 2006). Employment is unstable and insecure, resulting in volatile monthly earnings. Even if day labourers have many more good months than bad months, it is likely that their annual earnings will not exceed \$15 000, keeping them at or below the federal poverty threshold (Valenzuela et al., 2006). In South Africa, day labourers in a good week average R386 and R163 in a bad week (Krugell & Blaauw, 2014). According to StatsSA (2015), the income received by day labourers in 2014 was below the poverty datum line. Approximately half

(49.2%) of South Africa's adult population in 2015 were living below the upper-bound poverty line (StatsSA, 2017), and day labourers were part of this cohort. Day labourers are therefore poorly paid, earning far less than the minimum wage. In addition to low wages, day labourers are faced with great instability, in that the conditions and possibility of work vary on a day-to-day basis. This was also noted by Mapendere et al. (2019), who found that day labourers stand on open street corners in the rain and when it is bitterly hot or cold, with no certainty of getting work. This poses its own risks on numerous social and economic levels. It is important to emphasise that day labourers do not get work daily, which lowers their already low incomes.

As already established, day labour in South Africa is male dominated. Blaauw et al. (2006), using data from a Tshwane-based study conducted in 2005, found that 97.5% of day labourers surveyed were men, while only 2.5% were women. In a follow-up survey, Van Wyk et al. (2020) established that the number of female day labourers had risen to at least 7.24% in 2015. Bonnet, Vanek & Chen (2019) concurred with this suggesting that there is a growing female presence in the informal labour force especially in developing countries where the percentage of women workers who are informally employed as of 2018 made up at 92% of the entire women labour force.

2.5.3 Lived experiences of day labourers

Ramage-Morin, Shields & Martel (2010) suggest that workers in the informal economy face serious deficits that individuals in the formal economy do not experience or share, such as such as poor quality jobs, low productivity and incomes, poor working conditions, occupational health and safety standards and limited access to knowledge, technology, finance, and markets. Although they are not a homogeneous group, the common bond of informal workers is that they are usually low paid, of low status, have little job security and are vulnerable to abuses of workers' rights (Martinez, 2014). These trends are particularly pronounced amongst day labourers in South Africa. Blaauw & Pretorius (2007), using data collected in a 2005 survey, reported that day labourers involved in the study lead harsh lives in which many were separated from family members for long periods of time.

Walter et al. (2004) notes that day labourers are regularly labelled as and mistaken for lazy, "good-for-nothings," drunks or drug addicts. This suggests that the value of day labourers is

often reduced to the assumptions and stereotypes of those in the formal sector. Walter et al. (2004) suggests that day labourers often attempt to counter this by standing politely but firmly at their hiring sites to project the image of having a strong, healthy body eager for hard, honest labour. Walter et al. (2004) adds on to this stating day labourers in the US stand on the corner unemployed, they worry about their evident outsider status, racialized Latino ethnicity and often dishevelled appearance. Most of the men strive to make friendly eye contact, waving and smiling at cars which slow down or stop at traffic lights. Perceptions as experienced by day labourers of the outside community are negative.

Scholarly literature on urban day labourers has typically focused on statistical and demographic data without much data on the psychosocial elements and experiences of day labourers (Ordóñez, 2015). This has provided little context for the daily experiences of day labourers, especially in relation to their families. What is known, however, is that the nature of work undertaken by day labourers is strenuous and harsh (Organista et al., 2012; Ordóñez, 2012; Worby & Organista, 2007). One therefore cannot separate day labourers' experience from the nature of the work they do.

Day labour employers often do not play by the same rules as standard employers and businesses, and non-standard workers lack many of the rights that regular workers possess (Lafer & Loustaunau, 2020). Many day labourers therefore endure insults and abuses by employers. Kerr & Dole (2005) further state that day labourers are sometimes robbed by employers and injured and beaten because of weak, under-enforced and antiquated labour laws. Top add to this, day labourers are often restrained from complaining about unpaid wages and substandard working conditions because of fears or actual threats that their employers will retaliate by reporting their immigration status (Organista et al., 2020). This makes day labourers particularly vulnerable and subject to violence and abuse. Martinez (2014) emphasises this, suggesting that day labourers have no avenue of recourse if they are victimised by their employer.

“Imagine that you were in this country illegally. Would you trust a government institution like the National Labour Relations Board (NLRB) to properly defend you against wage theft? In fact, would you even know of the NLRB, of labour laws in this country and of how to exercise these rights? Would you trust that, upon reporting your employer to the NLRB, the NLRB wouldn't just have you and your family deported?”

(Martinez, 2014: 02).

With regard to day labourers' vulnerability, Smith suggests that the fact that many day labourers are undocumented encourages political exclusion and exclusion from public services and basic legal rights. These exclusions are further exacerbated for day labourers due to interracial tension, social and economic inequality and poverty (Smith, 2020).

Added to these vulnerabilities is the fact that day labourers fall outside of the protection awarded to registered formal workers. The COVID-19 pandemic is a useful example of this. People working in the formal economy in South Africa were also severely affected by the pandemic, with few formal subsidies from the government to substitute earnings from their day jobs, but documented and undocumented migrant day labourers were not eligible for any social assistance at all. Travel and mobility restrictions also meant day labourers in South Africa could not travel back to their families, causing additional strain which likely affected the family lives of day labourers.

2.5.4 Family life of day labourers

According to the ILO (2019), the informal economy is an important source of livelihood and economic development. As of 2020, 85% of those in employment in Zimbabwe operate in the informal economy (Masikati & Bhunu, 2020), while in South Africa the Centre for Development and Enterprise (2020) state that the number of persons in informal employment grew from 4.2 million jobs in 2013 to 5 million in 2019. This demonstrates that the informal economy is an integral part of the daily lives of many individuals and many families who rely on it for an income. Despite the commonly accepted notion that the informal labour sector has a large influence on family life, little research has been done on the family life of day labourers and migrant day labourers in particular.

According to Blaauw et al. (2007), using data collected in Tshwane in 2004, a majority of day labourers do not live with their immediate family and dependants. This view is supported by Malinga (2015), who asserts that roadside work-seeking is often dominated by migrant men who leave their families in their hometowns or home countries, often finding themselves alone in a new city or country. Malinga (2015) adds that this type of precarious work has a negative impact on family life, as it so often leaves men to cope with their difficulties on their

own. Many day labourers spend years in Tshwane attempting to earn enough money to send a portion of it home. Many of the day labourers in the study by Blaauw et al. (2007) did not see their families regularly, with 30.5% of the participants reporting that they only visit their families once or twice a year, and 12.4% stating that they are able to go home once every quarter. Family contacts and integration are therefore disrupted.

Blaauw & Schenck (2008) also report that, on average, each day labourer supports four people including himself or herself. The need for day labourers to earn an income is therefore made more urgent by the responsibility to support their family. Day labourers' ability to sustain and care for their families is in many instances hindered by their work (Lewis-Fernández et al., 2002). As long as they are able to work and generate income, day labourers usually manage to maintain an uneasy tension between their success at providing for their family materially, "as a good man should", versus their failure to be emotionally engaged fathers overseeing the discipline and well-being of their spouses and children (Huschke, 2014). Blaauw et al. (2018) cautions, however, that while the financial returns from day labour are often uncertain or inadequate, it is not a foregone conclusion that the people performing this type of work are unhappy. One must therefore exercise caution to not overemphasise the role of income when describing the family well-being of day labourers, or make unfounded assumptions about day labourers' well-being solely based on their level of income.

With regard to children, Schenck & Blaauw (2008) collected data in 2004 which suggested that day labourers in Windhoek and Tshwane had on average one or two children. Most of the respondents in 2004, or 33.6%, maintained that they had no children. In terms of marriage, Schenck & Blaauw (2008) found that the number of married day labourers in Tshwane and Windhoek shows a marked difference for the period under investigation. The number of married respondents in Tshwane in 2004 was almost double that of the respondents in Windhoek in 2004. However, these findings differ starkly from new findings released in a separate study by Mapendere et al. (2019) using data collected in 2016. They reported that only 16% of day labourers surveyed at a single site in Cape Town were married, and a further 13% were cohabiting with partners. A significant majority (50%) were single and had never been married. Mapendere et al. (2019) suggest that the high percentage of unmarried day labourers might be indicative of their "dislocation" from family life and the difficulty which they experience in forming and maintaining relationships. Participants

during the same study also described a variety of family problems which had acted as push and pull factors for their entry into the day labour market. Most prominent amongst the problems which they cited was their inability to pay dowry prices to marry, as their culture and customs demand (Malinga, 2015). It is evident from this data that family dynamics and family life play a key part in the life of day labourers. The question remains, however, whether migrant day labourers are family oriented or not.

An important factor in the family life of day labourers is also the noted absence of women in the day labour sector. As previously noted, most day labourers are male. This can largely be explained by the vulnerable nature of the lives that day labourers lead (Schenck & Blaauw, 2008), though this does not exclude women from participating in other sectors of the informal economy. In fact, Cassirer & Addati (2007) state that family responsibilities often steer women toward informal employment. There is therefore a proliferation of women participating in other informal economic activities.

2.6 CHAPTER SUMMARY

This chapter provided a detailed examination of the informal economic sector, globally and in South Africa. It also detailed the contemporary context of both global and local day labourers. This included examining the context in which day labourers function in South Africa, including a discussion of unemployment. The chapter also focused on the factors that affect the informal economy and day labour in particular, amongst them globalisation and economic downturns, which have led to a high unemployment rate, job cuts across different industries and migration at both a local and international level.

CHAPTER 3: LITERATURE REVIEW: MIGRATION

3.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter focuses on international migration within the southern African region and internal migration in South Africa, with an overall aim of understanding how migration trends relate to day labour and the growth of the informal income activities in South Africa. The chapter will also focus on reviewing migration trends and the different forms and types of migrants in South Africa, which include economic migrants, asylum seekers, refugees and retirees, amongst others.

To highlight the extent of migration in modern-day functioning, the United Nations (2015a) reports that the world has become increasingly interconnected, with migration visible in all corners of the globe. An individual's decision to migrate depends on a variety of factors, from livelihood opportunities to household wealth, social connections and perceived risks (Fratzke & Salant, 2017). The global economic downturn and worsening global warming have led to radically high migration trends globally (World Migration Report, 2020). This has also changed migration patterns and reconstructed facets of migration such as the gender, age and education level of migrants (World Migration Report, 2020). Masuku (2018) refers to this as the "feminization of migration" which refers to commercialised migration of more women and girls as domestic workers and caregivers, often for labour. This is an important facet of the study as the researcher also explores the role and presence of female day labourers in Cape Town-South Africa. Migration has also become an adaptation strategy, particularly by persons from rural areas to urban cities or to better-functioning economies (Masuku, 2018). Davis, Bhattachan, D'Odorico & Suweis (2018) expand on this idea, suggesting that migration is an important adaptive strategy for coping with environmental and global changes.

Human migration is the temporary or permanent move of individuals or groups of people from one geographical location to another for reasons varying from seeking better employment to running from persecution (Van Hear, 2014). According to Gans (2020), migration involves the more or less permanent movement of individuals or groups across symbolic or political boundaries into new residential areas and communities. For the purposes of this study, the definition by Kok, O'Donovan & Miles (2000: 07) will be adopted, which simply defines migration as "the crossing of a boundary of a predefined

spatial unit by one or more persons involved in a change of residence”. This criterion, according to Kok et al. (2000), makes measuring of both temporary and permanent migration easy, as one can measure migration based on individuals having crossed national and locally demarcated boundaries of cities, towns, countries and continents.

Bhugra (2005) and Farrant (2014) distinguish between two main documented types of migration: involuntary migration, where individuals are forced to move by factors such as violence, famine, farm evictions and forced removals; and voluntary migration, where people opt to move to other countries, sometimes from very constrained options or, often but not always, for work as economic migrants. Van Hear (2014) states that, when modern states go into terminal decline or fail altogether, the predictable response of ordinary people is to get out as soon as they can, to wherever they can.

Persons that migrate within the same country are referred to internal migrants, while those that migrate from country to country are referred to as international migrants. It is crucial to differentiate between the two as they often happen for different reasons and are hindered and influenced by different factors (Espinoza-Castro, Vásquez Rueda, Mendoza Lopez & Radon, 2018). Structural barriers often limit international migration more than internal migration; the motives behind international migration are therefore often stronger than those behind internal migration (Espinoza-Castro et al., 2018). However, the UN (2015a) reports that migrants, whether internal or international, are some of the most vulnerable groups of society. According to Wilson (2012), this can be seen from the living conditions, working conditions and well-being of a large portion of migrants across the globe. By citing specific examples, Wilson (2012) suggests that migrants are often the first to lose their jobs in the event of an economic downturn, often work for less pay, work for longer hours and in live in the worst conditions when compared to locally born workers. Crush & Tevera (2010) assert that the challenges and experiences of migrants are a major problem affecting individuals, families and communities all over the world.

3.2 UNDERSTANDING MIGRATION

3.2.1 Introduction

We live in a world of constant change and movement, the immediate result of which is that

nothing is stable and borders have become mixed (Bartman, 2010 and Arango, 2020a). A person who undertakes to migrate is referred to as a migrant. This movement has become synonymous with human existence and the traditional settler life form has been replaced with a new nomadic lifestyle where mobility and migration have become familiar trends (Moslund, 2010). This mobility, according to Matera (2018), is largely a response to labour demands in the receiving communities of migrants. Morris (2003) adds to this, suggesting that the law of gravity is the best prevailing framework with which to predict and explain population movement, people gravitate towards better employment and livelihood opportunities. These concepts are later explored within this chapter. Because of the complexity of human life and fast-changing socioeconomic conditions, human migration is gaining importance day by day. According to Chen, Ye, Cai, Xing & Chen (2014), the basic factors that have influenced the movement of people from one region to another includes uneven distribution of population and resources, unbalanced utilisation of resources and variation in economic and cultural developments.

With regard to the categorisation of migrants as international or internal, Wiśniowski et al. (2016) state that if the migratory move involves the crossing of a national boundary, it is known as international migration. Persons involved in such a move are regarded emigrants from the perspective of their country of origin and an immigrant when viewed from the country of destination. International migrants are further classified as either legal immigrants, illegal immigrants, asylum seekers or refugees. Asylum seekers are persons who crossed an international boundary seeking international protection (Gardner, 2020). According to Gardner (2020), legal immigrants are those who move with the legal permission of both the sending and receiving nation. However, illegal immigrants are those who migrate from the sending or receiving country without legal permission (Gardner, 2020). Illegal migrants, referred to as undocumented migrants in this study, are individuals who do not fall into any legal category, having either entered a country without the stipulated legal documentation or staying in a country for reasons other than those they have been granted permission to enter for. It includes those who use clandestine means to enter a country, those that entered with legal documents but overstayed, those with expired visas or those that violated the original terms of their admission (International Organization for Migration, 2004). In South Africa, Tevera & Zinyama (2002) postulate that undocumented immigrants are largely comprised of individuals that cross international borders without proper documentation and those that rely on trafficking syndicates to cross borders. Knight (2019), however, emphasises the view that

most undocumented migrants across southern Africa are individuals that cross national borders legally with proper documentation but never leave the receiving country and undertake work which is prohibited by their travel restrictions.

If both the place of origin and the destination are in the same country, the move is referred to as internal migration. Internal migration, as stated by Skeldon (2017), refers to a change of residence within national boundaries, such as between states, provinces, cities or municipalities. This type of migration occurs inside a country and between regions, especially from economically poor areas and rural parts to major cities.

3.2.2 Different types of migrants

Understanding migration and migrant day labourers also requires that one discusses the different types of migrants. Family migrants refer to members of a family joining one of their relatives who is resident in another country or city. According to Benson & O'Reilly (2009), family migrants commonly include civil partners, spouses, unmarried or same-sex partners, dependent children and elderly relatives. Flahaux & De Haas (2016) report that, in 2012, family migrants made up 12% of the total migrants within southern Africa. Intergate Migration (2018) states that obtaining legal travel documents under the criteria of family migrant is one of the easiest legal way to gain migration visas into South Africa. Confirming this, Intergate Migration (2018) states that family migrants accounted for at least 47% of all legal visas issued in South Africa from 2016 to 2017. Harley (2019) notes that the visa criteria for family migrants is easier compared to other visas across the world. Individuals are therefore attracted to a family visa even when they have other reasons for migrating. Using visa statistics to determine the type of migrant therefore does not give an accurate picture of the true reasons for migration, as people may migrate with a family visa even though their true motivation is economic. This is further supported by Dun (2011), who cautions against the assumption that people migrate for only one reason. Even when migrating due to family, there are usually several other deciding factors as well.

Environmental migrants are another notable type of migrant. According to Dun (2011) and the European Commission (2015: 01), environmental migrants are “people who are forced to migrate from or flee their home regions due to sudden or long-term changes to their local environment which adversely affects their well-being or livelihood”. Although one of the

rarest forms of recorded migration, it is still vital to consider this as a key form of migration. In 2014, failure of a dam in Zimbabwe resulted in 2 000 people losing their homes (Darbourn, 2015) and in Mozambique, Cyclone Idai displaced over 100 000 people (Mozambique Poverty Assessment, 2020). Displaced individuals and those affected by the disaster migrated either within their countries or internationally, seeking new favourable environments. ReliefWeb (2019) reports that Cyclone Idai, which affected Zimbabwe and Mozambique in 2019, was likely to cause international migration from Mozambique and Zimbabwe into South Africa. A more recent example of environmental factors is the COVID-19 pandemic, which greatly affected human mobility, as many countries severely restricted both local and international travel. Yayboke (2020) postulates that the disruptions to daily life due to the pandemic could fundamentally change the face of global migration for the next several years. Countries may restrict migration, with exemptions for key professions. Those who travel for work and economic reasons may not be able to do so for the foreseeable future because of the COVID-19 pandemic, which will have family, economic and food security implications Yayboke (2020).

The UN Population Fund (2016) suggests that, in 2015, 244 million people, or 3.3% of the world's population, lived outside their country of origin. This number has since increased, according to the UN data survey of 2017 which suggested that over 258 million people in the world do not live in their country of origin, representing approximately 3.4% of the world population. Most migrants are in search of better economic and social opportunities. Economic reasons remain the leading reason for global migration. Economic migration refers to the movement of people from one country to another to benefit from greater economic opportunities (Czaika, 2015: 65). It is usually assumed that such migration is primarily from less economically developed countries or towns and rural areas to more economically developed countries and cities (Pearson & Kusakabe, 2012). This is a common trend and a major form of migration within southern Africa, with a large contingency of migrants coming into South Africa from neighbouring countries. Although no specific statistics are provided on the number of economic migrants in South Africa, South Africa is regarded as a popular destination for economic migration mainly by citizens of neighbouring countries (Makwetla & Akintoye-Asuni, 2019). There are also internal economic migrants within countries from mostly rural underdeveloped towns to bigger cities.

Political migrants, according to Anitha & Pearson (2014), are another key form of migration

grouping. These are individuals who are forced to migrate because of war or state policies which discriminate against groups of citizens or people who oppose those in power. Anitha & Pearson (2014) suggest that political migrants are unable to return home because they fear being persecuted and are unlikely to receive any protection from their government. Many political migrants arrive in their destination countries either as refugees or asylum seekers. South Africa, because of its seemingly progressive constitution, has accepted a large number of refugees and asylum seekers fleeing persecution for different reasons, amongst them political affiliation, sexual orientation, wars and famine. According to a report by Ebi (2018), in 2017 South Africa had an estimated 586 000 documented refugees and asylum seekers, with the majority originating from Zimbabwe, Somalia, Ethiopia, Democratic Republic of the Congo, Rwanda and Burundi.

A discussion of these different forms of migration clearly points to the diversity in migration and reasons why people migrate, both internally and internationally. It also highlights the fact that migration does not occur in isolation from economic, social and political forces. To understand this fully requires a careful examination of theoretical frameworks that elucidate the existence of and reasons for migration.

Theories of migration can be divided into two groups: classical migration theories and perpetuation theories of migration (Koser, 2007). These theories are discussed in more detail below.

3.2.3 Classical theories of migration

The economic assessment of migration involves both the redistribution of labour and the search of opportunity. For instance, Adam Smith, father of modern economics, wrote that labour migration is due to the imbalance in the labour market at different locations (Lebhart, 2005). This thinking is based on Ravenstein's laws of migration, in which Ravenstein highlighted the concept of "search of opportunity" as the main motive for migration (Ravenstein, 1889). This thinking is the founding principle of classical theories of migration.

There are six prominent classical theories of migration:

- The neo-classical theory
- The situation-oriented approach (push-pull hypothesis)

- The world system theory
- The dual labour market approach
- Liberal choice and core-periphery conflict theories.
- Dual economy model of development.

3.2.3.1 The neo-classical theory

The neo-classical macro theory of migration dates to Hicks in 1932. According to this theory, migration of labour is due to differences in wages between countries, and migration of labour brings equilibrium in the international labour market, which wipes away the wage differences between countries (Greenwood, 1975). The overall assumption of this theory is that migrants move towards places where employment, wages and other economic conditions are more favourable to them, eventually balancing out the differences in wages and living conditions between places (Massey, Arango, Hugo, Kouaouci, Pellegrino & Taylor, 1993).

3.2.3.2 The situation-oriented approach (push-pull hypothesis)

This theory was formulated by Lee (1966). According to Lee (1966), push and pull factors are the most important factors in migration. Push factors are the negative factors in the place of origin while pull factors are the positive factors in the destination place (Tevera & Zinyama, 2002, cited in Manjengenga, 2014). Understanding pull and push factors, according to Lee (1966), explains the unpredictable nature of migrants.

3.2.3.3 The world system theory

Wallerstein (1974) proposed the world system theory. Wallerstein (1974) suggested that there is a direct relationship between the development of a country and international migration. The theory asserts that the root cause of migration is the existence of unequal development between the central, developed countries and the peripheral, agricultural countries. According to Wallerstein's theory, countries develop by exploiting other countries (Rath, 2000). In addition, this theory recognises that migration is the natural consequence of globalisation and market penetration across national boundaries (Wallerstein, 1974: 74). It also asserts that globalisation, cheaper and faster modes of transportation such as air transportation and growth of multinational companies lead to the enhancement of migration (Rath, 2000).

3.2.3.4 The dual labour market approach

“This theory postulates the existence of two separate labour markets with mobility in each market but no or limited mobility between the two” (Doeringer & Piore, 1971: 163 cited by Uys & Blaauw, 2006). “The two markets are stratified along two general dimensions: the characteristics of jobs and the characteristics of individuals” (Uys & Blaauw, 2006: 248).

3.2.3.5 Liberal choice and core-periphery conflict theories

According to Rawl (1993), international movement of labour is caused by economic factors. Rawl presents two models of migration theories: liberal choice and core-periphery conflict theories. According to liberal choice theory, workers move from low-wage countries to high-wage countries, and this results in the efficient use of labour and narrows inter-country wage gaps (Gutmann, 2001). This is, however, contradicted by core-periphery conflict theory, which maintains the view that migration widens wage and income disparities because of the differences in the economic and political situations of countries (Ghosh, 2004; Gutmann, 2001).



3.2.3.6 Dual economy model of development

As per the dual economy model, “labour migration plays a key role in the economic development of a country” (Massey et al., 1993: 431). Thus, according to this theory, “migration between countries is mainly due to differences in wages and employment opportunities” (Massey et al., 1993: 431). Moreover, this theory considers migration as an individual decision for income maximisation. Therefore, “the flow of migration over a long period of time is due to the prolonged disequilibrium that exists between countries” (Massey et al., 1993: 431).

3.2.4 Perpetuation theories of migration

Perpetuation theories of migration emphasise kin and friendship networks as important factors in migration. “Interpersonal ties connect migrants, former migrants and non-migrants in origin and destination, which encourages circular migration and reduces migration risk” (Tilly & Brown, 1967: 478). Two major forms of the perpetuation theory of migration are the migration networks theory and the cumulative causation theory.

3.2.4.1 The migration networks theory

This theory considers migration a network process in which migrants help each other by communicating with close friends and family members (Crush & Tevera, 2010). They exchange information, provide financial assistance and even help to find a job for the migrant. This is supported by research by Crush & Tevera (2010), who report that the increase in the number of immigrants into South Africa from Zimbabwe was largely due to an increase in family members and friends inviting people from Zimbabwe to relocate and find jobs in South Africa. This referral process facilitates migration by reducing the costs and risks (Crush & Tevera, 2010). Gallie (2014), however, warns that there are instances of immigration by friends and relatives through undocumented means that result in hardships as migrants can become victims of violence and exploitation.

3.2.4.2 The cumulative causation theory

Massey (2008) states that continuance of migration is due to the intermingling of migrants with other persons of the same origin. The theory of cumulative causation asserts that migration sustains itself by creating more migration (Massey, 1990). This theory basically argues that “human migration changes individual motivations and social structures in ways that make additional movement progressively likely” (Massey et al., 1993: 449). To put this in context, Isserman (2017) suggests that of the migrants making their way to Europe in 2014, the majority had migrated and stayed with at least three other family members or people from their country of origin.

Based on the different theories discussed above, it can be concluded that there is no single theory or principle that can explain all types of migration. As such, these theories expose different important factors and features of migration.

3.3 UNDERLYING CAUSES OF MIGRATION

There are various reasons why people chose to migrate, and each country or city is either receiving or supplying migrants or, in many cases, doing both (Giovetti, 2019). Some individuals choose to migrate because of favourable weather while some migrate for safety and security reasons; the underlying causes are rather difficult to quantify, as suggested by

Giovetti (2019). Common causes are, however, classified as either push or pull factors, with push referring to factors that lead to individuals moving, in most cases involuntarily (Papastergiadis, 2018). These push factors, according to Papastergiadis (2018), may include conflict, drought, famine or extreme religious activity. They also often include racism, sexism and religion (Clark, 2020). Between the year 2000 and 2010, Zimbabwe experienced a massive outward migration of white Zimbabweans into South Africa and Zambia because of the violent repossession of white-owned land (Njoloma, 2010). Individuals therefore sought refuge in countries that they feel are more open and accepting towards them.

Human displacement and migration are driven by the unavailability of decent work for many people, especially youth (Giovetti, 2019). Faist (2008) further suggests that warfare, widespread human rights violations and environmental degradation are other major causes of involuntary displacement. Tshuma (2017) cites the example of Zimbabweans who migrated to South Africa and the United Kingdom (UK) due to the economic disaster and political turmoil in Zimbabwe in 2008.

Another underlying cause of migration is the consequences of global warming, “which have led to increasing numbers of people abandoning homes made uninhabitable by rising sea levels, increasingly destructive storms and accelerated desertification” (Levy & Sidel, 2014: 17). Events prompted by climate change such as drought and flooding could account for up to 1.4 billion forced migrations by the year 2060 (Friedlander, 2017 and Giovetti, 2019). By 2100, this number could surpass two billion (Friedlander, 2017).

According to Cattacin (2006), government instability, war and oppression also contribute to the pushing factors of migration. A common example of this includes members of the LGBTQIA+⁴ community who seek refuge from persecution and oppression in countries such as Zimbabwe, Ghana, Nigeria, Rwanda and Uganda, where there are strict laws against same-sex relations (Knight, 2019). This form of migration is also referred to as sexual migration, “a concept defined as international relocation that is motivated, directly or indirectly, by the sexuality of those who migrate” (Carrillo, 2004: 58).

⁴ LGBTQIA+ stands for Lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, queer/questioning, intersex, asexual and many other gender and sexual identities (Pires, 2015).

Poverty and unemployment also function as a major push factor. People from developing countries often choose to migrate out of their homeland as there is no opportunity for earning a better livelihood (Cattacin, 2006; Papastergiadis, 2009). These individuals choose to take the risk of emigrating in order to embrace their dreams and hopes of finding the opportunities and fortune that they seek in life elsewhere (Cattacin, 2006; Papastergiadis, 2009).

Others migrate because they are underused, as their country is not able to utilise a certain profession or talent that would be more appreciated in other places. This concept is referred to as the “brain drain” of a country. Gwaradzimba & Shumba (2010) conducted a survey of Zimbabwean professionals in 2007 where at least 57% of the sampled population thought of emigrating from Zimbabwe, with over a quarter of the 57% reporting it was likely or very likely they would leave in six months. The main reason for emigrating cited was that people’s skill sets were not actively being used. Chand (2019) cites the example of Kenyan doctors migrating to the US, UK and South Africa at an alarming rate. Chand (2019) suggests that Kenya, Burundi and many other African states fail to entice their learned and skilled workforce with good work opportunities that meets their competencies.

There are also pull factors in the destination country that can induce an individual or group to leave their home (Rosenburg, 2019). These factors often include better economic opportunities, more jobs and the promise of a better life (Mudde, 2010). A promise of freedom from religious or political persecution, availability of career opportunities, cheap land and abundance of food could all be considered pull factors for migrating to a new country (Rosenburg, 2019). Rosenburg (2019) states that, in each of these cases, migrants will have more opportunities to pursue a better life compared to in their home country.

3.4 THE GLOBAL CONTEXT

As a prelude to understanding Southern Africa’s, and specifically South Africa’s migration trends and patterns, it is important to consider global migration trends. This is also more important given that global migration has become more necessary today than ever before making migration one of three most critical demographic components of population change, along with births and deaths (Skeldon, 2013).

According to the UN, the estimated number of international migrants worldwide increased in

the last 20 years between 2000 and 2020, reaching 281 million in 2020 (UN, 2021). This figure is up from 248 million in 2015, 220 million in 2010, 191 million in 2005 and 173 million in 2000 (UN, 2021). Outside of highlighting the growing global migration trends, these statistics also suggest that more people than ever live in a country other than the one in which they were born. According to the UN (2020b), the underlying causes of such mobility are likely to continue, and international migration will remain an important component of global demographics. Of these global migrants, more than 90% are either economically active (working in remunerative activities) or dependent on those who are (Herrmann & Khan, 2008).

Key to global migration trends is also the fact that women make up just under 50% of all migrant populations making up 49.1% to 48.2% of the total global migration population between the years 2000 and 2015 (United Nations, 2020b). Recent data by Niu & Gibson (2020) shows that 52% of international migrants in 2020 were male and 48% women. The number of female migrants has therefore remained fairly steady, with fluctuation less than a percentage point. Another dynamic is that at least 38 million of the global migrant population in 2019 constituted children, while at least three out of four international migrants were of working age (between 20 and 64 years old) (United Nations, 2019b).

Another noted trend is that Asia attracts many international migrants, with approximately 31% of international migrants worldwide residing in Asia, 30% in Europe, 26% percent in the Americas, 10% in Africa and 3% percent in Oceania (United Nations, 2020b). Despite these statistics, the US has of late become the main country of destination for international migrants (United Nations, 2020b).

While many individuals migrate out of choice, many others migrate out of necessity. The number of forcibly displaced people globally topped 70 million for the first time in United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR)'s almost 70-year history at the end of 2018 (UNHCR, 2019). This number includes almost 26 million refugees, 3.5 million asylum seekers and over 41 million internally displaced persons. Displacement therefore remains a major feature of global migration (Niu & Gibson, 2020). In 2018, Syria was the origin of the largest number of refugees globally (6.7 million people), with Turkey hosting the largest number of refugees (3.7 million people). Canada became the largest refugee resettlement country, resettling more refugees than the US in 2018 (UNHCR, 2019). Also in 2018, 20.4

million refugees were under the mandate of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) and 5.5 million refugees were under the mandate of the UN Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees (UNRWA) in the Near East (UNHCR, 2019). Furthermore, Niu & Gibson (2020) state that the number of persons internally displaced due to violence and conflict has reached 41.3 million globally.

Other reasons for increased global migration include the fact that many western countries have reached low fertility rates and low population growth, leading to a workforce decline (Selgin, 2010). In 2010, China's workforce was forecasted to decline by between 126 to 180 million people over the next 20 years, while Russia's workforce was losing 1 million people a year in 2011 (Taran, 2011). To compensate for these declines, global migration has emerged as a reliable compensation for population and workforce declines (Taran, 2019). An in-depth case study of China by Elsner (2015), for example, indicated that only about 20% of the expected workforce reduction could be compensated by standard measures such as expanding female workforce participation, raising the retirement age, increasing productivity and expected slower economic growth. The remaining workforce thus needs to be compensated by migrants. Subsidising workforce shortages with migrants further confirms the view that, globally, contemporary markets have become interdependent across countries (Elsner, 2015).

Globally, migrants have made significant sociocultural, civic-political and economic contributions in both their origin and destination countries by being important agents of change in a range of sectors (Cooke, 2008). Cooke (2008) suggests that migrants tend to have higher entrepreneurial activity compared to native residents. Despite these significant contributions globally by migrants, another emerging trend is the global politicisation of migration, as suggested by Niu & Gibson (2020) who describes this as the weaponisation of migration. Migration is being used by some as a political tool, undermining democracy and inclusive civic engagement by tapping into the understandable fear in communities that stems from the accelerated pace of change and rising uncertainty of our times (Niles, 2019). Some political leaders have therefore taken advantage seeking to divide communities on the issue of migration, downplaying the significant benefits and enrichment migration brings and steadfastly ignoring our migration histories.

Worldwide, migration serves as an instrument to adjust the skills, age and sectorial composition of national and regional labour markets (Herrmann & Khan, 2008). Migration

also responds to fast-changing needs for skills and personnel resulting from technological advances, changes in market conditions, industrial transformations and restructuring of work itself (Herrmann & Khan, 2008). In countries with ageing populations, migration can replenish a declining workforce and inject it with younger workers, in turn contributing to increased dynamism, innovation and mobility in those workforces (Herrmann & Khan, 2008). All of this reinforces the view that migration is a characteristic of the human species.

3.5 GLOBAL POLICIES ON MIGRATION

With more people being on the move now than ever before, managing this increased flow and movement of people requires well-functioning policies and protocols. This is especially important considering the politicisation of migration, which has become a prominent feature in the political campaigns of world leaders and presidential elections of countries like the US, the UK and South Africa.

Furthermore, the World Bank (2017) states that migration can play a critical role in economic growth and development including helping to fill labour market shortages. It can also provide jobs and sources of revenue for individual migrants and their families. Migration is therefore a fact of life in today's globalised world, which is why policies governing migration and the movement of people are even more essential than before. Supported by appropriate policies, migration can contribute to inclusive and sustainable economic growth and development (World Bank, 2017).

Most constitutional governments around the world have policies to maintain and manage migration levels (United Nations, 2020c). At least 61% of all governments have policies that either control documented immigration into their country or raise documented specialised migrants. These is influenced by various factors, one of them being the need to raise skilled labour (United Nations, 2020c). During 2015, as noted by the UN (2020c), Europe had the highest proportion of countries seeking to raise documented skilled immigration levels while Asia had the lowest. The need to meet these labour demands was the top factor for countries in Asia and Europe as they developed or revised their immigration policies.

Almost all governments have also adopted policy measures to address irregular and undocumented migration. According to the UN (2020c), 99% of governments employ fines,

detention or deportation of migrants in irregular situations, while 77% use penalties for employers of migrants in irregular situations.

To cite notable examples of country policies and implementation, in Japan for example, the foreign population accounted for only 1.7% of the total population in 2010 (United Nations, 2020d). In 2020, nearly 2.3% of Japan's population is made up of international migrants (Gelin, 2020). This is mainly due to Japan's strict immigration policies which have drawn criticism and have even been called anti-immigration policies (Gelin, 2020). Immigrants earn points based on their academic background or business experience, amongst other factors (Flahaux & De Haas, 2016). Those who score higher, mainly professionals like professors, doctors and corporate managers, were given preferential treatment (Flahaux & De Haas, 2016).

A case study closer to home is that of South Africa. According to Maluleke (2018), the exact number of migrants coming into South Africa is unknown, although Maluleke (2018) estimates that there are at least 5 million migrants residing in South Africa. According to Keller & Manicom (2019), Gauteng had the largest population of non-South Africans, an estimated 7.4% of the total population, in 2010. This is still significantly less than the popular discourse indicating that South Africa is "overrun" with migrants, with some claiming the figure for Johannesburg is as high as 80% (Keller & Manicom, 2019).

To manage migration, the South African government adopted migration guidelines based on the following principles, as described by Van Lenep (2019):

- They allow additional, unchecked power to the Department of Home Affairs, the Director General and the Minister of Home Affairs to issue and decline migration into South Africa.
- They refine migration policy to ensure skilled labour migration for certain desired skills into the country.
- They enforce temporality, control and deterrence at the expense of newcomers' rights. This also allows immigration officers to take a migrants lacking identity documents into custody without a warrant.
- They take an outwardly pro-African stance, allowing for travellers from other Southern African Development Community (SADC) states to maximise visa-free

travel.

- They remove a refugee's right to the same basic healthcare and primary education as a South African, limiting refugee status to those who are not citizens, permanent residents or recognised refugees in other countries.

In addition to the individual guidelines set by different governments, the office of the UNHCR provides overall guidelines for migration that are adopted by all member states. According to the United Nations (2015b), the guidelines support the overarching principle that migrants are a positive contribution to sustainable and inclusive development, and that members must commit to protecting the safety, dignity, human rights and fundamental freedoms of all migrants, regardless of their migratory status. This also includes protecting the rights of vulnerable migrants, whether documented or not.

Migration guidelines are not limited to migration across international borders. In 2018, an estimated 28 million people were newly displaced within their own countries and territories due to conflict or disasters (Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre, 2019). During the apartheid era in South Africa, pass laws were designed to control the movement of black Africans (Farmbry, 2019). Pass laws required black Africans to carry identity documents in the form of a reference book when outside a set of reserves (Farmbry, 2019). These laws ended when South Africa became a democratic country, but they still serve as an example of a government's attempt to control and regulate internal migration. China is a contemporary example of internal movement regulation through its hukou system. The hukou system, according to Zhou (2019), is a family registration programme by the Chinese government that serves as a domestic passport, regulating population distribution and rural-to-urban migration. It is a tool for social and geographical control that creates movement restrictions. A rural farmer who chooses to move to the city without a government issued hukou, for example, shares a status similar to that of an illegal immigrant from a foreign country (Zhou, 2019). Obtaining an official rural-to-urban hukou is extremely difficult because the Chinese government has tight quotas on conversions per year (Zhou, 2019).

3.6 MIGRATION IN SOUTHERN AFRICA

3.6.1 Background

Africa is a continent with complex migration dynamics. Crush, Williams & Peberdy (2005) state that southern Africa's population, like the rest of the world, is on the move, with a long history of intra-regional migration dating back to the mid-nineteenth century. Despite migration across and within the continent, it is estimated that the number of people of African descent that live outside of the continent is close to 140 million, most in the Western Hemisphere (Shinn, 2008). The bulk of these immigrants have almost completely lost their ties to their countries of origin. In general, migrants who left their country in recent decades, after the year 2000, keep in close contact with their relatives and maintain an economic, social and political relationship with their country of origin. This is possibly thanks to the rapid pace of globalisation and continuously improving, cheaper communication possibilities (Page & Plaza, 2005). De Haas, Natter & Vezzoli (2016) maintains that migration from Africa to the rest of the world and within Africa increased between 1960, 1980 and 2000, while migration from the rest of the world to Africa has decreased in absolute numbers for the same recorded periods. By the end of 2019, the number of international migrants worldwide reached 272 million, up from 258 million in 2017 (United Nations, 2020b). Of this number, at least 63 million were estimated to be in Africa (United Nations, 2020b).

With regard to inter-continental migration, Africa is generally characterised by dynamic migratory patterns and has a long history of intra-regional as well as inter-regional migration flows largely influenced by conflict, income inequalities and environmental changes that result in very low levels of human security that act as push factors for migration (Crush et al., 2005; Crush et al., 2006). Contemporary data available suggests that migration within Africa went from 13.3 million to 25.4 million migrants between 2008 and 2017 (Mazango, 2020). Despite these statistics and an acknowledgement that Africa as a continent on the move, Flahaux & De Haas (2016: 11) notes that "African migration research is haunted by a lack of reliable official data and the absence of appropriate sampling frameworks in the form of census or survey data". To this end, Global Migration Group (2017) states that the volume of migration within Africa could not be measured in absolute terms but only in relative numbers.

Kitimbo (2019) writes that one of the most visible trends of migration on the African continent is that of international migrants within the continent. The majority of Africans do not leave the continent; they move to neighbouring countries. Between 2015 and 2017, for example, the number of African international migrants on the African continent jumped from

16 million to around 19 million (Kitimbo, 2019). Within the same period, there was only a moderate increase in the number of Africans moving outside the continent from around 16 million to 17 million. According to McAuliffe et al. (2018), this is largely because of a surge in efforts by African states to enhance regional integration and better trade ties amongst African countries.

With specific reference to southern Africa, South Africa, with a generally better-functioning economy than other countries in the region, has emerged as an alternative with more opportunities for many people (Saunders & Caramento, 2018). This, however, has in turn placed immense pressure on effective migration management in South Africa. Although, as previously stated, the exact number of international migrants in South Africa is difficult to determine, in 2017 South Africa was home to around four million international migrants, making it the largest host of migrants on the African continent (Migration Data Portal, 2020). This is largely a result of the size of the South African economy and the country's relative political stability, which attracts increasing numbers of immigrants. Migration Data Portal (2020) expands on this view, stating that migration towards South Africa is further motivated by higher living standards and the prospects of a better life when compared to its neighbouring countries. Other historical factors have also contributed to this migration trend. For example, the end of apartheid, a system designed to control movement and exclude outsiders, produced new opportunities for internal and cross-border mobility and new incentives for moving to South Africa (Zinyama, 2012).

In addition to the above, “the ensuing integration of South Africa into the SADC brought about a major increase in both legal and undocumented cross-border flows and new forms of mobility mainly towards South Africa” (Zinyama, 2012: 47). SADC countries are also still dealing with the legacy of mass displacement, poverty and forced migration (Crush, 2005: 40). The impact of the Mozambican and Angolan civil wars continues to reverberate through the region (Khonje, 2015), and the recurrent civil strife in the rest of Africa has generated mass refugee movements and new kinds of asylum seekers to and within the region (Crush, 2011).

