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MIGRATION AND HOSPITALITY IN CAPE TOWN: A CASE OF ZIMBABWEAN MIGRANTS AND REFUGEES.

By

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STATEMENT ON ETHICAL ACADEMIC PRACTICES:

I affirm that this Master's mini-thesis, ***Migration and hospitality in Cape Town: A case of Zimbabwean migrants and refugees*** is my own effort. No other university has ever published this piece of work. The cited sources have been verified as full references.

Signed: ……  ……...

Date: ……December …2022….

DEDICATION

This Master's mini-thesis is dedicated to Christ for granting me life and being mindful of me, as well as to my adorable, loving, ever-smiling, and exuberant son, Jason-Dwayne Armel Missilou (JJ/Jay/Jay-DA), whose presence fuels my ambition. Knowing that I am a mother to him gives me the strength and drive to strive harder. Also, I am eternally appreciative to my late father Mr Isaac Mazani and my very much alive mother, Mrs Gladys Ncube, as well as my sister, Mrs Proceed Shamiso Ncube Manyika, for being my support ever since I was born, making and selling stove wicks and mops so that my school fees could be paid, I will always be grateful. I love you all, and I pray that the Lord would continue to shower his favour upon you and keep you healthy.

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The accuracy of the data reported in this study has been ensured using every available method. Any errors or inaccuracies in the study that may yet remain, however, are my responsibility.

ABSTRACT

Many studies on migrants and refugees have been undertaken in South Africa, with an emphasis on issues that have a detrimental impact on migrants and refugees in the country, such as xenophobic events, low wages, food poverty, and social and economic isolation. However, this study takes a different approach, examining the scope of what could be happening in terms of solidarity and hospitality for migrants and refugees in religious spaces in urban areas where they reside. This study used a qualitative research approach using data obtained from primary sources gathered by the researcher as well as secondary material from journals, libraries, reports, and book chapters. The case study area was Joe Slovo township in Cape Town. Data were obtained in phases, with the researcher focusing on semi-structured interviews with 10 migrants and refugees. This study was heavily influenced by literature and theories on solidarity, hospitality, and social capital.

Zimbabwean migrants and refugees in the research were able to integrate into host communities through shared religious beliefs and relationships formed at church with locals in the urban spaces in which they resided. These church networks helped them secure jobs and make other connections to get food parcels, clothing, and accommodation, demonstrating the significance of the chosen theory (social capital). Drawing on social capital theory helped to explain how migrants and refugees formed solidarity and received hospitality in host communities through relationships with other migrants, or by forming new relationships with South African citizens. While the qualitative findings cannot be extrapolated to the experiences of the entire population of migrants and refugees in Cape Town or South Africa, in conversation with other literature emerging on this theme, the study verifies various forms of hospitality and solidarity. Overall, the study found that the space of church assisted Zimbabwean migrants and refugees in making connections and developing survival strategies through finding protection through both instrumental and caring reciprocal relationships, to build trust with South African landlords, by engaging in church associations, and finally, through gendered networks of finding employment.

CONTENTS

LIST OF FIGURES

LIST OF TABLES

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

CT: Cape Town

IOM: International Organization for Migration

SSA: Sub-Saharan Africa

UN: United Nations

USA: United States of America

KEYWORDS

Social capital

Solidarity

Religious spaces

Food security

Hospitality

Inclusion

Joe Slovo, Cape Town

Zimbabwean migrants and refugees

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND

1.1 INTRODUCTION

South Africa is a major destination for migrants from Southern Africa and other countries. Migration has a substantial economic and social impact on both the home country of the migrant and the country of their new residence. Research on migration and governance policy has idealised a situation where everyone stands to gain: the migrants, the home country, and the destination country (Piper 2009). Yet, despite the benefits of migration discussed in development studies, migrants may also face social inequality and exclusion (Faist 2016). This has made it necessary to continue researching the avenues of potential inclusion of migrants and refugees into the host regions of residence so they can take part in the life of the cities they now call home. In South Africa, migrants are working, starting families, becoming active in their religious communities, operating tuck shops, hiring locals, and sharing their expertise with host communities, all of which have been shown to be part of local economic and social life.

However, globally as well as in South Africa migrants often face many obstacles and forms of exclusion. Firstly, there is a history of widespread xenophobic attacks against migrants and refugees in South Africa, resulting in several migrants and refugees losing their lives and others suffering severe injuries (Amusan and Mchunu 2017). Migrants in South Africa also face challenges in obtaining legal documentation due to the bureaucratisation of Home Affairs, where they wait in long queues for hours to get assistance with the uncertainty of whether they will receive the documentation or not, while also suffering theft, hunger, bad weather, and deportation (Sutton et al. 2011; Polser 2004).

Despite numerous recorded instances of violence and discrimination against migrants and refugees in South Africa, the country still remains a favoured destination. According to official reports, immigration into South Africa has continued despite increasing xenophobic attacks. For example, despite a wave of xenophobic violence in 2008, the 2011 Census results revealed a consistent inflow of foreign nationals in South Africa between 2001 and 2011 (Hlatshwayo and Wotela 2018).

More so, many undocumented migrants seek work in the informal sector and rely on friendships and networks to survive (Rugunanan and Smit 2011). These networks are formed either with fellow migrants and refugees or with South African citizens in their host communities. In this study, such friendships and networks are what define solidarity and hospitality for migrants and refugees. There is a substantial body of literature researching forms of solidarity and hospitality for migrants and refugees in different spaces, as these locations appear to be safe havens.

For instance, in various global urban settings, debates have arisen regarding the solidarity and sanctuary for migrants , where cities may be welcoming, offer migrants and refugees with some safety, as well as to assist them with food, housing, and clothing, and to share places within their communities (Bauder 2019). In addition, some prominent urban sanctuary spaces can be found in Asia, Canada, and the United Kingdom (Bauder 2021). However, with the exception of Kassa (2018 as cited in Bauder 2019) there is not much research or notion of a sanctuary city or solidarity city in Africa. As the literature review will reveal, there has been some interesting research on solidarity "in the city," in which forms of hospitality, inclusion, welcome, and support can be found within migrant groups as well as alongside South Africans, and one of these domains is religious spaces. Nyamnjoh (2013) asserts that the religious community is the one that initiates efforts to persuade the government to enact appropriate legislation to protect migrants. Because of this, immigrants see the house of worship as a cornerstone of freedom. According to Kumalo (2018), migrants in host countries have a "God-given right" to live in peace and be assimilated into the communities in which they reside. Solidarity and hospitality are philosophically different concepts, as described in the literature review, but due to the limited scope of the mini-thesis, both terms arise in different strands of analysis based on their commonality for describing cooperation, courtesy, and welcome performed by South Africans and migrants for migrants or refugees.

The mini-thesis investigates narratives and specific cases of various types and expressions of hospitality and solidarity extended to a few migrants and refugees interviewed in four churches in Cape Town's Joe Slovo township. Furthermore, it investigates how social capital influences the formation of relationships with other migrants or South Africans at the churches they attend. Evidence from this study confirms some of the ways that Zimbabwean migrants and refugees make connections in religious settings; as presented in the data chapter, these include (at times gendered)

access to employment through referrals, access to charitable support such as food and clothing, protection and reciprocal relationships formed through access to affordable rental housing, and participation in solidarity social groups.

1.2 BACKGROUND AND CONTEXTUALIZATION

Migration from Zimbabwe and SADC to South Africa has been significant (Crush and Peberdy 2005; Moyo and Botha 2022), and a number of causes that have contributed to a large number of Zimbabweans leaving their nation of origin and risking their lives in the process to seek refuge in the neighbouring country. Most Zimbabweans enter South Africa through the Beitbridge border post, and because the majority of them lack passports, they use the river to cross (Henley and Robinson 2011; Crush et al. 2018).

According to Crush and Tevera (2010), Zimbabwe has entered the list of "crisis-driven" migrations, which also includes notable African crises like Angola, the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC), and Rwanda. Zimbabwe's financial system has been in a bad state, and its citizens are increasingly fleeing their country due to political persecution, soaring unemployment and inflation, the implosion of public services, and growing poverty (Crush and Tevera 2010; Kupakuwana 2017; Crush and Tawodzera 2017). The implication of the preceding statement is that Zimbabweans are economically, socially, and politically isolated in their own country due to the country's poor governance. As a result, the majority of Zimbabweans who remain in the country take the initiative to build relationships with those who have emigrated to other countries, such as Zambia, Mozambique, and South Africa, with the intention of also leaving the country at some point in the future.

South Africa appears to be a more attractive destination for the majority of Zimbabweans due to the improved lifestyles being displayed by the Zimbabweans living in South Africa, as well as the stories they share about how some South African employees may offer preference to Zimbabweans due to their being "hardworking and educated" (Hungwe 2020; Mudavanhu 2020). As a result, many Zimbabweans take the initiative to connect with those in South Africa, stay up to date on

information to minimise surprises in their transit to South Africa, and secure job opportunities before they leave due to the confidence gained from their fellow connections. Adding on, this use of social capital provides them with information on travel, safe destinations, and how to secure employment upon arrival, and these ties are primarily formed with people they trust, such as close friends, former school classmates, family members, and church members. In a similar line, Hungwe (2015) discusses the relevance of kin and religious networks as sources of social capital in assisting Zimbabwean migrants with emigration, resettlement, and social integration.

Whether in transit, upon arrival, or during their stay in South Africa, most immigrants face xenophobia, social marginalisation, and economic hardship (Kihato and Landau 2017; Misago et al. 2009; Tevera 2013; Crush and Ramachandran 2010) . Furthermore, Sithole and Dinbabo (2016), for instance, discovered that only 36.7% of Zimbabwean migrants in Cape Town are food secure, while 63.7% are food insecure. Although Zimbabweans face food insecurity, xenophobia, and marginalisation, a study on social capital among Zimbabwean migrants in Johannesburg by Hungwe (2015) also shows that migrants continue to share false and optimistic accounts of what is happening in South Africa to people back home due to social obligation amongst other reasons. Other migrants may show off their phony lifestyles to their friends which then may misinform them about the hostilities that are taking place there against African migrants, while blaming the media for inaccurate reporting (Hungwe 2015). More so, Hungwe (2015) points out that, in some circumstances, migrants themselves may be able to impede their own social integration through migrant social networks. Because of this, the majority of migrants are shocked when they arrive to learn that what they were informed differs from what actually occurs.

Nevertheless, during the Covid-19 pandemic, religious and neighbourhood-based organisations gave migrants and refugees food and clothing (Wild-Wood et al. 2021; Makanda and Naidu 2021). The National Action Plan to Combat Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia, and Related Intolerance was also published by South Africa in March 2019. This shows some of the possibilities for migrant and refugee solidarity and hospitality. Examples of integration and migrant engagement also cut over ethnic and national identities (Landau 2018; Owen 2015).

1.3 STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

Cities around the world are subverting strict migration and refugee policies in search of forms of support and assistance for migrants and refugees (Bauder, 2021). These cities are known by a variety of names, including solidarity, sanctuary, and refuge cities. According to research conducted in Berlin, Freiburg, Zurich, and other German and Swiss cities, urban solidarity extends beyond the inclusion of migrants and refugees who remain within the city's borders (Bauder, 2021). Contextual differences exist, for example, between Canada and South Africa in how solidarity and issues surrounding migrant hospitality are enacted. Despite significant similarities between many African and Global North cities, a large majority of literature has focused on exclusion, xenophobia, and survival strategies in South Africa. More updated research is needed to explore the local scale of migrant spaces of solidarity and hospitality in urban Africa (Bauder 2019). Building on literature (such as Rugunanan and Smit 2011; Nyamnjoh and Brudvig 2014; Owen 2015; Chekero and Morreira 2020) that has investigated spaces in South Africa where hospitality and solidarity for migrants and refugees may emerge, this thesis investigates hospitality in religious spaces, namely churches, for Zimbabwean migrants and refugees in Joe Slovo, Cape Town, South Africa.

1.4 AIM OF THE STUDY

To investigate and document at the local scale the networks and groups through which solidarity, hospitality and inclusion toward migrants and refugees in a township in Cape Town, South Africa is enacted and perceived in the religious spaces of the church.

1.5 OBJECTIVES

• To identify and investigate the forms of urban solidarity and hospitality in religious church spaces extended to Zimbabwean migrants and refugees in Joe Slovo, Cape Town, South Africa.

• To understand how social capital assists migrants in connecting to spaces of solidarity and hospitality for migrants and refugees in Cape Town.

1.6 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

• How do Zimbabwean migrants and refugees in Cape Town, South Africa perceive and experience hospitality in religious spaces and solidarity in Cape Town?

• In what ways have Zimbabwean migrants in Joe Slovo, Cape Town developed social capital, trust and networks in religious organisations and local groups?