To better understand the history and contemporary dynamics of migration in South Africa and the southern African region, the Southern African Migration Project conducted national representative migration surveys in Botswana, Lesotho, Mozambique, Namibia and

Zimbabwe in 2006 to assess the labour migration experience of people in each country. Respondents were asked about the migration work history of their families. Although there were differences between countries, many adults had parents or grandparents who work or have worked in South Africa. In every country, nearly a quarter or more people had grandparents who had worked in South Africa, ranging from 23% of Namibians to 72% of Basotho (Crush et al., 2006). About a quarter of respondents in Namibia and Zimbabwe had parents who had worked in South Africa, as well as 41% of Batswana, 54% of Mozambicans and 83% of Basotho. This data does not provide detailed employment information but simply confirms that labour migration for employment in other countries is nothing new within the SADC (Crush et al., 2006). In fact, cross-border migration for employment within the SADC was prevalent long before the drawing of colonial boundaries, dating back at least 150 years (Crush et al., 2006).

Another historical trend still present in southern Africa today is the presence of undocumented immigrants. As mentioned in previous sections, undocumented migrants, also referred to as undocumented migrants, are people who move across international borders without legal authorisation or those who enter a country without the stipulated legal documentation (Passel & D'Veira Cohn, 2009). In the South African context, Tevera & Zinyama (2002) contend that undocumented immigrants are largely comprised of border jumpers and those that rely on trafficking syndicates to cross borders. According to Srikantiah (2007), the lack of proper border controls has led to a majority of migrants within the region attempting to reach their destinations through established smuggling and trafficking networks. Relatively large undocumented populations move between Angola and the Democratic Republic of the Congo as well as from Zimbabwe to South Africa and often prompt the affected governments to take measures to promote the departure of irregular migrants (Gwebu, 2014). According to Crush & Tevera (2010, cited in Manjengenja, 2014), this denotes a “revolving door syndrome” where Zimbabwean immigrants are deported by South African immigration officials and then return, almost “walking back” immediately due to the proximity of the border between Zimbabwe and South Africa. The access to walking across the border therefore makes the border porous and a hub for undocumented immigration.

3.6.2 Reasons for migration trends in southern Africa

Crush (2011) states that the main reasons for high migration within southern Africa include hunger, war, vacation and, in many cases, labour. Scarcer reasons include study, business and medical treatment (Crush, 2011 and Arango, 2020b). Southern African countries can be divided into mostly migrant-sending states (which includes Mozambique, Malawi, Lesotho and Zimbabwe) and mostly migrant-receiving states (namely South Africa and Namibia) (Docquier, Lowell & Marfouk, 2008; Dodson, 2000). A few, such as Botswana and Swaziland, fall into both categories (Docquier et al., 2008; Dodson, 2000). Others, such as Tanzania and Zambia have experienced major refugee influxes in the past but do not tend to send or receive large numbers of labour migrants (Adepoju, 2006). The high number of sending countries, according to Kitimbo (2019), is a result of a lack of employment and financial growth opportunities in those countries, as economic migrants and day labourers are attracted to work prospects in the receiving countries. By virtue of its strong economic position in the continent and work opportunities in the mining, manufacturing and agricultural industries, South Africa experiences a high volume of migration (Dinkleman & Ranchhod, 2012). This has made South Africa by far the largest host of migrants on the continent, with an estimated 3.95 migrants as of 2021 (Maluleke, 2021b: 04).

“If one uses the output of foreign-born persons enumerated in Census 2011 and adds to it the net international migrants for the period 2011-2016 as well as the period 2016-2021 from the 2021 mid-year population estimates one would get an estimation of 3.95 million persons” (Maluleke, 2021b: 04).

Of this total, some estimated 1.5 million are projected to come from Zimbabwe, followed by the Democratic Republic of the Congo (Dinkleman & Ranchhod, 2012; United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, 2013).

3.7 SOUTH AFRICA: THE CENTRE OF SOUTHERN AFRICAN MIGRATION

Roughly 400 years ago, no Europeans had settled in South Africa (Mahadea & Kaseeram, 2018). This, however, does not mean that migration was not already occurring in South Africa; people were moving within South Africa and across the continent’s geo-political boundaries of the time. This section examines internal migration within South Africa, and migration trends of southern African countries in relation to South Africa.

3.7.1 Internal migration within South Africa

South Africa is a society in transition, its changes in large measure associated with the dismantling of apartheid and the move toward democracy since 1994 (Mahadea & Kaseeram, 2018). “The abolition of the homelands and the pass system and many other changes associated with the end of apartheid and the reintegration of South Africa into the community of nations led to changes in internal migration” within the country itself (Mahadea & Kaseeram, 2018). Bekker & Levon (2020) categorise this as an acknowledgement of the right of all to free movement by the new democratically elected government which has since institutionalised a strong inclusive socioeconomic development agenda. This stands in sharp contrast to the previous exclusive and centralist development agenda of the apartheid government which limited and controlled free movement. During the apartheid era, internal migration in South Africa was determined by laws with strict regulations for domestic migrants, regulations which prohibited urban settlement for most black African citizens (Posel, 2003). While apartheid placed restrictions on the internal mobility of black Africans, Indian and Colored racial groups, whites were permitted to move within the country. New internal migration patterns have emerged in the post-1994 era, however.

The most widely observed and reported result of internal migration in South Africa is its contribution to the growth of urban areas (Deshingkar & Grimm, 2005). According to Saghir (2018), as of 2014, close to 65% of all South Africans already lived in urban areas. As of 2019, this number had increased by 2% to 67% (Statistics South Africa, 2018c). The Department of Cooperative Governance & Traditional Affairs of South Africa estimates a further rise, suggesting that “at least 71.3% of South Africa's population will live in urban areas by 2030 and nearly 80% by 2050” (Africa Integrated Urban Development Framework, 2021: 02). The rise in urban populations is largely a result of internal migration. This makes South Africa’s internal migration a unique one compared to other countries such as Zimbabwe, which had a rural population of at least 67.76% percent as of 2020 (Trading Economics, 2021).

South Africa experiences rural to urban population migration with people moving away from poor rural towns and provinces to bustling urban hubs in search of decent pay, job opportunities and better services (Atkinson, 2014). In the traditional rural sector, micro-level institutions of governance continue to crumble, agrarian activities continue to diminish and

gaining access to new state security remains problematical (Collinson, Tollman & Kahn, 2007). Households are forced radically to adapt their livelihood strategies by abandoning the collapsing land economy in which they live by moving towards the developed cash economy (Bekker, 2006: 63). Many relocate by joining the migration stream toward dense rural settlements close to their ancestral homes whilst others join the urbanisation stream (Atkinson, 2014). This view is supported by Labonté, Sanders, Mathole, Crush, Chikanda, Dambisya & Bourgeault (2015), who state that internal migration occurs because of geographical differences in the supply and demand of labour, mostly between the rural traditional agricultural sector and the urban modern manufacturing sector. Most of the so-called “rural” households in South Africa are not dependent on farming any longer, but on the income of family members who are working in the cities (Atkinson, 2014; Wentzel, 2003). Large numbers of black workers commute on a weekly or monthly basis between the cities where they work and the rural villages where their families live. Many of them will likely retire to their home villages (Atkinson, 2014).

The present study was conducted in Cape Town, South Africa, and it is therefore important to explain the context of migration dynamics in Cape Town and the Western Cape Province. In South Africa two of the nine provinces, Gauteng and Western Cape, are the most attractive destinations for labour migrants. They contribute most to the economic success of the country, accounting for 49% of the GDP in 2019 (Kleinhans & Yu, 2020). A study conducted by Kleinhans & Yu (2020) using census data from 2011 found that migrants from other provinces were more likely to be employed than the permanent residents of Gauteng and the Western Cape. In the same study, Kleinhans & Yu (2020) found that most migrants into the Western Cape came from the Eastern Cape (53.64%) and Gauteng (20.95%). This makes the Western Cape and Cape Town in particular an attractive destination for both internal and international migrants. Economic drivers such as tourism continue to drive Cape Town’s migration (Schiel, 2014). Cape Town also remains a stand-out City with the best lifestyle and service delivery providing an alternative to migration (BusinessTech, 2019). With this influx of migrants, Tawodzera & Crush (2019) caution that attacks on migrant and refugee communities and entrepreneurs by South African rivals and ordinary citizens become a common phenomenon throughout the country, including in Cape Town, as migrants and South African citizens compete for resources.

3.7.2 SADC and international migration into South Africa

In a region (SADC) with an estimated population of 363.2 million people and 6.4 million international migrants as of mid-year 2020 (United Nations, 2020), a few countries serve as the economic pillars of southern Africa. South Africa, because of its economic performance, especially in comparison to neighbouring African countries tends to attract most of the migrants with an estimated 3.95 million migrants residing in South Africa as of 2021 (Maluleke, 2021b). Some scholars have suggested that the number of migrants in South Africa is much higher than the estimate of two million, with Heleta (2018) giving an estimate of five million and Makou (2017) estimating eleven million. Moultrie (2017) suggests that the exact number of migrants in South Africa may never be agreed on because of discrepancies between census data versus border records, with Moultrie (2017) even suggesting that there are no reliable border records. Both the South African National Census of 2011 and the 2016 Community Survey found that there are more male than female migrants in South Africa (about a 60:40 ratio) and that most migrants were of working age (between the ages of 15 and 64) (Moultrie, 2017).

Despite the data discrepancies in relation to South Africa's total migrant population data, the UN (2020) provided clear trends of migration suggesting that South Africa is the top destination of migrants in southern Africa, with Zimbabwe being the number-one sending country (country of origin). Figure 1 details the migration trends of the top five countries of origin and top five destination countries for emigrants in southern Africa.

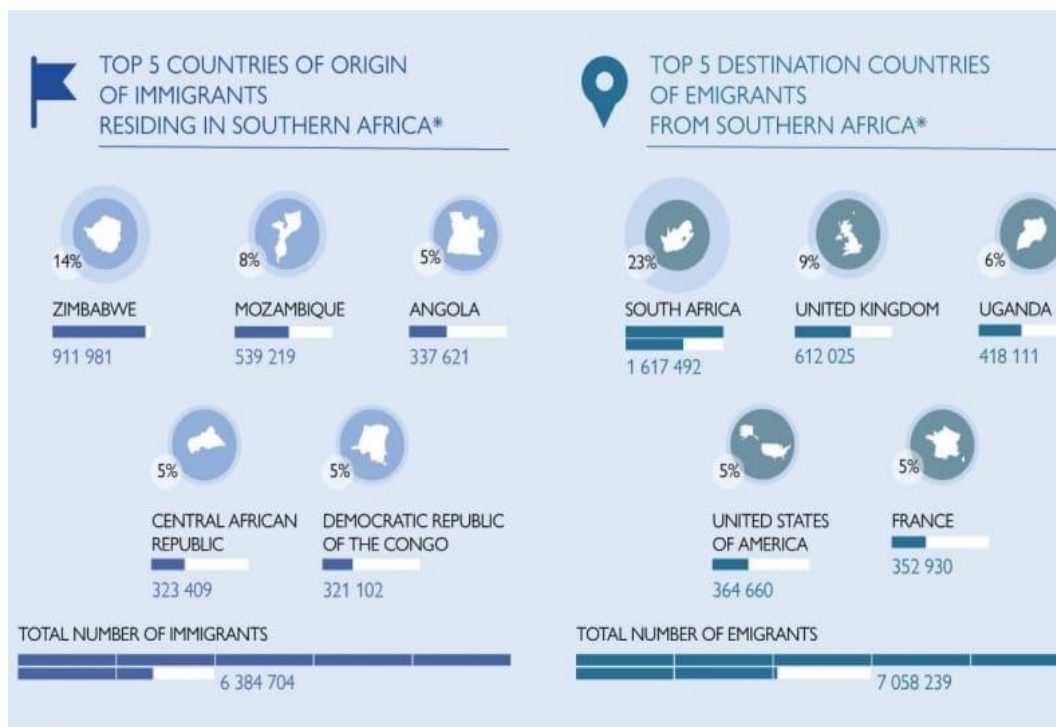


Figure 1: Migration trends in South Africa

(Source: United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs, 2020)

Migration to and from countries in southern Africa is driven largely by the pursuit of economic opportunities, political instability and, increasingly, environmental hazards (Mpandeli, Nhamo, Hlahla, Naidoo, Liphadzi, Modi & Mabhaudhi, 2020). Industrial developments, the mining sectors in South Africa, Botswana and Zambia, and the oil wealth of Angola have all been magnets for both skilled and unskilled labour migrants from within the region and elsewhere (International Organisation for Migration, 2013). On the other side, political instability, famine and natural disasters have all led to growing migration from countries like Zimbabwe and Mozambique, as illustrated in Figure 1. The emergent market economy of South Africa has also given rise to a strong entrepreneurial and dynamic investment environment and, as a result, people from different backgrounds have been migrating to South Africa. For this reason, Rasool, Botha & Bisschoff (2012) have suggested that immigrants are drawn to South Africa mostly for economic opportunities which are not available in their home countries as well as for South Africa's political stability. These immigrants range from a large number of unskilled to a limited number of highly skilled workers.

Migration flows into South Africa from other southern African countries are in many cases involuntary. Factors such as political instability in Zimbabwe and civil war in Angola have made South Africa a safe haven on the continent (Cawthra, 2008; World Bank, 2018a). South Africa's seemingly vast informal economic market and economic influence in Africa have become an attraction for migrants from less economically active countries such as Botswana, Mozambique, Malawi and Zimbabwe. Insecurity, lack of economic livelihood, drought and crop failure are some of the push factors that motivate migrants seeking better opportunities to undertake risky migratory routes (Kefale & Mohammed, 2016). This, however, also has to do with the migration policies implemented by the South African government to promote trade and movement within Africa. With increased migration within the region, it must be noted that prejudice amongst South African citizens against foreigners has also become prevalent (Crush et al., 2005).

In today's increasingly interconnected world, international migration has become a reality that touches nearly all corners of the globe, often making distinctions between countries of origin, transit and destination obsolete (Williams, 2010). Modern transportation has made it easier, cheaper and faster for people to move (Williams, 2010). At the same time, conflict, poverty, inequality and lack of decent jobs are amongst the reasons that compel people to leave their homes in search of better futures for themselves and their families (Vanyoro, 2019). The same can be said for southern Africa, where many people migrate to South Africa.

3.7.3 Economic impact of migration: burden or benefit?

Migration is in many cases motivated, first and foremost, by lack of economic opportunities at home (Jasso, 2021). "With the average income level in high-income countries more than 70 times higher than in low-income countries, it is not surprising that many people in the developing world feel compelled to try their luck elsewhere" (Jasso, 2021). Jasso (2021) further postulates that migration in many cases poses both challenges and benefits for the sending and receiving countries. This is because migration is selective of certain characteristics. For example, studies by Brockerhoff & Eu (1993), Hamilton (1959) and Massey et al. (1993) have all shown that migration tends to favour certain age groups and occupations and is predominantly male-selective when it comes to long distances. This therefore means that, to some extent, the sending country loses output as some of its citizens move to other countries (Jasso, 2021). Immigration may, however, also serve to ease

socioeconomic pressures in the sending country. If, for example, immigrants get jobs that were hard to find in their country of origin, the migration would have helped reduce unemployment in their sending country. Benefits to the receiving country may come as a result of increased output, as the immigrants come with their skills and experience. In support of this, Takabvirwa (2010) cites the case of South Africa, suggesting that South Africa was a country built on the backs of migrant labourers. Takabvirwa (2010) bases his argument on the contributions of migrant labourers who worked on building the railway lines and the mining sector of South Africa in the early 1900s. This is further supported by Weimann & Oni (2019), who state that the contribution of migrants in South Africa cannot be overstated. In 2015, the African Centre for Cities and its partners initiated a large-scale research project to examine the role of migrant and refugee entrepreneurs in South Africa's informal economy (Weimann & Oni, 2019). The findings showed that these “entrepreneurs service the needs of poorer consumers, make goods available at convenient times and places, introduce new products and create business activities and job opportunities” (Weimann & Oni, 2019: 17).

The economic effects of migration vary widely. Sending countries may experience both gains and losses in the short term but may stand to gain over the longer term (Torsekar, 2018). For migrant receiving countries, temporary worker programmes help to address skills shortages but may decrease domestic wages and add to public welfare burden (Costa & Martin, 2018). The economic effects of migration for both sending and receiving countries may also vary depending on who is moving, specifically with respect to migrant workers' skill levels. Lodovici (2010) noted that the problem is not immigration itself; it is integration, especially in the labour market. If there are no jobs for the migrants and moreover native persons, the consequences of migration are segregation, housing problems and divided cities (Torsekar, 2018). This has been evidenced in South Africa, where the shortage of jobs for native South Africans is said to be one of the factors that pushed communities to commit xenophobia⁵ and xenophobic attacks against migrant workers in the year 2013 (Patel & Essa, 2019).

To expand on the above and to easily understand both the positive and negative impacts of migration, it is best to describe from whose vantage point the impact is being measured. The

⁵ Xenophobia is the fear or hatred of foreigners or strangers; it is embodied in discriminatory attitudes and behaviour, and often culminates in violence, abuses of all types and exhibitions of hatred (Mogekwu, 2005).

following is adapted from Boubtane & Dumont (2013) and Eigelaar-Meets (2018).

Likely impact on the migrant:

- Likely improvement in the quality of life. This however is subjective on the successful integration of the migrant in the receiving destination
- Better education and work opportunities
- Improved social life as they learn about new culture, customs and languages, which can help to improve brotherhood amongst people
- Changes in family dynamics

These suggested factors must however be accepted with caution as various factors impact the experiences of a migrant.

Impact on the sending country (origin):

- Remittances with money and investments being brought back into the country
- Brain circulation, where more people who would have been out of work get opportunities to exhibit and develop their skills
- Opportunity to decrease unemployment and alleviate negative effects of sharply restructuring economic processes
- “Brain drain”, which will likely lead to declined productivity
- Negative net migration will accelerate demographic problems, like ageing and low birth rate
- Social problems with dependants remaining at home (especially children).

Impact on the receiving country (destination):

- Increasing domestic demand
- More opportunities for consumers through increasing of a variety of goods and services
- Job creation and new talents
- Migrants contribute more in taxes and social contributions than they receive in individual benefits
- Additional labour usually at lower wages (in Europe, free movement migration helps address labour market imbalances)
- Innovation and economic growth

- Social problems, high unemployment amongst immigrants, slums in big cities.

Despite some of the above-mentioned positive benefits of migration, Dadush & Niebuhr (2016) cautions that excessive and in some cases even moderate immigration can have undesirable socioeconomic effects. Migration can thus be both a benefit for and a burden on the sending and receiving countries. This has in many cases prompted policymakers of destination countries to limit immigration, as they fear it will become an economic burden and that the presence of immigrants will lead to loss of jobs, social tension and increased criminality (Sirkeci, Cohen & Ratha 2012). The main negative economic outcomes feared by destination countries are increased job competition, which allegedly brings down wages for locals, and the increased fiscal burden for caring for a growing population of immigrants. As social and economic burdens increase, conflicts between the natives and foreigners can surface (Sirkeci et al., 2012).

3.8 MIGRATION AND THE SOUTH AFRICAN ECONOMY

South Africa's economy is not growing fast enough to satisfy the growth in its population, which is being swelled by considerable immigration, mostly from other African countries (Bisseker, 2018). According to the World Bank (2018b), in 2018 South Africa's GDP growth forecast for 2019 was revised to 1.5%, down from an estimated 1.7%. The International Monetary Fund (2019) revised this to show an annual growth projection forecast of 3.1% by 2021, an improvement of 0.3 percentage points from the 2.8%. Despite this projected growth by 2021, the outlook remained weak, with a slow improvement in production and employment. It is also worth noting that, despite the growth in GDP projections, critics suggest that South Africa is faced with a possible GDP shrinkage of at least 6.4% that will inevitably plunge its economy into a recession (Selassie & Hakobyan, 2021). This is also coupled with an announcement by the South African National Treasury in March 2021 predicting job losses in South Africa to range between three and seven million between 2020 and 2021 (Selassie & Hakobyan, 2021). It is within this economic system that migrants also have to coexist with local citizens.

There is a common negative stereotype in South Africa that foreigners, whether legal or undocumented, pose a threat to South Africans' income, job prospects and security (Maharaj 2004). Tevera & Zinyama (2002) oppose this view, stating that most immigrants enter to

trade, therefore benefiting the economy of South Africa. The exact benefits of this type of trade in terms of export earnings are unknown since there is limited research on the impact of undocumented immigrants on the South African economy (Tevera & Zinyama, 2002). The Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (2018b) maintains that immigration has a limited but positive impact on labour markets of South Africa.

International studies also show that immigrants contribute to the economic development of host countries. In South Africa, immigrants have an impact on the economy, especially with informal and formal businesses such as hair salons, supermarkets, crafts, taxis and upholstery. Migrant workers are said to be contributing to the economy via purchasing of goods and other living expenses (Koc & Onan, 2004; Maharaj, 2004). Tawodzera, Chikanda, Crush & Tengeh (2015) wrote that immigrants in the informal economy bring new skills, capital and competitive services needed by ordinary South Africans. They thus benefit local labour markets as they create jobs (Danso & McDonald, 2000; Koc & Onan, 2004). The supply of cheap labour by labour-supplying countries such as Malawi, Zimbabwe, Zambia, Botswana, Lesotho, Swaziland and Mozambique played an important role in the development of South Africa's mining sector and on white farms and South Africans should realise that the country has always benefitted from migration (Mukumbang, Ambe & Adebisi 2020).

Despite the benefits listed above, a counter-argument suggests that migration has presented an economic burden on South Africa and that the costs of deporting undocumented immigrants are high and a waste of South African taxpayers' money. In 1994, it was estimated that undocumented immigrants cost the state R221 million, which is one tenth of the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) budget (Maharaj, 2002: 51). (Maharaj, 2002) further estimated that the figure may increase to R941 million by the end of the century. This is viewed as a waste of South Africa's fiscal funds, resources of the Department of Home Affairs and the South African Police Services (Solomon, 2000). Immigrants are also perceived as taking jobs away from South Africans and to increase the unemployment rate in the country because they accept low wages. They are often "seen as depressing the remuneration of local labour" (Maharaj, 2002: 57). This is because immigrants sometimes are perceived to accept wages below market wages which local people refuse to take, and this is assumed to cause conflict and to contribute to unemployment rates of local people (Simelane, 1999).

Kalitanyi & Visser (2010) suggest that migrants have a higher probability of being employed than a South African of the same age, gender, level of education and ethnic group. The Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (2018b: 29) states that:

“Immigrants in South Africa have much higher employment rates than native-born workers. The difference in the employment-to-population rate between foreign-born and native-born South African workers was almost 25 percentage points in 2011” (OECD, 2018b: 29).

Crush (2008) suggests that such views permeate throughout society and promote the perception that foreigners steal jobs from South Africans. This however argued by Chaskalson (2017) who using South Africa’s census data of 2011 wrote that “we can conclude with reasonable confidence that immigrants do not take jobs from South Africans overall – in fact, a best-case scenario suggests that they are creating a small number of jobs where they settle” (Chaskalson, 2017: 01). Furthermore, Niyimbanira & Madzivhandila (2016: 170) wrote that immigrants’ presence is an important labour market phenomenon which has positive social-economic impacts to the host country. The assertion that immigrants steal jobs is therefore a false myth (Niyimbanira & Madzivhandila, 2016).



3.9 CHAPTER SUMMARY

Migration is as old as humankind. It has many benefits, though it is in some cases a burden to both the receiving and sending destinations. Some of the advantages and disadvantages of migration were discussed in this chapter. The chapter also focused on understanding the relation between migration and the economy, specifically South Africa’s economy. The chapter then turned to the continued rise in migration to South Africa, especially from other southern African countries, which has largely been driven by South Africa’s relatively strong economy, before discussing the impact of migration on South Africa.

CHAPTER 4: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

4.1 INTRODUCTION

Identifying and preparing the most applicable theoretical framework is one of the most essential parts of writing any dissertation (Iqbal, 2007). In preparing for this project, the researcher considered and subsequently discarded various theoretical frameworks as unsuitable, including reductionism and determinism. Complexity theory was that the first theory under consideration by the researcher. The theory suggests that there is a hidden order to behaviour (and evolution) of complex systems, whether that system is a national economy, an ecosystem, an organization, or individual behaviour (Matveev, Stepanova, Trubetskaya, 2019). One considered this theory to explain the hidden complexities behind aspects of wellbeing and wellness of migrant day labourers. The researcher however discounted this theory as it does not consider the interconnectedness of the different complexities. For instance, the use of the theory (complexity theory) would have discounted how the connections between the age of migrant day labourers and their wellness (Matveev, Stepanova, Trubetskaya, 2019). Another theory considered by the researcher was the catastrophe theory, a mathematical framework that deals with discontinuous transitions between the states of a system (Arnol'd, 2003). In its application to the study, the catastrophe theory would have sufficed in explaining the different systems that make up and impact a day labourer (being a migrant, age dynamics, nature of work etc). The negative considerations however were that the different systems under catastrophe theory, systems are considered separately ignoring potential interconnectedness of systems (discontinuous transitions) (Arnol'd, 2003).

The researcher identified systems theory as the most appropriate theoretical framework for this study. This theory is largely grounded in the work of Ludwig von Bertalanffy (1968), who states that organisms are made up of highly complex systems which are in turn composed of various subsystems. This approach has been applied in contemporary social sciences, focusing on social units such as individuals, families, group, institutions or societies (Skyttner, 2005).

4.2 SYSTEMS THEORY

Systems theory is derived from the general systems theory, which explores parts of a system

that interconnect and interact to make a complete whole, which means that a system is composed of the individual and their environment (Teater, 2019 and Hammond, 2014). Rousseau (2015) suggests that systems theory is an important part of modern research, especially when trying to understand human functioning. Systems theory is based on the belief that individuals and organisms do not operate in isolation, but rather grow and develop in interaction with their physical and social environment (Whitchurch & Constantine, 2009). It also emphasises the holistic principle in research and rejects any form of reductionism (Rousseau, 2015). Furthermore, in addition to the noted factors, systems theory's ability to integrate the functioning of human behaviour with environmental functioning makes it the most applicable theory for this study.

4.3 UNDERSTANDING SYSTEMS THEORY

Systems theory lacks a universal, formally agreed-upon definition (Adams, Hester, Bradley, Meyers & Keating, 2013). It is a term that has been used in a variety of disciplines to support varied purposes and one which is found frequently in the systems literature. Because the term has been used in a range of fields and has multiple meanings, it is often subject to misunderstanding when used in a multidisciplinary setting (Adams et al., 2013).

While modern systems are considerably more complicated systems from the past, today's systems are embedded in history, with von Bertalanffy tracing systems theory as far back as the engineering of the Egyptian pyramids. Systems theory as an area of study developed after World War II, with von Bertalanffy regarded as one of the founders of systems theory (Snooks, 2008). von Bertalanffy's idea to develop a theory of systems began as early as the interwar period, though it was only published in the 1950s. von Bertalanffy's "objective was to bring together under one heading the organismic science that he had observed in his work as a biologist" (von Bertalanffy, 1968: 01). His desire was to use the word "system" to describe those principles which are common to systems in general (von Bertalanffy, 1968). von Bertalanffy wrote:

"...there exists models, principles, and laws that apply to generalized systems or their subclasses, irrespective of their particular kind, the nature of their component elements, and the relationships or "forces" between them. It seems legitimate to ask for a theory, not of systems of a special kind, but of universal principles applying to systems in

general” (von Bertalanffy, 1968: 32).

In addition to the work of von Bertalanffy, some of the earliest references to systems theory are from the mid-1970s (Walker, 2012). In 1973, Gregory Bateson took the concept of a general systems theory and combined it with the new science of cybernetics and then applied it to social systems such as the family (Walker, 2012). An idea thus began to take root that individual experiences within families were continually being shaped and influenced by the evolving interaction patterns of communication, leading to the placement of individuals within a system (Walker, 2012). Another noted rise in systems theory at that time (1970’s), as indicated by Walker (2012), was to articulate and provide social workers with a framework for addressing problems within communities and societies. According to Walker (2012: 01), “social work as a new profession was evolving and experimenting with ideas from psychology, sociology and social policy to try to find an identity and set of skills based on solid theories”. As a result, a lot of “effort was put into creating a professional identity, value base and intellectual framework that could explain what social work was” (Walker, 2012: 01). This experimenting then gave rise to systems theory in social work. Other noted earlier scholars of systems theory were Pincus & Minahan (1974) cited by Walker (2012) who made use of systems theory arguing that it was the only theory that could incorporate the concept of free will as well as self-determination and fit into Marxist-inspired conflict theory. With this thinking, Pincus & Minahan argued the emphasised “the interactivities of the whole” (Walker, 2012).

Because this study is grounded in social work, it is also important to understand the history between social work and systems theory. Social sciences played an important part in establishing of systems theory (Stichweh, 2010). In 1951, Jürgen Ruesch and Gregory Bateson were the first who tried to base a social science discipline on an information and communication theory coming from cybernetics. This was further developed by Talcott Parsons in 1972, who wrote that social systems are related either to the internal environment of other social systems or to external non-social environments (Baecker Hutter, Romano & Stichweh, 2007). In 1972, Parsons suggested that social sciences cannot be separated from the functioning of a system (Baecker et al., 2007). Parsons suggested four different types of systems used in social sciences: adaptive systems, which combine external reference and future orientation; systems which are specialised for goal-attainment; systems focused on integration of system elements; and systems responsible for the maintenance of long-term

patterns.

Today, systems theory is applied in two main ways. First, some biologists, chemists, physicists and mathematicians make use of general systems theory (Szidarovszky & Bahill, 2018). Second, systems theory is used as a paradigm of sociological theorising and research, linked to the writings of Talcott Parsons and Niklas Luhmann (Stichweh, 2000). “As a sociological paradigm it is attractive because of its universalism, conceiving a multifaceted approach to the analysis of social systems which in the plurality of theoretical approaches it brought about promises to be applicable to the whole range of problems relevant for sociology” (Stichweh, 2000).

With regard to this study and the application of systems theory to the topic of migrant day labourers’ well-being and family life, it is important to acknowledge that the study was conducted within a social work context and to relate social work specifically to systems theory. Seidl & Mormann (2014) state that the heart of social work models and social work practice is greatly influenced by system theory as well as by the person-in-environment perspective, as explained by Karls, Lowery, Mattaini & Wandrei (1997). Both these perspectives, according to Seidl & Mormann (2014), examine how social work focuses on how individuals interact with their environment. With these systems, social work practice moves away from focusing solely on the individual and instead focuses holistically on the individual within their environment. This is also referred to as human behaviour in the social environment (Hutchison, 2018). Within social work, the environment is there considered a determining factor with significant impact on human behaviour. Hutchison (2018) defines environments as physical space, social context and the individual’s culture and history. Systems theory is also useful to social work practice as it provides a theoretical basis for assessing a client holistically by examining all the systems within their environment. Systems theory is primarily used in the assessment and intervention stages of social work practice where the social worker assesses the client holistically by considering psychological, biological and social functioning as well as the interaction of other systems within the client’s environment, particularly those that could be contributing to the presenting problem. Based on the assessment, which is underpinned by systems theory, the social worker determines which system needs intervention. Although the client may be an individual, the social worker may deem the family system, community system or even political systems as the focus for intervention. Interventions most used in social work practice include couple and family

therapy, family systems therapy, community development and community practice.

4.4 CONTEMPORARY DEFINITIONS OF SYSTEMS THEORY

“Systems theory is an interdisciplinary theory about the nature of complex systems in nature, society and science, and is a framework by which one can investigate and/or describe any group of objects that work together to produce some result” (Environment and ecology, 2013: 01). This could be a single organism, an organisation or society or an electro-mechanical or informational artefact. Meadows (2009) defines this as a regularly interacting or interdependent group of items forming a unified whole. Mabogunje (1970) provides a broad definition of systems theory, defining a system as the following:

“A system may be defined as a complex of interacting elements, together with their attributes and relationships. One of the major tasks in conceptualizing a phenomenon as a system, therefore, is to identify the basic interacting elements, their attributes, and their relationships. Once this is done, it soon becomes obvious that the system operates not in a void but in a special environment. A system with its environment constitutes the universe of phenomena which is of interest in each given context (Mabogunje, 1970: 03).

White (2018) has a rather simplistic approach to understanding systems theory, defining systems as the following:

“Think about the town or city that you live in - what are the pieces that make it a community? There are probably private businesses and manufacturing, public schools, government agencies, and possibly even a few religious institutions. Although we tend to think of these things as being independent entities that provide us with certain services, they are also the individual pieces that comprise a community or society” (White, 2018: 109).

This example by White (2018) provides perhaps the simplest explanation of what makes a system and how a system works. This extends to social sciences’ understanding of systems in defining it as groups, individuals and institutions that work together to make a complete whole (White, 2018). As a concept and academic theory, “social systems are used to identify

relationships that connect people and organisations”, which ultimately contribute to a larger institution (White, 2018). Acknowledging this relation between people and their context is key to this study, as it assumes that day labourers are impacted by their lived and work experience.

“A system may also be defined as a complex of interacting elements, together with their attributes and relationships” (Laszlo & Krippner (1998: 06). Identifying and conceptualising a phenomenon as a system is therefore “to identify the basic interacting elements, their attributes and their relationships” (Mabogunje, 1970: 03). Once this is done, it soon becomes obvious that the system operates not in a void but in a special environment (Mabogunje, 1970).

Maxwell (2012) provides a definition of systems theory that is relevant to the social sciences, describing it as human behaviour expressed in complex systems. This is based on the premise that human behaviour is the intersection of multiple interrelated systems. It also furthers the view that human behaviour is based on, and will determine, the individual needs, rewards, expectations and attributes of the people living in the system. Noursi, Saluja & Richey (2021) maintain that families, couples and organisations are directly impacted by the systems around them. Social systems theory is therefore the most relevant theory to apply in this study, as it provides the researcher with the opportunity to explore the relationship between day labourers’ work and their well-being and family life. By applying systems theory, the researcher is also able to study day labourers’ migration patterns and their impact on the lived experiences of the migrants.

Given the broad applications of systems theory, it is also important to place the theory and this study within the context of social sciences. The following section therefore focuses on the application of systems theory within a social science context.

4.5 APPLICATION OF SYSTEMS THEORY TO THE STUDY

Systems theory has been hailed by Langlois (1982) as a way of unifying the methodologies of all sciences, making it applicable across many different fields of research including the practice of social work. At its most basic, systems theory is a confrontation with the age-old problem of the whole versus the parts (Langlois, 1982). In this regard, systems theorists like

Langlois argued that we cannot understand the parts in isolation from the whole; thus, we need to study the total system to see the big picture (Langlois, 1982). The study of day labourers and their well-being and family lives therefore cannot be divorced from understanding day labour as part of a complex system.

One of the most relevant applicable concepts of systems theory in social sciences, according to Walker (2012), is the view that individuals must not be evaluated in isolation, but in the context of the family, environment and living circumstances. Families must therefore be viewed as living organisms made up of intricate individuals that influence and get influenced by the family as a unit. Walker & Akister (2004) expand this view by including other connections in addition to families. They regard all aspects of social functioning, economic functioning and psychosocial functioning as one unit (Walker & Akister, 2004). Understanding this view made systems theory one of the most directly applicable concepts to the current study, as the researcher was able to study migrant day labourers and their well-being and family lives as outcomes and influencers of their environment and immediate systems. By making use of systems theory, the researcher could also study day labourers as a phenomenon within a system that influences their lived experiences and family lives.

Another key aspect of systems theory explains human behaviour is a complex system displaying intersections and influences of multiple interrelated systems (Merton & Merton, 1968). In attempting to understand the well-being of day labourers, one must therefore also consider well-being as a reflection of interrelated day labourer systems. Within this study, these systems include families, work, living conditions and support systems. This again demonstrates that systems theory is the most relevant theoretical framework for this project. By making use of systems theory, the researcher was therefore able to develop a holistic view of individuals (day labourers) within an environment where several systems inextricably connect and influence one another. This is critically in line with the views of von Bertalanffy (1968) who criticises theories that try to understand the behaviour, experiences and explorations of human life in isolation from the whole.

In addition to the usefulness of applying the systems theory to this study, it was crucial for the researcher to select a theoretical framework that would build the most appropriate research design. With the use of systems theory, the researcher was able to select a methodology that allowed for diverse ways of studying the research phenomenon. This was a

useful measure of the applicability of the theoretical framework as it permitted the researcher to identify the research design in a way that allowed the theory to be measured, tested and extended in the study. This is supported by Munhall & Chenail (2008), who states that whether you are constructing a quantitative, qualitative or MMR study, the theoretical framework will often dictate the data collection plan that you develop and will illuminate information within the data.

4.6 FAMILY SYSTEMS THEORY AND MIGRATION SYSTEMS THEORY

4.6.1 Introduction

Systems theory as a framework has a variety of conceptual frameworks, which allows it to be applied in different fields. The researcher applied two forms of systems theory to the study: family systems theory and migration systems theory. The researcher opted specifically for family systems theory and migration systems as these were the most directly applicable to the study. Combining two conceptual frameworks and working theories allows for the research phenomenon to be examined from different assumption points and can add value to research (Pratt & Skelton, 2018). Considering the broad scope of the study, the researcher considered it highly valuable to make use of the two theoretical approaches.

4.6.2 Applying family systems theory

Family systems theory as defined by MacKay & Brown (2013) citing Kerr & Bowen (1988) is a theory of “human behaviour that views the family as an emotional unit and uses systems thinking to describe the complex interactions in the unit”. It is the nature of a family that its members are intensely connected emotionally. This was essential in examining the family lives and well-being of migrant day labourers. According to family systems theory, a term coined by psychoanalyst Murray Bowen in the 1960s, individuals cannot be understood in isolation from one another, but rather as a part of their family, as the family is an emotional unit (MacKay & Brown, 2013). Families are systems of interconnected and interdependent individuals. Although Bowen used this theory to provide therapeutic services for families, it is very much applicable to the study at hand and, according to O’Gorman (2012), the application of family systems theory can be extended to the functioning of families and the impact of changes in the family’s setup. One element in

particular that makes it applicable to this study is Bowen's view that disruption or changes in the lived experience of one family member may have severe implications on the well-being and functioning of the entire family (MacKay & Brown, 2013). De Vries (2001) states that it is possible to gain a better understanding of personal functions through the study of interpersonal relationships and family dynamics. This makes family systems theory a key theory in this research, as it demonstrates the importance of examining day labourers as entities within a system (their families) in order to gain a deeper understanding of their well-being and lived experiences.

Family systems theory also suggests that a family is a system in which each member has a role to play and rules to respect (Duncan & Blugis, 2011). Members of the system are expected to respond to each other in a certain way according to their role, which is determined by relationship agreements. Within the boundaries of the system, patterns develop as certain family members' behaviour is influenced by and influences other family members' behaviours in predictable ways (Bifulco, 2007). In other words, a person's behaviour is inextricably connected with the behaviours and attitudes they have learned from their family (O'Gorman, 2012).

A key tenet of Bowen's family systems theory is the view that maintaining the same pattern of behaviours within a system may lead to balance in the system (Noltemeyer, Bush, Patton & Bergen, 2012). A change in the family system may also create dysfunction or maintain balance. Bowen provides the example that if a husband is depressed and struggles to manage his duties and tasks as a family man, his spouse may need to take on more responsibility (Haefner, 2014). The adjustment in roles may maintain stability in the relationship or it may push the family towards a different equilibrium (Haefner, 2014). Previous studies of day labourers in South Africa revealed that a significant portion of day labourers are male migrants who left families behind in their home country (Harmse et al. 2009). These disruptions alter family functioning and may bring changes in interpersonal relations within families. Any change in one individual within a family is likely to influence the entire system and may even lead to change in other members (Datchi-Phillips, 2011). This again shows how relevant family systems theory is to this study, as migrant day labourers' work will likely have a large impact on their family lives.

4.6.3 Applying migration systems theory

Migration systems theory is the most useful theory for explaining migration and its links to the informal labour market. Migration system theory was introduced in a seminal paper by Akin Mabogunje which focused on explaining why people in rural areas would want to move to urban areas and the impact thereof on family functioning (Mabogunje, 1970). Migration systems theory does not so much focus on the determinants that initiate migration but rather at what perpetuates migration (Bakewell, de Haas & Kubal, 2011). The theory further asserts that “migration alters the social, cultural, economic and institutional conditions at the individual level of the migrant and for the sending and receiving destinations” (de Haas, 2011: 17). Taking this into account, migration systems theory is an appropriate theory to apply to this study.

Traditional theories of migration have focused a lot more on the origins of migration; the directionality and continuity of migrant flows; the utilisation of immigrant labour; and the sociocultural adaptation of migrants. Traditional migration theories were also, as suggested by Mytna (2009: 13), “developed from specific empirical observations, meaning they often grew in isolation and are separated by disciplinary boundaries”. However, in a bid to understand migration as an influence on the lived experiences and family lives of day labourers, it became paramount to examine migration within a system. This prompted the researcher to explore systems migration theory, which links the determinants of migration to structural change in world markets and views migration as a function of globalisation, the increased interdependence of economies and the emergence of new forms of production (Vyas, Laupacis, Austin, Fang, Silver & Kapral, 2020).

Migration systems theory resides within the greater systems theory (Mabogunje, 1970). Castles (2009) provides additional context, suggesting that migration systems theory has sociological and anthropological roots. It mainly focuses various factors that influence migration, the vital role of personal relations between migrants and non-migrants and stresses that migration restructures the entire societal and developmental context both on an individual and society level (De Haas 2008a). Understanding the lived experiences of migrants therefore cannot be removed from understanding the various systems and the functions of the systems at migrants’ sending and receiving destinations. Migrants therefore need to be understood within the wider context of the systems in which they function. This

theoretical framework therefore to an extent also acknowledges the role of families, friends and other contacts in helping migrants settle in and their functioning (Appleyard, 1992).

It must also be considered that a sending region and a receiving region are linked by the movement of people and the flow of goods, capital, materials, ideas and information (Bakewell, 2014; Mabogunje, 1970). However, not all communities in a sending or receiving region will actively participate in the migration system. This is important to take into consideration when studying the lived experiences of migrant day labourers and their interactions with non-migrant communities in their receiving destinations.

By applying migrant systems theory to the study, the researcher was not limited to examining the lived experiences of day labourers in relation to their families alone, but could also examine the profile of day labourers within the context of Cape Town and the specific factors that led them to migrate to Cape Town (De Haas, 2010).

Key to migration systems theory is also the view that not everyone migrates, including key family members of migrants. Recchi (2008) suggests that migration systems theory negates and moves away from the view of homogeneity suggesting that individual decision-making is based on different predispositions and expectations rather than heterogeneity. It therefore becomes evident that whilst some day labourers and migrants might opt to migrate with families, this is not always the case. By applying the migrant systems theory, the researcher is cognisant of the view that a portion of migrant day labourers left families, spouses and children behind. Understanding the reasoning of migrants in this space is therefore crucial for the study.

The assumption that family ties are maintained across migration boundaries is also key to migration systems theory (De Haas, 2008b). This makes migration systems theory highly relevant in responding to the research question as one unpacks the relations between migrants and their families that remain in the original sending destination. Understanding this also makes migration systems theory a useful framework for understanding the family functioning of day labourers who did not migrate with their families.

Another view of critical importance in applying migrant systems theory is the idea that, for migrants to function well in their new environment, they need to secure a stable job and

establish appropriate networks and bonds of family, kinship, friendship and community (Massey et al., 1993). Lee (1966) further adds to this point, suggesting that the lack of these networks will result in material and psychological costs to the migrant. Considering this insight, the researcher also aimed to examine this phenomenon in relation to Cape Town migrant day labourers.

4.7 CHAPTER SUMMARY

This chapter provided an overview of systems theory, which was chosen as the most appropriate theoretical framework for the study. It then discussed two specific variants of systems theory applied to the study: family systems theory and migration systems theory. A brief overview of each theory was given. Family systems theory and migration systems theory were selected for the study as they allow the researcher to examine day labourers both within the context of their functioning as family members and as migrant economic players.

CHAPTER 5: RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

5.1 INTRODUCTION

In this chapter, the researcher explores the research design and methodology implemented in answering the research question “What is the family life and wellbeing of migrant day labourers in Cape Town-South Africa?”. Clearly defined methodology is one of the most crucial elements of a research study (Jubaer, Hoque, Oyes, Chowdhury & Miah, 2021). Research methodology provides guidance on the techniques, processes and outcomes employed in a research study to acquire answers to issues put forward for the research. This chapter explains the data collection and analysis process, the research techniques implemented and the selection of research participants and research sites for the study.

5.2 CHAPTER ORGANISATION

According to Creswell (2015), the research methodology must best suit the identified problem and its setting to make the research practical, credible and legitimate. Thattamparambil (2020) adds on to this stating that research methodology can determine the success and overall quality of your report. In line with the complexity of the research question and the research phenomenon, the researcher opted to use MMR. Remaining true to MMR, both qualitative and quantitative methods were used in the collection and analysis of data. The researcher also made use of an additional data collection method in the form of mapping. Mapping, according to Conceição, Samuel & Yelich Biniecki (2017), is a data collection strategy to assist researchers and practitioners in visualising interrelationships between ideas and data findings. Ultimately, the research required the use of qualitative, quantitative and mapping data collection methods. The combination of all three these methods was the best approach for the research, providing deeper and more useful information.

This chapter details each phase of the research process for each of the three methods: research design, sampling, data collection and data analysis. Where relevant, the researcher acknowledges changes made to the methodology that were not included in the research proposal and provides the rationale behind these changes.

5.3 RESEARCH APPROACH

There are two main methodological approaches in the social sciences: qualitative and quantitative research. Researchers usually opt to use one or the other or, alternatively, as is in this study, a combination of both (Boutellier, Gassmann, Raeder & Zeschky, 2013). The study makes use of sequential exploratory MRR, which applies both qualitative and quantitative methods in studying the same phenomenon (Creswell, 2003; Hussein, 2009; Tashakkori & Teddlie, 2003). The researcher focused on sampling, collecting and analysing data using both quantitative and qualitative processes and also made use of mapping as a third data collection method.

Neither quantitative nor qualitative methods in isolation is deemed sufficient to capture the intricate details of a study phenomenon at any given time (Bhattacharjee, 2012). However, when used in combination, quantitative and qualitative methods complement each other, allowing for a more robust study and a more comprehensive set of findings (Bhattacharjee, 2012). Through the use of MMR, the researcher was therefore able to gather both qualitative and quantitative data, integrate the two and “interpret the findings based on the combined strengths of both sets of data”, as recommended by Creswell (2015: 38). MMR was the most applicable approach to the study.

De Vos et al. (2011) and Heigham & Croker (2009) promote MMR as the most relevant type of data collection. By mixing quantitative and qualitative research, the researcher gains breadth and depth in their understanding of the study phenomenon while offsetting the weaknesses inherent to each approach by itself (De Vos et al., 2011; Heigham & Croker, 2009). This allowed the researcher to examine data intrinsically and to focus on narratives and statistical data. The researcher was therefore able to explore the experiences, emotions and values of the participants but also the distribution trends and profiles of the participants according to different factors such as sex, place of origin, income, employment history and migratory patterns.

Bhattacharjee (2012) expands on the application and advantage of using MMR, stating that the most advantageous characteristic of MMR is the possibility of triangulation, which refers to the use of several means to examine the same phenomenon. Triangulation therefore allows one to identify aspects of the study phenomenon more accurately by approaching it from

different angles using different methods and techniques (Gibson, 2017). This was essential to the study as it allowed the researcher to draw not only on statistics and numbers but also on narrative explanations. This was also key in acting as a means of credibility and validity for the data sets.

5.4 MODELS OF MIXED METHODS RESEARCH (MMR)

This section highlights possible MMR designs and provides context for why the researcher selected sequential exploratory design as the most appropriate for the study. Like many research designs, there are different factors that influence MMR based on the desired outcomes of the study.

When deciding what mixed methods design to use, it was important to consider the overall purpose of the research, focusing on both the research question and the strengths and weaknesses of each design (Tashakkori & Teddlie, 2003). There are about forty mixed methods research designs reported in the literature (Tashakkori & Teddlie, 2003). Creswell, Klassen, Plano Clark & Smith, (2011) identify the six most frequently used designs, which include three concurrent and three sequential designs. The table below compares these designs in terms of their purposes, strengths and weaknesses.

Table 1: Mixed methods research designs

(Source: Creswell et al., 2011)

Mixed methods research design	Description
Convergent parallel design	Uses synchronised timing to implement the quantitative and qualitative strands during the same phase of the research process. Quantitative and qualitative methods are equally important. The phases are kept separate during analysis then mixed during overall interpretation.
Sequential explanatory design	Occurs in two distinct phases. These phases are

	interactive. This design starts with the collection and analysis of the quantitative data, followed by the subsequent collection and analysis of the qualitative data. Of significance is that the qualitative results build on the initial quantitative results.
Sequential exploratory design	Starts with the collection and analysis of the quantitative data, followed by the collection and analysis of qualitative data. In contrast to the sequential explanatory design, the quantitative results build on the initial qualitative results.
Embedded design	Collects and analyses the quantitative and qualitative data within a traditional quantitative or qualitative design. For example, a qualitative strand may be added within a quantitative design, such as an experiment.
Transformative design	Uses a theoretical perspective as an overarching framework to analyse the data quantitatively and qualitatively.
Multi-phase design	Combines both sequential and concurrent strands over a period of time to address the study phenomenon. This design is generally used in programme evaluation where quantitative and qualitative approaches are used over a period to support the development, adaptation, and evaluation of specific programmes.

5.5 RESEARCH DESIGN

To properly answer the research question required the use of a multi-layered MMR approach that not only examines the family lives of migrant day labourers but also examines their work experiences and other lived experiences. The researcher thus made use of a sequential exploratory design. This design is characterised by an initial phase of quantitative data collection and analysis followed by a phase of qualitative data collection and analysis

(Schoonenboom & Johnson, 2017). The findings of the different data collection phases are then interpreted to form one meaning that may support or negate the other method (Terrell, 2012). During the study, the researcher began the process with the mapping of all hiring sites followed by the collection and analysis of quantitative data, and then the collection and analysis of qualitative data.

For the purposes of this study, there were three phases of data collection. Sampling, data collection and analysis were completed during each phase. The analysed data from all the stages was then integrated to make one meaningful report. This point of integration is also referred to as point of interface (Sligo et al., 2018). According to Guest et al. (2013) and Morse (2016), every MMR study has at least one point of interface at which the qualitative and quantitative components are brought together. This expands and strengthens a study's conclusions (Schoonenboom & Johnson, 2017). The three phases are detailed in Figure 2.

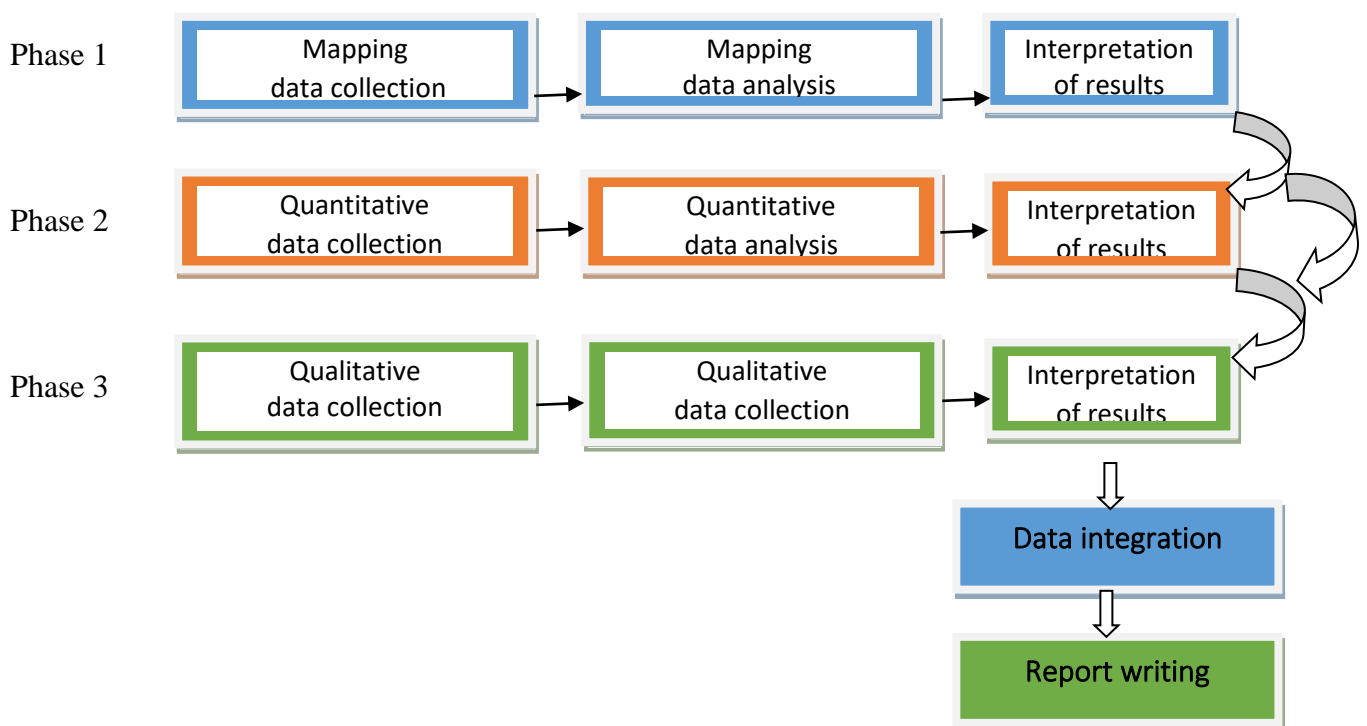


Figure 2: Data collection, analysis and integration schedule

Phase 1 of the data collection process involved identifying all known hiring sites in Cape Town. The geographical locations of the sites and the number of sites were recorded. Phase 2 of the data collection process focused on collecting quantitative data on day labourers at all

identified hiring sites in Cape Town by making use of structured questionnaires. Phase 3 made use of semi-structured questionnaires, with the researcher conducting 18 interviews with day labourers at six selected day labour sites in a bid to record narrative and qualitative data on the lived experiences of day labourers.

The following sections explore the research design implemented in the study.

5.6 RESEARCH SETTING AND POPULATION

5.6.1 Research setting

The research was conducted in the Western Cape Province of South Africa. Estimates by Worldometer (2021) reported the South African population as 59.9 million people. The Western Cape had an estimated population of 5.823 million in 2011 (StatsSA, 2019), which increased to an estimated 7 million people as of mid-2020 (StatsSA, 2020). The Western Cape's population increase can partly be attributed to migration. The Western Cape is known to be an attractive destination for both internal and international migrants (StatsSA, 2018). With specific reference to Cape Town, where the study was conducted, the population of Cape Town in 2021 is estimated to be 4.7 million, a 2.08% increase from 2019 (United Nations, 2021). The most recent census in South Africa was completed in 2011. According to the mid-year population estimates of 2020, Gauteng and the Western Cape were estimated to experience the largest inflow of migrants in 2020, with approximately, 1 553 162 and 468 568 migrants, respectively (StatsSA, 2020). It is within this setting that the study was conducted.

All of the contextual information provided in previous sections about unemployment, migration and the informal economy in South Africa forms part of the research setting.

5.6.2 Population and sampling

5.6.2.1 Population

Burns & Grove (2010) describe the study population as all the elements that meet the criteria for inclusion in a study. Denzin & Lincoln (2002) and Wolff, Knodel & Sittitrai (1993) further describe the population of a study as a complete set of elements, persons or objects

that possess some common characteristic defined by the sampling criteria as established by the researcher. The study population in this research consisted of day labourers within Cape Town and the greater Western Cape. This population group can be described as all men and women who stand on the street daily in search of work to earn a living.

5.6.2.2 Sample and sampling methods

According to Martínez-Mesa, González-Chica, Duquia, Bonamigo & Bastos (2016), a sample is made up of the elements of the population that are considered for actual inclusion in the study. Simply put, it is the actual group of individuals who participate in the study. Cherry (2020) defines the study sample “as a subset of a population that is used to represent the entire group as a whole”. The study sample for this project was day labourers at hiring sites. The researcher made use of identical sampling, which, according to Etikan & Bala (2017), includes the use of the same sample group for both quantitative and qualitative data collection. This was the most relevant sampling method for the study, considering the intention was to collect quantitative data to a point of data saturation and then use qualitative methods to strengthen the data emanating from the quantitative data processes. In essence all research participants across the different data collection methods were from the same sample group.

As will be discussed later in this chapter, the researcher also made use of random sampling, snowball sampling and purposeful sampling.

5.7 ROLE OF THE RESEARCHER AND DATA COLLECTORS

Before delving into the data collection and data analysis phases, it is important to reflect on the role of the researcher. This is necessary considering that the researcher played an active role in the collection and analysis of both the qualitative and the quantitative data. It is also necessary to note that the researcher made use of research assistants and data collectors who assisted in the collection of quantitative data. All research assistants underwent training facilitated by the researcher and his academic supervisors. The training focused on providing context for the study and equipping the data collectors with the right tools and skills for data collection. This was essential in ensuring the accurate collection and recording of data. All data collectors signed a contract with the researcher’s academic supervisors on behalf of the

University of the Western Cape. This included a liability clause to ensure all data collectors adhere to the same ethical principles as the researcher. In addition, the research assistants were trained in data collection techniques. This was done with the understanding that information or data is not something that is handed to anyone on a silver platter, as stated by Palinkas, Horwitz & Green (2015). Skills and techniques to elicit data and information from research participants were therefore encouraged. The researcher also used such techniques, especially during the collection of qualitative data. As stated by Dixon-Woods, Agarwal, Jones, Young & Sutton (2005), researchers need to challenge participants to an extent, in order to draw out people's differences and elicit a diverse range of opinions on the topic under discussion. This was achieved by the researcher through use of interview techniques such as open-ended questions.

Within this role, the researcher had to be honest and keep participants informed about the aims of the study while also not pressuring participants to be interviewed. This was particularly important given the potential for misunderstanding amongst the day labourers that participation in the study may lead to work opportunities. The researcher and other data collectors made it clear to all participants that no incentive was on offer as a result of participating in the study. The researcher and the data collectors also understood from the beginning that research participants were at the hiring sites for job-seeking purposes and not necessarily to participate in the study, and this had to be respected.

The following sections will focus on the data collection processes of each phase of data collection. Each phase will include a discussion of the sampling method, data collection method and the data analysis process as per the data collected within that phase.

5.8 SAMPLING, DATA COLLECTION PROCESS & DATA ANALYSIS

Three phases were followed in the sampling, data collection and data analysis process. Phase 1 focused on the mapping of hiring sites, Phase 2 focused on the collection and analysis of quantitative data. Phase 3 focused on the collection and analysis of qualitative data. The data collection phases were all conducted within a 3 month period, the mapping data collection being conducted first.

5.9 PHASE 1: MAPPING DATA

The set objective for Phase 1 of the data collection was to profile the distribution of hiring sites in Cape Town using geographic information system (GIS) methods.

Sampling

The geographical mapping and recording of geographical locations can be used as a data collection and data recording method (Cay, Iscan & Durduran 2004). This technique is increasingly utilised in the social sciences as a tool for data collection and analysis.

The researcher, making use of observation and his knowledge of Cape Town, endeavoured to identify, visit, and record all known hiring sites frequented by day laborers within the City of Cape Town and surrounding metropolitans. The researcher, having been a resident of Cape Town for 10 years, was already familiar with the locations and distribution of day labour hiring sites. Over a period of many years, the researcher had become familiar with the locations of the most popular and visible hiring sites around Cape Town by driving in and around the city.

The researcher also made use of snowball sampling, which is a chain-referral sampling method in which existing subjects provide referrals to recruit samples required for a research study (Dorsten & Hotchkiss, 2018). The researcher did this by asking participants for referrals to other known sites. Through this method, the researcher was able to document and map new sites that may not have been identified otherwise. This proved advantageous to the research as the researcher recorded sites that he would have missed if relying only on his personal knowledge of Cape Town.

Data collection

Mapping all known and identified day labour hiring sites in Cape Town marked the initial stage of data collection. The process included driving to known sites and referred sites, mostly early in the morning.

On arrival at a day labour hiring site, the researcher would, where possible and necessary, get out of the vehicle to get accurate geographical location details. Using a geographical location tagging application on a mobile phone, the researcher recorded the exact geographical locations of the hiring site. This data was recorded on a register noting the address of the location or the latitude/longitude data of the location, and the time of the visit. This was an

inexpensive yet accurate form of mapping the locations of the hiring sites around the City of Cape Town, as suggested by Bolstad (2016), who states that civilian GIS systems in mobile phones have a 3.8-metre variance and 98% accuracy rate. The use of a mobile phone was therefore a practical and reliable means of recording the data.

When possible, the researcher would at this stage engage with men and women at the hiring sites, mainly with the intention of enquiring whether they could refer the researcher to any other hiring sites. Engaging with the people at the hiring sites at this stage of the data collection also allowed the researcher to determine if the recorded sites were in fact day labour hiring sites. The researcher achieved this by initially introducing himself, stating the purpose of the study and ascertaining the reasons for the people to be at the site.

Other than the above information, no participant interviews were conducted at this stage. The researcher simply observed trends at the hiring sites, including counting the number of day labourers at each site. The researcher recorded estimated numbers of day labourers per site using observations and estimate counting of all presumed day labourers on site. This data was then recorded on a data collection form marked Appendix B. Observation as a systematic data collection approach is when researchers apply their senses to examine the study phenomenon in its natural setting or in naturally occurring situations (Walshe, Ewing & Griffiths, 2012). The researcher thus made use of non-participant observation.

The researcher focused the data collection on sites within the geographical location of Cape Town.

Data analysis

Analysing geographic information involves seeking patterns, relationships and connections. As researchers analyse and interpret information, meaningful patterns or processes emerge (Cai, Haile, Magidi, Mapedza & Nhamo, 2017). To complete data analysis of the collected mapping data, the digital tool “TerraGO” was used to analyse the distribution of hiring sites and estimate the population density of day labourers at each of the identified sites. TerraGO can be used to analyse geo-referenced data, which simply means that the internal coordinate system of a map or aerial photo image can be related to a ground system of geographic coordinates.

During the study, the researcher began the data analysis of the mapping data by going through all the captured forms detailing the geographical locations of the day labour hiring sites. This data was cleaned up for errors including errors in recording and capturing of data. All the data was then entered into a Microsoft Excel spreadsheet, noting the recorded GIS locations, the time of the visit at the hiring site and estimated populations per hiring site. This data was then entered into the TerraGo application where it was transferred onto the existing real-time maps of Cape Town. TerraGo makes use of real-time and accurate sourced geographical maps of Cape Town as provided by Google. The data was then projected onto the maps showing both the spatial distribution of day labourer sites and the population density. These details and the distribution of results are detailed in Chapter 6.

TerraGo was the most applicable tool as it allowed for flexibility with the data. It provided multiple data layers that provided relationships between the location of sites and how many people are on site. The researcher could then make inferences about the push and pull factors that underlie the development of day labour sites and about the distribution of hiring sites and number of people per site.

5.10 PHASE 2: QUANTITATIVE DATA

Phase 2 of sampling and data collection focused on selecting hiring sites to conduct quantitative interviews and selecting participants for qualitative data collection.

Gill (2020) states that sampling methods must be determined and directed by set objectives and desired outcomes. It is therefore important to understand the set objectives of this phase of data collection:

- Identify migratory patterns of day labourers in Cape Town.
- Explore the personal backgrounds of migrant day labourers in Cape Town.
- Determine the socioeconomic profiles of migrant day labourers in Cape Town.
- Measure life satisfaction amongst migrant day labourers in Cape Town by assessing well-being and happiness.

Sampling

The researcher selected hiring sites for quantitative data collection mainly based on the

populations at the day labour hiring sites as recorded during Phase 1. The researcher also selected hiring sites for quantitative data collection based on the location of the hiring site and the availability of day labourers at the hiring site. Using these criteria, purposeful selection of preferred hiring sites was a justifiable means ensuring that the researcher selected sites that fairly represent the population of all day labour hiring sites. The researcher identified 51 day labour hiring sites for quantitative data collection.

The researcher then visited the selected hiring sites to conduct quantitative data collection. On arrival at the hiring sites, the researcher, with the aid of research assistants and by making use of convenience sampling, identified participants for quantitative data collection. Convenience sampling means selecting participants based on availability and willingness to take part in the study (Ben-Shlomo, 2013). This was the most appropriate method because day labour requires active participation by day labourers in seeking jobs and the researcher therefore had to be mindful of the fact that some day labourers needed to prioritise seeking work over participating in the study. In addition, the researcher anticipated some resistance and hesitation to participate in the interviews, particularly from day labourers who are also undocumented migrants. Horton (2020), for example, suggests that the majority of day labourers globally are undocumented migrants.

On arrival at the hiring sites, the researcher introduced himself and all the data collectors and explained the objectives of the study. Only people who were above the age of 18, willing to be interviewed and at the day labour hiring site to seek work opportunities participated in the quantitative interviews.

Data collection

Because of the geographical size of Cape Town, and the fact that Cape Town is a hub for migrants, the researcher anticipated a diverse range of languages from the research participants. Previous studies by Schenck and Blaauw, using data collected between 2006 and 2015, found that foreign migrants make up a significant number of all known day labourers in South Africa, with most of the international day labourers originating from Zimbabwe (Blaauw et al., 2012). It was therefore critical for the researcher to have research assistants fluent in Shona and other African languages who could assist with the data collection where participants may not be fluent in English. This was aided by the fact that the researcher is Zimbabwean-born and fluent in Shona and English. This also extended to acknowledging that

the research was being conducted in the Western Cape, where the main spoken languages are English, Afrikaans and IsiXhosa (Prah, 2007). Fortunately, this was mitigated by the fact that the 12 research assistants were from diverse backgrounds, speaking multiple languages including Afrikaans, English and isiXhosa. The fieldworkers were also well trained in data collection skills and techniques, and in the ethics of the research. They were mostly senior research and social work students from the University of the Western Cape. They were therefore able to accommodate the potential diversity of the research participants.

Site visits to the day labour hiring sites for quantitative data collection happened over a period of two weeks, all in the early hours of the morning. The researcher, together with the research assistants, visited sites as early 6 a.m. on all days of the week. This was intentional, as observation conducted during the Phase 1 mapping suggested that day labourers were “early risers”, getting to hiring sites early in the morning to get to employers first.

On arrival, the researcher and the research assistants introduced themselves and the purpose of the study to all persons at the hiring site. This was not always a clear-cut process, as the people present would sometimes be scattered around the site. At such sites, the researcher and the research assistants would divide themselves across the site to reach out to as many day labourers as possible. The next step was to determine whether the people at the hiring site were indeed day labourers. This was achieved simply by introducing ourselves to the potential research participants and discussing the reason of the visit. This was essential after observing during Phase 1 of the data collection that day labour hiring sites were also used as potential pick-up points for workers in both the formal and informal sectors. A possibility therefore remained that not all persons at the hiring sites were day labourers. Where people indicated that they were seeking work as day labourers, the researcher and the research assistants proceeded to invite them to participate in the interview process. Of all the identified sites visited by the researcher, there was never an incident of the site not being a hiring site. This is critical in recognising the successful implementation of the data collection processes conducted under Phase 1.

Once this was determined and the person agreed to participate in the study, the researcher and the research assistants would scatter around the site, with each conducting individual interviews with separate day labourers at any given time. This included finding a secluded spot that allowed for a private conversation but remained within eye view of the rest of the

group. Identifying private spots that allowed the research participants to share information and respond to questions confidentially was key.

The ethics of the study were discussed with the research participants, guided by principles of social science research (Resnik, 2005) and the research ethics of the University of the Western Cape. These included aspects of confidentiality and the participant’s right to leave the study should they feel a need to leave the interview for work or any other reason. Once fully informed about the ethics of the study, consent forms were signed by the research participants. The consent form can be found in Appendix A.

Once consent was obtained, structured questionnaires were used for the collection of quantitative data (see Appendix C). Structured questionnaires are tools for collecting and recording information about a study phenomenon (Phellas, Bloch & Seale, 2011.). These questionnaires included both qualitative and quantitative questions.

Despite not having a set target of participants to reach, the researcher and the research assistants intended to interview all day labourers on each site. The reason for this was to document all available day labourers irrespective of nationality. This was also in a bid to determine the prevalence of foreign (migrant) day labourers in Cape Town. This would also guide the selection of sites which have a higher prevalence of migrants for Phase 3 of the data collection process. In total, for this part of the data collection process, the researchers interviewed 451 day labourers across 51 day labour hiring sites identified in Phase 1. The following table provides the full list of all sites that were visited during the quantitative data collection process.

Table 2: Locations of day labour hiring sites for the collection of quantitative data

(Source: Research data)

City	Metro	Sites visited within metro
Cape Town	City Bowl	4
Cape Town	Atlantic Seaboard	5

Cape Town	West Coast	8
Cape Town	Northern Suburbs	11
Cape Town	Southern Suburbs	15
Cape Town	South Peninsula	7
Cape Town	Cape Flats	8
Cape Town	Helderberg	0

The researcher was driven by the need to reach a point of statistical significance, which refers to the surety that the data generated is a reliable statistical representation of the population (Denham & Onwuegbuzie, 2013; Onwuegbuzie et al., 2009). The high rate of participation was aided by the fact that there was easy uptake and interactions with most day labourers demonstrated a commitment to participate in the study. Of note, however, was that some of the interviews were continuously interrupted, with people pausing interviews in pursuit of work. When this occurred, the researcher and the research participants paused and continued the interviews at the availability of the participant, provided they were available that same day. Of the 451 participants, all were able to complete full interviews.

Data analysis

Polit & Beck (2013) state that the purpose of data analysis in quantitative data is to organise, provide structure and elicit meaning from the data. To achieve this, statistical analysis techniques need to be applied to the data, textual analysis needs to be done, or a combination of both analytical methods (Polit & Beck, 2013). Once the quantitative data collection was complete, all the data was recorded and captured on a Microsoft Excel document for consolidation by making use of an external data capturer. This process also included “cleaning” all data sets for errors. The process of data cleaning included the detection and removal or correction of errors and inconsistencies in the data. Incomplete, inaccurate or irrelevant data was identified and either replaced, modified or deleted. This was done cautiously, at the risk of losing key data sets, yet also bearing in mind that incorrect or inconsistent data may lead to the drawing of false conclusions. Once data capturing was complete, the researcher sourced the support of a consultant, a qualified statistician, to assist in analysing and making inferences about the quantitative data. This was also meant to ensure

maximum analysis of all statistical data captured.

With the support of the consultant, the researcher coded both quantitative and qualitative data collected during Phase 2. This, according to Stuckey (2015), is one of the most important steps in data preparation. It refers to grouping and assigning values to responses from the survey data (Bhatia, 2018). Codes of numerical values were assigned to both numerical data and narrative data for easier analysis. This process was undertaken with the support of the qualified statistician before the data was added to online platforms for analysis. In quantitative data analysis, raw numbers are turned into meaningful data through the application of rational and critical thinking. The raw data and assigned codes were then entered into Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS) by the researcher. The data, once entered, was again checked for errors and accuracy for optimum results (Greene, 2007). From the data, the researcher generated descriptive graphs and statistics which are detailed in Chapter 7 of this thesis.

In analysing the data, the researcher checked the data for validity and transferability. This, as stated by Creswell (2003), assesses whether the data obtained can be projected onto and applied to other contexts. This according to (Nowell, Norris, White & Moules, 2017: 03) is important as in in that the research is then “recognized as familiar and understood as legitimate by researchers, practitioners, policy makers, and the public”. Without checks of validity, the research and data produced may be rendered as fiction and not worth paying attention to (Nowell et al., 2017). Dependability was also considered to verify the consistency of the data and information produced by the study. This was conducted by the researcher by focusing mostly on the consistency of participants’ responses across the different sites where data was collected. In general, the researcher was looking for underlying constructs that should at least show some consistencies among some of the research questions presented. With the aid of the qualified statistician who also assisted in the cleaning of the collated data, the researcher was able to conduct an internal test examining any inconsistencies in the collated data. The researcher also made use of design suitability, which, according to Blaikie & Priest (2019), considers whether the methods of a study were appropriate for answering the research questions and is concerned with the consistency of the procedures and the usefulness of findings. The researcher reflected on the research process and initiated a review of the processes undertaken and tools implemented in the quantitative data collection process. The researcher remains of the opinion that the tools used were the most applicable for the

particular study setting. The researcher is confident that if a regressive study is conducted it would yield the same results if consistently making use of the same situation on repeated occasions. The researcher remains satisfied that the data collected and the processes used to capture and analyse the data accurately represent the study phenomenon.

5.11 PHASE 3: QUALITATIVE DATA

This section provides detailed information on the sampling, data collection and data analysis of Phase 3, the qualitative data collection process.

In addition to strengthening the findings of the quantitative data, Phase 3 of the data collection also aimed to:

- Explore and assess the family lives of migrant day labourers in Cape Town in relation to their family functioning and family systems.
- Determine the psychological well-being of migrant day labourers in Cape Town.

The researcher fully immersed himself in the collection of quantitative data. Onwuegbuzie & Denham (2014) state that researchers must assert themselves as instruments of their studies; therefore all the quantitative data collection interviews were conducted by the researcher. This not only enhanced the researcher's appreciation of the research phenomenon but also created a foundation for good data analysis.

Sampling

After documenting all of the day labour hiring sites in Phase 2, the researcher purposely selected six sites for Phase 3 of the data collection, which was focused on selecting a sample of hiring sites for conducting qualitative interviews and selecting participants for the qualitative interviews.

The researcher initiated Phase 3 by selecting hiring sites where the semi-structured qualitative interviews would be conducted. The selection of sites was based on the need to avoid hegemony, which refers to the domination of one group of people over another (Bryman, 2008; Greene, 2007), and the need to identify hiring sites with a higher percentage of migrant day labourers, given the study's focus. To attain this, the researcher made use of purposive sampling, specifically maximum variation/heterogeneous purposive sampling. This sampling

method, as defined by Newman & Ramlo (2010), provides a diverse range of cases relevant to a particular phenomenon or event. This was the most suitable sampling method as it allowed the researcher to select day labour hiring sites where the highest number of migrants were present, as identified in the mapping and quantitative data collection in Phase 1 and Phase 2. The researcher was also focused on avoiding telling a singular story. Cape Town is an unequal city, divided into eight suburbs (Rossouw, 2018). Spatial apartheid planning created divisions across these different municipalities based on income, race and quality of life (Rossouw, 2018). To capture this diversity in the study phenomenon, the researcher also purposefully selected hiring sites across the city of Cape Town with even representation of sites across the different municipalities. The researcher selected six hiring sites across the different suburbs of Cape Town. The purposive selection of hiring sites also allowed the researcher a chance to diversify the study subjects on aspects such as sex, age and ethnicity to deepen findings. Table 3 summarises the distribution of the hiring sites selected for this phase of sampling.

Table 3: Sampling for qualitative data collection

(Source: Research data)

Site area location	Cape Town suburb	Total participants selected (qualitative data)	Comments
Kuils River	Northern Suburbs	2	
Wynberg	Southern Suburbs	3	
Hout Bay	Atlantic Seaboard	3	

Salt River	City Bowl	4	Deliberate increase of participants to accommodate and interview two women on site.
Parklands	West Coast	3	
Muizenberg	South Peninsula	3	
Total		18	

Once the six hiring sites were selected and identified, the researcher proceeded to the selection of participants for the qualitative interviews. The researcher initiated this process by approaching each of the selected sites early in the morning in order to engage the day labourers before they leave the hiring sites. Having participated in the data collection during Phase 2, the researcher was familiar with the sites, which made approaching them for qualitative data collection easy.

On arrival at the day labour hiring site, the researcher parked at a safe walking distance away from the hiring sites. This was done to avoid being mistaken as a potential employer, which the researcher learned to do during Phase 2. Walking to the sites also allowed the researcher to observe the interactions of day labourers amongst themselves, including the languages used. Also drawing on what was learned during Phase 2, the researcher visited all sites in the morning, around 8 a.m. or 9 a.m. This was not as early as data collection during Phase 2, to allow for detailed qualitative interviews after the rush of the early morning.

The researcher, using random sampling, approached random individuals and determined if they were day labourers by asking what their intentions for being at the site were. Once confirmed as a day labourer, the researcher introduced himself and explained the purpose of the study and the reason for the interviews. The researcher would then invite individuals to participate in the interviews provided they met the below criteria:

- A day labourer working in Cape Town for at least six months

- Reside in the greater Cape Town area
- Willing to participate voluntarily
- Not born in Cape Town
- A migrant (either international or internal).

Not all the participants approached by the researcher were eager and willing to participate in the study, but the researcher had anticipated this during his preparation. Where individuals declined to participate or did not meet the set criteria, the researcher made use of snowball sampling by asking participants to refer the researcher to individuals who may fit the criteria. The researcher eventually identified 18 migrant day labourers across different sites, as detailed in the following table.

*Table 4: Profile of day labourers for qualitative data collection
(Source: Research data)*

ID reference marker	Sex (M/F)	Age (years)	Site area location	Country of origin (as reported by participant)
CTQL01	M	24	Kuils River	South Africa (Eastern Cape)
CTQL02	M	31	Kuils River	Malawi
CTQL03	M	28	Wynberg	Zimbabwe
CTQL04	M	41	Wynberg	Zimbabwe
CTQL05	M	63	Wynberg	Zimbabwe
CTQL06	M	40	Hout Bay	Mozambique
CTQL07	M	39	Hout Bay	Zimbabwe
CTQL08	M	24	Hout Bay	Zimbabwe
CTQL09	M	28	Salt River	Malawi
CTQL10	F	33	Salt River	Zimbabwe

CTQL11	F	29	Salt River	Zimbabwe
CTQL12	M	19	Salt River	Malawi
CTQL13	M	26	Parklands	Zimbabwe
CTQL14	M	28	Parklands	Zimbabwe
CTQL15	M	34	Parklands	Mozambique
CTQL16	M	35	Muizenberg	South Africa (Eastern Cape)
CTQL17	M	29	Muizenberg	Democratic Republic of Congo
CTQL18	M	21	Muizenberg	Zimbabwe

According to Moyo (2008), the number of women crossing the border into South Africa from neighbouring Mozambique and Zimbabwe seeking work had increased since the year 2000. Moyo (2008) suggests that most of these women end up working in the informal labour market. This, however, was not reflected in the data collection of day labourers in Cape Town. Khumalo (2019) suggests that the absence of women at day labour hiring sites is simply an indication of women working in other sectors of the informal economic sector, such as domestic work, catering and selling household wares. This is further supported by StatsSA (2019), who states that just under a third of women in South Africa were employed in the informal economy during the first quarter of 2018, compared with 9.6% of men during the same period. To include the participation of women in the day labour market, the researcher intentionally increased the number of participants at the site in Salt River to record the experiences of the two women who were onsite during the researcher's visit. In total, 18 participants participated in the qualitative data collection process, as detailed in Table 4.

Data collection

After the selection of participants as detailed above, the researcher conducted interviews at the hiring sites, making use of one-on-one semi-structured interviews. It was essential for the researcher to conduct the interviews at the hiring sites so as not to disrupt the job-seeking activities of the day labourers. This was important considering that participating in the study

was not financially beneficial to the research participants. Furthermore, as stated by Schaller (2018), conducting interviews and data collection in the participants' natural setting allows for unbiased data collection and for observations on the behaviour of participants where they remain relatively unaffected. Semi-structured interviews make use of open-ended questions to help the researcher explore the individual's worldview and how they explain or make sense of important events in their lives (Holloway & Galvin, 2016).

On a one-on-one basis with each research participant, the researcher explained the purpose and objectives of the research project in greater detail. The researcher also reassured the research participants of their rights within the research process, which included the right to terminate participation in the study at any point. The participants were also assured of the confidentiality of their interviews. This was essential; as asserted by Marshall & Rossman (2014), when researchers show respect for the research participants who will be sharing sensitive information, they also receive the participants' trust, making it easy to engage effectively and share information. It was also important for the researcher to make clear that there would be no monetary reward or any other form of payment or reimbursement for participating in the study. This was not an issue raised by any of the participants, but the researcher wanted to act pre-emptively in mitigating any expectations for compensation. Once all the ethical details were discussed, each participant was asked to sign a copy of the consent form for record purposes (Appendix A). All research participants were willing to sign the consent form.

At each day labour hiring site, the researcher identified isolated areas for conducting the interviews. The areas had to remain within sight of the hiring site, however, so the participants could easily move if a work opportunity arose. The need to move away from the bigger group was important to allow for the confidential sharing of information between the researcher and the research participants. To make the process more comfortable, the researcher also made mobile folding chairs and bottled drinking water available, which he offered the research participants. This was essential in establishing rapport with the research participants. Marshall & Rossman (2014) state that without rapport even the best-phrased questions can fall flat and only elicit brief, uninformative answers. Once settled, the researcher proceeded to interview the participants, making use of semi-structured questionnaires (see Appendix D). This method of enquiry combined a pre-determined set of open questions with the opportunity to explore themes or responses further as recommended

by Adams (2015).

The researcher made use of handwritten notes and audio recording devices to collect data. This was also combined with direct observations, also known as ecological validity (Kay, Tisdall, Davis & Gallagher, 2009). The use of observation and handwritten notes as primary methods of data collection was a deliberate choice. Nordstrom (2015) argues that recording devices as a social science tool are not mute or innocent entities that simply record interviews; the recording devices take up space in the interview and have an influence on the data. Nordstrom (2015) also suggests that knowing that interviews are audio recorded can result in participants providing very limited information on the circumstances of the data being collected. It was therefore essential for the researcher to support the data collection with additional tools. Based on previous data about migrants and day labourers, the researcher anticipated that a significant number of the participants would be undocumented migrants, seeking work at what may be deemed unauthorised sites. Added to this is the fact that any form of work as an undocumented migrant is deemed unlawful in South Africa. To set the participants' minds at ease, it was therefore agreed that limited photographic or audio recording devices – or any tool that could be used to identify the participant later – would be used. Shaver (2005) argues that this is a participant-centred approach which is non-exploitative and best suited for working with hidden populations such as sex workers or, in the case of this study, undocumented migrant day labourers. This method was also an economical option in terms of time and money. It allowed the researcher to collect the data first-hand and study it conveniently. In the end, the researcher recorded descriptive information, accurately documenting factual data and conversations that he observed. The researcher also recorded reflective information which included ideas, thoughts, questions and concerns during the interview.

During the interviews, the research participants showed eagerness to participate and were generally very vocal about their experiences as day labourers. They were also open about sharing their lived experiences as family people and as day labourers. An observation which aided this process, as shared by one of the research participants, was that he identified the research process as a debriefing exercise, as he got to engage and share his experiences with someone else outside of his usual work circles.

The researcher employed various qualitative interview techniques which aided the interview

and data collection processes. This included the use of a semi-structured questionnaire with a well-considered question order. Question order, according to Marshall & Rossman (2014), provides structure and eases the participant into the study. In practice, the researcher avoided starting an interview by immediately asking questions about intimate details such as the family life of the participant but rather began with work and day-to-day experiences as a day labourer. Other techniques used included demonstrating effective listening and restating the responses of the participants for clarity. The researcher also employed the use of self-disclosure, revealing to some of the research participants that he is also an economic migrant. Appropriate use of self-disclosure is the process of revealing information about the self to the participant (Peters, Jackson & Rudge, 2008). This technique was successful in creating an engaging environment with the participants. However, it nearly created “blurred lines” between the researcher and a particular participant who was also originally from Zimbabwe. After self-disclosure by the researcher, the participant became overly interested in the researcher’s background and history in Zimbabwe. Dickson-Swift, James & Liamputtong (2008) warn against this, suggesting that self-disclosure can enhance interviews but also has the potential to cause confusion about the role of the researcher. The researcher immediately steered the research participant back towards the study phenomenon. All of the interviews were conducted in English and recorded in notes recorded by the researcher. The researcher, being a first-language Shona speaker, did not have any issues with language during this phase of data collection.