1.7 RATIONALE AND SIGNIFICANCE

Migrants and refugees in South Africa encounter challenges and are susceptible to xenophobia and hostility in the nation's cities (Crush et al. 2015). Thus, a majority of South African-related literature focuses primarily on the country's exclusion of migrants and its brutality against them. This study, on the other hand, investigates the ways in which relationships and interactions of generosity and solidarity have been shown to Zimbabwean migrants and refugees. The study demonstrates the informal ways in which migrants find and access support in church spaces host communities, as well as their perceptions of these opportunities. This study is essential because it builds on and elaborates the possibility for solidarity and hospitality in the South African context, especially as we move into the post-pandemic context. Finally, this study can be used as a guide by other academics and researchers who want to investigate a related topic. It also contributes to the ongoing debate about the complexities of hospitality and solidarity for migrants and refugees in vulnerable communities such as townships, where many hostile acts are constantly reported and recorded in the press or on social media.

1.8 ORGANISATION OF THE THESIS

This thesis is comprised of five chapters. Below is a description of the key aspects of each chapter.

Chapter One introduces the research project. The research is then contextualised, and the background information for the study is provided. The chapter also provides a problem statement, as well as the describes the aims and objectives of the research.

Chapter Two examines and reviews literature in this topic advanced by different academics, and identifies the gaps in the evaluated literature. The conceptual and theoretical basis for the investigation is also laid out in this chapter.

Chapter Three discusses the study's research methodologies, limitations, and demographic descriptions of the studied area.

Chapter Four focuses on and presents empirical data, discussion, and study analysis.

Chapter Five summarises and offers conclusions based on the research findings, as well as offers recommendations for further research.

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1 INTRODUCTION

This review is based on an examination of academic sources on migration, hospitality, and other topics such as solidarity and urban sanctuary. It summarises existing knowledge on these topics, including similarities and differences, allowing for the identification of relevant concepts, methodologies, and research proposals for the future. After a literature search on terms related to solidarity and hospitality in South Africa, the reviewed literature was organised into different categories/themes with a global context and focus on South Africa. The literature reviewed the following themes: precarious and vulnerable migrants, migrant inclusion, the impact of Covid-19 on migrants, xenophobia, as well as a brief discussion of gender and migration. The main purpose of this research has aimed to investigate the scales of solidarity and hospitality extended to Zimbabwean migrants and refugees, with a focus on how this is enacted in religious spaces. The term "hospitality" in this study refers to how local citizens, who are known as hosts in the host communities, may support migrants, who are perceived as guests in the urban spaces they reside in (Landau 2012).

2.2 MIGRATION IN A GLOBAL PERSPECTIVE

Those who cross the thresholds of their permanent residences for a period of about a year are referred to as migrants, according to the United Nations (2019). The International Organization for Migration (IOM), defines a migrant as "any person who is moving or has moved across an international border or within a State away from his/her habitual place of residence, regardless of (1) the person's legal status; (2) whether the movement is voluntary or not; (3) what the causes of the movement are; or (4) what the length of the stay is" (IOM 2018 as cited in Castelli 2018:2). Migration is not a recent phenomenon, and it can be influenced in various ways depending on the people migrating, the destination country, and the country from which they are migrating.

People migrate in a variety of ways; recently academics began to analyse and explain mobility in order to examine the broad narrative of modernity's "hypermobility, flux, and fluidity" (Schewel

2020:332). Scholarly attention also pointed to the relationships of power and inequality that enable some people to move while others could not (Salazar and Glick Schiller 2013). Castles et al. (2014) referred to this as an "Age of Involuntary Immobility".

There are many different reasons why people move (Wotela and Letsiri 2015; Dinbabo and Nyasulu 2015), some of which are adverse in the region of origin and advantageous in the region of destination due to cultural, political, economic, social, and environmental factors. Two decades ago, in new work rethinking the motivation for migration, Carling (2002) and de Haas (2003) emphasised the necessity of taking into account peoples' capacities and aspirations when it comes to migration. Carling (2002) contended that migration is a socially and culturally constructed project with micro- and macro-level influences. Building on this work, Van Hear, et al. (2012), as cited in Carling and Collins (2018), argue that the term "driver" should "be reserved for the more external material forces that influence mobility," and that they either facilitate or impede individual choice. Van Hear et al (2012:16) has described the complexity of these factors as "push-pull-plus" – to highlight the "changing structural configurations in which people's aspirations and desires to move or stay put are shaped and reshaped." Studies on "forced" migration have also looked into movements in response to hostilities or violence. However, there is empirical evidence that even in times of conflict, where historically the escalating violence was thought to be the primary driving force behind migration, some people choose to stay while others leave (Williams et al. 2018). A study by Schewel (2015) on migration aspirations revealed that young people in Senegal who do not have enough money to meet their basic needs do not want to migrate. People need access to social, human, and financial capital to fulfil their migration aspirations (de Haas et al. 2019).

Migration aspirations are also shaped by networks. People who have relatives and friends abroad, for instance, are more likely to migrate because they have access to information about the destination country's opportunities for employment, housing, and safety. This connects to the theories of social capital and networks for migrants (Hlatshwayo and Wotela 2018). One sees lower employment outcomes for immigrants without these connections, which are made possible by strong social capital affiliations. Adler and Kwon (2002) as cited in Hlatshwayo and Wotela (2018) note that proximity to social capital and its networks greatly influences and shapes migration, and that social capital shapes the access to opportunity brokers and gatekeepers, who

may prevent or facilitate immigration or grant access to social networks that help migrants survive. Furthermore, social capital networks are said to facilitate both domestic and international migration, according to key drivers of migration in the context of social capital networks (Faist 2000).

2.3 MIGRATION DRIVERS AND POLICY IN SOUTH AFRICA

The study's primary area of interest arises out of the influx of migrants to South Africa, the majority of whom have the potential to contribute to the social and economic development if allowed to fully participate in society. South Africa has a high unemployment rate, but it is still lower than most of its neighbouring countries, including Zimbabwe, which helps to explain why so many immigrants and refugees flock to the country. Additionally, of all the African nations, Dinbabo and Nyasulu (2015) argue that South Africa's economy has the greatest capacity to absorb urban labour migration. "Macroeconomic determinants of pull factors" that draw people to favour South Africa include the standard of living, lower cost of living, more stable economy, and perceived welcoming investment climate (Dinbabo and Nyasulu 2015:28).

Segatti (2011) noted a decade ago, however, that the South African government has struggled to formulate a cohesive response to migration. Migrants and refugees from surrounding countries have been seen as a threat to goals of political reform, economic growth, and poverty reduction. The South African government's general inability to manage migration policy across departments and in connection to civil society, organised labour, and the business sector continues to be a stumbling block, as does the Department of Home Affairs and the public services in charge of managing migration (Landau, 2011). Furthermore, the absence of a sustainable forum for collaboration among stakeholders such as migrant organisations, rights advocacy groups, research, business, unions, and other government departments adds to the worries about migrant exclusion in South Africa (Landau 2011). De Jager and Musuva (2016) draw attention to issues surrounding inadequate immigration laws to control the influx of Zimbabweans into South Africa, as the responses to migration, which were primarily based on its foreign policy toward Zimbabwe, fail to recognise a crisis of governance in the sending country.

Efforts to coordinate and harmonise migration governance at the regional level have made little progress and still face significant obstacles, despite recent developments at the national and

regional levels that show some promise (Dodson and Crush 2015). A strong regional rights system or a strong national migration policy cannot exist without extending employment and some other rights to non-citizens.

Some researchers focus on institutional shortcomings in determining refugee status, denial of necessary social services, and abuse of refugees and asylum seekers in South Africa by law enforcement officials. The conditions of an asylum document provide elements of mobility freedom, community integration, and refugee protection. However, those who have applied for asylum face barriers that prevent them from receiving the services to which they are legally entitled, such as social services, housing, and education. When a person lacks the necessary documentation, they are more vulnerable to exploitation and criminal activity. It is challenging for migrants to integrate and prosper in the host communities due to corruption in the home affairs offices, civil services, and host communities' attitudes toward the migrants (Landau 2006). Provincial and municipal officials, according to Landau (2012), frequently worry that encouraging proactive migration will only encourage more of it. The shortcomings of plans and interventions have become more pronounced as migrants face restricted access to essential services, physical and financial instability, and marginalisation.

Kanayo et al. (2019) assert that the South African government needs an explicit and comprehensive policy and set of strategies to deal with immigration, discrimination, and assimilation in order to promote reverence for diversity and multiculturalism and combat false stereotypes and half-truths about foreigners. The exclusionary issue, according to Nyamnjoh (2006), is a lens that primarily focuses on economic opportunities and privileges when identifying residents and visitors. Furthermore, the anti-immigrant sentiment has grown stronger, especially in South Africa, leading to serious human rights violations; these exclusionary and xenophobic practices are described in the following sections.

2.4 MIGRANT CHALLENGES IN SOUTH AFRICA

2.4.1 XENOPHOBIA

Acts of violence and intolerance for immigrants referred to as xenophobia is rife in South Africa, costing many migrants and refugees their lives, homes, and jobs, among other things (Eliseev et

al. 2008). Cross-border migrants, refugees, and asylum seekers are harassed and discriminated against. Afrophobia is the term used to describe the dislike of African immigrants by Black South Africans. The concept of Afrophobia has become more prevalent in South Africa in recent years. Due to xenophobic violence and anti-immigrant sentiments, many foreigners have struggled to integrate into society. Similar to this, Groves (2020) notes that after independence, Zimbabwe's citizenship laws became more stringent, depriving many people of their political rights and causing the government to refer to them as "aliens." According to Crush and Ramachandran (2010), the global increase in South–South migration has been accompanied by more intense and widespread intolerance of migrants throughout the South.

According to studies conducted in Durban, Cape Town, and Johannesburg, most immigrants face difficulties entering the official labor market due to institutionalised xenophobia and the preference given to locals (Crush et al. 2015). As a result, the vast majority of immigrants work in the informal sector and engage in a variety of business ventures (Northcote 2015). In addition, Crush et al. (2015) claim that Zimbabweans are among the most frequently targeted when it comes to xenophobic attacks on businesses owned and run by immigrants and refugees in the informal economy. In South Africa, xenophobia has hurt the informal sector and increased unemployment rates (Moagi et al. 2018). There are discrepancies in people's desires for autonomy, which are the source of these tensions (Nyamnjoh 2010). Crush et al. (2015) contend that, while highlighting how willing many immigrant groups are to assimilate and trade skills with South Africans, there are also indications of the underlying factors contributing to tensions surrounding immigrants in South Africa, particularly their relative economic success.

Xenophobia may also emerge in a greater degree in some places than others; Amisi et al. (2011) show that between 2008 and 2010, xenophobia in Durban was less severe than it was in Johannesburg and Cape Town, the other two major cities in South Africa. Crush and Ramachandran (2010) note that minority groups are more likely to be marginalised or excluded when xenophobia is prevalent in society and politics in an effort to examine and provide solutions to the xenophobic attacks and challenges. Each country, and occasionally even each neighbourhood, has unique xenophobic outcomes and symptoms.

Amusan and Mchunu (2017) report that more than 60 foreigners died as a result of xenophobic violence in South Africa in 2008-2015 in areas such as Gauteng, in the Western Cape and some other areas. The need to maintain the status quo, a fear of the unknown, and a desire to protect a particular culture and identity are the driving forces behind such attacks (Amusan and Mchunu 2017). The violence and instability that followed the May 2008 attacks, resulted in more than 50 fatalities and thousands of displaced people, according to Pillay et al. (2008). Additionally, Tarisayi and Manik (2020) explain how Afrophobia played a role in the vicious foreigner attacks in September 2019 because black foreigners from other African countries were the targets.

In addition, Solomon and Kosaka (2013) contend that while it is all too easy for the media and the government to blame immigrants' problems with crime, unemployment, and housing on their presence there, doing so is not a sustainable solution and will eventually harm South Africa's economy, culture, society, and reputation abroad. Violence has harmed South Africa's standing within the African Union (Tarisayi and Manik 2020).

Amusan and Mchunu (2017) argue that Batho Pele and Ubuntu are two principles that may best act as a focal point for common South Africans who want to reject prejudice. Amusan and Mchunu (2017) go on to say that for immigrants to be integrated into local government, they must be involved in community projects. In March 2019, the South African government released the National Action Plan to Tackle Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia, and Related Intolerance, which aims to combat this. Market research firm Ipsos and the Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC) conducted a study on anti-migrant attitudes in four provinces: Limpopo, KwaZulu-Natal, the Western Cape, and Gauteng, in order to discover answers to the challenges faced by migrants and refugees in South Africa. According to the findings, anti-xenophobia efforts should concentrate on radio and newspapers as primary sources of migration information (Gordon 2020).

As a result of the formalisation and clarification of the immigration process, Dodson and Oelofse (2000) contend that the general South African population should have more favourable attitudes toward immigration. Much can be done to raise awareness of global migration as an issue and to foster positive interactions between South Africans and immigrants from other countries.