Once the interview was completed, the researcher presented the participant with an opportunity to ask any questions. A consistent question and request across all 18 participants was for work or to be referred to a more stable work opportunity. The researcher took the opportunity to re-emphasise the limits of the data collection and the researcher-participant relationship as stated in the consent and ethical forms.

Data analysis

Qualitative data analysis refers to the categorisation, ordering and summarising of data to obtain answers to the research questions (Schurink, Fouché & De Vos, 2011). This process takes into account that “the mass of words generated by interviews or observational data needs to be described and summarised” (Lacey & Luff, 2001: 326).

Expanding the definition, Hatch defines data analysis as

“...[a] systematic search for meaning. It is a way to process qualitative data so that what has been learned can be communicated to others. Data analysis means organizing and interrogating data in ways that allow researchers to see patterns, identify themes, discover relationships, develop explanations, make interpretations, mount critiques, or generate theories” (Hatch, 2002: 14).

Keeping in mind that the focus of the data analysis is on providing a detailed description of what was observed and a sense of why it is important, the researcher initiated a process of reading and analysing all of the data collected, making notes of key outcomes. Interviews were the primary source of data, with observational data providing contextual information. This was successfully achieved by the researcher by reflecting on what he had recorded as notes during the qualitative interviews and observed throughout the research project. The researcher examined and reflected on all the hand-written field notes. While it would have been ideal for the researcher to make use of professional transcribers, this was not possible due to limited resources.

During this data examination and reflection period, the researcher also checked the data for errors and mistakes. The researcher also engaged in a process of familiarising himself with the data. As noted by Mashabane (2018), during this process the researcher repeatedly goes over their data until it generates some meanings. The researcher prioritised this process as the key to uncovering the meaning of the data collected. The researcher achieved this by first printing out all of the transcribed data and reading it, in order to familiarise himself with the content created.

The researcher then undertook the process of coding the data, Akinyode & Khan (2018: 166). define coding as “the procedure of fragmenting and classifying text to form explanations and comprehensive themes in the data”. It is the process through which the researcher identifies content related to a specific theme or idea. Using a highlighter, the researcher marked any data or other information worth noting, along the lines of different themes emanating from the data. The researcher achieved this by assigning labels to different sections of text that related to different themes. Through this process, the researcher was able to create groups and sub-groups of data that are discussed under the data findings chapter. While undertaking this process, the researcher also made additional notes on ideas, questions and thoughts on the data collected.

The organisation of the interview text into different codes allowed for the extraction and identification of both key and minor themes that emerged from the study, based on common themes amongst the research respondents. The identification of themes helped to identify key narratives that were to be taken into consideration. By simply creating a thematic network of themes and sub-themes, the researcher captured the essence of each important theme and what aspect of the data each theme represents. The researcher was ultimately able to identify the main ideas which represent the secondary findings of the data.

Validity checks were a key part of the qualitative data analysis. According to Cypress (2017), validity checks verify the trustworthiness of your data. The aim of trustworthiness and data verification in a qualitative enquiry is to support the argument that the enquiry's findings are "worth paying attention to" and that the data is checked for any errors, amongst other inconsistencies (Cypress, 2017). The researcher attained this by verifying whether the data represented the phenomena being studied as recommended and concluded that there is convincing evidence that the data presented in the findings of the study indeed reflects the family life and well-being of migrant day labourers. The researcher also made use of triangulation, which involves using multiple methods of data collection, such as observations and semi-structured interviews, to gain a more complete understanding of the research phenomenon. This methodology of collecting information from a variety of sources and with a variety of techniques can support findings (Zohrabi, 2013) as valid and credible. Getting consistent results can therefore be interpreted as a measure of validity. Polit & Beck (2013) also assert that validity is increased when standard measures are augmented with different data-gathering methods, such as with MMR, as in this study. All of this made for robust, comprehensive and well-developed findings, which are discussed in Chapter 9 of this thesis.

5.12 ACHIEVING DATA INTEGRATION

MMR offers tools for investigating complex study phenomenon's and systems (Fetters et al., 2013; Guetterman & Fetters, 2018). However, the meaning of the findings can also be lost when using MMR, and then researchers are left with different sets of data that are not coherent (Tashakkori & Teddlie, 2010). Avoiding this requires effective data integration processes, which, according to Creswell et al. (2011), dramatically enhance the value of MMR results.

“Data integration is defined as an intentional process by which the researcher brings quantitative and qualitative data together in one study” (Guetterman, Fetters & Creswell, 2015: 554). “By intentionally integrating data, the researcher can access knowledge or insights unavailable to a quantitative or qualitative study undertaken independently” (Moseholm & Fetters, 2017: 03). The researcher opted for the use of complementary data integration. According to Moseholm & Fetters (2017), this method of data analysis involves the presentation of findings within a single report but with the qualitative and quantitative findings reported in separate sections. Where relevant, certain data sets are then presented in an integrated manner. The research findings (mapping data, quantitative data and qualitative data) are therefore presented separately. The outcome of this process was a narrative report with statistical data findings, joint displays of quantitative and qualitative data and GIS mapping results.

5.13 ETHICS STATEMENT AND THE PRINCIPLE OF BENEFICENCE

The research was guided by ethical parameters as set by the University of the Western Cape and the Faculty of Community and Health Sciences. Attention was also given to ethical guidelines set by the South African Council for Social Service Professions (SACSSP), given that the study was done from a social work practice background. These ethics include protection of human rights, honesty, respect and non-discrimination (Peled & Leichtentritt, 2002). All social work principles are based on the premise that social workers should be non-judgmental towards their clients and should not share any information obtained from clients aside from in a professional context (Homan, 2018). Informed consent was obtained in writing from all participants, in accordance with Schurink (2010), who states that principles of an ethical study are in its ability to elicit willing participation. The written consent detailed the rights and responsibilities of both the participants and the researcher, with special attention given to the participants’ right to not participate or to withdraw from the study should they choose to (see Appendix A). The consent forms also stated that participants’ identities would be protected and their information kept confidential. This was crucial, given that some participants, particularly undocumented immigrants, were reluctant to share personal information. Participants were encouraged to use pseudonyms unless they chose to use their real names. In order to keep the information safe, the list of names, notes and transcriptions were kept in a locked safe.

To ensure preservation of context of the study, the researcher conducted the majority of the interviews and observations in the early hours of the morning around the same time that the migrant day labourers were looking for work. This was done with minimal disruption of the labourers' prospects of getting work. The researcher also did not do any intentional harm to the participants, following a principle of beneficence, which De Vos, Strydom, Schulze & Patel (2011) describe as the practice of doing no harm. The researcher conducted and facilitated all engagements with the understanding that no harm must be brought to the participants. Where psychological or emotional trauma may have been experienced, the researcher adopted a risk minimisation strategy (Council on Higher Education, 2015), which involved keeping urgent contacts as a safety net of professionals who could be contacted to provide urgent support. This safety was made up of two professional social workers who work in the greater Cape Town area.

It is worth noting the aspect of self-reflexivity as a crucial ethical aspect of this study. Self-reflexivity, according to D'Cruz, Gillingham & Melendez (2007), involves a continuous process, with the researcher continuously examining themselves and the research relationship. In this case, the researcher attempted to examine his assumptions and preconceptions and how these could affect research decisions and relations with the research subject (D'Cruz et al., 2007). Being an international migrant from Zimbabwe and an economic migrant in South Africa himself, the researcher knew there was the potential risk of influencing the research findings by assuming meanings or by overindulging the study based on personal experience. Conducting the study and interpreting the data therefore required careful reflection on the entire research process. The researcher was mindful of his own experiences and power within the study, as recommended by Healy & Thomas (2020), who write that researchers may unintentionally alter findings or processes of their study based on their individual experiences. Controlled emotional involvement was applied and the researcher made use of supervision for consultations to lessen this risk.

Furthermore to the above, the protection of human rights, honesty, respect and non-discrimination was prioritised in the study. This was essential, considering the fact that the study was grounded not just in research principles but also in social work practice principles, which promote confidentiality and a non-judgemental approach (Homans, 2018). Respect for human diversity and dignity was also important, given that the study explored the lived experiences of persons, including those from outside the borders of South Africa. The

researcher thus needed to engage and participate in the data collection in a non-threatening manner that demonstrated acceptance, no matter the person's background.

5.14 CHAPTER SUMMARY

This chapter highlighted the processes employed by the researcher in conducting the research. The researcher explained MMR and how it was applied in the study, including a discussion of why this was the most appropriate methodology for the study. Specific attention was also paid to the population and sample methods used in conducting the study. The chapter then discussed the practical processes followed by the researcher in collecting and analysing data during each phase of data collection process. The chapter concluded with a brief discussion of the ethical principles of the study.

CHAPTER 6: PHASE 1: MAPPING DATA

6.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter describes the mapping data collection process and its outcomes. This data is based on the mapping of hiring sites in Cape Town, which was done by visiting and documenting all known hiring sites in Cape Town.

6.2 KEY FINDINGS

6.2.1 Area of study

The informal economic sector remains an important component of the South African economy despite the rapid transformations and consolidations of the formal economy since the end of apartheid (Battersby & Marshak, 2017: 01). This trend is visible in the suburbs of Cape Town, which are bustling with a diverse array of migrant and South African day labourers. Going into the study, the researcher expected this trend to be clearly visible, with day labourer sites scattered across the City of Cape Town. Figure 3 details the geographical boundaries in which the study was conducted.

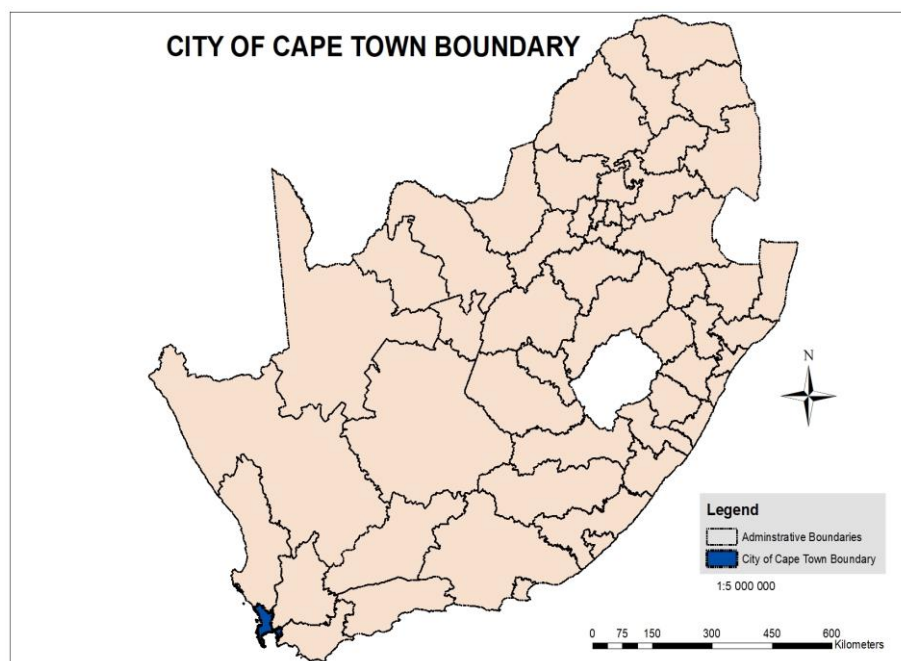


Figure 3: Area of study
(Map: Mufaro Magidi)

6.2.2 Documented day labour hiring sites.

All recorded day labour hiring sites were identified either as the researcher was driving within Cape Town or through snowball referrals by day labourers from already identified hiring sites. Where possible, the researcher was referred by day labourers to hiring sites that he may not have known of. While this exercise was done with no set time-frame requirements, while driving and noting hiring sites, the researcher noted that early morning would be the best time to map hiring sites, as this is when they are at their busiest. This was important as the research also needed to document population estimates of day labourers at hiring sites.

Table 5 provides the number of day labour hiring sites identified by the researcher and the average populations recorded at the time of visiting each site.

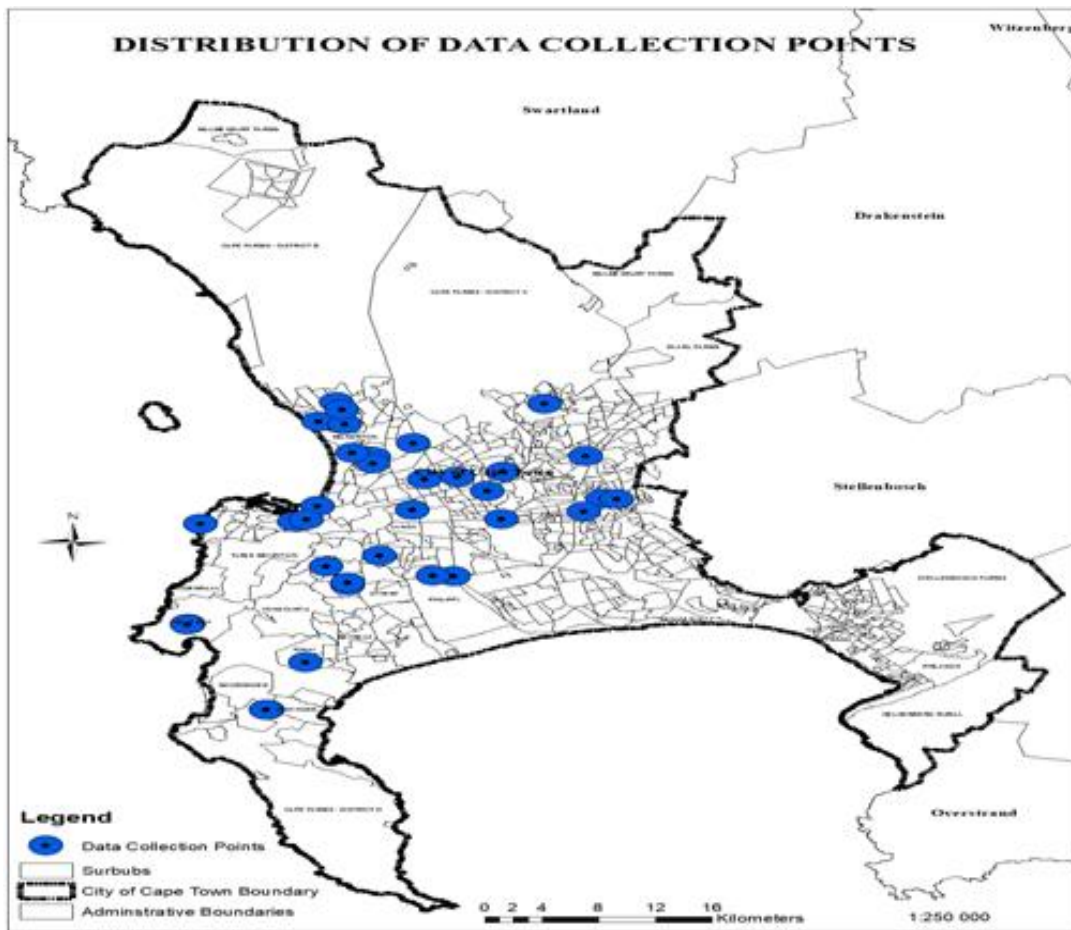
Table 5: Number of day labour hiring sites recorded and size of sites

(Source: Research data)

City	Metro	Number of day labour hiring sites recorded	Total day labourers recorded
Cape Town	City Bowl	11	84
Cape Town	Atlantaic Seaboard	8	70
Cape Town	West Coast	9	45
Cape Town	Northern Suburbs	16	139
Cape Town	Southern Suburbs	19	158
Cape Town	South Peninsula	9	85
Cape Town	Cape Flats	14	98
Cape Town	Helderberg	7	74
Total		93	753

During Phase 1 of the data collection process, which involved mapping and reconnaissance, 93 hiring sites were recorded across the City of Cape Town with a total of 753 day labourers across all day labour hiring sites. In 2014, Blaauw et al. (2014) estimated that there were nearly 1 000 sites in South Africa where people are picked up for casual labour on an hourly or daily basis. The authors also stated that there was an average of 50 to 100 men per site per day, amounting to 45 000 men per day across South Africa. Using these estimates combined with the researcher's findings in Phase 1, this suggests that Cape Town hosts approximately 9.3% of day labour hiring sites in South Africa. However, the researcher is aware of probable shifts in the national data since it was reported by Blaauw et al. (2014), which means that this figure is only a broad estimate. It is also necessary to note that Somerset West, Strand and Gordons Bay, which officially make up part of the City of Cape Town, were not included in this study due to their geographical distance from Cape Town, with some extending beyond a 50-kilometre radius from the Cape Town's city centre.

To expand on the above findings, Figure 4 provides a visual representation of the distribution and size of hiring sites in Cape Town as recorded during the mapping phase of the data collection.



*Figure 4: Distribution of hiring sites in Cape Town
(Source: Research data)*

Blaauw et al. (2016) reported that an estimated 150 hiring sites and 4 240 day labourers were present daily in Tshwane in 2015, though they reported that these numbers varied on a day-to-day basis. Although the dynamics of the data are likely to have changed since 2015, the researcher's data from Cape Town indicates that there are significantly fewer day labourers recorded across Cape Town than in Tshwane.

A total of 753 day labourers were recorded across the City of Cape Town, with the day labour hiring sites varying in size. The distribution of these sizes is displayed in Figure 5.

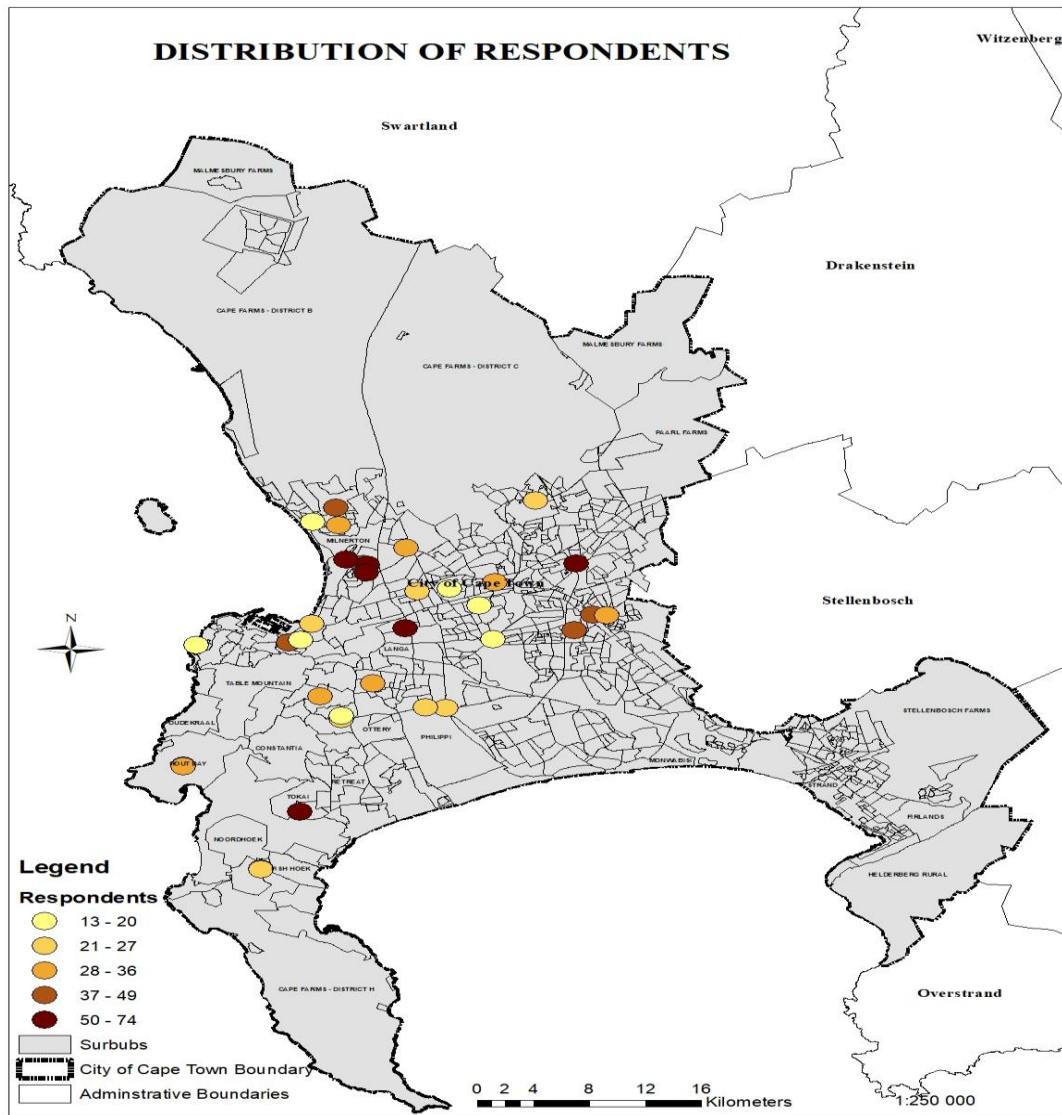


Figure 5: Size and population distribution at hiring sites

(Source: Research data)

The smallest number of day labourers recorded at a site was five. This was recorded at a site on the outskirts of the city in the neighbourhood of Fish Hoek (Atlantic Seaboard). The researcher observed that the number of day labourers at this site was likely low because the area was far from both commercial and residential properties, sitting on an open field close to a major road. Accessing the site was highly difficult and it was not easily visible to passers-by. This low number is a far cry from the reported averages of 50 to 100 people at hiring sites in Tshwane as reported by Blaauw et al. (2014). The highest number of day labourers at one site recorded by the researcher was at a hardware store in Brackenfell (Northern Suburbs). At least 54 day labourers were recorded at this day labour hiring site at the time of the

researcher's visit. The site was located at a major hardware store, allowing day labourers to attract both contractors and private individuals who are offering work. From this data, it was clear that there is an uneven distribution of day labour hiring sites in Cape Town and an uneven distribution of day labourers at hiring sites as well. Sites with more work opportunities such as those at hardware stores and close to major roads recorded high numbers of day labourers. It also became apparent from the data that a specific location can attract day labourers for a variety of reasons, mostly for the potential work opportunities and access to the site.

Based on the above outcomes, the average population size for day labour hiring sites in Cape Town is 8 persons at hiring sites at any given time. This projected average is far lower compared to the data for Tshwane as reported by Blaauw et al. (2014), who reported average for Tshwane to be between 50 to 100 persons at hiring sites at any given time. In sum, fewer day labourers were recorded in Cape Town in comparison to Tshwane. One can therefore conclude that even though Cape Town attracts migrants and other populations for economic reasons, day labour is still a growing trend compared to Tshwane. What can be concluded from the data, however, is that day labour is present, active and a source of income for many individuals and families in Cape Town, as it is in Tshwane. A majority of these individuals and the families they support rely solely on day labour as their primary source of income.

6.2.3 Location and distribution of day labour hiring sites

It is widely recognised that the informal sector has increasing significance in developing countries to absorb significant numbers of unemployed or underemployed citizens (Lyons & Snoxell, 2005). With this growth, to the untrained eye, the informal employment sector may appear as a disorganised congregation of people trading whatever seems possible, wherever they can. This, however, is not the case as highlighted by the findings of the research, which shows that there is a relationship between the geographical location of a hiring site and the number of day labourers present.

The researcher established that a substantial number of day labourers in Cape Town are attracted to less formal day labour hiring sites such as street corners and side roads. Most of the day labour hiring sites were at informal premises such as street corners, parking lots and main roads. A smaller number of the sites were at labour-driven service centres such as

hardware stores. This can be attributed to the fact that some hiring sites and formal business sites, as observed by the researcher, had security and access restrictions against hawkers and persons seeking work in the vicinity. This inevitably restricts and limits the number of day labourers at these sites. Figure 6 highlights restrictions recorded at a day labour hiring site in Cape Town where day labourers and any other activities of persons working outside a hardware store were restricted. Day labourers were observed standing a few metres from the hardware store. These restrictions act as a deterrent to day labourers who may want to seek work, inevitably creating an uneven distribution of day labour hiring sites.



Figure 6: Security warning against day labourers

(Image: Mufaro Magidi)

At the same hiring site as shown in Figure 6, the researcher observed a security officer and security gate limiting the access of day labourers who want to reach potential employers directly. It can be expected that these kinds of security measures would inevitably limit the number of day labourers at the site, creating an uneven distribution of both day labourers and day labour hiring sites across Cape Town. This also pushes the majority of the day labourers towards more informal sites.

From the data findings, the researcher also established that the Northern Suburbs and the Southern Suburbs were the areas of Cape Town that attracted more day labourers than any other area examined in the study. One can therefore conclude that the Northern Suburbs and Southern Suburbs either provide higher streams of income, better work opportunities or more business opportunities for day labourers. Another possible reason is that the Northern Suburbs and Southern Suburbs account for a substantial number of households in the City of Cape Town. It can therefore be expected that these suburbs have many residents, which can mean a higher number of day labourers as well. This understanding supports the view that day labourers tend to access sites closer to their residential areas to cut on costs for travel. The added burden of needing to be at hiring sites early in the morning also leads day labourers to choose day labour hiring sites closer to their areas of residence. The researcher can contend that there is a correlation between where day labourers reside and where they seek employment, with individuals largely attracted to busy roads and street corners closer to their area of residence. The proximity of hiring sites to residential areas therefore matters as an attraction for day labourers.

From the data, the researcher also established that neighbourhoods such as the Cape Flats⁶ had a low rate of day labourers. This was a surprising finding for the researcher. The Cape Flats, according to Dewar (2005), is comprised mainly of poor residential areas, the majority of which are formal residential areas but with several informal settlements. The researcher expected this area to have more hiring sites to compensate for the low incomes in the area. This, however, was not the case. This finding confirms the views of van Eeden (2011), who notes that informal traders, including day labourers, tend to cluster at points in the central business districts, regions generally related to key tourism node areas and areas of high potential work. This explains the low number of recorded day labour hiring sites in low-income neighbourhoods of Cape Town compared to middle- and high-income neighbourhoods. In sum, these findings show a clear positive correlation between opportunities of work and distribution of hiring sites, with fewer work opportunities available in poor or low-income communities such as the Cape Flats.

In relation to the location of the day labour hiring sites, the researcher also found it

⁶ The Cape Flats is an area east of the Northern Suburbs and Southern Suburbs and is predominantly made up of black and coloured townships.

noteworthy that the most important factors to the day labourers seemed to be the chance of accessing work opportunities and easy access to the site. These factors were more important to the day labourers than the environmental factors of the site itself. While collecting data at the sites, the researcher observed that day labourers were exposed to the weather with minimum protection. The researcher also observed that the most common form of shade was sitting under trees or in the shade cast by buildings. Day labourers could frequently be seen under trees with little to no protection. In the event of extreme weather, the day labourers are left exposed, with a tree usually being the only form of protection. Where there is no tree cover, day labourers are in many cases left exposed, with no protection from the elements at all. Despite these extremes and difficult working conditions, the environment of the hiring site did not appear to be a determinant in the number of day labourers at any site. What was a priority was the potential income and easy access to the site. Figure 7 vividly illustrates this; the image was taken at a day labour hiring site in the Northern Suburbs. Day labourers could be seen waiting for work in the open with no protection or cover from the weather.



*Figure 7: Day labourers at a hiring site in Cape Town
(Image: Mufaro Magidi)*

One participant at the hiring site reported that “an umbrella is a luxury, right now I am here to look for work. Nothing more. Also, this site pays well sometimes, I can’t just leave because it is hot.”

The researcher also observed that although some day labourers select work hiring sites closer to garages, churches or municipal building for access to free sanitation facilities and water access points, this was not the case for all day labourers. In many cases, day labourers reported that they resort to using public open fields and parks as bathrooms and bring water from home. Access to water and toilet facilities was therefore also not the most important factor determining the popularity of hiring sites. This finding is in stark contrast to the findings by Harmse et al. (2009), which found that a major factor determining the selection of a hiring site by day labourers was the availability of water and toilet facilities. In Cape Town, the researcher found that day labourers are attracted to hiring sites that offer the best opportunity for employment. There is therefore an unwritten law of attraction between location, employment opportunities and easy access.

6.3 OBSERVATIONS WHILE CONDUCTING MAPPING EXERCISE

One of the key observations of the hiring sites in Cape Town was that day labour is an “early riser” work. Day labourers frequented hiring sites early in the morning, and the number of day labourers per site would start gradually decreasing from as early as 9 a.m. The gradual decrease was largely a result of day labourers getting work at the hiring sites in the early mornings. Those that failed to secure work would often choose to stay longer at the sites in an attempt to secure casual work.

Another observation recorded during visits to the hiring sites was that the sites are visibly dominated by men. During site visits, the researcher observed that it is mostly men that congregate at street corners and hiring sites in search of work. StatsSA (2018a) found that the South African informal labour market is more favourable to men than it is to women and men are more likely to be in informal paid employment than women, regardless of race. To understand this in the context of Cape Town, one of the day labourers claimed that women are discouraged from coming to the sites as they would not cope with the workload, maintaining the view that the nature of the work undertaken by day labourers deters women from taking it up. Another day labourer reported that the men can also be a menace to women at the sites, undermining and possibly harassing them. Given both these reasons, the researcher is of the view that it is perhaps indicative of the masculine nature of day labour and how it tends to undermine women’s contributions in the informal economy, which can deter women from coming to hiring sites. It must, however, be acknowledged that the

absence of women at hiring sites does not mean women do not participate in other sectors of the informal economy.

Although day labourers are at the day labour hiring sites to secure work and earn an income, the amounts worked for are sometimes secondary, however. Due to desperation and a need to secure any income, day labourers prioritise negotiating on the type of work over the income. While collecting data, the researcher frequently observed a rush to potential employers by day labourers whenever a car approached the sites. Of priority in the conversations between day labourers and potential employers were negotiations on the work and not the income. Day labourers reported that income is negotiated after they get the job; the issue of remuneration is secondary to securing the work. The onus was on the day labourers to demonstrate their working skills and potential to fill the needs of the job on offer. Chances of getting jobs were highly increased by being the first to market and to converse with potential employers.

Another observation made by the researcher was that securing work at day labour hiring sites is a competitive exercise. The researcher observed that the moment a potential employer arrives on site, they are flooded with as many as 10 to 15 day labourers at a time, depending on the population size of the site. To curb this and increase their chances of securing work, some day labourers resorted to marketing and displaying their trades, therefore getting the potential employers to approach them directly. Day labourers could be seen across Cape Town displaying their tools of the trade and equipment needed for specific jobs in line with their skill sets and the jobs they are most experienced in. The items on display included chainsaws for day labourers specialising in tree felling; digging and construction tools for day labourers specialising in construction and plumbing; and paintbrushes for painters. Day labourers also resort to making cardboard signs detailing their vocational skills. Day labourers who engaged with the researcher reported that being selected for work by potential employers is difficult when there are several day labourers at the hiring site, so displaying their skills lessens the burden and attracts employers. Figure 8, taken at a day labour hiring site in the Southern Suburbs, highlights this trend, showing day labourers with their posters and tools on display. The tools include a ladder and paintbrushes, and the skills advertised include painting, paving and plumbing.



*Figure 8: Day labourers marketing their skills and displaying their equipment
(Image: Mufaro Magidi)*

The research participants reported that there are also disadvantages to this type of display, as it can limit their clientele (employers) only to those needing the particular service that they advertised. One participant stated, for example, “If I market myself as a painter and there are no painting jobs on the day, I don’t get work. I can do other things you know...”

As pointed out by another research participant, it costs money to acquire your own tools, making this an additional challenge for day labourers. “If you are going to be doing work at a house, it’s nice to go with your own tools because many that call us to come work at their house don’t have equipment. If you also do not have equipment, then you are useless to them... The problem is buying these tools, this brush is R200. A lot of us don’t have that.”

Despite competition for work, day labourers also portrayed an unwritten referral rule where they refer each other for specific jobs that may involve unique skills that another day labourer

may possess. This also extends to providing references for other day labourers when they fail to negotiate an income with a potential employer. The researcher observed this in Wynberg, for example. Upon arrival of a potential employer who needed a plumber, day labourers at the site referred the employer to the three plumbers that were on the site that day. There are thus informal networks and cliques amongst the day labourers. These networks appeared to be groups formed on the basis of features such as nationality, race and language.

6.4 KEY RECONNAISSANCE REFLECTIONS

It is important for the researcher to compare these research findings to the reconnaissance studies of Tshwane conducted by Schenck and Blaauw using data collected in 2005 and 2006.

One clear similarity in the data between Cape Town and Tshwane is that, although there appears to be an increase of migrant workers and growing youth unemployment, the number of migrants and youths in the day labour sector in Cape Town was far lower than the number documented in Tshwane. During Phase 1, the researcher documented 753 day labourers and 93 hiring sites across the City of Cape Town. As mentioned previously this suggests that Cape Town's day labourers only make up 1.7% of total day labourers and 9.3% of total hiring sites in South Africa. This is in comparison to findings by Blaauw et al. (2014), which estimated at least 1 000 hiring sites and 45 000 day labourers across South Africa. Blaauw et al. (2016) reported that the estimated number of hiring sites and day labourers present daily in Tshwane increased markedly between 2004 and 2015, from approximately 70 hiring sites and 2 420 day labourers in 2004 to 150 hiring sites and an estimated 4 240 day labourers in 2015. This clearly indicates that Tshwane houses many more hiring sites and day labourers compared to Cape Town. One explanation for this is that unemployment in the Western Cape is lower than in Tshwane, and Cape Town's ability to absorb more people into the formal economic sector reduces the number of day labourers and other persons in the informal economic sector. According to StatsSA (2021), as of quarter 2 of 2021, the Western Cape had the lowest expanded unemployment rate in South Africa at 25.8%, while Gauteng, which includes Tshwane, recorded a rate of 35.4%.

6.5 CHAPTER SUMMARY

This chapter detailed the outcomes of the mapping data. This included a thorough examination of the estimated numbers of day labourers in Cape Town. The chapter clearly demonstrated that the distribution of hiring sites in Cape Town is centralised along major road networks and major service areas such as hardware stores, although some of these sites employ security measures to ward off day labourers. The critical importance of hiring site location and access was also highlighted. The researcher determined that proximity to residential areas and higher-income areas is a major factor attracting day labourers to hiring sites. Low-income areas do not have as many hiring sites, as there are fewer job opportunities in these areas. The researcher also determined that day labour hiring sites generally do not have any sanitation facilities such as bathrooms and access to clean drinking water, although a lack of such services is not a major factor in determining a site's popularity. Ultimately, a site's opportunity for income was the most important factor in its popularity amongst day labourers. The chapter also examined the techniques used by day labourers to attract potential employers such as advertising their skills and experience, and the informal referral networks that day labourers employ on a daily basis. The chapter ended with a brief comparison of the current research findings with previous research conducted in Tshwane.

CHAPTER 7: PHASE 2: QUANTITATIVE DATA

7.1 INTRODUCTION

In this chapter, the researcher provides an in-depth discussion of and reflection on the quantitative data collected in Phase 2 of this study. Findings and outcomes are based on the semi-structured questionnaire data findings. A large focus of the chapter will also be on providing descriptions for the data variables examined. This will be demonstrated through an examination of correlations between different variables such as happiness and income, and happiness and family contacts. The chapter concludes with an empirical analysis of the quantitative data findings. The outcomes and findings of the quantitative data are based on semi-structured interviews conducted with 453 day labourers in Cape Town.

7.2 QUANTITATIVE DATA

With the aid of trained research assistants, the researcher collected quantitative data using semi-structured questionnaires (see Appendix C). The findings and outcomes of that data are outlined in this section using mostly infographics and descriptions. Priority was given to data that specifically helps answer the research question of “What is the family life and well-being of migrant day labourers in Cape Town, South Africa?”

For easier understanding of this data and findings, the information is presented according to core outcomes and sub-themes. Table 6 clearly details these themes.

Table 6: Core quantitative outcomes and sub-themes

(Source: Research data)

Core outcomes	Sub-themes
1. Profile of day labourers in Cape Town	Age Gender Country of origin (or province of origin for South African day labourers)
2. Education level	Education level

	Education levels amongst immigrant day labourers
3. Employment and work history	Type of work Frequency of employment Wage and income Expectation versus reality of income
4. Work lives	Faithfulness to hiring sites Work hours Duration of work Nutrition and care
5. Relations, social networks and life satisfaction	Marital status Children and dependants Networks Public and employer treatment Life satisfaction

7.3 DESCRIPTIVE DATA FINDINGS: QUANTITATIVE FINDINGS

The researcher conducted quantitative interviews with 453 day labourers in Cape Town. The interviews were facilitated by the researcher with the assistance of 12 trained research assistants. The geographical locations of the interviews and surveys included all day labour hiring sites that were identified in Cape Town, as reported in Chapter 6 of this thesis. The age groups, profiles and dynamics of all the participants are recorded as part of the findings detailed within this chapter. Findings and outcomes of this data can be hard to visualise given the large sample size, so it was important for the researcher to provide precise descriptive representations of the data. These form a large part of this chapter. Where relevant, observations by the researcher will also be acknowledged and noted.

7.4 PROFILE OF DAY LABOURERS IN CAPE TOWN

One of the core outcomes of the research study was establishing a profile of day labourers in Cape Town. This was essential as a prelude to understanding the social well-being of day labourers. The demographic characteristics of the respondents are highlighted in this section; these include age, gender and country or province of birth.

7.4.1 Age

The age dynamics discussed here represent the ages of all recorded day labourers in Cape Town, not just migrant day labourers. The quantitative data revealed that the average age for day labourers in Cape Town is 36.6 years. This included both native and migrant day labourers. This average is within the expected age range, considering that day labour involves physically taxing work (Van Wyk et al., 2020). Older day labourers would not be able to do the same number of jobs as their younger counterparts. This also corresponds to findings by Smith (2020) from who in 2020 conducted a study on day labourers in Mbekweni, a township located in the Western Cape province of South Africa. Smith (2020) found that 40% of participants were between the ages of 21 and 30. 40% between 31 and 40 and 20% between 41 and 50. Both Cape Town and Mbekweni therefore have many day labourers between 30 and 40 years old. Day labourers in this study were therefore in early to mid-adulthood, with the data leaning towards a more mature day labourer profile. The lowest recorded age was 18 years and the oldest recorded age was 61 years. This vast difference between the youngest and oldest recorded participants in Cape Town indicates the flexibility of day labour to accommodate various age groups. It is also essential to also acknowledge that, in line with the ethical parameters of the study, the researcher only interviewed persons above the age of 18. This was done in recognition of the fact that the legal working age for unrestricted⁷ work in South Africa is 18, which limits children and any persons below the age of 18 from accessing work in this sector. The researcher observed at least six research participants who were in fact under the age of 18. This makes up 1.3% of the total recorded population. Participants below the age of 18 are not included in the total data set, as per Section 28 of the Constitution of South Africa which protects children from exploitive labour practices including inappropriate work for their age (South African Human Rights Commission, 2021).

⁷ Unrestricted work refers to employment authorised without restriction as to the location and type of employment as a condition of the individual's specific age.

In spite of this, Maluleke (2020), using data collected between 2013 and 2019, reported that there are at least 15 000 children between the age of 15 and 17 who are engaged in informal employment, with young males making up the majority.

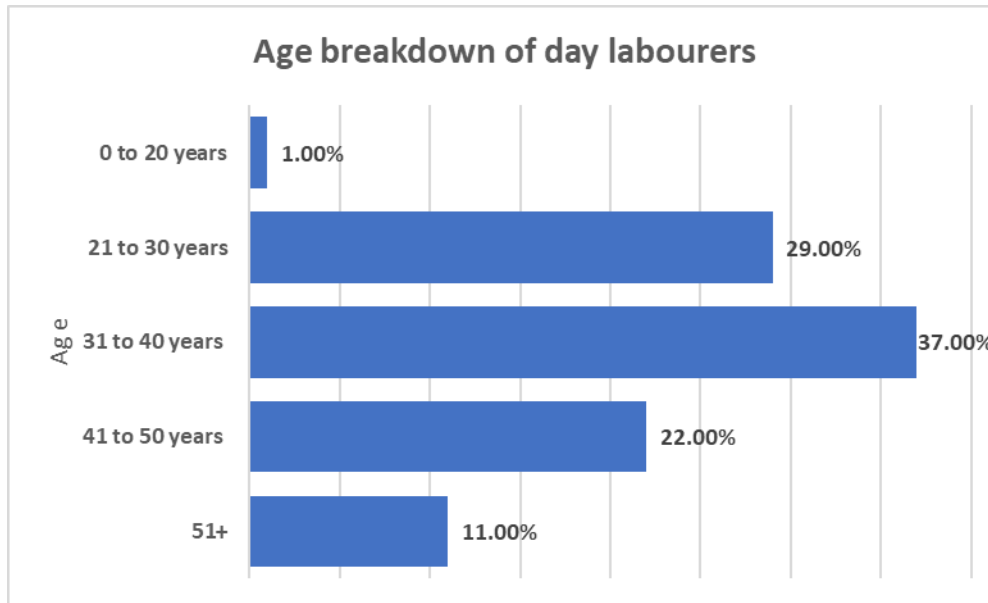


Figure 9: Age distribution of day labourers in Cape Town

(Source: Research data)

The figure above details the age breakdown of day labourers recorded in Cape Town during the study. While this data is within the expected range, it presents a different dynamic to findings by Krugell & Blaauw (2014) collected in Tshwane, where most documented day labourers were between the age of 20 and 30, not between 31 and 40 as in Cape Town. Van Wyk et al. (2020), using data collected in Tshwane in 2015, also established that the majority of day labourers were between the age of 20 and 30. The data set established in this study, however, concurs with findings by Van Wyk et al. (2020) for Windhoek, Namibia, where the majority of day labourers in 2015 were between 36 and 40 years old. The data finding as demonstrated in the research therefore shows a close relation between the age trends of day labourers between Cape Town and Windhoek.

The data findings as presented in Figure 9 are also suggest that youth in Cape Town perhaps participate in sectors of the informal and formal economy other than day labour. This could be indicative of Cape Town's ability to absorb and accommodate youth into the formal economy. However, StatsSA (2021) reports that unemployment for young people between

the age of 15 and 34 is at 46.3%. This implies that young people in South Africa struggle to gain access to the labour market, leading to a growing youth population joining the day labour sector. This view is supported by Peyper (2017), who, from 2017 data, reported that only 43.3% of South Africa's population of working age could be absorbed into the formal economy, which again translates to more young day labourers and more persons generally in the informal economic sector. Research has shown that the high levels of long-term unemployment in South Africa visibly force more people to venture into the informal sector to raise an income (Blaauw & Pretorius, 2007).

7.4.2 Gender dynamics of all day labourers in Cape Town

With respect to gender dynamics of South Africa, Maluleke (2020: 11) wrote that “the number of women aged 15 to 64 increased from 16,9 million in 2012 to 18 million in 2017. The number of migrant women residing in South Africa increased from 3,1% in 2012 to 4,5% in 2017”. With specific reference to the Western Cape, a province encompassing the City of Cape Town, the number of female migrants in the Western Cape increased from 2.7% of the total immigrant population in 2012 to 3.9% in 2017. It is within this context that female migrants that participated in the study was examined.

Of all day labourers surveyed, only 6% were female, while the remaining 94% were all male. While 6% is a low number, it is slightly higher than the number of female day labourers recorded in Tshwane in 2005, which was only 2.5% (Blaauw & Pretorius, 2007). However, data from 2015 presented by Van Wyk et al. (2020) suggests a growing female population of day labourers, with female day labourers making up 7.24% of the total day labourer population.

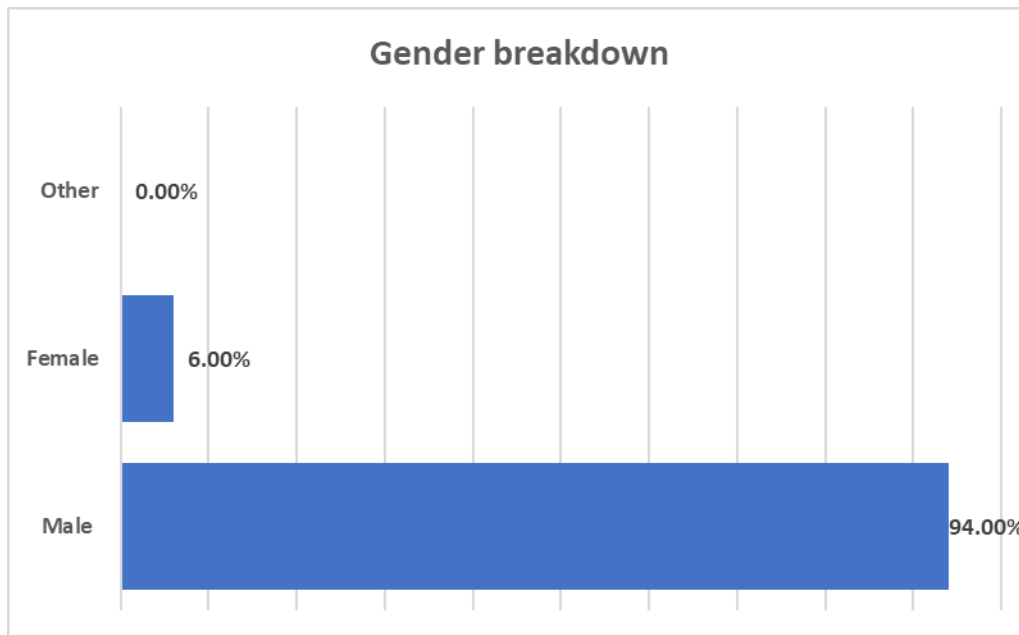


Figure 10: Gender of day labourers in Cape Town

(Source: Research data)

The large difference in participation between men and women in day labour corresponds to global trends that indicate that men are more likely to take up day labour as a source of income compared to women. This can likely be attributed to the nature of the work undertaken and perhaps the patriarchal demands of South African society, which still pushes women to take up informal employment closer to their homes or within residential areas. The fact that women do not actively participate in day labour should therefore not be interpreted as an overall absence of women from the informal economic sector. Women are in fact concentrated in other areas of the informal economic sector such as household work. As reported by Maluleke (2020), jobs in the informal economy showed higher male participation across all sectors except for private households, where female participation outnumbered male participation. To substantiate this claim, Maluleke (2020: 26) states that in 2020, “about one in four migrant women are domestic workers (25,0%)”. Maluleke (2020: 26) further states that “non-migrant women experienced a slight decrease in participating in domestic work from 2012 to 2017 (from 14,3% to 13,2%). Migrant women however, experienced a slight increase in the same period (from 24,0% to 25,0%)”. The role and functioning of woman in other informal economies is therefore significant.

Furthermore, Chen (2016) cautions against a narrative that suggests that more men than women take up informal marginalised work such as day labour without factoring in context.

Chen (2016) states that women who take part in day labour and other jobs in the informal economy are more likely to face discrimination and abuse by employers, who often hire women because they consider them cheap labour. This should also be understood within the context of South Africa, where sexual violence and abuse of women is extremely high, generally making hiring sites unsafe spaces for women. Chen (2016), in a survey of the US, recorded that women in the day labour sector often faced sexual harassment at work, which deters women from pursuing this avenue as a career path. Taking these factors into consideration, women consign themselves to other forms of day labour such as cleaning. This dynamic will be explored by the researcher in the empirical analysis of the qualitative data.

7.4.3 Country of origin

Core to the study was also determining the research participants' nationalities and migration status. Findings indicated that 59.6% of the recorded day labourers in Cape Town were South African-born citizens. The remaining respondents (40.4%) were international migrants, with the majority coming from Zimbabwe. Zimbabweans made up 22% of the total respondents. The remainder of the international respondents consisted of persons from Lesotho, Mozambique and Botswana.

Although the majority of participants were in fact South African, the relatively large number of migrants amongst the participants (40.4%) confirms to some extent the enduring narrative that many day labourers are migrants who in most instances are undocumented and lack work authorisation. With migration on the rise, as people seek higher incomes and economic growth, it comes as no surprise that there are many international migrants working in the informal economy as day labourers.

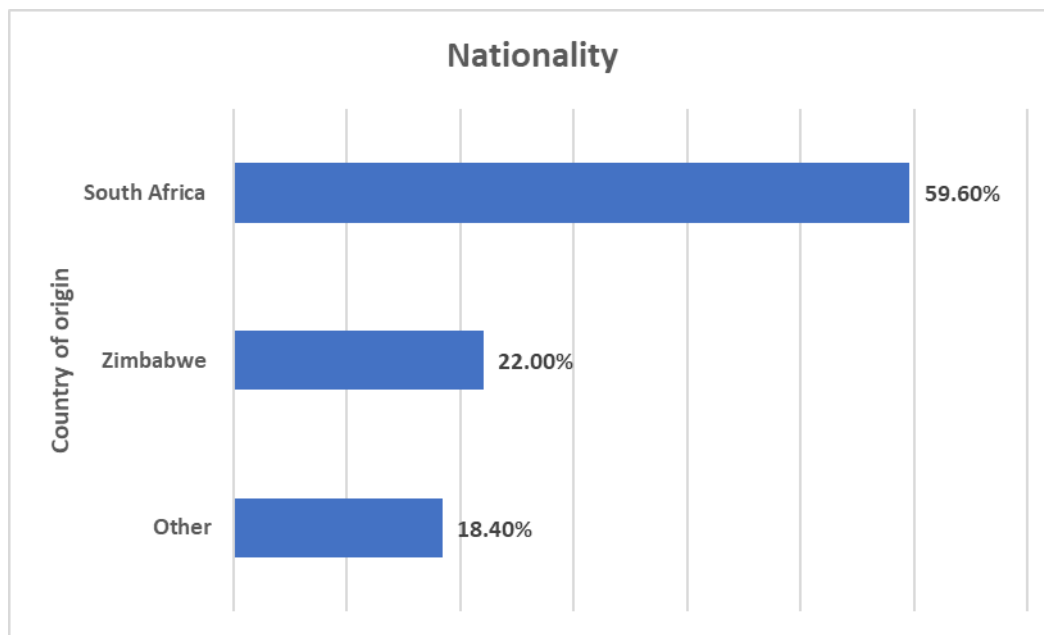


Figure 11: Country of origin of day labourers in Cape Town

(Source: Research data)

While 40.4% is a high number, it is a far cry from the data presented by Theodore, Pretorius, Blaauw & Schenck (2018). Migrants made up 56% of Tshwane day labourers in 2015, with 89% of those originally from Zimbabwe. The difference between this data and the research findings from Cape Town is likely because the migration of foreign nationals into South Africa has been concentrated in Gauteng, which is estimated to have a larger foreign-born population than all the other provinces in South Africa combined (Meny-Gibert & Chiumia, 2016). This explains why the study recorded a smaller international migrant day labourer population in Cape Town compared to Gauteng. Gauteng's easy access from other countries such as Zimbabwe, Botswana and Mozambique contributes a great deal to its high numbers of migrant day labourers. This is coupled with the fact that day labourers likely regard Gauteng as having more opportunities for work than the Western Cape (Theodore et al., 2018).

The researcher was also interested in studying the well-being of migrant day labourers. Many foreign-born day labourers in South Africa working without authorisation (Blaauw et al., 2012), which makes it illegal for employers to knowingly hire them. South African laws prohibit the hiring of undocumented migrants. This likely encourages abuse and violations by employers, who are aware that migrant day labourers have limited legal recourse and will reveal their undocumented status to law officials if they report the abuses. In the empirical

analysis of the data, the researcher will detail the relation, if any, between well-being and being an undocumented migrant day labourer.

7.4.4 Province of origin

It is generally believed that urban areas offer more employment opportunities than rural areas, which means that large cities like Cape Town attract migrants from other provinces who migrate internally within the country. This was clearly visible in this study, which showed that at least 87% of South African-born day labourers working in Cape Town were originally from the Eastern Cape, while only 0.7% had relocated from Gauteng. This means that, although the number of international migrants was lower than anticipated, this was offset by a higher number of internal migrants working as day labourers in Cape Town. It is interesting to note that only 7.8% of day labourers surveyed were originally from the Western Cape. This is an interesting finding, bringing to the fore the question of whether native residents of the Western Cape are discouraged from taking up work in the informal sector or whether there are other determinants. This is worth exploring further.

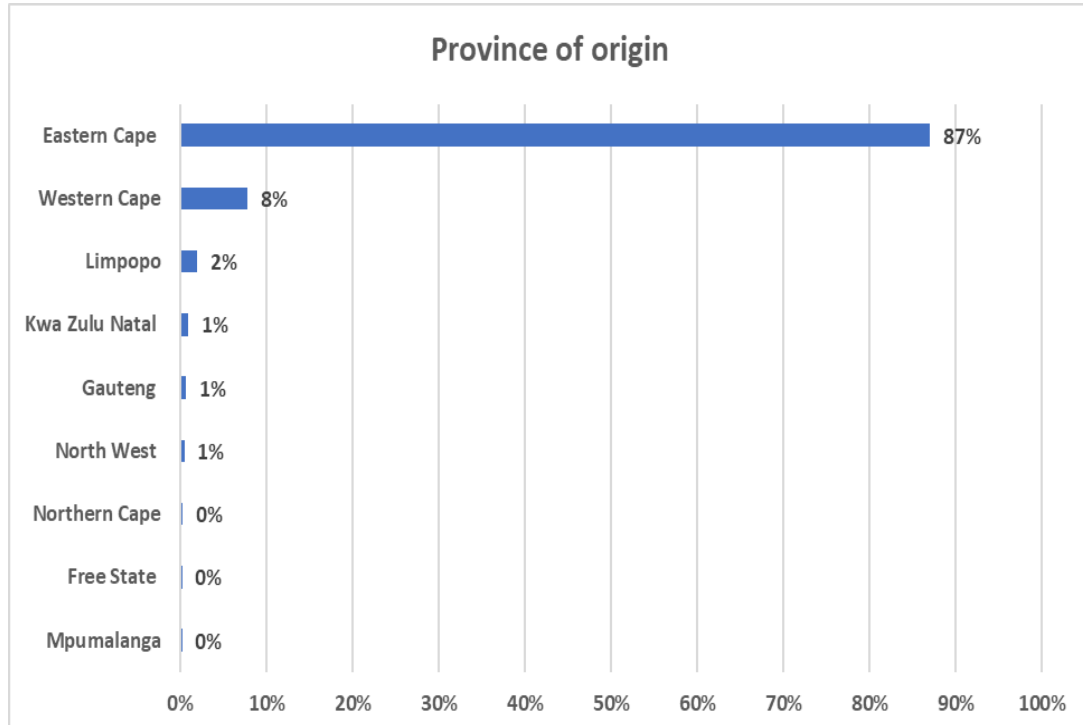


Figure 12: Province of origin of South African day labourers

(Source: Research data)

Of the South African-born participants, 7.8% were from Cape Town while 87% were from the Eastern Cape. These numbers are suggestive of high poverty and high unemployment rates in the Eastern Cape which make Cape Town and the Western Cape a preferred destination for day labourers from this province. StatsSA (2021), using data of quarter 2 of 2021, reported that the Eastern Cape recorded the highest unemployment rate of the nine provinces. The official unemployment rate for the province was 47.1%, while the expanded unemployment rate was 53% (StatsSA, 2021). It can therefore be expected that many people would migrate to a province faring better economically. Comparatively low poverty rates therefore make the Western Cape attractive to internal migrants. Bhowmik (2005) compares this to internal migration in India, stating that the lack of gainful employment and poverty in rural areas has pushed people out of their villages in search of a better existence in the cities.

7.5 EDUCATION LEVEL

7.5.1 All participants

In a country like South Africa where, according to Leibbrandt et al. (2010), the labour market absorption rate depends largely on a person's level of education, it is important to assess and document the education levels of day labourers. Of all respondents (international and native migrants), only 28.6% had received and completed basic education up to grade 12 (matric), while 0.44% of the participants had not received any formal primary or high school education at all. The fact that only 28.6% had completed their high school education means that 71.4% did not complete their high school education. This is essential to note, as low formal education and training negatively affects individuals' prospects of securing employment. Ormarjee (2021), citing the quarter 2 labour data for 2021, reports that unemployment was lower for university graduates than for those individuals who only have matric or less schooling than matric.

The research findings are also interesting in comparison to findings by Van Wyk et al. (2020), which found that 34.14% of day labourers surveyed in Tshwane in 2015 had completed matric or had gone on to receive some sort of higher education or training. In Windhoek, also in 2015, only 3.75% of the respondents had completed matric, with only one respondent furthering his studies (Van Wyk et al., 2020).

Despite the finding that a majority of the day labourers had not completed their formal primary and high school education, the data findings also showed that 53% of the day labourers had received some form of vocational training, with some even receiving more than one training. These trainings included work as bricklayers, painters and electrical workers. These vocational skills provide an advantage to the day labourers. However, although it is a welcome finding that more day labourers had received some form of training, it is also an indicator of the fact that skilled and formally trained personnel were either not finding or losing work in the formal employment sector and were being relegated to day labour as a last resort.

7.5.2 International immigrants

Blaauw et al., using data collected in 2007 in Tshwane, found that there were relatively high levels of schooling and literacy amongst Zimbabwean migrants, with 86% of the Zimbabwean day labourers speaking fluent English (Blaauw et al., 2012). The same trend amongst migrant day labourers was established in this study when examining the education levels of migrant day labourers in Cape Town. Despite this purported high level of education, day labourers struggled to secure work with or without an education. Zimbabwean day labourers who have completed secondary school or some formal post-school qualifications earn on average R81 on a day wage or 18% more than those whose highest qualification is some secondary schooling (Blaauw et al., 2012).

Of all the participating migrant day labourers during this study, 53.1% indicated having completed education levels in their home country up to the equivalent of grade 12 or matric in South Africa. This view seems to support the popular narrative that migrant day labourers have high levels of education which gives them an advantage to getting jobs. However, the researcher also established that only 9.5% of the migrant day labourers had received post-school vocational training. The view that migrant day labourers arrive with a lot of vocational skills was therefore not evidenced in study. This also applies to the thinking by Mosala (2008), who suggests that there is a de-skilling and underuse of qualified skills amongst day labourers. This only applies to a small percentage (9.5%) of migrant day labourers in this particular study, which is not a significant proportion of the total day labourers.

7.6 EMPLOYMENT AND WORK HISTORY

The nature of work and the workplace environment are both significant factors in determining the well-being of a worker (Musilek, 2019). Physically taxing work, such as work that involves lifting or carrying heavy loads, poses particular risks to workers. Work that is mentally or emotionally demanding, such as customer service or work involving lots of interactions with clients, poses its own risks. This implies that the relationship between work and personal well-being are clearly visible. This can have a significant impact, either positive or negative, on workers' well-being and on their family life. Taking this into account, it was therefore important for the researcher to understand the work setting of day labourers, as this may have an effect on their overall well-being, including outside of work.

7.6.1 Types of work by all day labourers

Of the 453 day labourers surveyed in Cape Town, 100% reported that their primary work was as a day labourer, with no substantiating income elsewhere. Day labour work as established in the study, was the majority of the respondents' primary source of income. Of the total participants, 235 (51.8%) day labourers reported that their primary work was working as a gardener in the day labour sector. This was measured in relation to a month's work history indicating that the most readily available type of work for day labourers was gardening work. This should also be viewed in light of the fact that the majority of the day labourers in the study worked in residential suburbs, mainly in the Northern Suburbs and Southern Suburbs. Residential homes need landscaping and garden maintenance services, making these suburbs viable areas of employment for day labourers. Painting and painting assistance work was the second-most frequent type of work undertaken by day labourers. The least available type of work undertaken by day labourers in Cape Town is that of electrician and electrician's assistant. This is likely due to the fact that there are regulations and municipal by-laws⁸ that govern this type of work.

⁸ Municipal by-laws are laws managed by municipalities as mandated by the Constitution of South Africa. The constitution gives municipalities the power to pass their own legislation, in the form of by-laws, for particular subject areas. These by-laws hold the same power and force as other national and provincial legislation.

Table 7: Type of day labour work undertaken by participants in the previous month

(Source: Research data)

Type of work	Number of day labourers who did type of job in last month
1. Gardening	235
2. Painting	188
3. Loading and unloading	136
4. Construction (demolition/clean-up)	79
5. Bricklaying assistant	72
6. Plastering	61
7. Painter's assistant	59
8. Bricklaying	55
9. Digging/shovelling	53
10. Domestic work	39
11. Plumbing	32
12. Plumber's assistant	27
13. Car wash	27
14. Carpentry	21
15. Roofing	19
16. Carpenter's assistant	15
17. Electrician's assistant	15

18. Farming activities	13
19. Roofing assistant	10
20. Electrician	9

The above table details all work undertaken by day labourers in the month presiding the data collection. Day labourers listed most viable jobs they had taken up in the month presiding the data collection.

Another key finding was that day labourers reported to have had more than one type of work undertaken in the month prior to the data collection. There was some variation between the participants. One participant recorded having done eight different types of work in the month prior to the data collection, while there was another who participant who had done only one type of work in the month prior to the data collection. The day labourer amongst the eight different types of work reported to have worked as a plumber, painter, bricklayer, paver, tree cutter, plumber assistant, roofer and gardener; all within a space of one month. On average, all day labourers did 2.6 different types of work in the month prior to the data collection. This is indicative that day labourers, despite their expertise in particular areas, are required to be flexible and diverse in their skills to enhance their chances of being hired at hiring sites. The findings also suggest that day labourers ultimately pursue different types of work depending on what is most financially viable at the time. One respondent indicated that he had worked as a gardener, painter, carpenter, roofing assistant, car washer and bricklayer all within the same month.

7.6.2 Types of work by female day labourers

Another interesting dynamic is in relation to the type of work undertaken by female day labourers. Ogahara & Kuschminder (2019) state that many women who work in the informal economy as day labourers take up jobs closely related to traditional household work, such as domestic workers, seamstresses or child carers. The research findings contradict this statement, however. The researcher established that the majority of the recorded female day labourers in Cape Town were not doing domestic or housekeeping work, as suggested by by Ogahara & Kuschminder (2019). Only 44.8% of the female day labourers in this study took

up domestic work. The remaining 55.2% did other work, including construction, electrical work and painting. The data finding in this regard must however be acknowledged as limited in that only a small percentage of the research were females and not representative of the entire female day labour population. It also has to be taken with the experience that women working in the informal economy in household or domestic jobs are not going to be standing at day labour hiring sites waiting to be hired, because that's not where people go to hire cleaners, child carers or seamstresses.

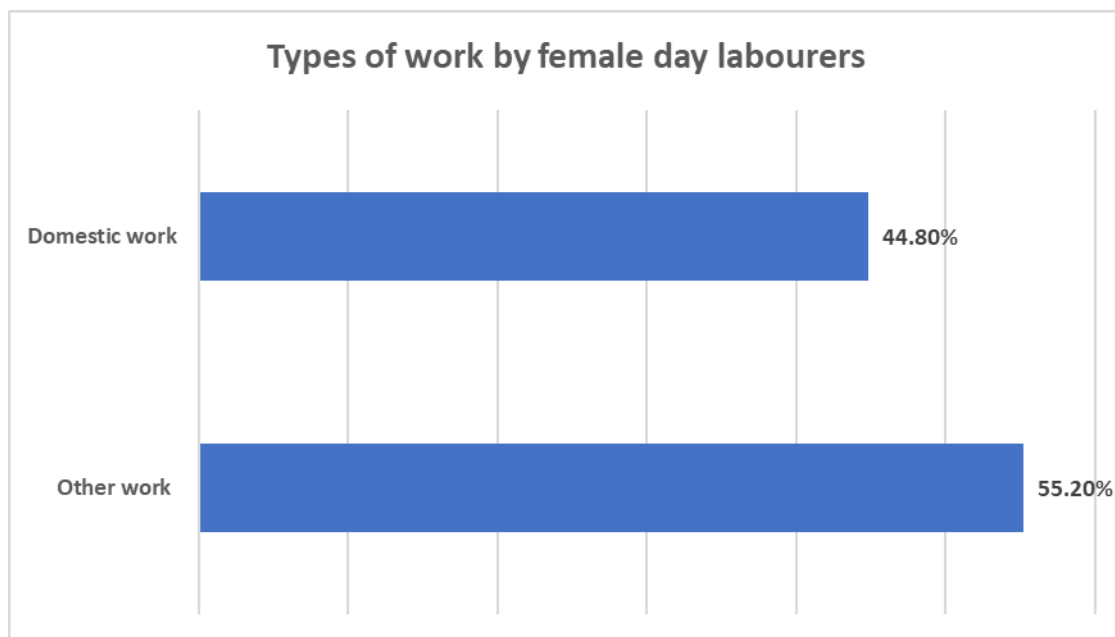


Figure 13: Type of work undertaken by female day labourers
(Source: Research data)

This finding is interesting as it also confirms research by Chen (2016), who found that while nearly all the female day labourers surveyed in the US, mostly Latinas over age 30, had worked informally as housekeepers, 80% also reported having worked in the construction, warehouse and food-processing sectors. Others performed low-wage service labour.

7.6.3 Frequency at day labour hiring sites.

A common feature amongst all day labourers is their commitment to waiting long hours to get work at day labour hiring sites. The study established that, on average, day labourers spent at least 5.5 days a week at the day labour hiring sites. It must be noted, however, that

5.5 days at the day labour hiring sites do not translate to 5.5 days of work, as the nature of the work undertaken by day labourers is precarious and inconsistent. The researcher established that 35% of the respondents were available at the sites seven days a week, while 35% were at the hiring sites six days a week, devoting one day to rest. The remaining 30% were at the hiring sites five or fewer days per week.

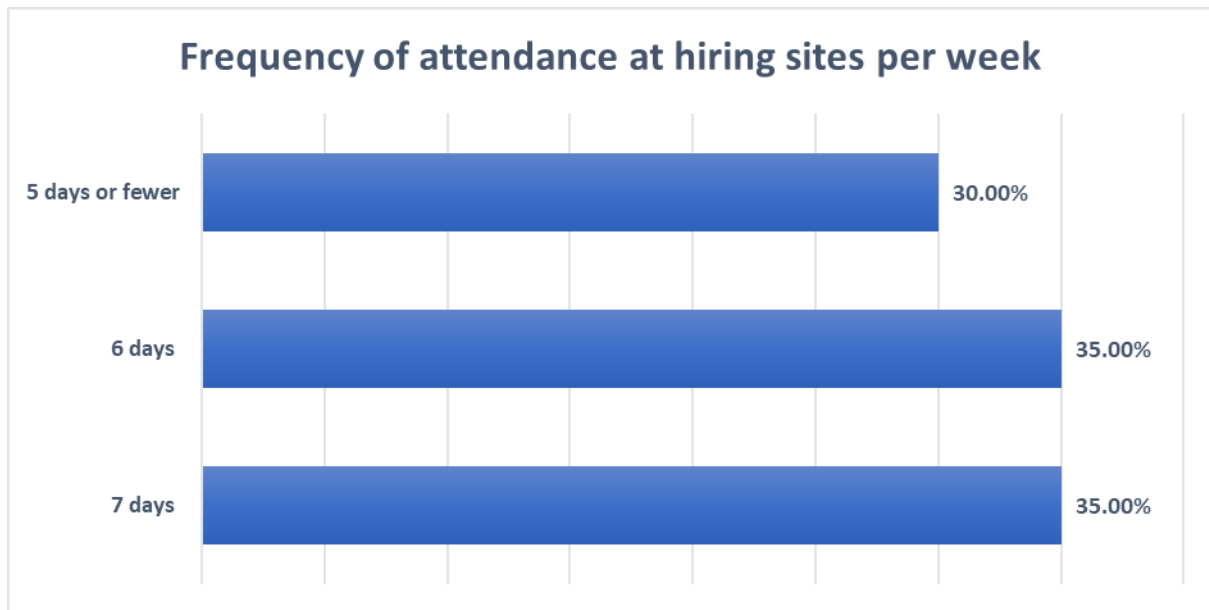


Figure 14: Frequency of attendance at hiring sites per week
(Source: Research data)

The data in Figure 14 clearly indicates that approximately a third of the research respondents had been at the hiring sites for at seven days without rest. This is important in understanding the well-being of day labourers and their families. As reported by Green, Bull Schaefer, MacDermid & Weiss (2011), long working days and hours without taking time off can either negatively or positively impact on the well-being of persons. A positive impact may be that people who spend more time at the hiring site increase their chances of finding work and earning an income, which may bolster their much-needed support for their families. It may, however, negatively impact the well-being of day labourers and their families by causing fatigue, sleep deprivation, stress, negative effects on health and fitness and having less time and energy for parenting. The researcher will examine the relations between these long hours and the well-being of day labourers in the data integration phase of the study.

7.6.4 Regularity of work at hiring sites

Despite the above finding that the respondents in the study spent an average of 5.5 days per week at the day labour hiring sites, this did not mean that day labourers were finding work on a daily basis. Day labourers often do not know from day to day whether they will get work or not. To measure the frequency of participants' employment within a week, the researcher examined their days of work per week in comparison to their days per week at the hiring sites. The findings indicated that an average of 13.20% of all the participants had secured work for all days of the week that they were at the hiring sites, in the week prior to data collection. This means that only one in five day labourers secure work every day that they are at the hiring sites. The data also showed that 28% of the participants could only secure work for one day a week. This indicates that the largest bracket of day labourers is only able to secure work once a week.

Table 8: Regularity of work

(Source: Research data)

Day of the week	Day labourers employed on the day	Percentage of total participants
Day 1	131	28%
Day 2	120	26.40%
Day 3	98	21.60%
Day 4	87	19.20%
Day 5	79	17.40%
Day 6	62	13.60%
Day 7	60	13.20%

7.6.5 Wage and income data for all day labourers

There are strong theoretical grounds suggestion that income is associated with life satisfaction and well-being, especially in the case of poorer people (Diener, Lucas, Helliwell,

Schimmack & Helliwell, 2009). Lachowska, Mas & Woodbury (2020) suggest that money allows us to meet our basic needs to buy food and shelter and pay for healthcare. Meeting these needs is essential, and if we don't have enough money to do so, our well-being suffers. In the case of day labourers, these views are questioned by Blaauw et al. (2018), however, who state that while it seems reasonable to expect that day labourers would be dissatisfied with their lives, this is not necessarily the case, as several factors contribute to people's subjective well-being. Matta (2020) supports this view by concluding that income has a limited impact on your sense of well-being. Instead, Matta (2020) emphasises relative income when it comes to happiness and well-being: if your income rises or falls at the same time that the entire country's income rises or falls, your overall happiness and well-being will not change.

Noting the above, it was important to assess day labourers' income while also acknowledging that people are complicated beings with intricate systems that go beyond income in determining their happiness and well-being. It was expected that day labourers typically encounter several problems in getting paid fairly for their work, since they are often hired by individuals who do everything possible to minimise their costs and have maximum flexibility. The researcher examined the day labourers' income for the 12 months prior to the data collection, looking at the participants' lowest and highest daily incomes. The average lowest daily income was R130.44 per day, while the average highest daily income was R285.16, on what the day labourers considered a good income day. The single highest amount received by one day labourer for a day's work was R4 000.

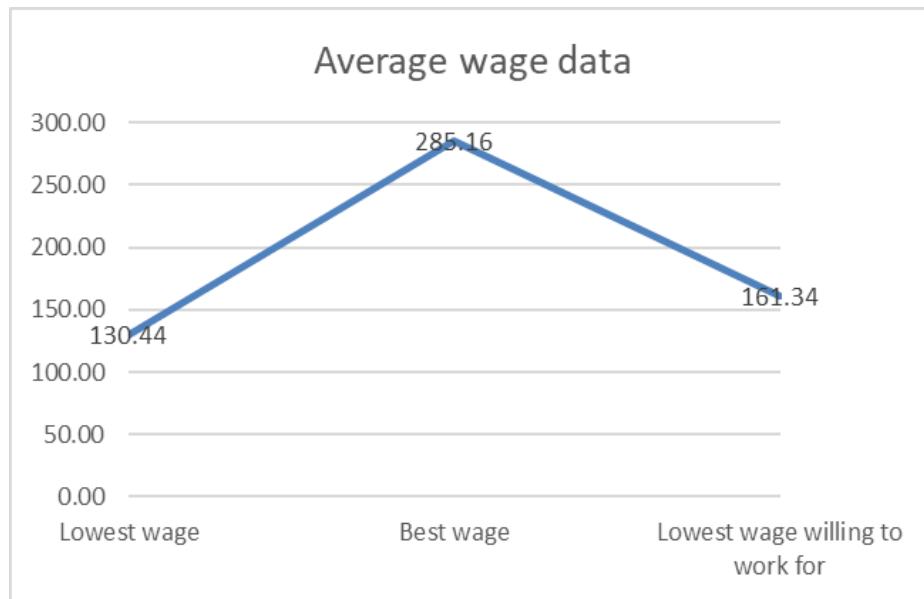


Figure 15: Average lowest and highest daily wages

(Source: Research data)

This data clearly suggests that income amongst day labourers is low, with an average income of R285.16 on their best day. It must also be taken into consideration that the work is unstable and uncertain in terms of finding work daily. Income for day labourers is therefore highly insecure because they are not permanently employed. This is also evident even from the fact that the day labourers spend an average of 5.5 days per week at the hiring sites. The earnings recorded by the researcher are higher than those recorded by Blaauw et al. (2007) in 2005, who found that day labourers in Tshwane earn an average daily wage of between R50 and R60 for a long day's work. In 2020, Van Wyk et al. (2020) found that the daily earnings for day labourers in Tshwane were between R 120 and R 150. However, Smith (2020), using data collected in Mbekweni in 2020, found that the average lowest wage received during the period was R44 per day while the best daily wage received during the period was R113. The wage conditions for day labourers in Cape Town therefore appears to be comparatively favourable as they earn more than their counterparts in other areas of the country.

In the data integration phase, the researcher will explore the relation between the day labourers' income and their individual and family well-being. If day labourers make more money, are they and their families happier?

7.6.6 Wage and income data amongst migrant day labourers

The researcher was also interested in establishing the recorded wages of migrant day labourers in particular. As previously stated, the research indicated that 40% of the participants were foreign nationals, with the majority coming from Zimbabwe. Blaauw et al. (2012) report that there is a common perception that immigrants entering South Africa from the country's northern borders are taking South Africans' jobs, often claiming that casual immigrant workers are willing to work for very low daily wages. The findings of this study were, however, a stark contrast to this view, as can be seen in Table 9.

Table 9: Lowest and highest daily wages of South African and international migrant day labourers

(Source: Research data)

	South African day labourers	International migrant day labourers
Lowest daily wage	R 124.82	R 138.82
Best daily wage	R 283.89	R 287.03
Lowest daily wage willing to work	R 160.97	R 161.87

The general view that foreign day labourers are willing to work for much less than their South African counterparts is contradicted by the data. The research outcomes in fact indicated that migrant day labourers earn more than South African day labourers. This concurs with the research findings by Blaauw et al. (2012), who found that the perception of Zimbabweans taking the jobs of South Africans by working for much lower wages is not a reality in the day labour sector. Blaauw et al. (2012) hypothesised that the variation in income between South African day labourers and migrant day labourers is because of perceived higher productivity levels, as well as the greater reliability of foreign day labourers compared to South African day labourers. Day labour employers are perhaps willing to reward foreign day labourers with higher wages than the going rate in the overall day-labour market for these attributes (Blaauw et al., 2012).

Despite the variances in earnings discussed above, one consistent factor is that all day labourers across South Africa earn below the minimum basic standards of South Africa. As of 2020, the minimum wage was of R20.76 per hour, translating to R166.08 for an eight-hour day. This is higher than the average earned by both South African and international migrants in the study, who earned an average of R124.82 and R138.82 per day, respectively.

7.6.7 Expectation versus reality of income

Whether they are migrants or not, 51.2% of the surveyed day labourers reported that their income was better than expected. This, however, should not be interpreted to mean that day labourers are satisfied with their income but rather that day labourers do not expect more than what they are currently earning.

Table 10: Participants' perceptions of income level

(Source: Research data)

Perception of income level	Percentage of total participants
Better than expected	51.20%
Worse than expected	35.00%
As expected	11.40%
Did not disclose	2.40%

This is a key finding on day labourers' perceptions of their income. Most day labourers indicated that their income was better than expected, with 35% of reporting that their income was worse than expected, highlighting a need for and an expectation of an increased income. In the end, whether lower or higher than expected, the day labourers' income is always welcome, as it is the only job opportunity many of them have.

7.7 WORK LIFE OF MIGRANT DAY LABOURERS

Many migrants, whether internal or international, turn to the informal economy as a means of

earning a wage and securing a livelihood (Crush et al., 2015). Day labour is deemed favourable and easily accessible for migrant workers.

South Africa's small but growing informal sector has become an increasingly important source of employment not just for South African citizens but also for international migrants who flock to the country's urban centres (Theodore et al., 2017). Day labour hiring sites have emerged as one of the most visible forms of the informal economic sector in the South Africa where day labourers converge to solicit work on a daily basis. Despite the visibility of day labourers and these hiring sites, they remain unregulated in South Africa and in many global economies. This prompts one to examine the lived experiences of day labourers at day labour hiring sites.

7.7.1 Faithfulness to hiring sites

During the study, the researcher established that 52.5% of the migrant day labourers had worked at the same hiring site for a period of at least three years prior to the data collection. Another key finding is that 19% of the all day labourers had been at the same hiring site for seven years or longer. Furthermore, three respondents reported that they had been coming to the same hiring site since the 1980s. This finding is suggestive that hiring sites are a reliable entry point for migrant day labourers looking to access work. Added to this fact, day labourers favour their preferred hiring sites due to factors such as easy access, safety, security and less competition. Sites that are conducive to forming and maintaining networks of support and friendship over time were also favoured by the research participants.

With this finding, the researcher also established that day labourers stay longer and prefer certain hiring sites driven mainly by easy access to the site, as the respondents live nearby and can easily travel to the site and back. This is a noteworthy finding, suggesting that a substantial proportion of migrant day labourers do not move around across different hiring sites. There is therefore an unspoken loyalty to hiring sites.

7.7.2 Duration of work

With specific reference to migrant day labourers, the researcher established that some migrant day labourers were working as day labourers for longer periods than previously

documented by the literature. The findings show that 18.6% of migrant day labourers have worked as day labourers for a period of 10 or more years. This finding contradicts the thinking that day labour is transitional or temporary work. It also contradicts the view of Theodore et al. (2015), who state that the number of years day labourers are active in the day labour industry is limited, as a result of the high frequency of workplace injuries, physical and material hardships and work insecurity.

Working in an unregulated, precarious, underpaid sector for long periods of time may affect the well-being of day labourers. The fact that day labourers remain in the day labour sector suggests that they have limited options for alternative employment. It also suggests that day labourers and their families remain in poverty and have an uncertain income for prolonged periods

The researcher also established that the majority of the participants, 53.6%, have worked as day labourers for between one) and three years.

Table 11: Time worked as a day labourer

(Source: Research data)

Time worked as a day labourer	Percentage of total participants
1 to 3 years	53.6%
4 to 6 years	17.4%
7 to 9 years	10.2%
10+ years	18.6%

7.7.3 Work hours

Blaauw (2010) states that day labour in South Africa often requires day labourers to work for longer hours without breaks, often at the behest of the employer. The work is often also done in difficult working conditions, especially when compared to those in the formal economic sector where there are regulations that govern work practices. Mapendere et al. (2019) found that day labourers congregate daily on open street corners whether it is raining, extremely hot

or bitterly cold. To add to these harsh conditions, there is enormous uncertainty of finding work. From the research data, the researcher confirmed that the working hours and conditions of day labourers are harsh and precarious.

The earliest recorded time of arrival at a hiring site during the study was 04:30, and the latest time to leave was 20:00. This clearly indicates long working hours or work-soliciting hours, sometimes of more than 12 hours. As previously mentioned, day labourers remain at the hiring sites even during harsh weather conditions. Day labourers also sometimes leave the hiring sites earlier than their regular times on days when they judge it difficult or impossible to get work. This was, however, not a luxury all day labourers could afford.

7.7.4 Nutrition and care at the hiring sites

Participants reported getting food from different sources, including bringing their own food from home, which was the most frequently cited source. However, 25% of the participants reported that they do not eat during the day while at hiring sites. This is not by choice but is rather due to a lack of access to food options during the day or a lack of affordability to buy food while at the hiring sites. This implies that approximately one in every four day labourers only eat before leaving home in the morning, as early as 04:30, and when they return home, as late as 20:00. This is an interesting finding in understanding the well-being of day labourers participating in the study. Research by Helliwell (2019), sampling from a wide range of populations, demonstrated that food consumption and frequency of food consumption are associated with increased well-being. One can therefore assume a compromised well-being for a significant number of day labourers who do not have access to regular meals.

7.8 RELATIONS, SOCIAL NETWORKS AND LIFE SATISFACTION

For better and for worse, family relationships play a central role in shaping an individual's well-being across the course of their life (Merz, Consedine, Schulze & Schuengel, 2009). Family relationships may become even more important to well-being as individuals age, as the need for caregiving increases and social ties in other domains such as the workplace become less or more important (Milkie, Bierman & Schieman, 2008). The researcher considered family relations a key factor to study in understanding day labourers' family life and well-being. Understanding this was achieved by assessing factors such as number of

dependants, marital status, networks of support, housing and living circumstances.

7.8.1 Marital status

In order to understand the family life of day labourers, it is also essential to understand the marital and relationship status of the person. Of all day labourers that participated in the study, 43.4% reported that they were either single or never married, while 7.7% were separated or divorced. In total, 32% reported that they were married, in either a traditional or western marriage, while 14% indicated that they were living with a partner. Burnette (2007) states that employment and the ability to safely provide for a family are key determinants before people get married. The precarity of day labourers' work in which incomes are not guaranteed is a potential determinant causing the high number of day labourers reporting as never married or single. However, this does not necessarily mean that day labourers are not in relationships.

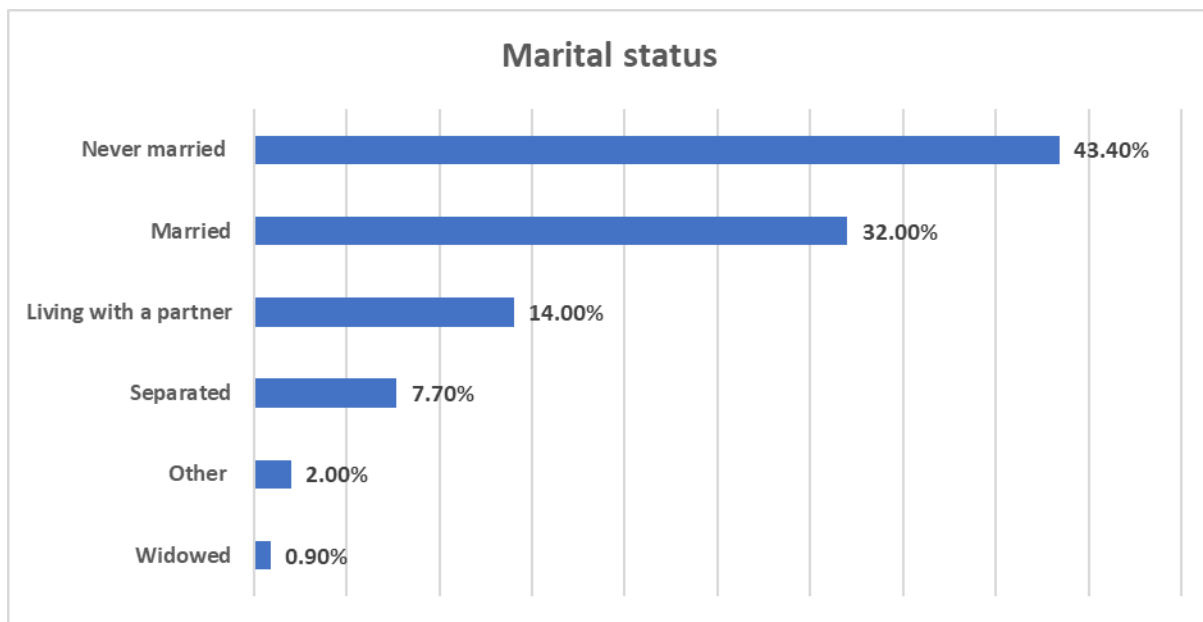


Figure 16: Marital status of day labourers

(Source: Research data)

Intimate romantic relationships are viewed as one of the most important relationships that defines an individual's life and in turn affects their well-being throughout their lives (Umberson & Montez, 2010). Being married, for instance, especially being happily married, is associated with better mental and physical health (Umberson, Thomeer & Williams, 2013).