2.4.2 IMPACT OF COVID -19

The Covid-19 pandemic impacted both migrants and South African citizens. The relief programs employed by the South African government such as the Social Relief of Distress grant of R350 ($20) and UIF payments, were also made available to migrants; However, even though some refugees received food parcels, they remained excluded from these initiatives (Mukumbang et al. 2020). The reason for this exclusion was that only documented/regular migrants were eligible for the Covid-19 social relief funds; undocumented/irregular migrants were not eligible for the grant. Regulations during the Covid-19 lockdowns negatively impacted livelihoods of black women in South Africa, particularly vulnerable migrant populations and female asylum-seekers, who were excluded from short-term financial relief packages (Mulu and Mbanza 2021). Mukumbang et al. (2020) argues that, in order to establish effective responses to the effects of Covid-19, the South African government was supposed to collaborate with and involve migrant-led organisations, civil society, international organisations, and scholars who work with migrant communities. By excluding this segment of our society from the national response safety nets, we run the risk of encouraging unhealthy coping mechanisms that worsen mental health problems and other health issues.

According to Mulu and Mbanza (2021), the containment measures taken by the South African government to stop the spread of Covid-19 significantly increased the amount of care that women seeking asylum and refugees provided for their families while also raising the risk of paid work. These women's strategies for coping with the pandemic varied depending on their socioeconomic and demographic make-up, level of education, type of employment, status as South African residents, and type of entrepreneurial activity (Mulu and Mbanza 2021). According to Mulu and Mbanza (2021), the Covid-19 epidemic significantly harmed the lives and means of subsistence of female Congolese refugees and asylum seekers by amplifying pre-existing disparities and encouraging the emergence of new ones.

2.5 MIGRATION CHALLENGES FROM A GENDERED PERSPECTIVE

Gender has been developing as a key and crucial lens to understand migrant challenges. Authors point to the "feminization of migration" as "one of the four key trends in the age of migration

(Castles & Miller, 1993 as cited in Christou and Kofman 2022:3). This is important because women and men migrate for different reasons and also due the segregation of labour markets (Christou and Kofman 2022). Women move for a variety of reasons, including the absence of paid employment opportunities, the absence of potential life options, poverty, divorce or separation, a desire for more individual freedom, and a bringing down of social restraints on women (Beneria et al. 2012). Further, women face different challenges in integration, such as language barriers, social demands and informal participation in the labour market (Christou and Kofman 2022).

Because women are more associated with household tasks like caring for children, cooking, and cleaning among other domestic work, the majority of migrant women tend to obtain employment related to domestic work in the host countries. According to Parreñas (2000) as cited in Batisai (2016:5), domestic work, nursing, and caring for the elderly or young children are common responsibilities that emerge as more women migrate and join the workforce. Consequently, the rationale for women's low pay is deeply entrenched in their roles as wives, mothers, and caregivers, which they have commonly provided without payment (Batisai 2016).

Women frequently deal with sexually discriminated labor markets where they are only qualified for low-paying and status jobs (Sager 2012 as cited in Batisai 2016). Discrimination against women occurs on many different levels, in the workplace, and in society (Adepoju 2008). In this context, the feminisation of migration is a reflection of how many women in developing nations continue to live in poverty and are marginalised (Crush and Pendleton 2007). Government budget cuts in the social sectors have been borne by families, and female migration is rising.

2.5.1 WOMEN MIGRANT CHALLENGES IN SOUTH AFRICA

Literature on precarity and vulnerability of the migrants amongst other negative experiences of migrants and refugees in the country of South Africa also has revealed gendered challenges. Refugee women encounter many difficulties in South Africa when trying to find decent employment, and thus respond by devising survival strategies that, in most cases, push them into the informal labour market and precarious work (Smit and Rugunanan 2014). Without access to public funds and associated welfare safety nets, many women struggle with their low status (Nyamnjoh et al. 2022). Nyamnjoh et al. (2022) records how temporary permits and asylums and

gender contribute to the difficulties faced by Congolese migrant and refugee women in Cape Town. Based on her research with migrant women in Johannesburg, Kihato (2011) further reviews that migrant women's issues have been excluded from planning and the city has been viewed through a male space. Hlatshwayo (2019a) offers examples of increased violence against women and a general lack of goods and services, such as restrooms and facilities for washing and maintaining personal hygiene, being a woman in some ways increases the risk. As soon as one lands in Johannesburg, they must start the sometimes-unstable search for a job. Because they are individualised and isolated in response to this precariousness, the female employees develop precarious resistance strategies and tactics (Hlatshwayo 2019a).

According to the article by Hlatshwayo (2019b) that focused on Zimbabwean women, rape and other forms of sexual violence are risks that women must deal with both before and after they migrate to Johannesburg. The police, who are supposed to uphold and protect the law, are frequently found to be the perpetrators of various forms of violence against women. Labor unions and human rights organisations are unable to connect with the numerous migrant women because of the widespread violations of workers' and human rights (Hlatshwayo 2019b).

Women also develop specific kinds of responses to their precarity. Smit and Rugunanan's (2014) study on the daily experiences and survival strategies of female refugees from Zimbabwe, Burundi, and the Democratic Republic of the Congo argues that one of the hardest things for migrants to do is find work and a way to support themselves. Refugee women thus respond by devising survival strategies that, in most cases, push them into the informal labour market and precarious work (Smit and Rugunanan 2014). According to Nyamnjoh et al. (2022), trading can be a crucial strategy for women to generate income while avoiding the limitations of low-wage work. Networks have a significant impact on how migrant women in precarious employment in Johannesburg can get by (Hlatshwayo 2019a). In order to survive, Kihato (2011) describes how migrant women move around the city and conduct business on the streets.

The women are able to simply exist through self-employment and unofficial trade, but Nyamnjoh et al. (2022) notes that it is clear that their explicit exclusion from the labor market and their precarious status as asylum seekers place them in distinct positions. Many women struggle with

their lack of status because they lack access to public finances and related welfare safety nets. Their marginal gains, however, are completely lost in the event of a severe catastrophe, such as the Covid-19 pandemic, placing them in a very precarious and uncertain situation.

According to Westermann et al. (2005), women may be better at building social capital through cohesive work groups. More specifically, women's participation in social networks that cut across boundaries of nation, ethnicity, race, language, class, and religious affiliation determines their access to support. If they are unable to create and manipulate the networks available to them, they will be unable to create a sustainable livelihood for themselves and their families (Owen 2015). Women find comfort, compassion, and understanding of their situation in the church and the "body of Christ" because they may be unable to establish a consistent presence in secular social networks. According to the deprivation theory by Robbins (2004) as cited in Owen (2015), working-class women frequent Pentecostal churches as a result of their difficult financial situation.

2.6 MIGRANT STRATEGIES AND URBAN SOLIDARITIES

2.6.1 INFORMAL EMPLOYMENT

As reviewed above, lack of opportunity structures, lack of systems to assist migrants and refugees; and lack of productive capacity, propel them into the informal sector and precarious work as survival strategies (Smit and Rugunanan 2014). In accordance with this viewpoint, Owen (2015) claims that unlike South Africans, men and women migrants are not guaranteed employment simply because of their nationality hence they end up working as security guards, pastors, waiters, waitresses, computer technicians, cleaners in local businesses, cashiers in nearby supermarkets, attendants at gas pumps, barbers in local barbershops, or childminders. Others are forced to engage in criminal activity, such as drug dealing, in order to make ends meet, while others are jobless and destitute but are still able to survive. Additionally, there are numerous barriers and challenges that migrant workers must overcome in South Africa in order to work in both the formal and informal economies (Owen 2015). Despite xenophobia, Tevera (2013) has shown that Zimbabweans and migrants rely on street trading and other kinds of informal entrepreneurship in urban spaces.

2.6.2 MIGRANT ASSOCIATIONS

Migrants also form migrant associations and groups in South Africa to help them to get by. In the literature, these have been referred to as Home Town Associations (HTAs) which are diasporic groups that migrants can connect to in the host country and which also help to facilitate migrant challenges such as burials, remittances and other transnational connections (Caglar 2006). Amisi (2006) found that Congolese refugees in Durban use social network associations they form as a response to the societal exclusion, and that such associations act as a social support system against uncertain aspects like illness, police incarceration, and fatality. Pineteh (2011) has demonstrated that while Cameroonian migrant groups in Johannesburg support solidarity amongst their members, political and social conflicts and other fractures may arise with them. Hungwe (2015) describes how Zimbabweans in Johannesburg form groups through social networks, which helps them by providing information on how to find employment in South Africa and by assisting one another with housing needs.

2.6.3 MIGRANT NETWORKS AND SOCIAL CAPITAL

While the concept of social capital is theoretically reviewed below, this section discusses examples of social capital and networks for migrants. Migrant associations are also part of the social capital and networks that migrants develop and rely on to migrate and to manage everyday challenges. Vawda (2009) earlier asserted that African immigrants arrived in the city with little knowledge of how they will support themselves, aside from the assumption that it must be better than what they left behind. However, establishing social networks that cut across racial, economic, gender, and national boundaries is essential for survival. Owen's (2015) research in Muizenburg, Cape Town showed how Congolese migrants, for example, were compelled to actively seek out social connections in order to increase their chances of achieving success on the job and in other areas of their lives. Failure to connect with others, and more importantly, the "right" ones, could prevent their success and livelihoods. Owen (2015) also showed that Congolese migrants lacking in social ties fail to gain full acceptance within Congolese migrant community which may lead to poverty.

According to Rugunanan (2015), migrants' decisions to settle in particular areas of South Africa are significant to them in their quest for a sense of belonging and community. Due to the resources and sense of security that they offer, "ethnic" communities served as a haven for migrant retreat. Some places are specifically chosen because they are convenient, have easy access to a large number of places of worship, offer employment and educational opportunities, and are cosy places to call home. One of the main justifications given by migrants for choosing South Africa as a destination is the country's economic potential, tolerance of other religions, and freedom to practise one's religion (Rugunanan 2015). In immigrant communities, social capital may act as a unifying force.

2.7 HOSPITALITY AND SOLIDARITY

2.7.1 DEFINING SOLIDARITY AND HOSPITALITY

Hospitality relates to the notion of welcoming the "other" and a relationship between migrants as guests in a relationship with hosts (Aparna and Schapendonk 2020, Landau 2012). Aparna and Schapendonk (2020:226) offer examples of hosts as "states, local organisations, activist movements, churches." Perumal (2015:86) argues that "subscription to an ethics of hospitality" and care of migrant and refugee groups in South Africa involves an "integrated suite of socio-ecological systems" involving NGOs, faith-based organisations and others in the "process and provision of protection." However, hospitality also has its contradictions and "limits"; Friese (2010) explains "practices of hospitality" can become a "site of contestation" due to tensions between sovereignty and citizenship versus "cosmopolitan norms" (Friese 2010:335). Chamberlain (2020) also describes hospitality's limitations; he draws from Derrida's conception of hospitality which shows contradictions between hospitality that is "pure" versus "conditional" (Chamberlain 2020:62). He therefore argues for a "solidarity framework" that because it "moves away from the hierarchical host–guest relation" (Chamberlain 2020:75).

Solidarity refers to an action where activists, host communities, and those in need of help, in this case, migrants and refugees, come together or coexist to foster cohesiveness and support for the migrants and refugees in these areas they inhabit (Bauder 2022). Bauder's (2020) review describes some different perspectives and contexts in describing the shaping of solidarity, including: "faith-

based communities" and diasporas (1069), "self-interest" and "burden sharing" (1069), "labour-organizing" (1070), "interdependencies" (1071), and "human dignity and equality" (Kerwin, 2016: 91) as cited in Bauder (2020:1070).

While recognising that there are philosophical debates regarding various aspects of these terms, the use of these terms in the thesis involves the welcoming and support for migrants especially those who may be vulnerable, by the communities in which they live, for various reasons.

2.7.2 THE NOTION OF SOLIDARITY AND SANCTUARY GLOBALLY

Urban sanctuary is a term used to describe an effort to be welcoming, to offer migrants and refugees some protection, as well as to help them with food, housing, and clothing, and to share spaces within them within communities (Bauder 2019). San Francisco's sanctuary city policies date back to the 1980s, when the city refused to work with federal authorities to protect Central American immigrants (Bauder 2019). Some notable elements of urban sanctuary can be found in Asia, Canada, and the United Kingdom (Bauder 2021). Some of the names given to such places are solidarity, sanctuary, and shelter cities. According to research conducted in Berlin, Freiburg, and Zurich, Germany, and Switzerland, urban solidarity extends beyond the inclusion of migrants and refugees within the city's borders (Bauder 2021). Many cities in the Global North are becoming more active in the protection and integration of vulnerable international migrants and refugees (Okafor 2021). While many migrants in South African cities face xenophobic, exclusion, and intolerance, there is some noteworthy research that has discussed ways that solidarity emerged "in the city" towards and among refugees and migrants.