“The marital resource model suggests that marriage promotes well-being through increased access to economic, social and health-promoting resources” (Rendall, Weden, Favreault & Waldron, 2011 cited by Thomas, Liu, & Umberson (2017: 03). The majority of participants in this study, however, have never been married, which has a potential impact on their well-being.

7.8.2 Children and dependents

Day labourers do not receive much money to care for their families and having to care for a high number of dependants on the small income typically received by day labourers can be stressful (Van Wyk et al., 2020). Factoring in the inconsistency of the income, with a low income of R130.44 on a bad day and R285.16 on a good day, many day labourers are under enormous pressure to care for families, children and other dependants in addition to maintaining their own upkeep. Blaauw et al. (2013) found that migrant day labourers in Tshwane had an average of four dependants and an average of two children. This data corresponds to the findings of this study. The researcher established that migrant day labourers in the study on average have four dependants that they care for. This was similar to the average number of dependants of South African day labourers, as displayed in Table 12.

Table 12: Dependants of day labourers

(Source: Research data)

	Average number of dependants, including children
South African born day labourers	3.8
International migrant day labourers	4

The highest recorded number of dependants including children and extended family for a participant was 10, while the lowest was 0 (zero). It is therefore clear that day labourers’ incomes are often far lower than what is needed to support their families. This likely perpetuates a state of poverty, including poor nutrition and poor access to basic services,

amongst day labourers and their families. In 2015, Blaauw et al. (2016) found that nearly all day labourers and their dependants faced chronic and persistent poverty. This stress is exacerbated for international migrants, who also have limited to no access to social service support. Non-South African day labourers therefore rely mostly on their own incomes with virtually no assistance from government institutions.

7.8.3 Type of dependants

Of the dependants recorded above, the majority were children, either the participant's own children or adopted children. In total, 68.8% of participants reported caring for their own children, with seven being the largest number of children recorded by a single day labourer. Another category of dependants is that of parents. In total, 31% of the day labourers, both migrant and native day labourers, reported to be caring for one or both of their parents.

The smallest category of dependants identified by the participants was that of grandchildren and foster children. Only four day labourers reported grandchildren as part of their dependants, and only nine reported foster children.

7.8.4 Regularity of family contact

In order to reach a deeper understanding of the value of families and family contact, it was important for the researcher to establish the regularity of family visits and family contact amongst migrant day labourers. Of the participants, 51% indicated that they visit their immediate families and dependants only once a year, while only 2.8% stated that they visit their families four or more times in a year. This data must be interpreted within the context of low incomes causing migrants to focus on providing for their families rather than on travel. Money for travelling was diverted towards upkeep of families.

Another important part of the context is that a substantial number of the day labourers who participated in the study are undocumented migrants. Without proper documentation, migrant day labourers fear leaving South Africa as they may not be allowed to come back, rather opting to only visit families on special or critical occasions. With this factor in mind, migrant day labourers tend to send money in the form of remittances to support their families rather than risk having to cross the country's borders again. When migrant day labourers do not visit

their families often, they maintain contact through other means. The growth of cheaper communication platforms such as WhatsApp and Facebook have aided this contact. Another distinguished factor established during the study was that a majority of the day labourers do not reside with their children, having left them in the home countries. An expectation is that the children may move to join family members who made the journey ahead of them.

Table 13: Frequency of family visits

(Source: Research data)

Frequency of family visits	Percentage of total participants
Four or more times a year	2.80%
Twice a year	7%
Once a year	51%
Other	3%
Did not disclose	36.2%

7.8.5 Social networks

Migrants are amongst the most vulnerable members of society, even more so in developing countries. They are uncoupled from the social support structures and traditional safety nets that they would normally get in their country of origin (Deumert, Inder & Maitra, 2005). This makes it crucial for day labourers to establish networks and structures that promote their well-being in their work.

From the research data, 60.10% of the migrant respondents reported belonging to a network. Participants confirmed that they belong to small circles and networks of friends. These networks extended to assisting each other with transport, work referrals, food and shelter where needed. In total, 38.8% of the migrant day labourers reported not belonging to any network. Of greater concern, however, was that many migrant day labourers reported that the people within their networks are not able to assist each other with care when sick and or with loans when in urgent need of money. This leaves day labourers vulnerable to risks when they need financial or medical support. This also suggests that networks amongst migrant day

labourers are limited to assisting each other with work-related concerns only.

Table 14: Social networks amongst day labourers

(Source: Research data)

Belongs to a network	Percentage of participants
Yes	60.10%
No	38.80%
Did not disclose	1.1%

Despite the existence of these seemingly functioning networks, 44.9% of the participants reported having gone to bed hungry due to a lack of resources for more than one night in the month preceding the data collection, while 12 reported having gone to bed without food for more than five days in the previous month. In Van Wyk et al.'s (2020) study using data collected in Tswane in 2015, the average number of days per month that the participants went without food was four, and the median was two days. In both instances, this raises the crucial question of day labourers' and their dependants' well-being, given the importance of proper nutrition. Van Wyk et al. (2020) expand on this, suggesting that the coefficient for the total days the day labourers have to go with little or no food is negative in relation to their well-being. The longer they go with little or no food, the lower their level of social well-being.

The lack of proper diet and nutrition not only affects the social well-being of day labourers, but likely also has a negative impact on their productivity and their job performance.

7.8.6 Treatment by the public and employers

The growth of migration and urbanisation has contributed to growing tensions within some South African cities. Growing undocumented migration to South Africa has, in some instances, also created tensions between some South Africans citizens and migrant day labourers. Added to this, day labourers are considered a highly marginalised population, often exploited and discriminated against (Mapendere et al., 2019). Migrant day labourers often accept this abuse due to their undocumented status, which renders them vulnerable and

unable to defend themselves legally. In this study, 4% of migrant day labourers reported bad treatment from police and 3.8% reported bad treatment from the public. These numbers, though relevant, is statistically insignificant to the ratio of day labourers who reported no ill treatment from police or the general public. This must, however, not be taken to mean that there is no generalised discrimination towards day labourers by either the general public or police officials.

7.8.7 Life satisfaction

Day laborers are regularly denied payment for their work, are subjected to serious hazards at their job sites and endure insults and abuses by employers (Smith, 2020). They often lack the protection granted to workers in the formal economy even when working in the same occupations. These harsh work environments can have a detrimental impact on their happiness and overall well-being. Using a happiness scale, the researcher queried the happiness of the day labourers in relation to their life and work. The researcher used a self-rating with a scale of 1 to 10, with 1 being very unhappy and 10 being very happy. The findings clearly indicated that the majority (67%) of the international migrant day labourers self-rated poorly, rating themselves below 5 on the happiness scale. Of the South African participants, 59% rated themselves below 5 on the happiness scale. The average rating amongst migrant day labourers was 4.4, which is below the halfway mark of the scale.

Table 15: Self-ratings of day labourers on happiness scale

(Source: Research data)

Group	Self-rating 0–5 percentage of total	Self-rating 6–10 percentage of total
South African day labourers	59.1%	40.9%
International migrant day labourers	67%	33%

7.9 SIGNIFICANCE OF THE DATA

This study made use of empirical data analysis. Empirical data analysis refers to an

evidence-based approach for the interpretation of information (Braithwaite et al., 2018). It relies on real-world data, metrics and results rather than theories and concepts. Quantitative research methods are used to gather information through numerical data. Empirical analysis is then applied to quantify opinions, behaviours and other defined variables (Mannering, Bhat, Shankar & Abdel-Aty, 2020).

An element of great importance to the researcher was understanding the relation between the descriptive data produced from the quantitative data. Correlation coefficients are used in statistics to measure how strong a relationship is between two variables. There are several types of correlation coefficient. For the purposes of this research, the researcher made use of Pearson's correlation, also called Pearson's R (Zhu, You & Liu, 2019). The Pearson product-moment correlation coefficient is a measure of the strength of the linear relationship between two variables. If the relationship between the variables is not linear, then the correlation coefficient does not adequately represent the strength of the relationship between the variables (Zhu et al., 2019). To determine how strong the relationship between two variables is, a formula was followed to produce what is referred to as the coefficient value. The coefficient value can range between -1.00 and 1.00. If the coefficient value is in the negative range, that means the relationship between the variables is negatively correlated, or, as one value increases, the other decreases (Schober, Boer & Schwarte, 2018). If the value is in the positive range, that means the relationship between the variables is positively correlated, or both values increase or decrease together.

The researcher was mainly interested in migrant day labourers' well-being, as well as how their education affects their income. The following three questions were analysed:

- Do day labourers' income levels impact their well-being or happiness?
- Is there a strong relationship between day labourers' family life and their happiness or well-being, if at all?
- Do day labourers' level of education impact their income?

7.9.1 Correlation between well-being and income

The researcher was interested in determining the strength, if any, of the correlation between migrant day labourers' income and their sense of their own well-being or happiness. Using

the statistical analysis tool SPSS, the researcher determined the statistical value of the relationship.

$$r = 0.0656.$$

Table 16: Correlation between happiness and income of migrant day labourers

(Source: Research data)

		Happiness scale	Amount earned
Happiness scale	Pearson correlation	1	.066
	Sig. (2-tailed)		.381
	N	181	181
Amount earned	Pearson correlation	.066	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.381	
	N	181	183

Although technically a positive correlation, the relationship between the income earned by day labourers and their self-rating of happiness and well-being was weak. Despite an average wage of only R160.08 in a good week for migrant day labourers, this did not seem to be a strong determining factor to the happiness of migrant day labourers. This can be understood in the context that day labourers were still able to support their families and their dependants. Diener, Sandvik, Seidlitz & Diener (1993) suggest that even though income helps individuals meet certain universal needs and is a cause of happiness and social well-being, it is not the only important factor. Happiness and social well-being dependent on other resources and changeable standards (Diener et al., 1993). As established in the study, the majority of research participants reported their wages to be as per their expectations. This helps understand how income is not such an important variable to the social well-being of migrant day labourers participating in the study.

7.9.2 Correlation between well-being and family contact

Previous literature has indicated that contact with family and social networks are key

determinants in promoting the social well-being and social functioning of individuals. It can therefore be expected that the low number of social networks amongst day labourers and the infrequent contact between day labourers and their families, especially migrant day labourers, may negatively impact the well-being of day labourers.

The research results confirmed this. the researcher determined the correlation between participants' sense of well-being or happiness and the frequency of family contact (family visits).

$$r = 0.490$$

Table 17: Correlation between frequency of family visits and happiness
(Source: Research data)

		V125	V163
Happiness scale	Pearson Correlation	.490**	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	
	N	266	440
Frequency of family contact	Pearson Correlation	1	.490**
	Sig. (2-tailed)		.000
	N	268	266

The correlation outcomes as presented in Table 17 indicates a weak yet positive predictive relation between family contact and well-being as reported by the research participants. This association of the two variables clearly indicates that day labourers' well-being is negatively impacted by the fact that they have infrequent contact with their families.

7.9.3 Correlation between education and income

Previous literature has suggested that a higher level of education leads to a higher income. This is likely more relevant to the formal economic sector than in the informal economic sector. Barazzetta & Clark (2017) state that education is a key piece of the puzzle of

well-being, especially when people are rewarded for their education through increased wealth and high quality of life. This implies that when people are not rewarded for their education with a higher income it may affect their happiness and well-being. To understand this, the researcher examined the relationship between the average income earned by participants month and education levels.

$$r = 0.163$$

In analysing correlation, the nearer the value is to zero, the weaker the relationship (Dos Santos, Sarriera & Bedin, 2019). The results therefore suggest that education levels amongst day labourers, though a positive factor, are not a hugely significant determining feature for their level of income. The relationship between income and education was found to be weak. The researcher can therefore conclude that day labourers with higher education levels and post-school vocational trainings may perhaps not find satisfaction and happiness in their work, as day labour does not reward more education with better wages. Van Wyk et al. (2020) have a different view, however, suggesting that day labourers who have received more than primary and secondary schooling possibly have higher levels of social well-being mainly because education may help them to be more competitive in the workforce when searching for jobs or applying for a full-time job. This was not evidenced in this study, as educated day labourers were earning the same as their less-educated counterparts, which could perhaps negatively affect their well-being.

7.10. CHAPTER SUMMARY

In this chapter, the researcher discusses the results of Phase 2 of the data collection, the quantitative data. The profiles of day labourers in Cape Town are highlighted, including a discussion of the various characteristics measured in the research such as country or province of origin, marital status and number of dependants. The research findings highlighted the profile of day labourers in Cape Town as being mostly male and mostly South African citizens but also including a high number of international migrants who relocate to Cape Town mainly for economic reasons. The findings from the quantitative data also suggest that many of the research participants are family oriented, with many of them responsible for several dependants, including spouses, parents, and children.

The chapter also discusses how the data was analysed to determine that positive yet weak

correlations exist between the well-being or happiness of day labourers and different variables such as income and family contact, as well between day labourers' income level and education. The research therefore suggests that although income and family contact are relevant to day labourers' happiness and well-being, they are not the only important determining factors. One can conclude from this that day labourers' happiness is not only affected by the nature of their work, but also shaped by other circumstantial factors.

To unpack this further, the researcher implemented a qualitative data collection phase aimed at studying the family life, migration trends and work life of day labourers in greater depth, which is discussed in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 8: PHASE 3: QUALITATIVE DATA

8.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter provides a thematic analysis of interviews conducted with 18 migrant day labourers in Cape Town. Qualitative research involves the collection, analysis and interpretation of data not easily reduced to numbers (Anderson, 2010). These data sets relate to the social world and the concepts and behaviours of people within it. In this study, the researcher had a strong interest in understanding the family life and well-being of day labourers. Fully comprehending this required an additional in-depth qualitative data collection phase. This section of the study does not provide a measure of the psychosocial well-being of day labourers but rather portrays the relationship between the work undertaken by day labourers, their family life and their lived experiences. The chapter is therefore centred on the self-view of life satisfaction amongst migrant day labourers.

8.2 RESEARCH METHOD

The researcher applied the thematic data analysis method to the qualitative data analysis, which is aimed at dealing with data that involves the creation and application of codes to data (Creswell, 2003; Miles & Huberman, 1994). The use of this method was determined by different factors including the qualitative approach and use of semi-structured interviews that were both applied in the research. By using thematic data analysis, key themes were identified and acknowledged and subsequently guided the discussion.

For easier presentation of the data, the chapter commences with a look at the demographics and profile of the 18 migrant day labourers that participated in the qualitative phase of the study. The chapter will also provide a description of the core themes, including sub-themes, that emerged from the study. References and comparisons to relevant literature will also be provided to substantiate, challenge or negate the themes that emerge from the study. The chapter will also use findings by Blaauw and Schenck in studies on day labourers done in Tshwane in 2005 and 2015 as key references to compare the research data to.

As established in the quantitative data during Phase 2, the majority of day labourers surveyed in Cape Town were men, making up 94% of the total day labourer population interviewed for the study. Of this 94%, 37% were between the ages of 31 and 40.

For the qualitative data collection process, 18 migrant day labourers participated in semi-structured interviews conducted by the researcher. The 18 profiled participants were selected with the aim to explore the experiences of migrant day labourers in Cape Town, including about their life satisfaction, daily lives and family relationships. This is also in the context of exploring how migrant day labourers are impacted, if at all, by their work status as both migrant workers and day labourers.

Of the 18 participants, 16 (88%) were men while only two (12%) were women. As established in the quantitative data, this split echoes the demographics of day labourers. Identifying female participants was challenging as there were scarcely any female day labourers at hiring sites, which are largely dominated by men. This must also be seen in the context of the challenges that hinder women from seeking work at hiring sites. This is supported by StatsSA (2021), who found that women in South Africa still face additional challenges that prevent them from seeking and accessing employment in both the formal and informal economic sectors.

Of the 18 participants, 16 (88%) were international migrants, with the majority coming from Zimbabwe, Mozambique and Malawi. The remaining two participants (12%) were internal migrants, both from the Eastern Cape Province. This also means that 16 participants spoke a non-South African language as a first language, while the remaining two respondents spoke isiXhosa and Setswana as their primary languages.

The age distribution of the participants also reflected the data established in the quantitative findings, with seven participants (39%) between the age of 31 and 40. This formed the largest age bracket amongst the migrant day labourers participating in the qualitative data collection phase. It is also noteworthy that 100% of the participants were black. This requires further exploration, as more than half of Cape Town's population are coloured, about one fourth are white, about one fifth are black and the remainder are of Asian descent (StatsSA, 2019). Why, therefore, are all the participants in this instance black? It is likely because at this stage of the data collection, most of the participants were from countries which have a higher percentage of black populations. For instance, Zimbabwe's white population in 2018 was estimated to be 0.4%.

Table 18 provides further background details of the participating migrant day labourers.

Table 18: Biographical data of participants in qualitative data collection phase

(Source: Research data)

Attribute		Number of participants
Gender	Male	16
	Female	2
Age	20–30 years	4
	31–40 years	7
	41–50 years	5
	51+ years	2
Marital status	Married	7
	Spousal relationship / life partner	5
	Single	4
	Divorced / separated	2
	Widowed	0
Dependants (immediate dependants)		3.6 (average)

Country of origin	Zimbabwe	5
	Mozambique	5
	Malawi	5
	South Africa	2
	Ghana	1

8.3 CORE THEMES AND SUB-THEMES OF THE QUALITATIVE DATA

For easier presentation of the findings, Table 19 below lists all themes and sub-themes of the qualitative research findings.

*Table 10: Core themes and sub-themes of qualitative data collection phase
(Source: Research data)*

Core themes	Sub-themes
1. Migration trends	The journey to Cape Town
	The push and pull effect (reasons for migration)
	The legality of the journey
2. Day labour (nature and context of work)	Employment history
	Day labour – not a new phenomenon
	The nature of the work and the work environment
	Occupational hazards
	Women’s experiences of day labour

	Leverage to negotiate income
3. Hiring sites (nature and context of work)	The unregulated nature of day labour hiring sites
	Vulnerabilities at hiring sites
	Frequency of work at hiring sites
	Red tape
4. Family life	Disrupted family life
	Transactional family contact
	Children of migrant day labourers
	The new normal: day labourers as income earners
	Remorse: a family left behind
5. Fears and concerns as a migrant worker	Working as an undocumented migrant
	Safety and reception by the local community
	Xenophobia
	Fear of loss of income
6. Social networks and life satisfaction	The value of social networks
	Self-view of life satisfaction

The core themes are discussed in the following sections. Where necessary, the researcher provides relevant literature that supports or challenges the outcomes of the research.

By making use of semi-structured qualitative questionnaires (see Appendix D), the researcher conducted semi-structured interviews with migrant day labourers, as detailed in Chapter 5. As previously stated, research participants were informed of their ethical rights which included the right to terminate the interview at any time, especially if it was to pursue work opportunities at the hiring site. Once the data was collected, the researcher made use of

thematic analysis to analyse the data sets. Making use of a qualitative thematic analysis enabled the researcher to move beyond counting obvious words or phrases and focus on identifying and describing both implicit and explicit ideas within the data (Creswell, 2003). These steps are identified in Chapter 5 of this study. The following themes and sub-themes emerged from the qualitative data.

8.4 THEME 1: MIGRATION TRENDS

The majority of day labourers working in South Africa are from other southern African countries: Angola, Botswana, Eswatini, Lesotho, Malawi, Mozambique, Namibia, Zambia and Zimbabwe. This is noted by researchers such as Blaauw et al. (2012), who found that most migrants in South Africa are from the SADC, Mainly Botswana, Malawi, Mozambique and Zimbabwe. Blaauw et al. (2012) further reports that African immigrants have been encountering brutal resentment and even violence from South Africans because of their presence in South Africa. Although the violence against migrant workers in South Africa can be attributed to various causes, one of the more prominent reasons is that migrant workers are blamed for taking up jobs of South African citizens. Given these factors, migrant day labourers' work environments are likely tenuous. It thus became of paramount importance for the researcher to examine the journeys of migrant day labourers. What pushes them to migrate, even towards a country likely to resent their presence? What is the impact of moving on their family and social life? These questions form the basis of this initial theme.

8.4.1 The journey to Cape Town

Migration for employment, also known as economic migration, is very much a part of the global agenda. This has largely been a result of individuals being pushed by a need to find decent and better-paying jobs. The quest for a better income as a migrant does not always come easy, however. It was therefore important to track and note migration trends for the interviewed participants, to examine how migrant day labourers end up in Cape Town. Although not the core focus of the study, this was essential in understanding how migrant day labourers end up working in this sector.

A majority of the participating day labourers had migrated for economic reasons. It was also clear that their migration journeys neither started nor ended in Cape Town. All participants

reported that they had migrated to and stayed in other provinces or countries outside of their place of birth prior to relocating to Cape Town. In total, 15 participants (83%) reported that they had resided in three or more provinces in South Africa prior to settling in Cape Town. This trend is also prominent amongst the international migrants, who all reported to have stayed in Gauteng upon first entering South Africa. Gauteng can be deemed “ground zero” for international day labourers coming to South Africa. This also explains why Cape Town has a smaller day labourer population compared to Tshwane. Table 20 summarises this data.

Table 20: Migration history of migrant day labourers

(Source: Research data)

Migration trends of migrant day labourers		Number of participants
Within South Africa	Resided and worked in two provinces	3
	Resided and worked in three or more provinces	15
Internationally	Resided and worked in two countries	16
	Resided and worked in three or more countries	2

Using the above data, the researcher undertook an exercise of “contact tracing” with one of the participants from a day labour hiring site in the Northern Suburbs who had reported staying in seven cities across three different countries prior to moving to Cape Town. The researcher also tried to ascertain the reasons for this participant’s migration. Table 21 details this day labourer’s migration experience and reasons for migration across three countries, including their country of origin, Zimbabwe. The participant, referred to as Tino (a pseudonym), stated the following in their native Shona, later translated by the researcher to English: “It all started with me being accused of cattle theft in Murombedzi.⁹ I didn’t do it, though, but you know how our police in Zim (Zimbabwe) police are.”¹⁰

⁹ A town in Zimbabwe in the Zvimba District of Mashonaland West Province

¹⁰ Original: “Zvakatanga nekuti ndakapomerwa mhosva ye kuba mombe kwaMurombedzi, I didn’t do it, though,

Tino detailed his journey from Zimbabwe to Cape Town, which the researcher has mapped in the following table, providing Tino’s own cited reasons for migrating.

Table 21: Migration history of Tino: a case study

(Source: Research data)

Migration point	Country	City migrated to	Reasons cited for migration	Type of employment
First point of migration	Zimbabwe	Bulawayo	Running away from town of birth Murombedzi after being accused of cattle theft.	Informal trader selling food items
Second point of migration	Botswana	Kazungula	Looking for work as an undocumented migrant.	Migrant day labourer
Third point of migration	Botswana	Gaborone	Did not stay in Kazungula for long because police and immigration were actively arresting undocumented migrants.	Migrant day labourer
Fourth point of migration	South Africa	Johannesburg	There are “too many Zimbabweans” in Gabarone and finding work is difficult.	Migrant day labourer

but you know how our police in Zim are.”

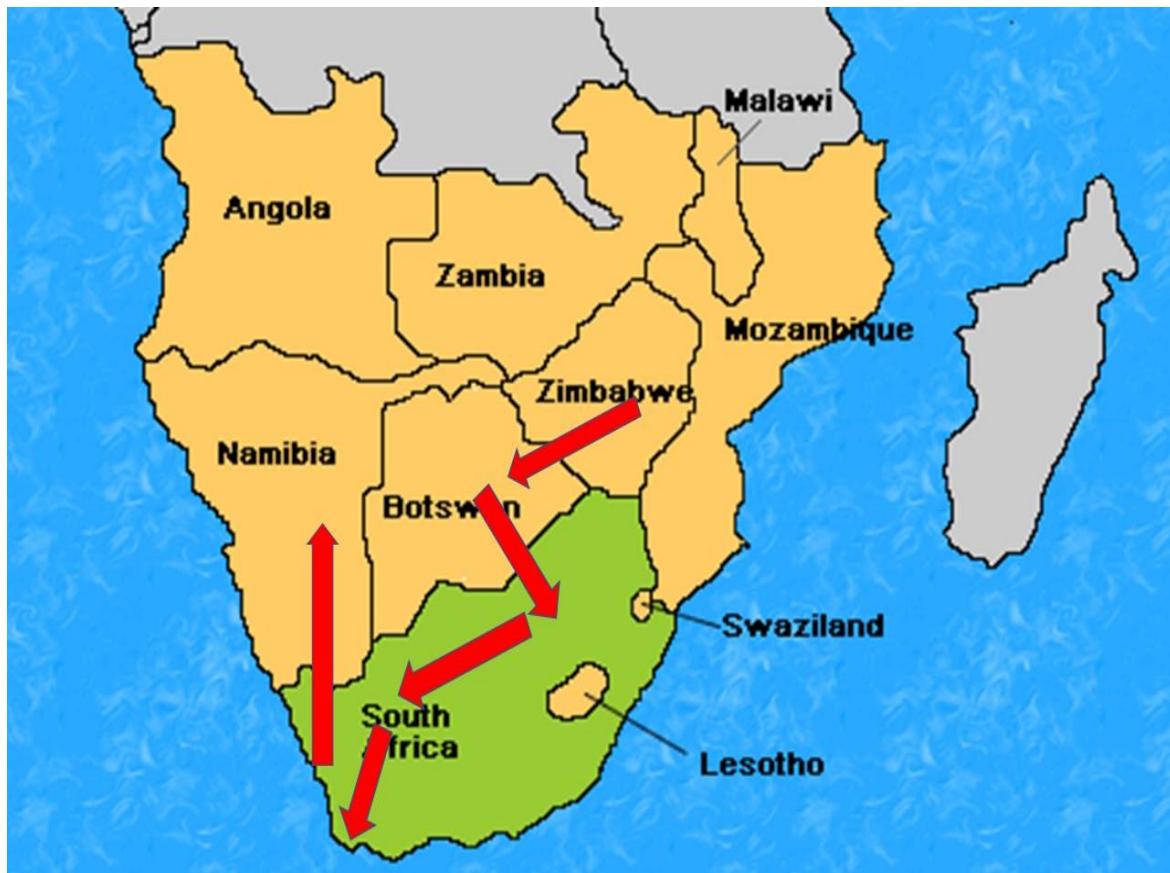
Fifth point of migration	South Africa	Tshwane	Although he succeeded in finding work in Johannesburg, the crime in the area he resided in was more than the participant could handle.	Gardener for a private residence
Sixth point of migration	South Africa	Prieska	Left Tshwane after receiving a job offer in Prieska.	Farm worker
Seventh point of migration	South Africa	Worcester	Left Prieska for a job offer in Worcester.	Farm worker
Eighth point of migration	South Africa	Cape Town	Left Worcester because the work was seasonal. Currently working in Cape Town as a day labourer.	Migrant day labourer

Tino suggested that he arrived in Cape Town at a time when the day labour market was limited and fewer people were doing this type of work. He stated that he now feels it is an overpopulated market and there are not enough available jobs for everyone. He intends to move to Namibia to pursue work opportunities and other avenues there. Tino stated the following: “To make money now, I have to try working in Namibia maybe.”¹¹

To further illustrate Tino’s journey as an economic migrant, Figure 17 details his journey of migration across different countries in southern Africa, including his intended next

¹¹ Original: “Kutoita mari ikezvino ndoto tryer Namibia maybe...”

destination of Namibia.



*Figure 17: Migration pattern of participant Tino across southern Africa
(Map: Geoscience Information and News, 2021)*

Another participant also reported having resided and worked as a day labourer in three or more countries including South Africa. The respondent, who is originally from Botswana, opted to relocate to Zimbabwe prior to migrating to South Africa. While in Zimbabwe, the participant undertook day labour in the agriculture and mining sectors. The participant also indicated that his reason for migrating to Zimbabwe before South Africa was not an economic one but rather due to the fact that it is easier to travel into South Africa through unlawful means when coming from Zimbabwe than from Botswana. This finding, especially when considered alongside Tino's migration journey as indicated in Figure 17, clearly highlights a stack migration trend. This means that many countries and destinations can in fact be sending and receiving at the same time when it comes to migration for economic reasons and day labour. Although Zimbabwe is mostly a sending destination, in this case it is also represented as a receiving destination.

It is also worth noting that day labourers from Zimbabwe who participated in this phase of the data collection reported that they had been migrating within their country of origin prior to migrating to South Africa. With a total rural population of 67.5% in 2018 (World Bank, 2020), it was no surprise that all the migrant day labourers from Zimbabwe were originally from a rural area or a small town. International migration was therefore not the first form of migration undertaken by the migrant day labourers. Participants have a history of migrating within their countries for economic reasons, migrating from rural areas to urban areas to improve their income and alleviate their poverty status. The full extent of migration must therefore be understood from the vantage point that it is neither linear nor straight. This is best explained by Leighton (2010), who states that for migrant workers of every age, much of their drive is motivated by significant problems related to poor infrastructure, agricultural land degradation, water scarcity and, increasingly, climate or weather-related disasters. Where these factors are strained even after migration, migrant workers will seek opportunities elsewhere.

8.4.2 The push and pull effect

Africa's migration dynamics are complex (ILO, 2013). These complex migration trends are also visible in the southern African region, which experiences all types of movement, including mixed migration¹², irregular migration, labour migration and displacement due to conflict and natural disasters. As mentioned before, South Africa has a high volume of migration because of its strong economic position on the African continent (Ncube & Mkwanzani, 2020). Despite South Africa this, as indicated in the previous section, migration between other southern African countries also takes place, with one participant indicating a history of migration to Zimbabwe for economic reasons, a country usually regarded as predominantly a sending nation of migrant workers to South Africa.

Flahaux & De Haas (2016: 01) state that Africa “is often seen as a continent of mass migration and displacement caused by poverty, violent conflict and environmental stress”.

¹² Mixed migration refers to cross-border movements of people including refugees fleeing persecution and conflict, victims of trafficking and people seeking better lives and opportunities. Motivated to move by a multiplicity of factors, people in mixed flows have different legal statuses as well as a variety of vulnerabilities (Reliefweb, 2020).

Such perceptions are largely based on stereotypes, however, rather than on theoretically informed empirical research. One of the main reasons driving these assumptions is the view that high migration in southern Africa is mainly a result of poverty, violence and displacement. Given this background, it was important for the researcher to examine the reasons behind the migration of day labourers.

Of the 18 participants interviewed during the qualitative data collection phase, 17 (94%) reported that their reason for migration was because of poverty and a lack of employment in their country of origin. One participant reported that "...poverty in my hometown of Kadoma in Zimbabwe got so bad that I would go without eating for days. I had no choice but to cross the border into South Africa and attempt my luck elsewhere."

This reality was not unique to this participant; the majority of the international participants reported poverty in their home countries as the main reason for migration. With respect to Zimbabwe, the World Bank estimates that extreme poverty in Zimbabwe has risen in the last few years, up from 29% in 2018 to 34% in 2019, an increase from 4.7 million to 5.7 million people. The World Bank predicts these levels will continue to rise in 2020 (World Bank, 2020). Chingono (2020) supports this statement, suggesting that poverty has reached unprecedented levels in Zimbabwe, with more than 70% of Zimbabwean children in rural areas living in poverty. Added to this, Sentamu (2016) reported that unemployment in Zimbabwe in 2014 was only at a rate of 4.8% with an increased percentage to come to 5.2% in 2016 (Sentamu, 2016). However, this was heavily criticised by other scholars such as Van Wyk (2019), who wrote that the true number is at a rate of 90%. The variance in these two numbers is largely due to which definition of unemployment is used. Figures provided by Sentamu (2016) were relatively low as they excluded people like subsistence farmers, who consume all their own output. These individuals were considered employed by Sentamu (2016). Despite the variance of these figures, what is clear is that employment, particularly quality employment, is a challenge in Zimbabwe. Many Zimbabweans therefore rather opt to migrate to find work elsewhere.

Extreme poverty and dire living conditions are also visible in Malawi. Poverty is high in Malawi and is highly visible amongst rural communities of Malawi (Myroniuk, Prell & Kohler., 2017). "People in Malawi are frequently exposed to various types of shocks, whether environmental, such as floods or droughts; economic, such as famines and fluctuating prices

for agricultural products; or filial, such as the death of household members” (Anglewicz & Myroniuk, 2018: 322). This is certainly true for one of the participants in the study, who reported having to migrate after the Karonga earthquake which affected Malawi in 2009. The participant reported that he lost all of his few possessions and simply felt as he could not recover. The participant further stated that he was already living in dire poverty prior to the earthquake. When the earthquake hit, it left him in even more poverty. He said: “Those people squandered everything before the earthquake... when the earthquake happened, I even lost more. I was never going to recover so I left.”

These types of shocks and traumas can push day labourers to migrate. For example, another Zimbabwean day labourer reported that the political situation in Zimbabwe was the main reason for his migration. The migrant insisted that although it was mainly for economic reasons that he left Zimbabwe in 2015, it was also because of the fear of an unending unstable political situation. As the participant narrated his story, he also reflected on how Ndebele people in Zimbabwe were victims of the Gukurahundi,¹³ where they were brutally killed and victimised, and have never received an acknowledgment of the violence, even today. This highlights the extent of political violence and instability and how it can drive migration. As stated by a participant:

“You [the researcher] are from Zim, you know this... Bob will never admit anything. So how are people not scared and remain in a country where an entire province of people can be killed without a trace? Those that are still in Zim are really brave”.

It thus becomes clear that the reasons for migration vary from participant to participant. There is, however, no ambiguity that having migrated, economic factors and the need to sustain a living take over, leading to many of the day labourers joining the informal economic sector. What is also clearly visible is that migration is viewed as a source of opportunities for people to improve their lives and those of their families. Migration has provided people with an opportunity to move from poverty-stricken circumstances into South Africa, which is done with the expectation that there would be more opportunities for economic prosperity in South Africa. Migration is therefore largely seen as an escape from poverty.

¹³ The Gukurahundi refers to a series of genocides which resulted in the death of an estimated 20 000 Ndebele people in Zimbabwe between 1983 and 1987.

8.4.3 The legality of the journey

During this phase of the study, all 16 of the international migrant participants reported not to have legal status to be in South Africa. Those that reported to have some form of document reported that their papers were fake and fraudulently procured. As one participant said, “I can show you my South African ID now, but it will not make it past a bank teller... [laughs].”

Another participant stated that:

“the biggest problem now is some employers don’t have cash, they pay you well but will ask to put money via Mukuru¹⁴ or as cash send. To move around and get the money maybe at Shoprite, you must have some document”.

This was an interesting finding, especially in relation to the well-being of migrant day labourers.

Another participant said the following: “...my friend, here employers just want a hardworking person, your Identity document does not matter.”¹⁵ This finding highlights that at the core of the relationship between migrant day labourers and employers, is trust. The day labourers’ ability to do the work and the ability to negotiate on payments are more important factors; issues of nationality are not a huge determining factor in securing work in the day labour sector. This finding also leads one to examine whether there is a risk of potential abuse and exploitation of migrant day labourers by employers. If this is the case, are only migrant day labourers exploited, or are day labourers in general exploited? Does a person’s nationality increase their risk of exploitation in the day labour sector? Are South African day labourers less vulnerable to abuse and exploitation compared to day labourers from other countries?

One participant stated, “It has never happened to me but it happens to all of us, whether you

¹⁴ Mukuru is an online remittances business which allows migrants typically excluded from mainstream financial services to move money in a convenient, safe and affordable way.

¹⁵ Original: “...shaa pano panodiwa vanhu vanoshanda, chitupa hachina basa.”

are South African or Zimbabwean. If an employer does not provide food or tells you not to use his toilet, it applies to all of us.” Another participant reported the following:

“Over the past five to six years I have been doing this work, South Africans don’t care about whether we have documents or not, as long as we do the difficult work. Do you honestly think people would ask for my passport at great personal risk to themselves and their families to perform some of the jobs that we do?”

From this anecdotal evidence, it appears that there is little difference in how migrant and native day labourers are treated by employers. All of the undocumented day labourers participating in this study reported receiving the same treatment from employers as their South African colleagues.

8.5 THEME 2: DAY LABOUR

The second core theme to emerge from the qualitative data was the nature and type of day labour undertaken in Cape Town. Migrants are said to prefer any type of low-income jobs as an entry to employment opportunities while employers prefer low-cost immigrant workers. Understanding this relationship prompted the researcher to examine the nature of the work undertaken by day labourers.

8.5.1 Employment history

According to Gagnon & Gagnon (2021), a foreign-born workforce is typically very mobile, able to respond swiftly to both short-term and long-term labour demands. This suggests that migrant day labourers are constantly on the move, working in different informal employment sectors for shorter periods of time. However, this was not the finding in the study. The researcher established that all 18 day labourers examined during this phase of the data collection had been working in the day labour sector for at least of four years, either in Cape Town or elsewhere in South Africa or a neighbouring country. The study established that day labourers stay in the same sector for relatively long periods of time. This corresponds to the quantitative data of the study, where the researcher found that day labour is neither transitional nor temporary work. Based on these findings, the researcher may conclude that by remaining static and active in day labour, migrant day labourers fill informal labour

demands and keep informal economic markets working efficiently.

Although now working as day labourers, it is also essential to acknowledge that some of the participants did not start their employment careers as day labourers. In order to illustrate this, the researcher will recount the story of the participant called Gift (a pseudonym), a day labourer originally from Zimbabwe. Gift reported having worked as a day labourer in South Africa for a period of five years prior to the data collection. Prior to working as a day labourer, Gift had four other jobs in the formal economic sector. Of interest as well with respect to the work history of day labourers is that all day labourers despite the reason of migration which may have not been economic reported a shortage of jobs in their places of origin / country of origin.

Gift detailed his work history as shown in Figure 18.

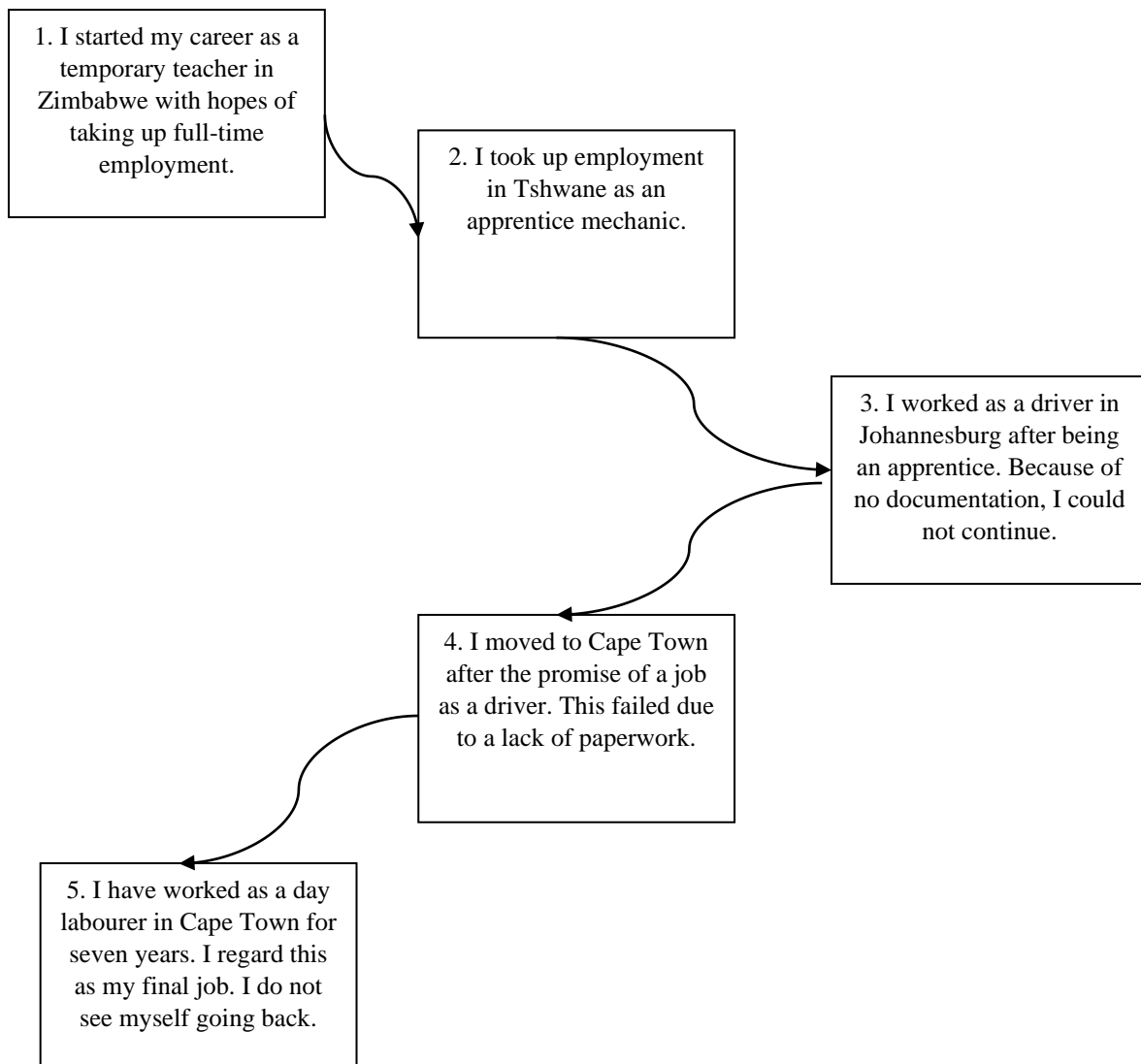


Figure 18: Work history of participant Gift

(Source: Research data)

Having worked as a day labourer for seven years, Gift reported that he had no hopes of going back to the formal economic sector, saying, “I have become so independent for years it will be difficult for me to report to someone.”