2.7.3 SOLIDARITY AND HOSPITALITY IN SOUTH AFRICA

As reviewed, many cities in the Global North, known by various names, including solidarity, sanctuary, and refuge cities, are taking on a greater role in protecting and integrating vulnerable international migrants and refugees. However, it is vital to put into consideration of how hospitality and solidarity are enacted in the African context. Bauder (2019) has argued that more research can continue to be conducted on African urban policies and practices to better identify the existing spaces of migrant hospitality and solidarity. According to Landau (2018), as people migrate, the

mix of recent arrivals and long-time residents who live side by side in Africa's cities and urban fringes continues to diversify as they search for safety and advancement.

One term used in the literature is conviviality; Chekero and Morreira's (2020) study investigated conviviality through a Shona concept of "hushamwari," which means friendship, to demonstrate how people create kin like reciprocal friendships to create a sense of "mutuality" between people even when the larger social context is still hostile to outsiders. Murara's (2020) work with migrants in Cape Town draws from the work of Nyamnjoh (2017) who asserts that the key to conviviality is not the absence of differences but rather the capacity to accept and live with them. While the thesis does not employ from this concept, it relates to migrant life in Joe Slovo, where Zimbabweans have created spaces for regular interactions between individuals from various backgrounds. (Murara 2020) draws on this idea of "incompleteness" (Nyamnjoh 2017), which she argues is also pervasive in their daily lives, and can be used to show the capacity to resolve disputes (Murara 2020). They have grown to appreciate diversity rather than seeing it as a drawback in their socioeconomically underprivileged neighbourhood as they learn about and make use of the social opportunities provided by non-South Africans in their communities. However, solidarity is not always able to develop as hoped. Morreira (2010) has shown how Zimbabweans imagined solidarity and hospitality from South Africans based on shared struggles, only to find out "that their notions of regionalism and commonality were disregarded in favour of notions of sovereignty and difference" (Morreira 2010:434). Morreira continues to ask about the voices of migrants and whether solidarity can be achieved (Morreira 2010: 448). Batisai (2022), examines the possibility of socioeconomic and political regional cooperation made possible by migration. Rugunanan's (2022) study conducted in Fordsburg, Johannesburg, reveals how social networks and social capital that grow out of sharing perilous journeys to South Africa as well as from sharing economic and cultural spaces become the solidarities that serve as a glue to bind and support migrants in communities.Overall, as this literature shows as policies and practices as well as social contexts are in flux and require local scale and context. Therefore, continued research on solidarity and hospitality practices in Cape Town, South Africa is needed which is scaled as at the local level. Furthermore, as Bauder (2020) has shown, solidarity can take different forms, and therefore, this research aims to focus on the space of the church in Joe Slovo to give more insight on religious spaces of solidarity for migrants.

2.7.4 RELIGIOUS HOSPITALITY

Kirillova et al.'s (2014) work has shown that religious communities view hospitality as harmony and often extend this within religious communities and then extend these outward to strangers. Such a widespread understanding of hospitality is supported by religious teachings that also have an impact on how people in host countries perceive and exercise hospitality. Friese (2010:324) reviews that "hospitality has been a religious and ethical duty, a sacred commandment of charity and generosity to assign strangers an – albeit ambivalent – place in the community." There has been a significant literature on solidarity and hospitality in religious spaces for migrants and refugees in a global context, as these spaces appear to be places of safety and relief. Research on migrants in America (Hagan 2008) as cited in Owen (2015) has shown that religion is perceived as an important form of daily survival and that a migrant's active participation in religion is what allows them to form social networks.

Settler and Mpofu (2017:16) review literature that shows a relationship between migration, religious and "social responsibility." They argue that religion can be a "source of meaning-making and of belonging that transcends ideas of citizenship and nation" (Settler and Mpofu 2017:19). According to Nyamnjoh (2013), the church is viewed as the one who initiates steps to persuade the government to pass appropriate legislation to protect migrants. As a result, migrants see the church as a bastion of liberty. Furthermore, according to Mpofu (2018), migrants see the church as a place where they belong because they experience exclusion and hostility in the places where they currently reside. Religious networks, both within and between communities, have been seen as promoting Christian universalism and reducing social exclusion, which creates alternative forms of belonging besides ethnic or kin groups (Levitt 2003). According to Kumalo (2018), migrants in receiving countries have a divinely granted right to live in peace and be accepted into the local communities, and attending church is significant for: access to information about housing and employment opportunities, spiritual guidance, protection from God, and making new friends. Churchgoers frequently come from the same social network that offers employment and housing (Hungwe 2015). Migrants create rotating social and grocery clubs in these churches. Since people often give their allegiance first to the church, the networks that are formed at church frequently

end up being just as strong, if not stronger, than those formed at home. There are times when people favour "church ties over family ties" (Hungwe 2015:206).

Hungwe's (2015) research also describes how in Johannesburg and Zimbabwe, pastors officiate at marriages and funerals. For their own members, they also pray for employment and housing. They can offer guidance, counselling, and decision-making on matters that seem complicated to immigrants at times. In churches that were predominately Shona and Ndebele Zimbabweans, migrants tended to be evangelical or protestant (Hungwe 2015). The pastor adopted the role of a parent by reprimanding his "flock," providing "while offering counselling, advice and sourcing money to pay rent for some church members" (Hungwe 2015:207). Chovere's (2011 :79) description of hospitality to Zimbabwean churchgoers in South Africa "offers protection and respect to strangers" while also sustaining "fundamental moral bonds among the Church members."

Any person can find comfort in the church, and even "illegal" immigration is not necessarily seen as a crime. According to Hungwe (2015), instead of advising some undocumented members to return to Zimbabwe and apply for passports, legalising their stay, the church focuses on praying for "illegal" members so that God will protect them from the police. As a result, the church develops into a haven of comfort and acceptance for undocumented immigrants.

2.8 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.8.1 INTRODUCTION AND OVERVIEW

As reviewed, there has been an increase in literature reflection on kinds of hospitality and solidarity, and related practices in support of migrants in urban spaces. However, underlying these migrant strategies in facing their challenges in the host society, social capital is a way that migrants can connect and build their knowledge and sense of security. Therefore, the thesis has reflected on social capital as it relates to solidarity and hospitality because it fosters awareness and connections for Zimbabweans in their places of residence as well as even before they migrate. As this section will review, the concept of social capital examines how people build relationships and gain from them.

2.9 DEFINING SOCIAL CAPITAL

Social capital has been defined in many different ways by well-known academics including Bourdieu, Coleman, Putnam, Woolcock and Narayan. Bourdieu (1986) asserts that social capital entails the collective ownership of resources by members of the same group of influence, and that such relationships are based on extracting gains or profits while giving with the expectation of receiving more in return. According to Coleman (1988), social capital is defined by its purpose and can take on any shape or consist of a variety of variables or factors, all of which contribute to influencing how people act in interpersonal relationships.

Coleman (1994) also explains that there are both disadvantaged and privileged members of the group, and that these groups may include family, friends, and relatives. In this sense everyone benefits because social capital is a public good, and they all have access to resources (Coleman, 1994). Social capital is defined by Woolcock and Narayan (2000) as networks that enable people to act collectively. Putnam (2000) states that social capital is a result of human networks or links that are strengthened by trust, unity, and reciprocity and protected by rules and penalties. This definition by Putnam (2000) is pertinent to this study because it may be applied to understand how friendships develop between South African churchgoers and Zimbabwean migrants, the importance of trust in the process, and how church doctrines shape these relationships.

In this mini-thesis the analysis of social capital largely draws from Putnam's (2000) discussion that social capital serves four crucial purposes. First, Putnam (2000) notes that networks and social norms are the mechanisms that make it simple to resolve social problems. Second, Putnam contends that "social transactions are less expensive" when people are dependable and willing to place their trust in others (Putnam 2000: 288). Next, Putnam (2000) contends that social capital enables people to develop a shared consciousness in which we recognise the interconnectedness of our lives and outcomes. Last but not least, Putnam (2000) connects philanthropy and altruism to social capital. Using these descriptions, the social capital concept may also help solidarity organisations and governmental bodies develop ideas and better understanding of ways to include immigrants and refugees in future social protection programs.

BONDING/ THICK AND BRIDGING/THIN SOCIAL CAPITAL

Bonding social capital refers to thick bonds between people who are close or kin to one another, such as blood relatives, close friends, or people who share the same religious beliefs (Woolcock and Narayan 2000). As resources are kept within the same circles and exposure is discouraged, this type of social capital is more inward-looking, homogeneous, narrow, and restrictive (Putnam 2000). For instance, well-known successful families will never reveal their secret to success to the general public but instead keep it a secret among themselves. Such organisations foster group cohesion, which can effectively mobilise resources and people to work toward a common goal (Putnam 2001).

Thin relationships, distant connections between people, such as those between distant associates and coworkers, are just a few examples of what bridging social capital represents (Woolcock 2001). In this way social capital refers to horizontal connections that span many social groups and societies within bridging (Woolcock 2001). While bridging relations are more inclusive than bonding, which excludes outsiders, they also include those people from different racial affiliations, origins, and cultural beliefs (Putnam 2001). The primary goal of bridging links is to obtain more resources, information, and skills as opposed to the limited advantages that come with being part of a group of people who are alike. As a result, relationships are more open and adaptable. While bonding is based on ethnicity and nationality and persists even in the absence of migration, bridging is external or transcends ethnicity and nationality.

Putnam's discussion of social capital was inspired by his work in Bowling Alone (2000), in which he sought to explain why social ties and interactions between Americans were declining. Social capital is defined as links between people's social networks as well as reciprocity and reliability (Putnam 2001). Putnam (2000) expands on the concepts of bonding capital and bridging capital. The type of connection or relationship that exists between two actors can be thought of as the primary distinction between social capital that bonds and that bridges. The kind of social capital is determined by the type of tie. Moreover, organisational traits such as "trust, norms, and networks that can improve the efficiency of society by facilitating coordinated actions," (Putnam 1993:167).

This theory is grounded on the principle of solidarity social ties in which individuals benefit from social capital through reciprocal behaviours. Linking social capital to solidarity, bonding social capital, according to Putnam, "is good for supporting specific reciprocity and mobilising solidarity" (Putnam 2000: 22).

Furthermore, migrants and South African citizens in religious spaces can form bonds. Exclusive connections or affiliations—where membership is subject to limitations based on, for example, race, gender, class, religion or kinship—are the foundation of bonding social capital (Knudsen et al. 2007; Putnam 2000).

2.10 DRAWBACKS OF SOCIAL CAPITAL

Social capital may not be seen as always advantageous and positive; instead, it has different sides (Wilson 2006). According to Wuthnow (2002), practicing a particular religion is linked to having powerful acquaintances and friends. However, being religious may encourage interaction with people of the same kind rather than allowing one to enter higher social strata, and this may act to insulate some individuals from networks of influence and power (Owen 2015).

In contrast to bridging capital, which refers to connections between diverse groups, bonding capital is defined as relationships between people who share common interests. Due to the nature of social capital that bonds people together, which is common in most churches, non-churchgoers are therefore seen as outsiders because they do not share the same interests as churchgoers (Owen 2015). For the most marginalised members of a group, ties to migrant networks and families can occasionally result in co-ethnic exploitation, trapping them in an endless cycle of debt on both a material and emotional level (Portes and Landolt 2000). Social networks may offer both advantages and disadvantages. While social networks may offer helpful services like child care and emergency cash, Woolcock and Narayan (2000) point out that they may also place significant noneconomic demands on members' sense of obligation and commitment. Furthermore, Robert Putnam's (2000) theory of social capital emphasises community and democracy as well as volunteerism and civic engagement. Despite how positive and forward-thinking this may sound; the majority of migrants and refugees may not benefit from such engagements and it may even worsen their precarity because the majority of them do not own homes and are continually in need of income. In addition, Hungwe's (2015) study conducted in Johannesburg among Zimbabwean

migrants notes that social networks derived from social capital can undermine the lives of other migrants due to misinformation. The stories that prospective migrants hear about Johannesburg fuel their desire to immigrate and these immigrants, however, occasionally have a tendency to misinform their family or minimize the challenges they face abroad (Van Nieuwenhuyze 2008 as cited in Hungwe 2015:212). Due to the mutual trust between them, the majority of prospective migrants accept any information given by migrants already residing in the host countries. Because of its connection to reciprocity and the widespread and localised advantages that result from social or generalised trust, Putnam (1993, 2000) sees trust as a key indicator of social capital. Additionally, most migrants both those who are considering immigrating and those who are already there will have known one another for a long time perhaps since childhood. This, along with their social ties, will help them trust one another and disregard any unfavourable information. Therefore, Putnam (1993) compares social capital to other types of capital in that it will increase with use and decrease with inactivity.

2.11 REWARDS OF SOCIAL CAPITAL FOR MIGRANTS

Despite the aforementioned drawbacks of social capital, social networks formed through social capital help migrants and refugees by establishing cultural norms, providing information on chances for saves and investing, and making suggestions. In line with the foregoing, Putnam (1993) sees social capital as a public good that is not owned privately and can be used freely. By using a social solidarity group, migrants and refugees have access to information about the host communities (Meseguer and Burgess 2014).

Furthermore, social capital assists integration in the receiving country. In addition to providing psychosocial support, networks reduce the costs of migration (Dolfin and Genicot 2010). Migrant networks help with the provision of jobs, housing, food, security, and even funding for businesses in the host nation in addition to assisting with the acquisition of information about the migration process itself (McGregor 2010). Networks can benefit prospective migrants by lowering the cost and hazards of migrating and increasing the expected return on investment. According to Putnam (2000:134), social capital depends on the trust that underlies reciprocity. Increased levels of giving and civic engagement are just two of the many advantages that can result from a network, community, or society built on a strong foundation of trust.

2.12 MIGRANT SOCIAL CAPITAL IN SOUTH AFRICA

2.12.1 SOCIAL CAPITAL: SEEKING HOSPITALITY AND FORMING SOLIDARITIES

As reviewed, other researchers on migration, including Owen (2015) Hungwe (2015) and Rugunanan (2015, 2022), have used the social capital theory in their work. In this thesis, social capital serves as a background to understanding kinds of hospitality and solidarity shown to migrants and refugees. Social capital as a concept is useful in that it sheds light on the reciprocal social bonds that people form and from which they gain. For instance, solidarity ties between South African citizens and Zimbabwean migrants and refugees in churches in Joe Slovo show the gains made through such ties. This chapter provided a comprehensive overview of migration, solidarity, and hospitality, as well as a discussion of the role of social capital in connecting migrants to spaces of solidarity and hospitality. The methodology is described in detail in Chapter 3.

CHAPTER THREE: RESEARCH DESIGN & METHODOLOGY

3.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter describes the study's methodology and research design. The main factors used to determine the methodological choice were the aims and objectives of the study. In addition, the chapter explains why a qualitative research strategy is deemed suitable for the study. The chapter concludes by discussing the different phases of the research, including the participant selection procedure, the data collection procedure, as well as the analysis of the data and description of the case study area.

3.2 RESEARCH DESIGN

According to Denzin and Lincoln (2005), the type of the research question and the topic under investigation determine the research methodology or strategy. The research methodology employed in an investigation should therefore be viewed as a tool to address the research question. The qualitative approach is defined as a way of collecting, arranging, and analysing data from an individual or group of individuals for a specific topic (McMillan and Schumacher 2001).

The methodology of qualitative research was chosen because it supports comprehension and interpretation of the intentions and meanings underlying social context. Through qualitative research, deeper understanding of opinions, trends, and subjective thought processes can be gained (Mohajan 2018). Furthermore, qualitative research was employed in the study for illustrative examples and narratives. Qualitative research provides a more in-depth assessment of the thoughts, feelings and experiences of participants as well as a reflection and interpretation of their action. In this study, the Zimbabweans migrants and refugees were given an opportunity to fully express their thoughts and share experiences in South Africa. A qualitative endeavour requires an interpretative, true-to-life approach to its issue and attempts to make sense of or explain anomalies in their surroundings (Lincoln & Denzin 2003). Moreover, since qualitative research is descriptive in nature, the researcher is free to describe participant experiences in a way that either supports or challenges the study's underlying theoretical presumptions (Meyer 2001). The detailed justification for choosing the particular approaches and methods is outlined in the following paragraphs.

3.3 DATA SOURCES

This study triangulated primary and secondary data sources to gather information required to explore the forms of urban solidarity and hospitality extended to Zimbabwean migrants and refugees. Primary data is information that researchers have obtained directly from key participants using techniques interviews and observations. Secondary data are pieces of information gathered from sources other than those designed by the individual researcher. In this study, the researcher used interviews and observations for primary data collection, and peer reviewed articles, theses, books and book chapters and government reports for secondary data.

3.4 SAMPLE AND SAMPLING TECHNIQUE

Ten interviewees who were Zimbabwean migrants and refugees made up the main sample size for this study. Sampling is a mechanism of choosing designated participants from a whole population (Chambers and Skinner 2003); this is done due to the impracticality of studying the whole identified population, due to time and financial constraints. Typically, research participants are chosen because they can articulate their experiences well and are able to provide rich descriptions of them, providing rich information that can challenge and deepen the researcher's understanding (Crabtree and Miller 2022).

In this investigative study, the sampling strategy combined the purposive and snowball approaches. The concept behind purposeful sampling is to concentrate on those who have particular characteristics and are better suited to assist with the study. The participants' competence and credibility were known to the researcher (Crossman 2020). Initial contact with prospective participants was made by the researcher with migrants and refugees she knew from church she attends who live in Joe Slovo, and Zimbabweans in a network who attend "White Garments" churches, Nigerian churches and Zion Church (explained in the data analysis chapter). In order to achieve this, participants who matched the requirements for study inclusion were actively chosen (Marshall and Rossman 2014, Crabtree and Miller 2022) who would be open to sharing their accounts of hospitality. The participants who were included in this study were Zimbabwean migrants and refugees, men and women, aged between 26 and 50 years old. This was because the researcher sought migrants who were adults and may have spent some time working as well as being involved in the church.

The snowball sampling methodology is a method in which each individual questioned is invited to recommend more people for interviews. The sample was subsequently increased by asking the identified participants to suggest additional Zimbabwean migrants and refugees they knew who might be willing to offer pertinent feedback on the research topic (Marshall and Rossman 2014). It is used when a researcher is having difficulty finding prepared subjects. It is also worth noting that this type of sample technique is typically used while conducting sensitive research, such as on migrants and refugee issues.

Furthermore, considering the issues of deportation of undocumented migrants and xenophobia against migrants and refugees in South Africa, the researcher spent one month familiarising herself with the participants in order for them to gain the researcher's trust and for them to be assured that the information they provide will not be used for anything other than the purpose of this study. The participants were cautious and asked questions to ensure that they were safe to connect with and provide information to the researcher. In this study, while sixteen migrants and refugees were interviewed, the data analysis focused on a narrowed sample of ten key participants in Joe Slovo's churches, and at least one of them recommended the researcher to another migrant or refugee.

3.4.1 DATA SATURATION

Prior to conducting a study, it is impossible to determine the precise number of participants in qualitative research. The degree to which the research question has been addressed influences the number of participants in qualitative research (McLeod 2002). A researcher can come to the conclusion that additional interviews are not necessary when the data has reached a point of saturation, or when new themes have stopped emerging (Orbele 2002). While this mini-thesis chose a small sample, interviews determined that the research question could be addressed effectively because after the first 8 interviews, similar responses were recorded confirming that the data had reached an acceptable saturation point.

The researcher went to the study area and conducted an initial 6 interviews which provided a basis for developing new questions regarding religious networks and spaces. When the researcher revisited again the research area, she interviewed 8 people. She felt the need to interview more people for the purpose of answering the research questions adequately. Hence the researcher

interviewed 2 more people totalling to 10 interviews, and it was discovered that after the first 8 interviews, similar responses were recorded. The researcher made the decision to then move on to the analysis.

3.5 DATA COLLECTION TECHNIQUE

The importance of context in data analysis is emphasised in qualitative research (Denzin & Lincoln 2011). The participants had a say in where their interviews would take place throughout the research process, but especially during the data collection stage. Each participant was therefore interviewed at a location and time that suited his or her preferences. The individuals were interviewed either at their residences or at their church venues. The majority of the participants said they would prefer the interviews to be conducted after church, in the afternoon at their places of worship.

The researcher travelled to Joe Slovo to conduct in-person interviews with the 10 individuals in the study area. The participant's home language, Shona, was occasionally used to express some idioms and sentences during the researcher's interviews, which were conducted in English with a mix of Shona. Despite the participants' native tongue not being English, their proficiency in it is high because of their professional standing and level of education. Also, both the researcher and the respondents are from Zimbabwe, and Shona is the country's primary language, followed by Ndebele; however, in this case, both the researcher and the respondents speak Shona. As a result, there was no communication barrier because the researcher understood the languages of the respondents, and the respondents were also encouraged to feel free to communicate in whatever language they felt most comfortable. By conducting the interviews in English and partly Shona, the researcher was able to record the interviews without having to translate most of the comments. Even so, information was translated during the transcription stage in cases where participants spoke in Shona for the benefit of those who do not speak Shona. In addition to verbal data, the researcher could also gather information from the tone of the participant's voice, which helped the researcher ascertain when the participant felt uneasy about a particular question or decided not to respond.

The researcher's positionality and the participants' social context—their religion or ethnicity, gender, and social standing—played a critical role in determining the research process (Orbele

2002). Because the researcher and participants shared a similar social background, it was simpler for the researcher to develop a connection with them and establish a secure space where the participants could assemble the significance of their experiences without feeling judged. The participants were informed of the research background and the ethical issues surrounding participation.

3.5.1 SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEWS

This study is qualitative in nature; therefore, the primary source of data instrument was with semi-structured interviews to collect information from migrants and refugees in Joe Slovo, Cape Town. A semi-structured interview has predetermined questions that are derived from the study's research questions (Cohen and Crabtree 2006). The semi-structured interview offers interviewers clear guidelines and has the potential to produce trustworthy, comparable qualitative data. The researcher hoped to gain a deeper understanding of the participants' experiences through dialogue and through the language they use in their spaces by selecting semi-structured interviews as a method of data collection. The interviewing technique enables the researcher to look for details and delve deeper into an issue. As a result, the reporting and analysis of the data reflect the participants' points of view. Since the researcher is a Christian immigrant from Zimbabwe, she was able to put herself on an even footing with the participants by sharing her own experiences.

A voice recorder was used to capture the responses of the participants. The researcher was able to conduct interviews with women from 4 different churches in the Joe Slovo township, which will be described in the data analysis chapter. These include the Seventh-Day Adventist church, the White Garments church, a Nigerian church and the Zion church.

The interviews were conducted over the course of one month. Six interviews were initially conducted with migrants in the informal sector, such as women trading on the street or doing hair braiding. During these interviews, the researcher became interested in the expressions of hospitality they said they received from a churches and faith-based organisations. The researcher decided to narrow the focus on hospitality in religious spaces, namely Christian churches, with a focus on 4 churches in Joe Slovo. Eight further semi-structured interviews were conducted in conjunction with the period of literature review two weeks after the initial interviews. It became clear that more interviews needed to be conducted during the literature review and when the data

analysis stage got underway. An extra two interviews were conducted to see if the new themes found in the literature and during the data analysis would also show up there. The interviews were generally an hour long on average.

3.5.2 ADVANTAGES AND DISADVANTAGES OF SEMI- STRUCTURED INTERVIEWS

According to Adams (2015) semi-structured interviews let the interviewer to ask and explore questions in order to learn about the independent thinking of each member in a group or class. These are useful in asking probing, open-ended questions about issues that respondents would not be frank about in a focus group. However, semi-structured interviews may be more time-consuming, labour-intensive, and necessitate interviewer expertise (Adams 2015). Preparing for interviews, setting up interviews, performing interviews, and analysing interviews requires time and effort to execute. The method also include the laborious process of examining a large volume of notes and, at times, many hours of transcripts.

3.6 METHOD OF DATA ANALYSIS

Using narrative analysis, the participant-collected qualitative data was examined. According to Cohen et al. (2011:477), narrative analysis is the process of figuring out themes and drawing conclusions from the information gathered in a study. In support, Creswell et al. (2007) note that narrative analysis was used to analyse qualitative data gathered from participant observation in the field, and interviews.

3.7 SECONDARY SOURCES

The study also perused secondary sources to investigate the themes and terms relating to urban solidarity and sanctuary for migrants and refugees in South Africa, starting with Cape Town and adding literature on other South African cities as well. Key word searches were expanded to include terms more commonly found for the African setting, such as social inclusion, economic inclusion, charity, and social support, as the majority of work on “urban sanctuary” as a concept has been based in North and South America and Europe. The literature review was supported by an SSHRC grant (Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council) by Principal Investigator Harald Bauder and Co-Investigator Leah Koskimaki, which is titled “Urban Sanctuary, Migrant

Solidarity and Hospitality in Global Perspective." Literature was found via a variety of online library databases, as well as by exploring reference lists of related publications and uploading it to a Zotero database. This way the researcher could gain understanding of related the literature on challenges, strategies and areas of hospitality and solidarity for migrants and refugees, including food security, social inclusion, precarity, xenophobia, hospitality, and solidarity in religious spaces in the African setting.