In contrast to Gift’s view, another participant, who has a work history in road construction in the formal economic sector, said, “If I see jobs I apply, I send my CV around, this work is not easy and so, so unstable. This whole week I might not get anything at all. At least then I know my salary was definitely coming.” Some of the participants thus express a preference for working in the formal economic sector, acknowledging that it can provide more safety and security than day labour. This view is supported by Theodore et al. (2017), who state that day labour is an entry point into the economy for undocumented migrants and that undocumented immigrants are often drawn into informal employment because of barriers to entry in the formal economic sector. One can therefore conclude that there are day labourers who still actively seek entry into the formal economic sector. However, there are other day labourers, such as Gift, who have given up looking for work in the formal economic sector.

Another participant stated, “There are more people being fired from their jobs coming here, why would I want to go there where people are being fired?” While the participant shared this, a friend of his who had overheard the conversation jokingly asked, “Is it not just that you just want the freedom to drink during work hours like you do now?”¹⁶ This view presents another dynamic of day labour: restrictions and labour controls that one might find in the formal economic sector are removed and are not observed in the day labour sector. Another research participant echoed this view, stating that they prefer working as a day labourer due to what they referred to as “favourable work conditions”. The day labourer who had worked as a day labourer for five years stated that he had no intentions of ever calling someone a “boss”, preferring to carve his own work hours and workdays, which are not traits commonly associated with a formal work environment.

8.5.2 Day labour – not a new phenomenon

¹⁶ Original: “*Hamusi kuda kungodhakwa here pabasa mudhara...*”

A participant from Ghana called Mark (a pseudonym) reported having worked in the day labour industry for nine years, with a day labourer career spanning two countries. Mark explained that day labour work is the only work he knows, both in his home country of Ghana and in South Africa. Probed as to the reasons of leaving day labour work in his native country for similar work in another country, Mark stated: “Everything at home is now owned by Chinese and Italians, the only work you can get in a day is picking tomatoes.” While the researcher cannot confirm whether this generalisation about Chinese and Italian people in Ghana is true, Mark stated that the competition for work in his native country had become so fierce that he could go for week without getting work. According to Mark, “I am now here, at least I know at least once a week I get work.”

Of particular interest to the researcher is that Mark stated that when he migrated to South Africa he had already decided that the only type of work he would do was day labour work. He explained, “I knew coming here that I was going to work in the streets, I have never even looked for work since I came here... it’s the only work I know.” Mark added, “Here work is easy, go pick tomatoes in Ghana and then come tell me about working...” Mark’s mention of tomato picking was referring to Ghana’s farming sector, which for a time concentrated on tomatoes. Ghanaians referred to this as “red gold”, although ultimately it was an unsuccessful project, with processing plants shutting down and leaving a marginalised group, mostly men, turning to day labour (Wallis, 2020).

In considering Mark’s narrative, the researcher realised that the context of day labour differs from region to region, which may push day labourers in one area to migrate to different areas where they deem the work to be easier, more favourable to their skill set or more profitable. An example of this is a migrant leaving a farming community for an urban area where more household and construction work is likely to be available.

Theodore et al. (2015) states that South Africa's mainstream economy has structural weaknesses that make it difficult to absorb new labour market entrants into formal employment, which is one possible reason why some day labourers remain in the informal sector without the intention to ever transition to the formal sector. This kind of structural unemployment is more visible amongst migrant day labourers, who find it a lot more difficult to be absorbed in the formal employment sector. Other determining factors include a lack of legal status in South Africa. Vettori & Nicolaidis (2019) provide another explanation,

suggesting that an increase in migration modifies both the quality and the quantity of the labour market in the receiving country. In the case of South Africa, they suggest that international migration has increased unemployment and decreased wages in the destination country (Vettori & Nicolaidis, 2019). These circumstances explain how day labourers such as Gift have remained in the day labour sector with limited integration into the formal employment sector. This leads to day labourers remaining in the informal economic sector for extended periods.

8.5.3 The nature of the work and the work environment

According to some analysts, unemployment in South Africa is perhaps even worse than we may generally believe (Webster & Francis, 2019). High unemployment has pushed people to the extreme of taking and relying on day labour and other work in the informal economic sector. The nature of the work undertaken by day labourers varies. It includes work in construction, gardening, scaffolding and loading and delivering materials, amongst others. It also includes working as traffic control personnel at road construction sites. The study found that jobs undertaken by day labourers are often characterised by occupational hazards such as heavy physical work, risk of injury and exposure to toxic substances.

The following sub-themes which directly refer to work environments as experienced by migrant day labourers emerged from the interviews during Phase 3 of the data collection process:

- The work environments are suitable for carrying out the work.
- The working conditions are the same for South African day labourers and foreign day labourers.
- Occupational hazards in the workplace exist.

As detailed in the interviews, many migrant day labourers find their work environments suitable for carrying out the work they are tasked to do. In addition, the majority of the foreign participants stated that their work environments are no worse than those of South African day labourers. This was a surprising finding for the researcher given the enduring narrative that suggest that immigrant workers, especially undocumented immigrants, experience poorer working conditions and more occupational health risks than native

workers. This was not the case in the study. There was a shared acceptance by migrant day labourers of their work environments as suitable to carrying out the work. However, it must also be noted that the same day labourers reported that in many workspaces they do not have access to sanitary facilities and they have to negotiate breaks, which may not always be granted. This was also reflected in the quantitative data findings. This suggests that, while migrant day labourers seem to feel that their work environments meet their expectations, their working conditions are not entirely favourable.

Some of the participants also reported a toxic work relationship with their employers: “When you start working, you must finish. The bosses may think you are lazy if you are taking a break.”¹⁷ This clearly points to a work environment that is not protected by labour laws in which workers may be overworked without rest until the job is complete. This further highlights an environment that may be toxic, leading to poor psychosocial conditions and mental health. Despite these factors of excessive mental workload and low job autonomy, migrant day labourers generally reported to be content and reported their workspaces to be suitable. Sterud, Tynes, Mehlum, Veiersted, Bergbom, Airila & Flyvholm (2018) suggest that the difficulties in entering the labour market as a migrant worker and the high rate of immigrant employment in some of the most hazardous jobs create a false assumption that work-related health amongst the immigrant population is bad and differs from that of the native population. This leads to the realisation, as also explained by the participants, that there is no real distinction between the experiences of migrant day labourers and the experiences of South African day labourers. As one participant states, “It has never happened to me but it happens to all of us, whether you are South African or Zimbabwean, if an employer does not provide food or tells you not to use his toilet, it applies to all of us.”

8.5.4 Occupational hazards

There have been several studies examining the safety of day labourers. Kerr & Dole (2001, cited in Blaauw et al., (2007) studied worker safety in the city of Cleveland in the US. According to their study, 70% of day labourers work in unsafe working environments. Of the day labourers they interviewed, 99% had suffered a worksite injury at some stage. Some of

¹⁷ Original: “*Kana watanga basa, idea ndeyekupedza. Murungu anogona kufunga kuti uri lazy ukasambozorora.*”

these injuries were left untreated and unreported because the labourers feared that they would not be paid if they admitted to being injured or unable to work (Blaauw et al., 2007)). This view is, however, largely disputed by the participants in this study, who reported that their work environments were generally safe and supportive.

None of the participants reported experiencing any severe physical harm because of their work as a day labourer, though they all stated that the potential to harm themselves accidentally or get injured is high. One of the participants, while pointing at his ladder, informed the researcher that some parts of the ladder were unstable and that he does not have a helmet when he climbs on it. In fact, a lack of protective equipment appeared to be the most pronounced reason for the occupational hazards experienced by migrant day labourers. One participant stated, “The best way is to bring your own tools. If you don’t... you are in trouble.” This suggests that employers may intentionally recruit day labourers because they can avoid having to provide protective clothing and equipment, which may be costly.

The researcher observed a day labourer with a makeshift cardboard sign that read “asbestos removal”. While interacting with the day labourer, the researcher observed that he only had tools to work with but no protective mask, which is problematic given the respiratory health risks associated with asbestos. Asked whether an employer would provide some form of protective clothing, the day labourer reported that “...it’s up to me to provide everything that is needed for the job. Right now I do not have money so I have to do without.”

It appeared to be a common practice amongst day labourers that they undertake the work without any protective clothing or safety equipment. The onus is on the day labourer to provide protective gear and equipment. One can therefore conclude that employers unofficially indemnify themselves when it comes to providing safe working conditions. This intensifies the potential risks for day labourers, many of whom cannot afford to provide their own protective equipment. This view was confirmed by one of the participants who reported that potential employers hired day labourers to save money, so the safety of the workers is not a high priority for them.

8.5.5 Women’s experiences of day labour

Work and paid job is beneficial to one's quality of life because it gives a source of cash and

wages as well as a sense of identity (Sterud et al., 2018). Workplaces often offer opportunities for personal development and socialising, although not all jobs provide equal opportunities, especially for women, and some workplaces are characterised by occupational hazards. A work environment that recognises and acknowledges gender dynamics is therefore essential in promoting access for women. However, this was not evidenced in the day labour industry and day labour hiring sites.

The researcher established that there was no distinction between the female day labourers and the male day labourers in terms of the nature of the work undertaken, with all participants citing the need to meet financial needs as being more important than being “choosy” about the type of work they were willing to do. One female participant reported that “I can’t afford to be choosy at this point of economic hardship. I need all the money I can find.”

The desperation for work amongst migrant day labourers and the irregular employment opportunities mean that even female day labourers accept harsh work in unsafe work environments. It was clear, however, that despite their willingness and eagerness to take up any form of work, it was a lot more difficult for the female day labourers to be at the hiring sites competing with their male counterparts in the same industries. This is mainly because a lot of day labour involves gruelling physical labour. As one of the female participants noted, “I can’t easily climb up a roof like them, so it’s difficult.”

One can therefore conclude that female day labourers appear to experience greater difficulty in securing day labour, with the purported harsh work and the working environments cited as determining factors. This view corresponds to findings by Mudavanhu (2020), who, while examining landfill sites in South Africa, found that female participants reported that men collected more waste than women as they could run faster when a truck delivered waste. Mudavanhu (2020) also reported that the men were “greedy”, so, in order to avoid conflict, the women only started to collect waste once the frenzy of seeing a new load of waste had subsided.

Female day labourers also reported an element of vulnerability, suggesting that to increase their chances of securing work early they must be present at the hiring sites as early as 5 a.m., yet this is a highly dangerous time for them to travel to the hiring sites. It therefore becomes clear that female day labourers’ work environment is open to vulnerability and physically

taxing. This lessens their abilities to compete for work against their male colleagues.

These findings also support the view that work hours and the nature of work have a structuring role in the functioning of day labourers (Fischer, Silva-Costa, Griep, Smolensky, Bohle & Rotenberg, 2019). The vulnerability of the female day labourers in this research is further heightened by the fact that they are also undocumented migrants.

8.5.6 Leverage to negotiate income

Despite the previously mentioned shortage of available jobs for day labourers, many of the research participants reported an ability to negotiate and turn down certain jobs based on income. This suggests that despite the challenges experienced by migrant day labourers, they also have the ability to negotiate their income. Of the 18 day labourers who participated in the study, 13 (72%) reported that they would not work for a wage lower than R100 a day. This appeared to be a standard of work wages set by the day labourers. This finding also confirms the research findings established in the quantitative data which disputed the common assertion that foreign day labourers are willing to work for much less than native workers.

However, this view is challenged by Theodore et al. (2017), who suggest that if a worker refuses to take a job assignment because the pay is too low or the risks are too significant, companies have a lot of leeway and flexibility to locate replacement workers because the employment agreement isn't legally enforceable and there's a lot of people looking for work. Gonzalez (2007) also found that day labourers often accept low wages and are willing to perform dangerous tasks. In contrast, the research findings of this study established that despite their low wages, day labourers still have the agency to negotiate wages to a certain extent. Even in the context of income instability and insecurity, day labourers still hold some ability to negotiate their salaries.

By prompting the research participants for more information on this topic, the researcher established that day labourers at hiring sites have unwritten price ranges that they all seem to conform to. For example, the researcher observed that the day labourers reported that the lowest fee they could accept for half a day of construction work is R150. Anything below that and all participants reported that they would decline the job. This was an interesting finding

for the researcher since, although day labour is mainly an individual job, the day labour hiring sites in fact operate based on consensus and agreed-upon standards decided by the group.

8.6 THEME 3: HIRING SITES

While there is some overlap between the qualitative and quantitative data findings with regard to the day labour hiring sites, it is worth presenting the findings of the qualitative data in order to discuss the lived experiences of migrant day labourers as well.

8.6.1 The unregulated nature of day labour hiring sites

South African workers and employers enjoy many rights, thanks to the Basic Conditions of Employment Act. These benefits include access to leave days, termination of employment and more. However, the same rights do not apply to workers such as day labourers. This is mainly due to the fact that day labour hiring sites in South Africa are not legally recognised as entities of business. The day labourers who were interviewed during this phase of the data collection reported that they understood the hiring sites they operate from are unsanctioned and illegal. With this context of hiring sites and the work of day labourers being unregulated, day labourers also face restrictions as to the type of sites and areas where they can congregate. It has become a common sight in Cape Town to spot business premises that restrict hawking and soliciting of work both in their building and in the surrounding area. This limits the locations that day labourers can congregate for work.

Of all the participants in this stage of the data collection, nine were in open fields close to main roads, six were near a building or hardware store and three were inside the premises of a hardware store where day labourers were permitted to solicit for directly from customers as they exited the shop.

8.6.2 Vulnerabilities at hiring sites

Migrant day labourers reported that one of the biggest challenges with respect to the day labour hiring sites is the lack of amenities and facilities. Day labourers, as also noted in the quantitative data findings, are often left exposed to the weather with little to no protection. Added to this, day labourers usually lack viable access to clean drinking water and toilets

while at the hiring sites. This leaves day labourers with limited options, so they often resort to accessing public toilets in parks and service stations where available. One day labourer also reported, however, that even where there are facilities, such as at service stations, business owners who do not know them often refuse to grant them access. The majority of the day labourers reported that they bring their own water and food from home where possible.

To deepen his understanding of the vulnerabilities of day labourers while at the hiring sites, the researcher conducted an interview with Ndifuna Ukwazi, an organisation advocating for equitable access to economic resources, land and housing within the City of Cape Town. Although their work is different to the experiences of day labourers, the interview provided some context into the vulnerabilities of day labourers and their hiring sites in Cape Town. It also provided some context as to whose responsibility it is to cater for day labourers' sanitation needs at hiring sites. Buhle Booi, manager at Ndifuna Ukwazi, stated the following:

“We are dealing with a difficult space where the City of Cape Town and many municipalities across the country incite a situation of hatred and exploitation of informal economic players when they do not recognise these people as legitimate workers. The government speaks of encouraging entrepreneurship but does not provide even a tap of drinking water when the same entrepreneurs locate viable spaces close to economic zones to run their businesses or seek employment. In the end the people doing that are criminalised...where your day labourers are working from at this point, the sites you give reference to, they are deemed illegal working zones by this city's by-law”.

Although the above statement references the operation of all informal economic activities, it also points to the pervasive criminalisation of day labour hiring sites in the City of Cape Town which, to a great extent, inhibits advancing proper sanitation services for day labourers while they are working at these hiring sites.

8.6.3 Frequency of work at hiring sites

Day labourers in both the US and South Africa perform a wide range of manual-labour tasks, most of which are related to the construction and landscaping industries (Theodore et al.,

2015). The most common jobs are physically demanding, and several are associated with heightened risks to worker health and safety. Despite this, day labour in South Africa is a strategy to mitigate against high unemployment and in turn attracts high numbers of day labourers.

All migrant day labourers surveyed during this phase of the data collection reported the high uncertainty of securing work on a daily basis as a day labourer. Work is not guaranteed despite spending a full day's hours standing at street corners in search of work. One day labourer reported that he had not worked for the last three days prior to the day of the interview, despite coming to the site daily. This supports the finding of Theodore et al. (2017) who found, in a survey conducted in Tshwane in 2015, that only 20.5% of all day labourers secured a job each day in the week prior to the survey. Theodore et al. (2017) suggest that competition for employment in the day labour industry is intense, which limits access to jobs.

Another finding highlighted by the participants in relation to their work was that of long work hours, even while they sometimes end up not working at all. The majority of the day labourers reported starting their day at the hiring site around 6 a.m. In the event of getting a job, they sometimes work into the early evening, until they are done if it is a one-day job. These long hours can compound negatively, creating a poor work-life balance on the part of the day labourers. As suggested by Wong, Popkin & Folkard (2019), long hours at work no matter the sector of employment can create stress and health risks for the employee.

8.6.4 Red tape

Migrant day labourers in the study cited the freedom and liberty to determine their own working hours as one of the benefits of day labour, but they also admitted that the “red tape” involved in obtaining documentation to be legally recognised as a migrant made it nearly impossible to move towards the formal economic sector. This factor alone makes it immensely difficult for the participants to migrate out of the informal labour market. The legality of migrant day labourers is explored in greater detail in Section 8.8.

8.7 THEME 4: FAMILY LIFE

One of the core themes that emerged from the research was that of the family life of day

labourers. With the increasing participation in the informal employment sector, particularly in day labour, the researcher explored to what extent, if any, day labour work affects the family life of migrant day labourers.

8.7.1 Disrupted family life

Of the 18 participants in this phase of the data collection, 11 (61%) reported that they do not stay with their immediate family. Of this number, the majority stated that they had left their family members in their country or province of origin. To highlight the extent of this situation, only two out of the seven participants who identified as married reported residing with their spouse at the time of the data collection. Only a small percentage of the married migrant day labourers that took part in the qualitative data process were therefore residing with their spouses.

The above finding is critical in understanding the impact of migration on the well-being and family life of migrant day labourers. According to Démurger (2015), although the migration of a family member brings the benefit of an additional income through remittances which can support household consumption and investment, migration also has the disadvantage of disrupting family life. This can lead to poor family functioning and increased psychological problems for both the migrant day labourer and the families that they leave behind. Démurger (2015) emphasises this point, going as far as suggesting that the families that stay behind when family members migrate do not clearly benefit. In examining both the advantages and disadvantages of migration, it becomes clear that being a migrant day labourer impacts the well-being of the labourer's family.

To further elaborate on the impact of migrant day labour work, especially on married day migrant day labourers and those in committed spousal relationships, Budlender & Lund (2011) cite the mining industry, which underpinned South Africa's economy for much of the twentieth century. Men were given 11-month work contracts during which time they were housed in single-sex compounds. They were thus able to be with their families for a maximum of four weeks a year, fewer if one deducts travel time. This system inevitably resulted in high rates of extra-marital relationships. It also provided extraordinarily few opportunities for men to get to know and engage with their children (Budlender & Lund, 2011). The same is evidenced in the findings of the study: "I have another woman I stay with; I am a man after all. Besides, how do I know if my wife is waiting for me?"

8.7.2 Transactional family contact

Although all the participants reported maintaining some form of contact with their families, the researcher noted that the relationships with family and the main reason for contact were mainly financial. Financial need superseded the need to maintain and nurture close family relations. All the international migrants interviewed during this stage of the data collection reported that it was financially costly to make calls to their native countries on a regular basis. These calls are reserved for when they need to contact family members to send money. One of the participants recounted the following: “I would rather send my children money than to use it to buy airtime to call them.”

The same sentiment was expressed amongst many of the participants, who said that they would rather send money back home than spend money to travel back home to be with their families. This supports the narrative that family life and family interactions are disrupted by economic factors affecting migrant day labourers. This also means that migrant day labourers who reside with family members in South Africa while supporting families in their native homes end up supporting two or more households across different countries and cities with their day labour income.

8.7.3 Children of migrant day labourers

It is often assumed that it is “normal” for parents to provide for children financially, and that residing with children in a nuclear family is the norm (Budlender & Lund, 2011). For the migrant day labourers who participated in this study, being a day labourer forces them to deviate from the norm of residing with and raising their kids in the same household. There is therefore a recognised deviation from the nuclear family setup.

The majority of the participants highlighted that they do not reside with their children and maintain contact mostly via social media and telephonic communication. Pressed further, these participants were expressed awareness of the fact that this could negatively influence the relationship between them and their children due to their limited contact. This finding

suggests that migrant day labourers are largely prevented from playing a nurturing and developmental role in their children's upbringing.

To expand on this point, one day labourer shared his frustration that because of his limited access to his children they would learn about life through other people and not him:

“I can tell you as a matter of fact that I think my son is now drinking, he is only 16 years old. I am not there to speak to him directly and he will not listen to me when I say stop it on WhatsApp. His mother has given up on him. I can't leave work now to go back home and care for him.”

The researcher could clearly observe the participant's frustration and perhaps also an indication of a strained relationship between the participant and his children as he cannot be physically present to support them. Hunter (2007) states that fathers without control and direct oversight over their children are likely to perceive themselves as having lost their power and respect within the household, which in turn makes them believe themselves to have a weakened social standing in society. Therefore, although this participant maintains the ability to support his wife and children financially, there exists in him a feeling of having lost his position as “head of the family” due to his inability to exert any kind of control over them.

Despite these challenges, there was also a shared sense of satisfaction amongst the day labourers which seemed to emanate from their ability to financially care and provide for their families.

8.7.4 The new normal: day labourers as income earners

Despite the above data pointing to possible negative impacts of being a migrant day labourer, the research findings also suggested that being away from their families does not deter migrant day labourers from supporting their families or from taking up their nurturing responsibilities towards their families. What this finding suggests is that the role of migrant day labourers in the family system has taken a new form, one that is a provider rather than a caregiver.

Even though all the participants stated that the frequency of their family contact is lower than

desired, they all reported that they maintain contact with families in their country or province of origin. Both men and women migrant day labourers expressed an intentional decision to play the role of income earner to support their families back home. The role of day labourers in the family system therefore appears to be inclined towards material security, in turn promoting the well-being of family members.

8.7.5 Remorse: a family left behind

In Asia, low-skilled workers often emigrate on a temporary basis for two to three years without their families (Knipe, Lambert, Pearson, Eddleston, Jayamanne, Wickramage & Gunnell, 2019). There is significant concern over the mental health and well-being of the families left behind and the migrant worker themselves in this region. This was also seen in the current study; two of the participants expressed great remorse over not being with their families, despite the urgent need to support their families financially. One participant stated, “I am only here physically; my heart and mind are with my children back home.”

Added to this experience of remorse, Baldassar, Kilkey, Merla & Wilding (2018) and Ward & Styles (2012) suggest that migrant day labourers also experience feelings of shame and guilt related to leaving behind loved ones. Baldassar et al. (2018) explain this as guilt for “abandoning” the homeland through the act of migration. One participant described Zimbabwe as the place where they are “born and bred, even as things get tough...” In this description, one gets a full picture of missing home and experiencing a sense of guilt for being away from home. The separation from intimate partners and children increases the feelings of guilt.

This remorse and guilt raise significant concerns over the well-being of day labourers. However, although these feelings are significant, the researcher notes that the migrant day labourers’ dominant role as material and financial providers mostly overrides them.

8.8 THEME 5: FEARS AND CONCERNS AS A MIGRANT WORKER

Gonzales, Sigona, Franco & Papoutsi (2019) state that even legal migrants globally are afraid of interacting with immigration enforcement, limiting their mobility and use of public spaces. If people are afraid to leave their homes or drive their cars, it threatens their freedom. They

may be unable to get to work, transport their children to school, or seek medical attention (Bernstein, 2019). This fear was also evident in the study, raising concerns over the well-being of migrant day labourers and demonstrating that this fear is a core theme of the study.

8.8.1 Working as an undocumented migrant

A critical question raised by the researcher was how the participants experience engagements with law enforcement, considering that they are not documented migrants. All the international migrants reported a near-constant fear of law enforcement and being detained in particular, which may be because of their undocumented status. This view is supported by Bernstein (2019), who states that undocumented workers experience extreme fear and even psychological trauma because of their legal status, or lack thereof.

This dynamic can affect the well-being of migrant day labourers as fear may impact their ability to work, negotiate better income and report crimes. When someone is in a constant state of fear and psychological trauma, it can be expected that their well-being will be compromised. As one participant stated, “I do not have papers so every time a police car patrols, you can’t help but wonder what now? Here in Cape Town, it’s better. It’s bad if you are in Joburg [Johannesburg].” And another remarked, “I have actually been arrested at Lindela¹⁸ before, I have nightmares about going back there.” This finding is further strengthened Bernstein (2019) wrote that there is a chilling effect of fear amongst migrant workers and psychological trauma among undocumented workers because of their legal status in the country, or lack of it. Where one is constantly in a state of fear and psychological trauma, it can be expected as well that their well-being will be compromised. Fear and anxiety can paralyze us in both our personal and professional life (Steimer, 2002). It can therefore be expected that the fear and psychological trauma of being undocumented affects the well-being of migrant day labourers.

One of the research participants also reported that he self-medicates whenever he is ill, out of fear of accessing any government services. Many of the participants stated that they would not report it to law enforcement if they have been the victim of a crime because they fear that

¹⁸ Lindela is a repatriation centre in Johannesburg for illegal and undocumented immigrants.

the police will use this interaction as an opportunity to inquire into their immigration status or that of people they know.

The COVID-19 pandemic also exacerbated this dynamic for many migrant workers across the world. Migrant workers living in dormitories in Singapore intentionally cut themselves off from the outside world, not seeking medical assistance even when infected with the coronavirus, as they feared any contact with officials, including with healthcare workers (Dempster, Ginn, Graham, Ble, Jayasinghe & Shorey, 2020). Sengupta & Jha (2020) reported that undocumented migrant day labourers in India who had no way to earn a living due to the COVID-19 pandemic were left with no choice but to undertake long journeys across the country on foot to look for food, as they were too fearful to attempt accessing social services. In South Africa, the government provided COVID-19 relief grants to people to mitigate some of the economic impacts of the pandemic, but these benefits only applied to legal citizens of South Africa. Migrant day labourers, although facing the same economic challenges as citizens, did not benefit from these grants.

8.8.2 Safety and reception by the local community

Migrant workers are a vulnerable population group that is frequently subjected to poor living and working conditions, face discrimination and social marginalization, and lack the authority, skills and power to advocate for better services in their destination countries (Loganathan, Rui, Ng & Pocock, 2019). Receiving countries and communities are often apprehensive to engage and welcome migrants into their communities. However, this was not pronounced in the study both in terms of where the participants work (hiring sites) and where they reside. One participant said, “Every Friday, people from the Mosque bring us food.” Another explained that “We do not work close to the house; we only go to the house for work and that’s it so we have no problem with them.”

Of the 18 migrant day labourers surveyed during the semi-structured interviews, all of them reported a well-functioning engagement with their immediate communities, which seems to act as a buffer for the fear they also experience. Something observed by the researcher, however, is that networks amongst day labourers themselves and amongst other migrants largely offset any pending threats that may come from the community. One participant stated, “If you come to where I live, you will think you are in little Zimbabwe. We are safe amongst

ourselves.” This sense of safety appears not to be limited to where day labourers live, but also includes where they work as well.

Despite this, the researcher is also mindful of views shared in other circles. For example, in 2021, the City of Cape Town distributed a questionnaire to residents and businesses in the central business district and surrounding communities of Cape Town, urging them to send in complaints about people working and living on the streets of Cape Town (Damons & Stent, 2021). Responses to this questionnaire regarded people seeking work on the streets as “an eyesore”, while other respondents labelled the people as criminals. Respondents to the questionnaire were urged to report when they had witnessed people living and seeking work on the streets urinating and loitering in public places (Damons & Stent, 2021). This gives a different perspective to the responses shared by the participants in the study, who all reported a cordial working environment with their communities. This finding perhaps warrants further exploration in future studies to include communities and employers of migrant day labourers as participants in the study of migrant day labourers.

8.8.3 Xenophobia

Despite reporting a well-functioning, cordial relationship between them and their communities, it must also be noted that participants expressed concerns over their safety because of widespread reports of antipathy and xenophobia by local citizens towards migrants and migrant workers. None of the day labourers reported having directly experienced xenophobic attacks before, but they were aware and in constant fear of the “country” turning on them. As expressed by one participant, “South Africans do not like us because they think we are taking everything. I have nothing. Do I look like I have taken everything from South Africans?”

Foreign nationals are often accused of coming to South Africa and “stealing” jobs from locals. “The kwere-kweres¹⁹ are stealing our jobs” is a common refrain (Lamb, 2019). Despite no scientific or research-based evidence confirming that foreign nationals are taking jobs from local people, this rhetoric has left many migrants living in constant fear of attack.

¹⁹ Kwere-kwere is a derogatory term used in reference to migrants and foreigners in South Africa (Landau & Freemantle, 2010).

The foreign participants reported a persistent fear for their well-being, which almost certainly has an impact on their well-being. One of the participants reported that to mitigate against the threats and fear of xenophobia, migrant day labourers resort to residing in communities where they have existing social networks, often with other people from their countries of origin. Most potential immigrants seek to minimise the risks when they move and usually consider places where they already know other individuals or organisations that can help them to make the trip and settle there more easily. Social networks provide necessary ties and connections that enable and make migration possible (Xiang, 2008).

8.8.4 Fear of loss of income

There are currently no specialised social services or financial support services on a governmental level, either national or provincial, to support undocumented migrant workers in South Africa. This has been interpreted by bodies such as the Scalabrini Centre, an organisation in Cape Town that provides aid and services to asylum-seekers, refugees and migrants, as a failure by the South African government to financially support undocumented migrants and address the gang issue crippling the Western Cape (Bongo, 2019). This lack of support compounds the fear experienced by day labourers, especially in the event of a loss of income: “if I can’t provide for my family, why am I here then?”; and “I can’t afford to not be here, I have no choice but to try and support myself”.

There is thus a valid fear amongst day labourers of the loss of their income due to difficult work conditions or the inability to work. As mentioned, the COVID-19 pandemic almost certainly magnified this uncertainty, as undocumented migrants in South Africa could not benefit from any form of government-offered relief or social support.

8.9 THEME 6: SOCIAL NETWORKS AND LIFE SATISFACTION

The interplay between social networks and life satisfaction suggests a positive relation between the two, where social networks have a positive correlation with life satisfaction (Chaeyoon & Putnam, 2010). Taking this into account, the researcher also examined to what extent migrant day labourers are active in social networks and to what extent these networks shape their lives.

8.9.1 The value of social networks

Subjective well-being is strongly influenced by social networks (Pinquart & Sörensen, 2000). Furthermore, it is well established that social networks and environmental factors have a substantial impact on one's mood and life satisfaction. (Bastiampillai, Allison & Chan, 2013). When social networks and related environmental factors positively effect one's mood and well being, Bastiampillai et al. (2013) calls this the social transmission of mood, which can help to alleviate depression and anxiety, promoting a positive mindset and increasing life satisfaction.

During the qualitative data collection, all of the participants reported belonging to at least one kind of social network. One of the most common networks cited was the network of other migrants from their country of origin. Participants stated that they reside in areas where there are other foreign nationals with whom they can create networks of support. The networks assist mostly with linking participants to work opportunities. It therefore became clear and is undeniable that social relationships have an impact on migrant day labourers' well-being. One of the participants even reported that their social networks went as far as assisting each other with burials and repatriating bodies in the event of death. Social networks therefore extend from just keeping each other company to assisting and supporting each other at work and in people's personal lives. While the notion that social networks play a significant role in migrant day labourers' lives may seem obvious, the importance of migrant networks in affecting outcomes for migrants, their families and their communities cannot be overstated.

The types of social networks the participants reported belonging to are detailed in Table 22.

Table 22: Social networks of day labourers

(Source: Research data)

Social network	Number of participants belonging to network
Church or religious organisation	17
Informal network of friends from home country or native province	18

Social club	0
Stokvel ²⁰	16
Online social media platforms, including WhatsApp	18

People’s psychological and physical well being can be improved by using social resources to mitigate the negative effects of stressful circumstances (Gonzo & Plattner, 2003). Nevertheless, it became clear that different kinds of support and networks are needed for different people to achieve life satisfaction. Even though the results of the study suggest a strong relationship between well-being, life satisfaction and social networks; it must be acknowledged that the life satisfaction measure used in the study was based on self-evaluation by the participants. This is a limitation of the finding as the life satisfaction measure may be biased depending on the participants’ individual views of life and well-being at the time.

8.9.2 Self-view of life satisfaction

Reflecting on our sense of happiness in different key areas of life can be difficult, especially if our life is seemingly going well. As mentioned, the study made use of a self-evaluation with the aim of measuring the subjective well-being of the participants. The research findings suggest that most of the participants are slightly dissatisfied with their lives. This implies that migrant day labourers feel more dissatisfied than satisfied with life on a day-to-day basis. Degges-White & Kepic (2020) suggest that even when someone is generally content, there may be one area of life where they feel deeply unsatisfied which creates an overall lower score of satisfaction. While most participants reported a general satisfaction with their work and a gratitude to be earning an income, they also indicated dissatisfaction with their income and their ability to see and maintain regular contact with their families.

8.10 CHAPTER SUMMARY

²⁰ Stokvels are invitation-only clubs of 12 or more people serving as rotating credit unions or saving schemes where members contribute fixed sums of money to a central fund on a weekly, fortnightly, or monthly basis.

This chapter presented the results of Phase 3 of the data collection process. Qualitative data was collected through semi-structured interviews with 18 migrant day labourers. The chapter discussed various themes that emerged from the interviews, including the participants' migratory journeys to Cape Town, the nature of the work they undertake, the facilities at day labour hiring sites, the family life of migrant day labourers, the fears and uncertainties of migrant day labourers, xenophobia and life satisfaction. All of these themes were discussed in relation to their effect on the participants' well-being.

The research established that the family life of migrant day labourers is often disrupted, as migrant day labourers generally do not have much contact with their families except to send financial support. This has shaped the role of migrant day labourers in family systems, making their role primarily one of material and financial support. The research findings also show that there is a constant fear of law enforcement and governmental agencies amongst migrant day labourers which limits their participation in social services. This fear can also be a negative contributor to the migrant day labourers' well-being and life satisfaction. The participants also reported being fearful of xenophobic violence in South Africa, which has a negative impact on their well-being.

Self-reflection and self-reporting on life satisfaction as stated by the participants suggest that day labourers are somewhat dissatisfied with life because of disruptions in family life, the lack of reliable income and harsh working environments. This was an interesting finding since the quantitative research findings discussed in Chapter 7 indicated a positive yet weak relationship between happiness and day labourers' work. This finding must therefore be taken in light of the fact that it is based on self-reported evaluations by the participants.

CHAPTER 9: DATA INTEGRATION AND CONSOLIDATED FINDINGS

9.1 INTRODUCTION

It is not enough to just use both qualitative and quantitative data collection methods in a single study for a study to be classified as a MMR study (Creswell et al., 2011; Fetters et al., 2013). The true value of an MMR study is defined and highlighted by the integration or connection of the two strands of data (Creswell et al., 2011; Fetters et al., 2013). Integration can occur at numerous levels of a study, including the design, techniques, and interpretation, and can occur in a variety of ways, including connecting, building, merging, or embedding the various data sets. “Integration can happen at multiple levels of a study such as design level, methods level or interpretation level, and can happen in a variety of different ways such as through connecting, building, merging or embedding the different data sets” (Fetters et al., 2013: 2138). In this study, the first linking of data happened at the design level with the use of a sequential exploratory design, where results from the first phase of the research were used to build and design the second stage of the research design.

The findings discussed in the previous chapters illustrated how day labour is a precarious job with serious effects not only on the day labourers themselves but also on their immediate families. These effects are not limited to physical hazards faced by day labourers in the course of their work but extends to psychological, economic and social effects. As previously stated, Malinga (2015) asserts that precarious work has a negative impact on family life as it often leaves men to cope with their difficulties on their own, away from their families.

9.2 DATA INTEGRATION

Data integration is the process of gathering data from several sources and combining it into a single set (Lenzerini, 2018). Its main goal is to create consolidated data sets that are clean and consistent and suit the research's information needs (Calvanese, De Giacomo, Lembo, Lenzerini & Rosati, 2013). Uprichard & Dawney (2019) provide a definition more applicable to the social sciences, arguing that data integration in social research extends beyond just one approach of data collection and analysis, and instead considers the interaction of adding up the data, in which one method's conclusions are compared to those of another. The goal of data integration, then, is to produce a comprehensible object (Fielding, 2012). Overall, the

possibility of data integration lies in the extent to which data from different methods can be interpreted together in a meaningful way. The researcher was mindful of this, prompting him to focus on integrating data that addresses the research question.

For the purposes of this study, the researcher made use of a sequential exploratory MMR strategy. According to this strategy, quantitative data was collected and analysed in the initial stage of the research, followed by the collection and analysis of qualitative data.

9.3. INTEGRATED THEMES EMERGING FROM THE STUDY

This section provides a snapshot of the integrated core findings that emerged from the mapping, quantitative and qualitative data findings. These findings can be categorised according to the following eight core themes:

- Marital status of day labourers
- Gender of day labourers
- Age of day labourers
- Family life and well-being of day labourers
- Networks and family connections of day labourers
- Migration amongst day labourers
- Nature of day labour
- Life satisfaction of day labourers.

9.3.1 Marital status of day labourers

Of all day labourers who participated in both the quantitative and qualitative data collection phases, the researcher established that a substantial amount, although not the majority, were married in either a traditional or western marriage. Of all day labourers that participated in the study, 43.4% reported that they were either single or never married, while 7.7% were separated or divorced. In total, 32% reported that they were married, in either a traditional or western marriage, while 14% indicated that they were living with a partner. With specific reference to migrant day labourers, 38% reported being married.

9.3.2 Gender of day labourers

Amongst the all-day labourers that participated in the study as collected during the qualitative data collection phases, the researcher established that day labour in Cape Town is mainly done by men. Amongst all day labourers surveyed in the study, the researcher established that 94% of the participants were men, while amongst the migrant day labourers surveyed in phase 2 of the study 88% (16 participants) were men. A pattern emerging from the data integration is thus that day labour in Cape Town is a male-dominated sector. Driving past day labour hiring sites, the researcher observed mostly men sitting at street corners seeking work. This view is further supported by Valenzuela (2003), who wrote that day labour and the practise of openly looking for jobs in public spaces such as street corners or through formal employment agencies was synonymous with immigrant men.

However, this finding does not negate the acknowledgement of women working in the day labour sector. Antonopoulos (2009) suggests that 84% of women in Sub-Saharan Africa work in informal employment, compared to only 63% of men. In Latin America, 58% of women and 48% of men work in the informal economy, while in Asia the proportion of female and male non-agricultural workers in informal employment is roughly equivalent. Women are therefore consistently found to be working in the informal labour sector. However, due to various factors, such as the physical nature of the work being sought at the hiring sites, day labour attracts more men than women, while women likely participate in other areas of the informal labour market. Women who have regular paid jobs in the formal economic sector face job segregation in the form of occupational sex discrimination or industry sex discrimination all over the world (Antonopoulos, 2009). This trend of job segregation based on sex is also noted in the day labour market of Cape Town. Although it is outside the scope of this research to determine this, it is possible that patriarchal expectations for women mean they are sometimes still relegated to domestic roles, thereby excluding them from the day labour sector.

9.3.3 Age of day labourers

The average age of all documented day labourers was 36.6 years. The age dynamics established in the study concurred with those established by Smith (2020) in a study conducted in Mbekweni in 2020. In Smith's study, 40% of participants were between 21 and

30 years old, 40% were between 31 and 40 years old and 20% were between 41 and 50 years old. The age dynamics of day labourers as established by this study are therefore not unique to Cape Town but reflect those of other communities in South Africa. As stated in Section 7.4.1, the majority of participants in the study on day labourers conducted by Krugell & Blaauw (2014) in Tshwane were younger. In that study, the majority of day labourers were between the ages of 21 and 30. Therefore it appears that the majority of Cape Town's day labourer population is older than most of the day labourers in Tshwane.

9.3.4 Family life and well-being of day labourers

The researcher from both the qualitative and quantitative data outcomes established that migrant day labourers in the study have an average of four dependants that they care for. This was more or less similar for both international migrants and internal migrants recorded during the study. The frequency of family contact for day labourers who do not reside with their families is minimal, with most of the participants preferring to send money to support their families rather than physically visiting them. All the day labourers who participated in the qualitative stage of the data collection reported maintaining some form of contact with their families, noting that the main reason for contact was for financial support, which supersedes the need to maintain and nurture family relations. Of the migrant day labourers interviewed during the quantitative phase of the data collection, only 2.8% reported visiting their families four or more times per year, while the majority, 51%, reported only visiting their immediate families and dependants once a year.

Both the qualitative and quantitative data collection phases established that the majority of day labourers do not reside with their families. The majority of the participants during both stages highlighted that both married and unmarried day labourers do not reside with their children and would maintain contact mostly via social media and telephonic communication. The average highest income amongst day labourers is low, with an average of R285.16 a day on a good day. The researcher further established that on average, South African and migrant day labourers earn an average of R124.82 and R138.82 respectively. Moreover, this income is not guaranteed and not regular. This means day labourers struggle to provide financially for their families. This in turn affects their and their families' well-being. Hodgkinson, Godoy, Beers & Lewin (2017) state that poverty and low income are complex and often-insidious determinants of health and well-being for many households. Additionally, the

greater and the more consistent one's income, the lower one's likelihood of disease and premature death (Woolf, Aron, Dubay, Simon, Zimmerman & Luk, 2015).

Therefore, also considering the low incomes earned by day labourers in relation to their relatively high number of dependants, the researcher can conclude that migrant day labour perpetuates a state of poor nutrition and poor access to basic services amongst day labourers and their immediate families. The researcher therefore recognises that beyond exploring the well-being only of day labourers there is also a need to explore the well-being of day labourers' families. This is in line with Szcześniak & Tułeczka (2020), who suggest that the functioning of a person's family of origin seems to be one of the key variables that contribute to life satisfaction. Moreover, Szcześniak & Tułeczka (2020) postulate that family functioning affects quality of life directly as well as indirectly.

9.3.5 Networks and family connections of day labourers

The researcher established that limited family contact and being physically distanced from family affect the well-being of day labourers, this is more evidenced among migrant day labourers. Many migrant day labourers experience remorse as a result of leaving their families behind, either in their country or province or origin. To mitigate and cope with this, migrant day labourers have taken on a new role within their family networks. These new roles are characterised by an emphasis on compensating for their lack of physical contact by providing financial support and acting as financial providers within their households. The transition to a new role as financial providers compared to nurturers compounds the fear and anxiety amongst migrant day labourers who already experience compounded stress and fear of loss of income.