3.8 RESEARCH ETHICS

Ethics refers to principles that should be observed before conducting research with human beings (De Vos 2005). Before starting the data collection, the researcher obtained ethical approval from the University of the Western Cape's HSSREC (Humanities and Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee), Senate Higher Degrees Committee, and the Faculty of Economics and Management Sciences (EMS) Higher Degrees Committee. The researcher also adhered to UWC's anti-plagiarism ethical rules, which declare that plagiarism is an academic offense.

Universities take great precautions to safeguard the safety and dignity of research participants given the significance of ethics in conducting research and the difficulties associated with doing so (Silverman 2009). The research adopted a formal ethical procedure, such as obtaining participants' written consent, to ensure that research ethics were upheld throughout the research process.

To ensure that the study was carried out in an appropriate manner, several ethical considerations were made (Babbie & Mouton 2001). According to Bryman (2012), the four main needs of ethical norms to be addressed in research are to avoid: harming participants; violating participants' explicit agreement; infringing upon their confidentially; and engaging in dishonest research. In this study, the researcher uphold confidentiality by ensuring that all data acquired remained anonymous and were solely used for the purposes of the study. Furthermore, pseudonyms were used in presenting direct quotations from the participants who took part in this study.

The researcher also upheld the ethics of informed consent. All participants gave both written and verbal consent to be interviewed for the research and to take part in it in order to follow ethical guidelines for conducting research. Therefore, after being approached by the researcher and having

the purpose and methodology of the study explained to them (Neuman and Wiegand 2000), the participants voluntarily agreed to take part in the study. According to Cohen et al. (2011:67), all parties participating in the study must be informed, either verbally or in writing, in order to obtain their consent. The participants were informed of the purpose of the study and given information about their right to withdraw at any time during the interview. None of the participants had any issues with the recording of the interviews, and consent to record the interview was also obtained from the participants.

Due to the intimate nature of the research interview's subject matter, the researcher thought it was appropriate to emphasise the information's confidentiality and build rapport with the participants early on. The researcher explained the goal of the study to the participants while also sharing her background and some of her personal experiences as a Christian immigrant from Zimbabwe living in South Africa. As a result, the participants were more willing to share their stories because trust had been established.

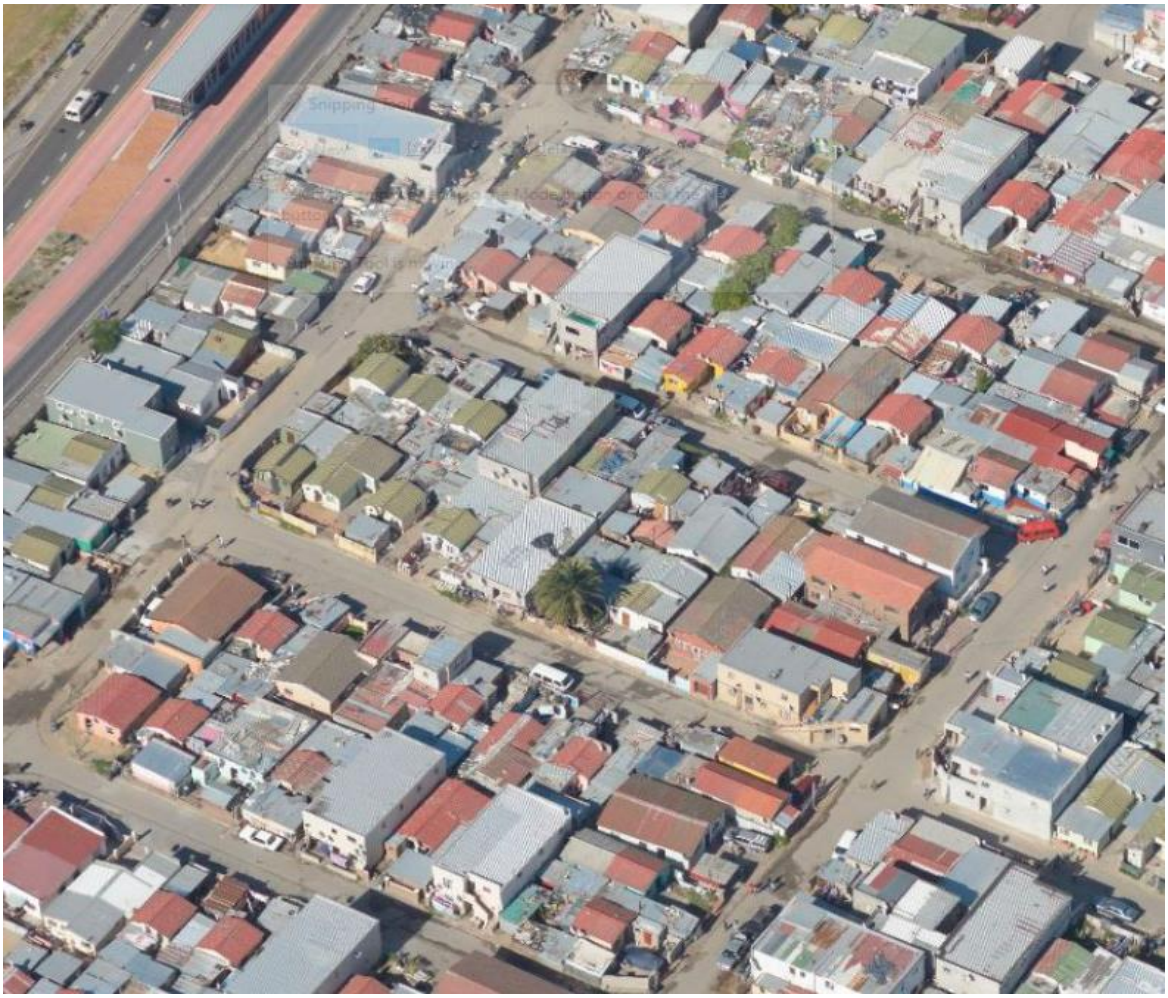
Both the interviewees and the researcher debriefed by discussing the interview process and its effects after the interviews were completed to ensure the participants were not traumatised or left requiring further support. Of interest is that many of the participants conveyed they enjoyed the interviews. They were directed to places whether they could receive psychological counselling or migrant support if they needed it at any point after the study. Following the research, none of the participants asked for counselling. All of the participants appeared to participate freely in the conversations.

The researcher hopes that this study will contribute to the growing body of work on international and South African literature that has been written about hospitality and solidarity for migrants. It is also hoped that the results, despite the fact that they cannot be generalised, will benefit society as a whole by shedding light on the difficulties faced by immigrants and refugees in host communities in South Africa and helping society as a whole comprehend these experiences.

3.9 THE CASE STUDY AREA

Joe Slovo is a small township that was established in 2006 and is distinguished for its widespread backyard renting (Turok et al. 2019). Due to the low cost of living, it is a popular destination for migrants and refugees from Zimbabwe.

Figure 1 Joe Slovo Township



Source: Joe Slovo Park Backyard Study Executive Summary Report Date: 20/06/2018

3.9.1 LOCATION OF JOE SLOVO COMMUNITY

The informal community of Joe Slovo is less than 8 kilometres from the heart of Cape Town, South Africa. It is located in Milnerton close to Phoenix and Summergreens suburbs and it is very close to the Century City mall. The study area of Joe Slovo comprised of people from a variety of ethnic backgrounds, including Xhosa, Ndebele, and Zulu, among others, as well as foreign migrants and

refugees from nations including Mozambique, Malawi, Zimbabwe, and the Democratic Republic of the Congo (Ndinda and Ndhlovu 2016).

Joe Slovo area was chosen because of vast numbers of Zimbabwean immigrants residing in the area and because the researcher used to worship at the Seventh-Day Adventist church in Joe Slovo, Milnerton, Cape Town. Following this, Joe Slovo experienced a quick densification through the addition of rental homes in backyards and other places, the expansion of churches, and a large influx of foreign migrants and refugees, primarily from Zimbabwe, attracted by the area's low cost of living, rental homes and, social and economic benefits. According to Newbold (2007) and Garcia (2018), migrants tend to cluster together and settle close to places where they can find economic opportunity. Adding on, most immigrants and refugees view Joe Slovo as safe and convenient to amenities because it is located in the centre of safe communities or suburbs like Phoenix, Summergreens, and other suburbs in Milnerton.

3.10 RESEARCH LIMITATION

The study aimed to determine and describe specific experiences of hospitality and solidarity in the church religious spaces of the communities where migrants and refugees live in Cape Town. The study initially hoped to include more areas and participants; However, for the mini-thesis, the scope and timing of the qualitative study did not allow for adequate consideration of all the churches in Joe Slovo. Future research could be conducted to build on the findings and include more locations in the research region. While the study's findings may not be representative of the whole migrant population, the findings are analysed alongside rich literature on migrant challenges and strategies in Cape Town and other South African cities, and thus the fundings support earlier research while also adding a dimension by describing and analysing possibilities for solidarity.

3.10.1 CONCLUSION

This chapter explained the research methodology that underpinned this study. This included aspects such as qualitative design, sample size, sampling technique, ethics observed and data analysis techniques. The next chapter explains the presentation of the qualitative findings gathered from the participants who took part in this study.

CHAPTER FOUR: DATA ANALYSIS AND RESEARCH FINDINGS

4.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter offers the research findings based on information received from respondents in the case study area of Joe Slovo, Cape Town. As described in the introductory chapter, Zimbabwean migrants and refugees in Cape Town, South Africa have to develop strategies and use social capital to navigate their challenges. As explained in the Methodology chapter, initial exploratory research involved 6 interviews in Joe Slovo with Zimbabwean women in the informal sector. During these conversations, some of the interviewees discussed the kinds of support they received from churches and faith-based organisations. Based on these conversations, the researcher decided to narrow the focus on hospitality in religious spaces, namely Christian churches, with a focus on 4 churches in Joe Slovo. This involved an additional 10 semi-structured interviews in order to generate qualitative data in the form of responses, narratives and conversation that emerged from the interviews. These 10 interviews are the main focus of this chapter.

The chapter begins by presenting the demographic and socioeconomic features of these participants. This is followed by a discussion of the themes that merged in the literature, which focus on the various ways that solidarity and hospitality had been perceived by Zimbabwean migrants and refugees. The chapter concludes by examining how social capital aids immigrants in locating housing, finding employment, and navigating daily life.

4.2 DEMOGRAPHIC AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC BACKGROUND

This section offers a brief background to the demographic data of the respondents, such as age, gender, educational level, marital status as well as the respondent's migrant and refugee statuses if shared.

4.2.1 DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS

The participants interviewed were between the ages of 26 and 50. Overall, of 10 interviewed migrants, 7 were women and 3 were men. Eight participants who were interviewed shared their experiences with hospitality and solidarity, as well as how the church supported them during the perilous Covid-19 period. The other two participants who were later interviewed brought up similar information, despite the fact that they did not know each other and were not from the same churches.

The majority (7) of the participants have completed secondary level education and are university graduates, while (3) of the interviewed do not have formal education. Out of the 3 men, 2 held master's degrees and 1 held an honours degree. Out of the 7 women, 2 held honour's degrees, 1 held a master's degree, and 4 worked as "low skilled" service delivery workers. Although the participants did not have to divulge their permit status, 4 shared that they were "undocumented" and the other 6 held the Zimbabwe Special Permit which had expired and the migrants were given until June 2023 to prepare to leave as the permits are not going be renewed. Hence, all participants were vulnerable in terms of their uncertain work status and lack of job stability.

Though most of the interviewees had achieved a level of formal education, the findings of the study revealed that they earn less than 10 000 Rands per month. About 7 of the respondents said that they earn between 3500 to 7000 Rands per month. Only 3 of the respondents specified that they earn more than 9000 Rands. However, although there is relatively weak earning power in for the interviewed migrants and refugees in Joe Slovo, as discussed below, money is not the only medium of exchange. Migrants also engage in a social and solidarity economy where they make use of alternative currencies such as exchanging clothing and food for services such cleaning and babysitting.

According to the findings most of the interviewees are married, 1 is widowed, and 1 is single. The fact that the majority of the participants are married may be attributed to the fact that most Zimbabwean migrants and refugees were breadwinners who had gone to South Africa to work and support their family behind in Zimbabwe, which is experiencing severe economic crisis. Another

aspect could be that marriage is considered essential in Zimbabwean society, as Tafira (2014) states that marriage gains one respect in traditional Shona culture.

When seeking participants for the study, the researcher was more easily able to recruit women. In addition to the researcher being a woman and connecting to participants using snowball sampling in networks of women, basic observation of the church spaces during the time of interviewing in the day time showed that more women attended church services and participated in faith-based activities while their husbands spent their weekends meeting friends in other spaces or working. While the mini-thesis could not delve deeper into this gendered aspect, it is described in one section of this chapter.

4.2.2 CHURCHES IN JOE SLOVO

Considering that there is limited space in Joe Slovo township, it came as surprise to the researcher based on observation and discussion with interviewees that there were more than 10 churches in the area as shown in Table 1 below. Nigerians are the founders of the so-called "Nigerian churches" which are attended by many diverse nationalities and backgrounds and include charismatic pastors and prophets who conduct miracles and solicit donations for comfort and hope. Zimbabweans are founders of the White Garment churches. These churches are called White Garment churches due to the white attire that attendees wear during service. These churches are well known for the services that caste out "demons," tell the future, conduct healing rituals, and give oils to people to prevent them being attacked by evil spirits. Many South African nationals attend the churches, alongside a large number of people attending the churches from Mozambique, Malawi, DRC, Tanzania, Kenya, Nigeria, among others. In this sense the churches may be seen as spaces of solidarity due to the relationships and diverse communities.

Table 4.1: List of churches and mosques in Joe Slovo Township

NAME OF RELIGIOUS ORGANISATIONS	NUMBER OF R/Os
Seventh Day Adventist church	1
Methodist Church of Southern Africa	1
Revival Pentecostal Church	1
Zion Church	1
White Garment Churches (Madzibaba)	5
Nigerian Churches	5
Mosque	1

Source: Information gathered during observation and interviews, 2022.

4.3 KINDS OF HOSPITALITY

4.3.1 RELIGIOUS SOLIDARITY

Within the church, the participants explained that the South Africans attending the same churches share the same beliefs. This thesis explores this as an example of solidarity emerging because of their faith.

The study found that the migrants and refugees interviewed in the sample viewed the church as the cornerstone of the hospitality they experienced, and that their faith in the religion fosters their acceptance in the communities where they live. As a result, they received benefits that were viewed as blessings, including connections for jobs, clothing and food donations, help with rent and other bills and necessities. Many participants all expressed that religion is a way to achieve peace that is essential in bringing together individuals of all ethnic backgrounds. The researcher extracts one

migrant's statement in response to the question of whether they experience friendliness in Cape Town:

> *"Ooh due to the same religious beliefs we share with most of the local people in this community, it makes it easy for them to welcome us into the community as they will be looking at us as one of them." (Mutema, Revival Pentecostal Church, Joe Slovo 2022)*

Mutema's comments highlighted that being connected to other migrants and refugees of her faith such as family and friends in the host community made it simple for her to receive knowledge about the location and how life is while she was still in her original country. Such organisations foster group cohesion, which can effectively mobilise resources and people to work toward a common goal (Putnam 2001).

Another respondent explains that the church networks assisted them before they migrated to Cape Town. The respondent also used the word "trust" to explain the importance of networks:

> *"Once we arrive in the community of destination, through the church, we join groups of people who were educating us while we were still in the country of origin. There are advantages to being a part of these groups because they are church based, and we trust each other. "Chizivano chinoyambutsa veduwe" (Building strong networks propels one to greater levels of success.)"* (*Donhodzo Zanhi, Revival Pentecostal Church, Joe Slovo 2022*)

Their inclusion due to religion shows that the shared practice of a particular religion serves as a unifying force that may transcend boundaries of race and ethnicity. Nzou from the White Garment Church expressed:

> *"Being a church member not only strengthens our belief and hope that one day we shall live happily and abundantly in paradise, but it also opens the door for that happiness and*

abundance to begin now, as we are blessed as a result of our faith in Jesus Christ." (Nzou, White Garment Church, Joe Slovo 2022)

Also, another church leader, Elder Mlambo emphasized the importance of socialising with others in church because it aids in receiving information on important church events. Once a person is sociable and has made some friendships with most people in the church, it is easier for them to be alerted on social initiatives:

> *"It is preferable to be aware of other church members, to know who you worship with, and to visit each other at home when you have free time. Familiarising yourself with other people in church gets you noticed and immediately trusted, resulting in good opportunities in and out of the church. Other people who are always silent are usually excluded from most church activities, whereas energetic members are often chosen as leaders in significant events, chairpersons in burial organisations, or secretaries. As a result, cultivating positive relationships improves the hospitality you receive from South Africans as well as other migrants and refugees in religious spaces and communities of residence. I am quite personable, so I get noticed quickly at church, to the point that I have more South African friends than Zimbabwean friends, and they are even the ones who voted me in as a church elder." (Elder Mlambo, SDA church, Joe Slovo 2022)*

As a result, the findings presented above show that migrants who socialise in church are more likely to be welcomed into the church and community, and may find roles in guiding others, whereas those who do not interact and form relationships may have less access to these networks.

Social capital shows how people form associations primarily to mobilise resources. Other research from rural Zimbabwe has described people seeking assistance from a neighbor, a close friend, or someone with whom they share a common religion when faced with a difficult situation (Zuwarimwe and Kirsten 2010). Social capital in this sense emerges out of trust, which helps in the building of affiliations and new links (Woolcock 2000). People with few or no resources may utilise connections and associations to receive assistance. Social capital allows the transfer of resources from one person to another and can result in favorable outcomes through mingling

(Woolcook 2001). Further, social capital networks that have more members who are employed and strong bonds between them, or bonding capital, inevitably draw in more members, growing the network's size (Bagchi 2009). Associations of this type build group cohesion and may competently arrange people and resources around a common objective (Putnam 2001).

Religious spaces and gestures of hospitality are related to the notion of charity as well. Migrants interviewed in this study stressed how they received welcome gestures such as donations of clothing, food, and even money. The researcher recorded Mutema:

> "*The local people in this community from our churches help us a lot through donations of various stuff such as food, clothing for adults and for our children. Sometimes, they even do contributions of money, and they give us to add to our monthly house rents as well as some to keep for unprecedented family problems." (Mutema, Revival Pentecostal Church Joe Slovo 2022)*

Another respondent from the Nigerian church expressed her appreciation for such charitable gestures as well:

> *South Africans in the Joe Slovo area where I live, most of whom are familiar faces from my church, are so friendly to me that they even tell me to remind them when I send food and clothing to my family back home in Zimbabwe so that they can include some items for me as well. I feel accommodated due to the connections that I have with other people." (Mrs. Chihera, Nigerian church, Joe Slovo 2022)*

4.3.2 RELIGIOUS NETWORKS AND SECURING JOBS

Donhodzo Zanhi, attending a Nigerian Church, stated that she appreciated the information she acquired through her networks whilst still in the sending country avoiding her being a destitute if she did not have help from such networks. Donhodzo Zanhi explained:

"Many of us don't just leave our host countries going to an unknown country just like that. Friends and relatives from our churches here in Cape Town have been always our main informants as they guided us on how we could travel from Zimbabwe until Cape Town, and they also helped in sourcing out job links for us. All this they did so that we could not become destitute upon arriving in Cape Town." (Donhodzo Zanhi, Nigerian Church, Joe Slovo 2022)

The study thus also showed that for Zimbabwean migrants and refugees interviewed in Joe Slovo, the connections and relationships forged benefit by helping with their food security, securing jobs, and emotional support. Another respondent also shared:

As for me, I arrived in South Africa after securing housing, and my employer was already anticipating my arrival, all thanks to my participation in the groups we have as Zimbabweans in South Africa and potential Zimbabweans migrants still in Zimbabwe, where we help each other with information and more connections." (*Mary, Zion church, Joe Slovo 2022)*

Previous research, such as that conducted by Lourenço-Lindell (2002) and Kipili (2013), has discovered that the stronger one's social ties are to a specific community, the better one's chances of finding work and earning a better salary. Job security also plays a vital role in their ability to send remittances to their families back in Zimbabwe. South Africans in the church were aware of this need. One respondent by the name Chihera commented on the way she was able to get assistance from the church networks, stating:

"For the simple fact that we know that if we obtain accommodation and a job in South Africa, we will be able to send money back home to our families." (Mrs. Chihera, Nigerian church, Joe Slovo 2022)

Elder Tshuma from the Seventh-day Adventist church expressed his gratitude for his church friend helping him in finding lodgings and a job the first time he arrived in the Joe Slovo community:

Three church elders from the Joe Slovo Seventh-Day Adventist church branch, with whom I had contact while still in Zimbabwe, were truly a gift from God, as they were instrumental in my relocation to Joe Slovo, Cape Town. As if that wasn't enough, one of the three church elders also helped me secure a stable job in my field of study (as a high school English teacher here in Joe Slovo at Sinenjongo high school) through his contacts. It has to be a design by God himself." (Elder Tshuma, Seventh-day Adventist church, Joe Slovo 2022)

The interviewee considered his participation in the church played an important role in his career path leading to his employment as a teacher. According to Kumalo (2018), attending church is important for the following reasons: access to information about housing and employment opportunities, spiritual guidance and protection from God, and making new friends. Churchgoers are often drawn from the same social network that provides employment and housing (Hungwe 2015).

4.3.3 SOLIDARITY AND MIGRANT ASSOCIATIONS

In most situations, migrants have networks and connections to diasporic organisations even before they arrive in their destination country as explained by Mary an attendee of the Zion church in Joe Slovo. According to research, a migrant's network is essential for aiding them after they arrive at their destination. For example, it can help them find housing, a job, and a simple, cheaper way to send money back home (Barker 2007). This shows the camaraderie that may exist among migrants and the ways in which the relationships between migrants who have already settled in a community and the residents there help to foster a welcoming atmosphere for migrants who are in transit or who are arriving in that community. Mary narrated:

"As Zimbabweans, we have groups for Zimbabweans who are still in Zimbabwe and groups for South Africans. Either one lives in South Africa or Zimbabwe, and as long as you are interested in learning more about South Africa, whether you are considering going there or planning to go there, you are welcome to join the groups that are now popular on Facebook (such as Zimbabweans in Cape Town). These organisations assist in every step of the migration process to South Africa, and they serve as a road map on which one can rely." (*Mary, Zion church, Joe Slovo 2022)*

The aforementioned illustrates how migrants form migrant associations and groups to help them get by. In the literature many of these have been referred to as Home Town Associations (HTAs), which are diasporic groups that migrants can connect with in the host country and which also help to facilitate migrant challenges such as burials, remittances, and other transnational connections (Caglar 2006; Pineteh 2011).

For Zimbabweans in the church, social solidarity groups are formed through collective action and are based on shared values and ideologies among migrants and South African citizens in this particular space, with the goal of improving the lives of other migrants. These consist of stokvels, and burial societies, and are viewed as important because some of them include locals from the host communities. These are explained below.

4.3.4 COMMUNITY STOKVELS

Migrants and refugees interviewed in Joe Slovo expressed how beneficial it is to belong to a certain church group as it becomes easy for one to participate in different activities happening in the community. Elder Mlambo, mentioned in an earlier section, also described the role of trust as key in developing stokvels. Other participants discussed taking part in stokvels because they share that they can only "trust" a person with their money if they know where to find them, and if they lead a decent and respectable life as well as belong to a certain religious organisation. Nzou from the White Garment Church said:

> *I attend the "Madzibaba" White Garment Church, so when members of the community see us attending church while wearing our white garb, they already have faith in us, for instance. I am a member of a stokvel group in Joe Slovo, where we each contribute R1000 per month and only share the money at the end of the year. There are mixed nationalities in the group, including South Africans, but they still trusted me as a Zimbabwean migrant to be the chairperson and among the trusted ones to monitor the inflow of money and the bank account to keep it until the end of the year. I am a church leader, and the community in which I live respects me for my church position because I assist many South Africans who attend my church, and we all know that if you treat a person well, they will share their*

experiences with friends and families. As a result, this ensures you people's trust, and if you can successfully lead a church with it winning new souls every day, you will gain recognition from the community, and people will not hesitate to trust you with their money, because they know you are a good leader, and they know where to find you. And as for me, they know me as a man of peace, so they respect me" (Nzou, White Garment church leader, Joe Slovo 2022)

The preceding experience shows the importance of trust in social capital in the integration of migrants into host communities, as well as having local people recognize and positively reward "good" behaviors and success of migrants in their circles. In support of this, Putnam (2000) states that, social capital is a result of human networks or links that are strengthened by trust, unity, and reciprocity and protected by rules and penalties. This clarifies how friendships develop between South African churchgoers and Zimbabwean migrants, the importance of trust in the process, and how church norms shape these relationships. Trust allows for the networks to be created, and another respondent referred to this as the most important benefit:

"…the most important benefit is that every month we meet and participate in stokvels, which means we donate money as a monthly contribution. This money, when distributed among the members on a specific date of choice, helps the new arrivals in the new community settle in." (Donhodzo Zanhi, 2022).