The researcher also established that all the migrant day labourers interviewed during the qualitative stage of data collection belong to some form of social network, likely to compensate for the lack of family contact. Participants reported belonging to social networks mostly in their areas of residences. Most participants also reported residing in areas where there are other foreign nationals with whom they can create networks of support. The networks mostly assist with linking participants to work opportunities. This was also displayed in the quantitative data findings, where the researcher established that 60% of day labourers belonged to small circles and networks of friends and other day labourers who

assist each other with transport, work referrals, food and shelter when needed. During the mapping stage of the study, the researcher observed day labourers sitting in groups, talking and sharing stories. These social groups are just one example of support networks for day labourers at the hiring sites. A core finding is that these social networks are mostly formed along racial and linguistic lines. It was more common to see social interactions amongst day labourers who speak the same language and are of the same race.

9.3.6 Migration amongst day labourers.

The study established that a large percentage of day labourers in Cape Town are migrant workers. During the quantitative data phase, 40% of recorded day labourers in Cape Town were non-South African citizens, with the majority of those coming from Zimbabwe. Of the South African participants, the vast majority were migrants from the Eastern Cape Province. This finding is supported by observations made during the mapping phase of the research, when the researcher frequently overheard foreign languages while mapping hiring sites in Cape Town. This included Shona, which is also the researcher's first spoken language. Van Wyk et al. (2020) found that 44% of day labourers surveyed in Tshwane between 2015 and 2017 were South African citizens, while the remaining 56% were international migrants. In Tshwane, therefore, the majority of day labourers are foreign migrants, while in Cape Town the researcher found that the majority of day labourers are South Africans.

It therefore seems that the number of international migrant day labourers varies from location to location, though international migrants still usually make up a substantial amount of the total day labourers in all locations.

9.3.7 Nature of day labour

One of the earliest observations by the researcher from the start of the study was that of men sitting under trees, on street corners, at parking lots of hardware stores and at construction sites with little or no protection from different potentially hazardous elements. These elements include the weather, malnutrition and starvation, dehydration and exploitation from employers. Day labourers congregate daily on open street corners in rain, sunshine or cold, with no certainty of even getting work at all. This poses risks to day labourers on numerous social and economic levels. This view was supported by the findings of the quantitative data,

which established that 35% of the surveyed day labourers were spending seven days a week at the hiring sites, where they are exposed to all of these factors with no protection on a day-to-day basis. In addition, even with the consistency of being at the hiring sites daily, only one in five day labourers secure work every day that they are at the hiring sites. Low and inconsistent incomes perpetuate a state of poverty and make the lives of day labourers highly unstable. The research findings also showed, across the mapping data, quantitative findings and qualitative findings, that day labourers work long hours and leave their homes in the early hours of the mornings and return home relatively late. This finding corresponds to the research by Blaauw (2010) and Schenck & Blaauw (2019), who suggest that day labourer employers and the nature of day labour itself require day labourers to work longer hours without breaks than other workers.

The quantitative data findings also suggest that the desperation for work amongst day labourers and the irregularity of employment opportunities mean that day labourers are sometimes forced to take on unsafe work without necessary protective equipment. Researchers in other countries have made similar findings; Kerr & Dole (2001) found that 70% of day labourers in the city of Cleveland in the US work in unsafe working environments with 99% of the participants having suffered a worksite injury at some stage.

9.3.8 Life satisfaction of day labourers

The researcher examined the life satisfaction of migrant day labourers by asking them to self-evaluate their own life satisfaction. The data also suggests that international migrant day labourers are unhappier than South African day labourers, as 67% of the international migrant day labourers rated their happiness poorly, rating themselves 5 and lower (out of 10) on the happiness scale. In comparison, only 59% of South African participants rated their happiness 5 and lower on the happiness scale. Self-report findings established in the study suggest that most of the day labourers are slightly dissatisfied with life. Participants reported dissatisfaction with their income and their ability to see and maintain regular contact with their families. The research found that day labourers feel more dissatisfied than satisfied with life on a day-to-day basis. As stated in Chapter 7, the research findings indicate a positive yet weak correlation between day labourers' life satisfaction and their income, and between their life satisfaction and the frequency of their contact with family.

9.4 THE INTERGRATED PROFILE OF A CAPE TOWN DAY LABOUR

Integrating the data to create a consolidated profile of the day labour revealed links amongst the different data sets, core themes emerging from the study. The researcher established that the typical day labourer in Cape Town is male, aged on average 36.6 years old which in turn influences and impacts the nature and type of work undertaken by the day labourer. Other data integrations emanating from the study highlighted that the nature of work undertaken by day labourers had a direct impact on their satisfaction and happiness with participants in general reporting dissatisfaction with their income and their ability to see and maintain regular contact with their families.

Another core aspect of the integration highlighted linkages between migration and its impacts on family and networks of day labourers. A direct correlation between was demonstrated between these two aspects indicating that families and dynamics of parenting were negatively impacted by the fact that day labourers were mostly young male migrants who rate low on self-assessment of life satisfaction and happiness.

9.5 CONTRIBUTION TO KNOWLEDGE

Taking the combined findings detailed within this chapter, this research is a pioneering study on day labourers in Cape Town, focusing on the family life and well-being of day labourers and, more specifically, of migrant day labourers. Previous studies on day labour have focused more on statistical data, distribution and dynamics of day labourers and their relation to the economy. Little has been documented in relation to day labourers in Cape Town, especially about their lived experiences, family life and well-being in relation to their work or about how these factors affect migrant day labourers specifically. To this end, the study examined the relation between the well-being of day labourers and aspects of their income, work environment, social networks and family contact, thereby making a substantial contribution to our understanding of the experiences of day labourers in South Africa and globally.

9.5 CHAPTER SUMMARY

This chapter established the integration of the findings from the three different phases of data collection, thereby applying MMR design principles. It demonstrated how the mapping data findings, quantitative data findings and qualitative data findings of the study all relate to each

other. It was reaffirmed that the life satisfaction of day labourers has a weak yet positive correlation with level of income and frequency of family contact.

CHAPTER 10: CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

10.1 OVERVIEW

Participation in the informal economic sector appears to be growing worldwide. In India, for example, Bhowmik (2005) states that poverty and a lack of gainful employment in rural areas push people out of their villages in search of a better existence in the cities, where they often end up working in the informal economic sector. This includes taking up work as day labourers. Blaauw et al. (2018) support this view, stating that it is commonly believed that people who are unable to find employment in the formal sector fall back on low-skilled, informal work like day labouring and waste-picking, often perpetuating a state of poverty. A similar narrative is clearly demonstrated in the findings of this study, where both the qualitative and quantitative data findings confirm that many migrants in Cape Town resort to working as day labourers for an unstable and relatively small income. The research findings are outlined in greater detail in chapters 6–9 of this thesis. To conclude, this chapter will focus on detailing the recommendations and limitations of the processes used in the study and the research findings: This reflection is mainly based on examining the aim and objectives of the study and assessing whether they were achieved, and on making suitable recommendations based on the research findings.

10.2 AIM AND OBJECTIVES OF STUDY

One of the core aims of this chapter is reflecting on whether the research responded adequately to the research question: what is the family life and well-being of migrant day labourers in Cape Town, South Africa like? As stated in Section 1.5, the main aim of the study was to explore the family life and well-being of migrant day labourers in Cape Town, South Africa.

This is discussed below by reflecting on the set research objectives and assessing whether these were achieved.

According to Duckworth & Seligman (2006), whether completing a maths test or a dissertation, one must always stay focused on the set objectives. It is therefore essential for the researcher to reflect on the original set objectives of the study and whether these were sufficiently reached. By making use of MMR, which was the core data collection method, the

researcher is confident that the research objectives were met.

10.2.1 Profile the distribution of hiring sites in Cape Town using GIS

By making use of GIS, the researcher was able to map the distribution of day labour hiring sites in Cape Town at the time of data collection. This finding suggests that the locations and distribution of day labour hiring sites in Cape Town are not random. Day labourers tend to favour street corners that make them visible and able to spot potential job opportunities. These sites include parking lots of hardware stores, streets in industrial areas and street corners close to commuter routes allowing for easier access from both potential employers and the day labourers themselves. The data findings thus show that a site's geographical location largely determines its popularity amongst day labourers. In sum, there is a clear relationship between the geographical location of a hiring site and the number of day labourers who go there regularly seeking employment.

10.2.2 Identify migratory patterns of day labourers in Cape Town

A key aspect of the study was establishing whether research participants were migrants or not, in order to map the migration trends of day labourers in Cape Town. The research findings established that day labourers in Cape Town include both international migrants and internal migrants, as well as a small number of local day labourers originally from Cape Town. Of the total participants, 59.6% were South African citizens, while 40.4% were international migrants, with the majority of those hailing from Zimbabwe. Of the South African day labourers, the majority were internal migrants from the Eastern Cape Province. This confirmed the long-standing view that day labour is an industry that is favourable and welcoming to migrant day labourers, as the vast majority of day labourers surveyed in this study were migrants, whether internal or international. By making use of both quantitative and qualitative data collection methods, the researcher also established the migratory history of day labourers. Core findings suggested that migrant day labourers are constantly on the move. For many of the participants, Cape Town was not their first migration destination, and nor would it be their last.

10.2.3 Explore the personal backgrounds of migrant day labourers in Cape Town

Through the use of one-on-one semi-structured interviews, the profiles of day labourers were clearly outlined, providing information on the participants' gender, age, education and other background information. Day labourers in Cape Town are mostly young men, with 28.6% of all day labourers having completed basic education up to grade 12. Of all the migrant day labourers, 53.1% indicated having completed grade 11 or the equivalent of grade 12. This partly confirms the commonly held narrative that migrant day labourers possess high levels of training which might give them an advantage to getting jobs. Of the 453 day labourers surveyed, 51.8% reported that their primary work is day labourer work, spending on average spend at least 5.5 days per week at hiring sites.

10.2.4 Explore and assess the family life of migrant day labourers in Cape Town

The research findings also established that migrant day labourers are generally family-oriented individuals, with many of them supporting families back home in their country or province of origin. Despite this, 43.4% of participants reported that they were either single or never married. What was clearly observed during the study is that the family life of migrant day labourers is often disrupted. Of the migrant day labourers participating in the study, 51% reported only visiting their families once a year, while only 2.8% visit their families four or more times per year. Many participants also expressed remorse and guilt at being separated from their families and not being able to spend time with their spouses and children, although many of them indicated that they have chosen providing financial support for their families over emotional support. In addition, for the international migrants who are undocumented migrants, travelling to their home countries is complicated by their undocumented status, which further limits their family contact.

10.2.5 Determine the socioeconomic profile of migrant day labourers in Cape Town

Economic hardship and geopolitical crises such as fears of xenophobia were clearly defined socioeconomic and living circumstances as experienced by migrant day labourers in the study. The researcher established that on a good day, migrant day labourers earn on average to the amount of R287.03 a day. This amount impacted day labourers socioeconomic positioning by creating challenges in the upkeep and care of families. A stark findings

however was that immigrant day labourers earn more than South African day labourers. This concurs with the research findings by Blaauw et al. (2012), who found that the perception of Zimbabweans taking the jobs of South Africans by working for much lower wages is not a reality in the day labour sector.

10.2.6 Measure life satisfaction amongst day labourers

The research also aimed to measure the life satisfaction of migrant day labourers by assessing their well-being and happiness. Self-reported findings from the study suggest that most of the migrant day labourers are slightly dissatisfied with life. Participants mostly reported that their income was as expected, although their income is deemed low. As mentioned, participants also reported struggling to maintain regular contact with their families, which also affected their happiness and life satisfaction.

The research objectives were thus met, leading to a discussion of recommendations and limitations of the study.

10.3 RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE STUDY

The researcher divided the recommendations as follows:

- Recommendations for day labourers
- Recommendations for policy makers, law makers, immigration officials and civil society organisations
- Recommendations for future research.

10.3.1 Recommendations for day labourers

Day laborers, like many others in the informal economy, lack assistance and organized networks to keep them safe from exploitation and abuse. Establishing these networks is challenging, as stated by Bonner (2020), who also writes that:

It may be difficult for workers scattered and isolated in their own homes, or in the households of employers. It may be difficult where workers lack experience or fear authorities, employers, or their partners. It is difficult for migrant workers, especially undocumented migrants, and for women whose religion restricts their movements to

take action appropriate to their circumstances (Bonner, 2020: 11).

To address these challenges, a recommendation for day labourers is to organise and establish networks geared towards collective action. Collective action is a key weapon in worker struggles for rights and justice. Informal workers can bring their demands to the attention of authorities, employers, and the general public by banding together (Bonner, 2020). These actions can extend to building confidence and solidarity amongst day labourers, mobilising workers and gathering community support. As a reference point, there are organisations such as the South African Waste Pickers Association (SAWPA), an organisation of more than 1 000 registered waste pickers from all nine provinces in South Africa. Supported by both governmental and international bodies such as the UN, SAWPA “has ensured that the work of waste pickers is respected and dignified, advocating for the integration of waste pickers at local and national levels” (Mbata & Marncce, 2020: 01). A similar approach can ensure that day labourers are organised and have a movement of support and an established body that advocates on their behalf.

Theodore et al. (2017) highlight that an increasing number of worker centres non-profit organizations in the US work to establish standards in the informal sector while also assisting employees in coping with the difficulties that come with working in it. Day labourers are therefore encouraged to link up with service providers and role players such as the Scalabrini Centre in Cape Town, which provides support to migrants, and the International Labour Research and Information Group, which provides support to informal workers in Cape Town.

Another recommendation for day labourers in Cape Town is to establish databases of day labourers for data management and mobilisation. Members of the Kagad Kach Patra Kashtakari Panchayat (KKPKP), an Indian-based trade union of waste pickers, established identity cards endorsed by municipalities for female waste pickers. These cards provide recognition of the day labourers as official workers who can receive employment legislative protection.²¹

Further to the actions above, there is also a need to make the day labour sector in Cape Town

²¹ Employment legislative protection refers to all types of employment protection measures, whether grounded in legislation, court rulings, collectively bargained conditions of employment or customary practice (Allmang, Jou, Gadoth, Rozhenkova, Raub & Heymann, 2019))

more accessible to female day labourers. The study established that female day labourers are more susceptible to being sidelined from day labour job prospects, with an added risk of abuse and harassment. There is thus a need to put safeguards in place to protect and encourage female day labourers to access hiring sites in Cape Town. While these actions should predominantly be driven by legislative bodies, day labourers amongst themselves can also motivate and take action.

10.3.2. Recommendations for policymakers, lawmakers, immigration officials and civil society organisations

Being a study based in the field of Social Work, it is important that the researcher reflect on the research from a Social Work perspective. The researcher thus recommends participation from civil society organisations, community-based organisations and social service professionals to increase social protection for day labourers. This will entail assisting day labourers to organise themselves towards community mobilisation and building a day labour community. This is critical in aiding the transition of migrant day labourers into their new communities. This also aids the integration of day labourers into communities where they are working as day labourers.

Social protection can be understood to include policies and programs aimed at reducing poverty and vulnerability (Unicef, 2020a). Social protection services that promote efficient and fair labour markets, by limiting risks on both employers and employees. The participation of social service professionals in making these services available for day labourers would not only promote their well-being but would also provide protection from abuse. The COVID-19 pandemic amplified the vulnerabilities of day labourers, as many of them lost their income during the pandemic. The pandemic therefore brought to light the need to provide additional social security to day labourers and people working in the informal sector.

Another recommendation stemming from the outcomes of the study is that policymakers, labour-related service providers and civil society organisations must consider putting measures in place to address the unsafe and unhealthy working conditions that often characterise day labour. The research findings established that day labourers work in spaces that are often unsafe, with minimum protection from potentially hazardous elements. This

would also include eliminating all forms of unfair labour practices that some day labourers may experience in their workspaces through establishing reporting and protection measures. These could include hotline numbers where day labourers can report and raise concerns anonymously. Maintaining anonymity will allow undocumented migrants a chance to report cases openly and freely.

Where possible, relevant authorities must reduce barriers to transition into the formal economy. This recommendation emerged from the research findings, as a number of day labourers indicated a desire to work in the formal economic sector. However, this is a massive challenge in the context of South Africa where the unemployment rate was at an all-time high of 34.4% in quarter 2 of 2021 (StatsSA, 2021). Undocumented migrants also have a more difficult time transitioning into the formal economy without appropriate documentation. Despite this, systems must be put in place that would make it possible to assist undocumented migrants and offer them social protection. As part of this protection, relevant, accessible, and up-to-date labour market and immigration information must be made available, including direct attempts to link day labourers to potential employers based on their skill sets.

As a measure of developing and supporting day labourers, skills training and upgrading must be considered. Skinner articulates this view the best, stating that training, if appropriately delivered, can enhance productivity. This should be complemented by better understanding of where informal workers fit in the chain of activities from product inception to final consumption (Skinner, 2014). Apprenticeships and other types of training that can be provided by the formal economic sector may constitute an important source of skills acquisition to day labourers. This will allow for skills development of day labourers, hopefully enabling them to take additional work because of upskilling. Skilled day labourers will inevitably be of benefit not only to themselves but also to the economy of the country. The ILO (2018c) suggests that the informal economy, including day labourers, creates livelihood opportunities, contributes to alleviating poverty and serves as a buffer between employment and unemployment.

Another critical point to note is that Cape Town's by-laws are generally unfavourable towards day labour. One could even argue that the act of day labour in the City of Cape Town is criminalised, as day labourers operate from unregulated spaces from which the city and

municipal officials can remove them. A report published by Smart Cities Dive (Futurecapetown, 2020) discusses the barriers of working in the informal economic sector, stating that street traders in Cape Town work against political, social, economic and structural restrictions. They are socially excluded through negative perceptions and through the criminalisation of their work and mistreatment by law enforcement. Policymakers must therefore revise regulations towards day labourers operating in unregulated spaces.

A clear finding of the study was that day labour accommodates a large contingency of undocumented migrant workers. Migrant workers are considered highly vulnerable due to their limited access to resources and services. To aid undocumented migrants, support services may consider creating safeguards that will allow undocumented labourers to freely report abuse and exploitation without the threat of repercussions such as imprisonment or deportation, which are severe threats to their ability to earn an income.

There is also a need to address global inequality and poverty if we are ever to address the issues of poverty and lower wages that affect many day labourers and their families. From the study findings, it is clear that poverty remains one of the driving factors pushing day labourers to migrate for work opportunities. To this end, addressing political instability and poverty globally, especially in sending destinations such as Zimbabwe, will help alleviate the rising numbers of migrant day labourers.

10.3.3 Recommendations for future research

This study revealed interesting findings on the lives and profiles of migrant day labourers, particularly in relation to their family functioning and well-being. The study indicated that only 4% of day labourers at hiring sites in Cape Town were women. Studies in other countries have shown that many women participate in the informal economy. However, as indicated by this research, very few women seek informal employment at day labour hiring sites. Future studies must therefore explore the roles of female day labourers and investigate what types of jobs women in the informal economy do, if not day labour. As discussed in the report by Smart Cities Dive (Futurecapetown, 2020), informal trade, including day labour, offers a means for many women to escape extreme poverty and other difficult situations. Much of the informal sector includes marginalised and historically disadvantaged people including women (Futurecapetown, 2020). There is thus a need to explore the contributions

and experiences of female day labourers as a marginalised group within the day labour sector.

Another theme that merits further research is the role of day labourers within their family set-up. As established in the study, many migrant day labourers' roles in their family networks had transitioned from nurturing family members to financial providers. This has an impact on the entire family system and requires further exploration to understand more fully.

The section of the study which examined the life satisfaction and well-being of the participants relied primarily on self-reporting by migrant day labourers. Although this is an acceptable method of data collection, it may be beneficial to have specific studies focusing on well-being using scientific methods of measuring well-being. This is particularly important given the views of researchers such as Cooke, Melchert & Connor (2016), who assert that well-being and contentment are broad concepts with various facets. The researcher therefore recommends that a study measuring the objective well-being of day labourers be conducted. Objective well-being is assessed using indicators that measure aspects of education, physical and built environment, community and economy (Cooke et al., 2016). This approach tends to capture a societal rather than an individual perspective on well-being that is based on material, tangible and quantitative indicators. This would allow for an in-depth assessment and study of the well-being and life satisfaction amongst day labourers.

10.4 LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

Every study, no matter how well-structured and well-constructed, has some limitations which may directly or indirectly affect the outcomes of the study. The researcher established the below as some of the noted limitations.

As the researcher is a Zimbabwean-born immigrant now working and living in Cape Town, there is some personal connection to the study which may have impacted the process and outcomes of the study. This is essential to acknowledge as a limitation, since 40.4% of recorded day labourers in Cape Town are immigrants, with the majority of those coming from Zimbabwe. Whether it is conscious or not, one can therefore not ignore the personal bias that may have affected the study. Linked to this point was also acknowledging, as stated by Dib & Johnson (2019), that personal over-involvement by researchers is a common trait, especially in this study, given the researcher's nationality and migration history. The study

explored issues of migration, which could have presented a pitfall of personal attachment given the fact that the researcher is also a migrant worker and student. To diminish the effects of unconscious bias and personal involvement, the researcher made all possible efforts to uphold all ethical practices in the data collection, data analysis and write-up. Another noted challenge in relation to the geographical area of study is that the researcher has been a resident of Cape Town for 12 years. It was therefore possible for the researcher to display location bias during the identification and noting of all hiring sites in the study. This can significantly impact the mapping data results identified in Chapter 6 of the study.

Taking on the recommendations by Shafto (2015), when reviewing data the researcher was especially critical in considering what may have been omitted, the way the data and events were ordered and how he had chosen to represent a person, place or thing. Special attention was also paid to how a phenomenon was named and to whether words with either positive or negative connotations were being used to describe people, places and things. This further allowed for an unbiased assessment of the study problem. The researcher also made use of supervision consultations.

Despite the strengths of MMR, Bergman (2008) maintains that it is paramount that researchers also acknowledge its limitations and challenges. One of the potential limitations relates to the integration of mapping, quantitative and qualitative data results. It was apparent from the beginning of the research that making sense of three data sets that must all be presented as one unified finding under the study would be challenging. This meant the researcher had to analyse data sets and results across different phases of data collection.

Another challenge with the data collection was the risk of overlooking the depth of one data collection method outcome for one of the others. To mitigate this risk, the researcher concentrated on data saturation across all methods of data collection, which ensured that data is collected and recorded to the maximum. Data saturation is reached when there is enough information to replicate the study (O'Reilly & Parker, 2013). Data saturation is also reached when the ability to obtain additional new information has been attained and when further coding is no longer feasible (Guest, Bunce & Johnson, 2006).

While much of the literature suggests that it is advisable to collect data in the participants' natural setting, which in this case was the day labour hiring sites, the researcher is of the

opinion that it would have helped to schedule interviews away from the hiring sites for in-depth and uninterrupted conversations.

In total, 96% of all the participants identified as male, with only 6% identifying as female. This presented a limitation to the study as it inevitably excluded the views and experiences of female day labourers. The absence of female day labourers from hiring sites does not prove that women do not work in the informal economy or as day labourers. The research findings may therefore exclude the views of women who may not necessarily work from hiring sites for various reasons, safety likely amongst them. Research conducted in other countries suggests that there are many female day labourers, usually foreign migrants, who do jobs such as selling household products and doing manual and domestic labour like laundry and house cleaning (Zlolniski, 2006).

Another limitation of the study is that the City of Cape Town spans over 129 449 km². The researcher was therefore aware of the fact that it might not be possible to document and map all hiring sites in Cape Town. This was made even more difficult considering that this was one of the first studies done about day labourers in the Cape Town area specifically, meaning there was no data from preceding studies to rely on as a basis. In addition, research on day labourers in South Africa is largely limited to a few scholars such as Schenck, Blaauw, Schoeman, Theodore and Pretorius. This created a limitation in the available literature. Through seeking publication, the researcher intends for this current study to be used as an addition to contemporary South African literature on day labourers.

To obtain accurate data, interviews and observations were conducted and collected in a natural setting, in this case day labour hiring sites located at street corners and popular intersections. To some extent, this impacted the quality of the interviews, as they were conducted early in the morning, which is the same time that many day labourers were busy pursuing work opportunities. This means that the participants were often distracted and that interviews were sometimes interrupted. As the researcher did not want to negatively affect any participants' income opportunities, the researcher allowed day labourers to leave and cut off any interviews to pursue an employment opportunity or for any reason as deemed necessary by the participants.

10.5 CONCLUDING REMARKS

Thousands of documented and undocumented migrant day labourers remain on the move in a bid to secure work opportunities, and Cape Town has proven an attractive destination for migrant day labourers. By making use of MMR, this study was able to provide core information on the distribution of day labour hiring sites in Cape Town and on the profile, family life and well-being of day labourers in Cape Town.

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APPENDIX A: CONSENT FORM



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CONSENT FORM

Title of Research Project: “The family life and well-being of migrant day labourers in Cape Town”.

The study has been described to me in language that I understand. My questions about the study have been answered. I understand what my participation will involve and I agree to participate of my own choice and free will. I understand that my identity will not be disclosed to anyone. I understand that I may withdraw from the study at any time without giving a reason and without fear of negative consequences or loss of benefits.

Participant’s name.....

Participant’s signature.....

Date.....

Should you have any questions regarding this study or wish to report any problems you have experienced related to the study, please contact the study coordinator:

Study Coordinator’s Name: Professor Catherina Schenck

University of the Western Cape

Private Bag X17, Belville 7535

Telephone: (021)959-2011

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APPENDIX B: MAPPING DATA RECORDING FORM



DAY LABOURERS' SURVEY IN SOUTH AFRICA, 2015- 2018 Department of Social Work, University of the Western Cape School of Economics, North-West University

NB. If there is more than one hiring site in your town or city, please complete a form for every site.

Name of Town / City:

Date of counting of day labourers.....

Day of the week that you counted the people.....

Time of counting: (Tick where applicable)

.....

(If possible, go early in the morning before people get picked up)

Physical Address of hiring site (where they stand)

Nearest street corner to hiring site:

Suburb (if applicable).....

Number of people: Observed at time of counting:.....

Estimated by day labourers at site*:.....

(*Please ask the men how many people are standing there on a daily basis. They will provide an estimate)

From what time do people arrive at this site and what time do they leave?:

Arrive:.....

Leave:.....

(Please ask the men when the men arrive at this site and when they leave. They will provide an estimate)

Do the men know of any other sites where the day labourers stand?

Address/es of the site/s.....

.....

.....

.....

Gender of day labourers at site: Male Female Mixed

Race groups present: Black Coloured White Indian

Name of the fieldworker:.....

Contact No:.....

Address of fieldworker:.....

.....

APPENDIX C: STRUCTURED QUANTITATIVE DATA COLLECTION QUESTIONNAIRE



DAY LABOURERS' SURVEY IN SOUTH AFRICA, 2015- 2018 Department of Social Work, University of the Western Cape School of Economics, North-West University

REGION:

Gauteng	
Mpumalanga	
KwaZulu-Natal	
Eastern Cape	
Limpopo	
North West	
Free State	
Northern Cape	
Western Cape	

SURVEY DETAILS

(Can be completed after the interview)

Interviewer: Complete the following questions after the interview.

Date of interview..... Fieldworker's name.....

City/town..... Time of interview.....
If city, mention suburb.....

Questionnaire

Completed	Not Completed
-----------	---------------

Site description:

Address of the site: mention the closest corner e.g. c/o.....str and
..... str

GP coordinatesS.....E

1. Type of site: Mark all applicable

Public space (e.g. park/sidewalk/parking area)	
Residential area	
Related Business/shops e.g. builders warehouse	
Unrelated business/shops	
Taxi/bus hub	
Other transport hub	
Open space (e.g. undeveloped veld)	
Road junction	

Dept of Labour	
Other (specify).....	

2. Estimate amount of people at the hiring site

THIS SECTION OF THE QUESTIONNAIRE RELATES TO THE RESPONDENT YOU ARE INTERVIEWING.

PERSONAL BACKGROUND

Interviewer: Explain that this next set of questions is about their personal background.

3. Respondent's gender:

Male	1
Female	2

4. With which racial group do you identify yourself? **Mark ONE only**

Black	1
White	2
Coloured	3
Asian	4
Other (Specify)	5

5. Language predominantly spoken by respondent. **Mark ONE only**

English	1
Sesotho	2
Sepedi	3
Isizulu	4
Isindebele	5
Xhitsonga	6
Afrikaans	7
Setswana	8
Isixhosa	9
Tshivenda	10
SiSwati	11
Other Specify.....	12

6. From which country do you originate from?

South Africa	1
Zimbabwe	2
Namibia	3
Swaziland	4
Mozambique	5
Botswana	6
Lesotho	7
Other Specify.....	8

7. If from South Africa in which province were you born?

Gauteng	1
Mpumalanga	2
Kwa Zulu-Natal	3
Eastern Cape	4
Limpopo	5
North West	6
Free State	7
Northern Cape	8
Western Cape	9

8. Where do you live now? (Mention suburb / Township)

.....

9. How old are you?

	Years
--	--------------

under 20	1
21-25	2
26-30	3
31-35	4
36-40	5
41-45	6
46-50	7
51-55	8
56-60	9
over 60	10
Refused to answer	11
Do not know	12

10. Which of the following describes you current marital status?

Never married / Single	1
Separated / Divorced	2
Married (Traditional or Western)	3
Widowed	4
Living with a partner	5
Other (Specify).....	6

EDUCATION

11. What is the **highest** school or tertiary qualification you have **passed?** Indicate the qualification:

Grade

0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
Post School Qualification												13
Post School Qualification. Please mention the qualification												
.....												

12. Ask question 12 only if the waste pickers left school before passing Gr. 12. Why did you leave school?

.....

13. What other vocational training or courses did you complete?

Bricklaying	1
Painter	2
Plumbing	3
Tiler	4
Electrical work	5
Cabinet maker	6
Carpenter	7
Other Specify.....	8

EMPLOYMENT AND EMPLOYMENT SEEKING HISTORY

Interviewer: Explain that the next set of questions are about your past work experience.

14. The following questions will be about the jobs you did during the last 7 days, hired from street corner hiring sites/labour markets (ask all questions for each day of the week.

Interviewer: If the respondent did not work record “no work” in column “Description of job” and continue till the chart is complete. Write in the days of the week according to the present day. If today is Friday enter the first day as Friday (last week) and continue yesterday (Thursday).

Day	Description of job:	How many hours did you work?	How much were you paid?
Day 1:			
Day 2:			
Day 3:			
Day 4:			
Day 5:			
Day 6:			
Day 7:			

15. How many days did you stand and wait for work as a day labourer during the last week?

0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---

16. Which days of the week did you stand? (Mark all applicable)

Mon	Tues	Wed	Thurs	Fri	Sat	Sun
-----	------	-----	-------	-----	-----	-----

17. What is **the lowest wage** you have been paid **for a day** as a day labourer during the past 12 months?

R.....

18. What is **the best wage** you have been paid **for a day** as a day labourer during the past 12 months?

R.....

19. What is **the lowest** wage per day that you are **currently willing to work** for as a day labourer?

R.....

20.a Does this amount stay the same if you are not hired for more than one day in the week before this interview?

Yes	No
1	2

20.b If no, why does it change and by how much?

.....

21. Is your income as day labourer as good as expected?

BETTER	1
WORSE THAN EXPECTED	2
AS GOOD AS EXPECTED	3

22. Approximately, how much did you earn in wages last month?

R (Round to the nearest Rand)

23. During a **good** month of work, how much do you earn as a day labourer?

R..... (Round off to the nearest Rand)

24. During a **bad** month of work, how much do you earn as a day labourer?

R..... (Round off to the nearest Rand)

25. What kind of jobs have you had as a day labour in the last month?

Interviewer: Do not read the list. Use the list to mark “yes” for those jobs that are mentioned.

	Yes	No
1. Gardening	1	2
2. Digging/ shovelling	1	2
3. Loading and unloading	1	2
4. Construction (demolition/cleanup)	1	2
5. Bricklaying	1	2
6. Bricklaying assistant	1	2
7. Roofing	1	2
8. Roofing assistant	1	2
9. Carpentry	1	2
10. Carpenter assistant	1	2
11. Painting	1	2
12. Painter assistant	1	2
13. Plumbing	1	2
14. Plumber assistant	1	2
15. Car wash	1	2
16. Farming activities	1	2
17. Electrician	1	2
18. Electrician assistant	1	2
19. Domestic work	1	2
20. Plastering	1	2
21. Other: Specify.....	1	2

26. How often do you get hired by the same employer more than three times?

Often	1
Sometimes	2
Seldom	3
Never	4

27. Indicate which answer is relevant:

The last time when you were employed

	YES	NO
Did you negotiate your wages with the employer before starting with the job?	1	2

28. During the last month have you turned down a job?

Yes	1
No	2

29. If yes, why did you turn down the job?.....

LANGUAGE PROFICIENCY TO BE ABLE TO COMMUNICATE WITH EMPLOYERS

30. How well can you...

Understand English: (fieldworker ask the question in English)

Not at all	1
Somewhat	2
Well	3

31. How well can you speak English?

Not at all	1
Somewhat	2
Well	3

32. Hoe goed kan jy... (Ask the question in Afrikaans)

Afrikaans verstaan:

Not at all	1
Somewhat	2
Well	3

33. Hoe goed kan jy Afrikaans praat?

Not at all	1
Somewhat	2
Well	3

34. Have you ever had a full time job? (A Full time job where you received a regular payslip indicating your income and deductions)

Yes	1
No	2

35. **IF YES**, What was your last full time job?

Job title:

36. How long did you have the **last** full time job?

Months..... Years.....

37. Why did you leave the last full time job? (**Interviewer: Only mark one**)

Laid off business/mine/factory closed	1
Laid off business down sizing	2
Laid off business moved	3
Disciplinary reasons	4
Quit the job because wage was too low	5
Quit the job because of medical reasons	6
Quit the job because of bad treatment from employer	7
Other Specify.....	8
Refused to answer	9

38. Are you currently looking for a full time job?

Yes (move to question 40)	1
No (move to question 39)	2

39. If no, why not?.....

DEPENDENTS

40. How many people (excluding yourself) depend on your income?

.....

If the day labourer has no dependants you do not have to ask questions 41 - 43

41. Identify the people dependent on your income?

Type of dependent	Number
Parents	
Own / adopted children	
Foster children	
Grand children	
Others	

42. How many of these are children under the age of 18 who are your legal dependents?
(A legal dependent is own or adopted children or children in foster care)

.....

43. What are the sources of income available to them?

Child support grant	1
Disability grant	2
Old age grant	3
Another person(s) working	4

Other specify	5
------------------------	---

44. Do you stay with your family?

Yes	1
No	2

45. How often do you visit your family (if you do not live with them)?

Daily	1
Weekly	2
Monthly	3
4 Times a year	4
Twice a year	5
Once a year	6
Other Specify.....	7
Refused to answer	8

46. How often do you take/send money home?

Weekly	1
Each month	2
4 times a year	3
Twice a year	4
Once a year	5
No money to take/send home	6

HOUSING

***Fieldworker: do not read the list. Tick what have been answered.**

47. In what type of structure do you usually sleep?

Construction Site	1
Backyard room with sleep in domestic worker	2
Backyard room	3
Veld/bushes	4
On the street	5
Backyard shack	6
Shack	7
Hostel/shelter	8
House (bricks/reeds etc)	9
Place of work	10
Other Specify.....	11

48. Where is this place situated?.....

49. How much per month do you pay to sleep at this place?

Nothing	1
R 1.00 – R49.00	2
R50.00-R99.00	3
R100.00-199.00	4
R200.00-299.00	5
More than R300.00	6

HIRING SITE

Interviewer: Explain that this set of questions is about the hiring site.

50. In what year did you start standing as a day labourer?

51. How many years and months in TOTAL have you been a day labourer?

Years.....

Months.....

***Fieldworker: we want to get an idea on the movement of the day labourer**

52. What motivated you to move to this site?

This is a bigger place	1
I wanted to be closer to my family	2
Someone told me there are better opportunities here	3
Other Specify.....	4

53. Are the job opportunities at this site better, worse or about as good as you expected?

BETTER	1
WORSE THAN EXPECTED	2
AS GOOD AS EXPECTED	3

54. If the answer is **worse** or **the same** why is he/she still here?

.....

* **Fieldworker: In the next question try and get a single time not a time range e.g. 5:00**

55. At what time in the morning do you usually **leave** the place where you sleep/stay to come to this site to look for work?

	am	Pm
--	----	----

56. At what time in the morning do you usually **arrive** at this hiring site?

	am	Pm
--	----	----

57. What time do you usually leave this site if you did not get work for the day?

	am	Pm
--	----	----

58. Where do you get water when you stand here for the day.....

59. Where do you get food while standing at the hiring site?.....

60. Does any person/group/organisation provide food to the day labourers?

Yes	No
1	2

61. If yes, who and how often?.....

62. Where do you go if you need a toilet?.....

63. Where do you wash yourself?.....

64. Where do you wash your clothes?.....

FOOD

The next questions are about the food you have eaten in the last week.

65. How many times in the last month was there ever no food to eat of any kind in your house because of lack of resources to get food?

.....

66. How many times in the last month did anyone in your house go to sleep at night hungry because there was not enough food?

.....

67. How many times in the last month did anyone in your house go for a whole day and night without eating anything at all because there was not enough food?

.....

TREATMENT BY POLICE

68. How does the Police and/or metropolitan police treat you?

.....

69. How does the Public treat you?

.....

70. How does employers treat you?

.....

RELATIONSHIPS AND SOCIAL NETWORKS.

Interviewer: Explain that the following questions are about social relationships and other activities.

71. Are you part of a group of day labourers that support one another?

Yes	1
No	2

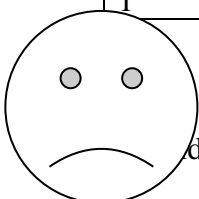
72. In what way do help each other?

Mark all applicable

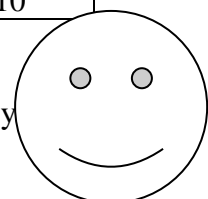
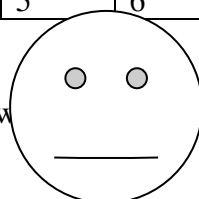
Finding work	1
Transport/getting lifts	2
Loans	3
Food	4
Shelter to sleep/housing	5
Care when sick	6
Other	7
Specify.....	

73. On a scale of 1-10 (10 being very happy and 1 very unhappy) how happy are you with life at the moment?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	----



Is there anything else that you would have asked you about?



Specify.....
 74. Life satisfaction

Statement	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
On the whole, I am satisfied with myself	1	2	3	4
I am able to do things as well as most other people	1	2	3	4
I feel I do not have much to be proud of	1	2	3	4
I certainly feel useless at times	1	2	3	4
I feel that I am a person of worth, at least on an equal plane with others	1	2	3	4
I wish I could have more self respect for myself	1	2	3	4
All in all, I am inclined to feel that I am a failure	1	2	3	4
I take a positive attitude to myself	1	2	3	4
The conditions of my life are excellent	1	2	3	4
I am satisfied with my life	1	2	3	4
So far I have forgotten the important things I want in life	1	2	3	4

Interviewer: Thank the respondent for his participation.

GENERAL OBSERVATIONS: TO BE COMPLETED AFTER COMPLETION OF THE QUESTIONNAIRE

Interviewer: Make notes on any other relevant information shared by the person, e.g.

- Concerns about his existence as a day labourer. What is he worried about?
- How has working as a day labourer affected relationships with family?
- What happens if he gets home without having worked that day?
- How do they survive on a daily basis if he did not get a job for the day/week?

- What are the things that still make him hopeful or
- What are the hazards being a day labourer?
- Observation notes about the site

Are there different groups of people how do they relate?

APPENDIX D: SEMI-STRUCTURED QUALITATIVE DATA COLLECTION QUESTIONNAIRE

QUALITATIVE INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

This interview schedule is to address the following research question:

“What is the family life and wellbeing of migrant day labourers in Cape Town-South Africa?”.

- What is your educational and employment background in relation and the journey that has led to you being a day laborer?
- What were your reasons for this migration to South Africa
- What was your migration journey to Cape Town
- How did you become involved in day labor work?
- How do they survive on a daily basis if he did not get a job for the day/week?
- How does the family respond when you did not manage to get work for the day?
- Concerns about his existence as a day labourer. What is he worried about?
- What is good about day labour work?
- Family life in relation to your work as day laborer?
 - a. Does the family reside with you?
 - b. Role/s played in the family set up?
 - c. Ability to sustain for the family and impact of not being able to?
 - d. Support systems available to the day laborer in relation to family functioning.
- How has working as a day labourer affected relationships with family?
- Are you satisfied with your life as a role player in the family?

Thank you!

APPENDIX E: EDITORIAL CERTIFICATE

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2 November 2021

To Whom It May Concern

I hereby confirm that I carried out a language edit of the doctoral thesis “The family life and well-being of migrant day labourers in Cape Town” by Mufaro Magidi, correcting the following elements or, where necessary, raising a query for the author to resolve:

- General grammar, spelling and punctuation
- General consistency
- Logic
- Structural cohesiveness and flow
- Layout, formatting and numbering
- Table of contents
- Captions
- References and reference list.

Corrections, suggestions and queries have been indicated throughout using the “track changes” function in Microsoft Word, and it is the responsibility of the author to accept or reject corrections and suggestions by the editor and to resolve all queries raised by the editor. The editor has provided a style sheet detailing all major style decisions implemented in the thesis, which the author should follow when making additional corrections to ensure consistency.

While the editor has made every effort to point out potential errors, inconsistencies or instances of plagiarism, it remains the responsibility of the author to minimise errors and eliminate plagiarism, and the editor cannot be held responsible for any errors, inconsistencies or instances of plagiarism in the edited document. The editor suggests that the thesis is given a final proofread before submission to minimise typos.

Signed



Kristien Potgieter (Language editor)

2 November 2021

Date