Kovere, another respondent, explained how stokvels form from social networks to lessen their financial burdens; it helps them in securing further connections (when they gather every month) for jobs and also aids them with money to pay for their bills. McGregor (2010) agrees with this stating that, migrant networks help with the provision of jobs, housing, food, security, and even funding for businesses in the host nation in addition to assisting with the acquisition of information about the migration process itself. Kovere explained:

"The association I am involved in in Joe Slovo for Seventh-Day Adventist church members in the area helps us make connections with our community in various ways, such as job creation, facilitating people's education, and establishing companies for some of the

community members. The other businesses we engage in with the money we get from the stokvels from time to time have gone a long way toward building a solid relationship with some of my community members because we create jobs, albeit on a small scale." (Kovere, Seventh-Day Adventist church, Joe Slovo 2022)

4.3.5 COMMUNITY BURIAL SOCIETIES

Migrants and refugees from different churches interviewed in Joe Slovo participate in burial societies which assist in transporting deceased people's bodies to their countries and money contributions that are siphoned towards food, airtime, provision of tables and chairs during the funeral. Members contribute a monthly fee which can only be claimed in the event of a member or an immediate family member of the member of the burial society is deceased. Mr Mlambo from SDA church in Joe Slovo expressed how grateful he was to be part of a church that serves the community and also joins the foreign nationals with the South African citizens providing a safety net during unprecedented precarious times. He remarked that:

"*I am grateful to belong to a church and a community that cares for me and my family not only while I am living, but also after I am gone. The burial societies founded in our churches are for both South Africans and migrants and refugees, and they do a lot to support us in the worst-case scenarios of death, assisting in all costs whether the individual is to be buried within or outside of South African borders. Being a part of such burial societies in religious places is a must because it provides lifetime security, and we don't have trust difficulties when it comes to managing money because we all share the same beliefs (whether as a South African citizen, a migrant or a refugee) and no one would want to spoil that by stealing." (Elder Mlambo, SDA church, Joe Slovo 2022)*

The research showed that migrants and refugees participate in burial societies in religious spaces as a way of saving for unexpected events. Furthermore, as Elder Mlambo stated in the interview above, South Africans believe it is important to allow migrants and refugees to participate in burial societies because most migrants and refugees are excluded from social and economic safety nets

in South Africa. In South Africa, over 15 million people receive social grants, in addition to other forms of state assistance for the poor such as subsidised housing and access to health and education. Foreign nationals are excluded from such social support, according to the Consortium for Refugees and Migrants in South Africa (2010). This means that their cost of basic necessities is higher than the average, leaving poor migrants vulnerable. As a result, involvement in such initiatives as burial societies and stokvels provide migrants and refugees with some level of security in the event of unforeseen events such as death.

Accordingly, the conclusions drawn from the aforementioned responses showed that social capital and networks link immigrants, refugees, and locals in host communities and inspire them to support the needs of families, friends, and neighbors by creating employment, developing trust, and maintaining their strong ties.

4.3.6 ACCOMMODATION: SOUTH AFRICAN LANDLORDS AND MIGRANT TENANTS

Pee, a female immigrant who lives in Joe Slovo and attends the White Garment church, claimed that she only pays a very small amount of rent since she attends the same church as her landlord. Pee also mentioned how her landlady had also communicated to her not to pay any rent during the Covid-19 outbreak and how this had helped her manage her life as a migrant single mother. To this subject, she had the following to say:

> *"... My South African landlord urged me not to pay any rent during the Covid-19 outbreak, which was lucky for me, because we both practice the same religion. Handina kana chandakabvisa pa rent (I never paid anything in rent). As a single mother during the epidemic, this genuinely helped me to survive and manage my life."* (*Pee, White-Garment church, Joe Slovo 2022)*

Mazvita, another woman refugee living in Joe Slovo, also agrees with Pee's opinion when she says:

> *"... being a member of a religious group has made my life more secure than ever because my landlord and I are both from the Zion church, so my landlady is understanding of me and only asked that I pay for electricity and water. They treat me as family, so they said that I don't have to pay rent because I'm like one of their children. ..." (Mazvita, Zion Church, Joe Slovo 2022).*

Similarly, Mangani who attends the Nigerian church and lives in Joe Slovo close to the taxi rank, discussed how South African landlords in the neighbourhood from her church compete to rent out their homes to migrants and refugees because they consistently pay their rent and other bills, in contrast to how their fellow South Africans struggle to do so. Additionally, South African landlords defend and safeguard their tenants from violence during social uprisings against foreign nationals because if anything were to happen to them, it would jeopardise the monthly money they receive in the form of rent. Mangani went much more detail on this:

> *"Many South African homeowners compete with one another at our church to find lodgers for migrants and refugees. In fact, they ask us if we have friends who are also migrants searching for housing to rent because they prefer them to their fellow South Africans. Additionally, I make sure to pay my rent in advance where I live so that I don't put as much pressure on myself, can focus on other needs, and have a nice relationship with my landlord because she is a pastor's wife in the church that I attend...."* (Mangani, Nigerian Church, Joe Slovo 2022).

One might analyse this as that landlords were more concerned with the rewards; they would receive from God's graces than with the rent they could collect from their migrant and refugee tenants. The shared religious sentiment allows for the smooth relationship and peace and acceptance, and it also means that there is an element of hospitality that people foster due to their religious social norms.

Adding on, Mangani went on to express how accommodating the South African landlords are for migrants and refugees as they vow to strike if the government makes initiatives that

expel foreign nationals from their communities. The respondent said this expressing security and a peace of mind in renting from a South African landlord saying that:

> "*Many South African landlords attend the same churches as the foreign nationals who rent from them, and the South African landlords encourage us to be free in the community because we make a positive difference in their life through the monthly rentals that we commit to them. Our South African landlords have vowed to strike against the government or any organisation that drafts policies aimed at evicting us migrants and refugees from their communities. My landlord further explains that those policies against migrants and refugees would also be acting against the South African landowners, rather than the migrants and refugees, because the benefit is mutual here. As the migrants and refugees gain from our rentals, the South African landlords benefit financially from migrants and refugees through the rent they pay to their South African landlords. My landlord said that if they, as South African landlords, allow the government to expel the migrants and refugees who rent from them and pay them reasonable monthly rentals, it will be their loss as landlords because not even the government provides them with such reasonable support. Because the government's assistance is insufficient for them, that is why they are constructing shacks and flats in our compounds as well as backyard rentals to migrants and refugees to optimise their livelihoods and obtain the peace of mind that the South African government has always promised them but never delivered. Our South African landlords say all of this to show us that no one can ever touch or harm us in their presence." (Mangani, Nigerian church, Joe Slovo 2022)*

4.3.7 SOLIDARITY THROUGH PROTECTION

The above quote touches on the idea that solidarity is also a form of protection and safety. Mrs. Chihera who attends the Seventh-Day Adventist church also voiced: "*And for me- the fact that I am only allowed to work as a migrant and travel freely in the community is such a blessing."* Many of the interviewed migrants and refugees stated that they are less frightened of xenophobia or any hostilities that are rumored to be occurring in some areas of South Africa because they think that

their faith in Jesus Christ will always make their enemies empathise with and protect them. Six of the migrants in the sample testified to their faith in God assisting them in being accepted in the most feared informal settlements, such as Joe Slovo, during the 2008 xenophobic attacks. They were nonetheless protected by South Africans within these groups who shared their faith. They stated that they felt "fortunate" by God and like they belonged in the South African community.

Even though there are still problems with xenophobia and violence against foreigners in South Africa, immigrants like Mauni who attended the White Garments church expressed feeling safe living in the Joe Slovo neighbourhood because their South African landlords, with whom they also happen to share religious beliefs, guarantee their protection and safety.

> *"When there are rumours about foreigners being attacked in other cities in South Africa, my landlady makes sure to check on me on a regular basis to ensure that I am safe and mentally at ease. Furthermore, my landlady always warns her South African neighbours and friends not to ever target me in the event of xenophobic activities in the area, as the people who would have attacked me would have to deal with her as well. Because we are sisters in Christ, we are obligated to die for one another, just as Christ did for the church." (Mauni, White-Garment church, Joe Slovo 2022)*

They also try to show their landlords that they are loyal by paying their bills on time and consistently. For example, because they are all Christians, church leaders and members from various church affiliations empathise with and support one another's activities during the suffering of another Christian or during xenophobic attacks, even if they are migrants or refugees. Solidarity is a source of social capital that promotes such behaviours.

4.4 THE ROLE OF GENDER

Mr. Sandi who was one of the interviewees attending the Revival Pentecostal Church in Joe Slovo expressed how it would have worked to his advantage to quickly get a job or any kind of a link "if only he was a woman." When asked why he had made such a remark by the interviewer, Mr. Sandi whose face somehow looked sad at the moment said:

"Women have some magic when it comes to fitting in in different environments and making friends, unlike us men, women can share their problems with one another, and the church setting makes them feel more comfortable to share their household problems. Therefore, they end up getting links for jobs instantly through those they would have shared their stories with. Such jobs include house help jobs, to work as a nanny or aur pair helpers." (Mr. Sandi Revival Pentecostal Church Joe Slovo 2022)

As discussed in the literature review chapter, in this research women play a significant part in migration because of the kinds of jobs they can access in the network. Also, Mr. Sandi's comment regarding how most of the job links found by women in his church are also only "suited" for women and not for men, such as nanny or house help, reveals this gendered aspect to informal labour networks. Further, he stated that he regrets leaving his wife back in Zimbabwe whilst he came to look for a job. Had he come along with wife, he imagined, it would have been better for them because his wife is also a sociable person, and she could have quickly secured a job though through links. This would have helped his family to solve instant needs as he looked for a job for his profession. He explained:

"If only I had enough resources, I would have come carried my wife along with me and she would have secured a job quickly through the other women in church and she would have shielded myself from the pressures of household needs. Other jobs you can never get hired as a man, because they can only trust women with roles as a nanny and house helpers." (Mr. Sandi Revival Pentecostal Church Joe Slovo 2022)

4.5 CONCLUSION

Putnam (2001) defined social capital as connections between people's social networks and the reciprocity and reliability standards that are fostered by these connections. Although there are advantages to belonging to a group or social network, social capital can also be measured by the degree of trust and reciprocity and takes society's goals into account. Social capital plays an important role in connecting migrants to other migrants and South Africans in the same religious spaces as theirs in order to establish vital social solidarity group initiatives like burial societies and stokvels. According to the researcher, social capital and networks provided migrants with access

to social safety and security, as well as employment opportunities. As a result, the majority of immigrants and refugees found protection, respect, and recognition through their participation in religious institutions.

The scales of solidarity and hospitality for migrants and refugees in participating in social solidarity groups such as stokvels and burial societies in the church reflects the kinds of hospitality that may be fostered in churches in township areas where migrants reside. Considering the fear and challenges of xenophobia in South Africa, the church spaces offer a sense of safety, a chance to build collective initiatives, respect, and recognition in the community.

CHAPTER FIVE: CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1. INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this study was to investigate and document at a local level the networks and groups through which solidarity, hospitality, and inclusion toward migrants and refugees are enacted and perceived in religious spaces in a township in Cape Town, South Africa. To answer the study's research questions and objectives, a qualitative research methodology was used. This chapter contains the research findings' conclusion and recommendations. It begins by summarising the research's key findings. This is followed by some recommendations to key stakeholders interested in migrant hospitality, solidarity, and integration into mainstream socioeconomic activities of the society in which they live. Using social capital theory as a guide, the chapter examines how social networks helped migrants gain access to solidarity and hospitality in religious spaces in the cities where they live. It concludes by recommendations for further research.

5.2 ANALYSIS AND SUMMARY

The thesis briefly provided a summary of literature on migrant and refugee challenges in South Africa, and forms of urban solidarity globally and within South Africa, finding parallels and contrasts across diverse literatures. The main contribution of the study to knowledge was determining the scales of solidarity and hospitality among and extended to Zimbabwean migrants in the study area's religious spaces. The study primarily focused on the local scale of solidarity and hospitality exhibited by South African citizens in religious spaces of the church toward migrants and refugees. It was anticipated that immigrants and refugees may describe encounters with solidarity and hospitality in places of worship, through connections to resources for employment, housing, access to food and clothing donations, and engaging in entrepreneurial activities in the urban areas where they live. This reveals that on a local scale, the church provides a potential space for integration, solidarity, and hospitality for immigrants and refugees in Cape Town, South Africa.

Data found that, in confirmation with other literature on migrant social capital for example by Hungwe (2015), Rugunanan (2015) and Aparicio (2011) migrants and refugees relied on social

networks for various kinds of support. The themes that merged in the interviews included: religious solidarity, charitable contributions, securing jobs, solidarity and migrant associations, such as community stokvels and burial societies, solidarity through protection, and also touched on the role of gender in solidarity and hospitality in religious spaces and social capital and networks.

Findings from the study showed that religious solidarity existed because members of the church were willing to distribute and share resources with one another. Participants discussed how South Africans and immigrants/refugees who attend the same churches hold similar beliefs. This can be seen as an illustration of how their faith caused them to become more united. Furthermore, the study discovered that the sample of migrants and refugees who were interviewed saw the church as the foundation of the hospitality they received and that their faith in the religion helps them feel accepted in the communities where they live. They consequently benefited from things that were seen as blessings, like connections for jobs, clothing and food donations, assistance with rent and other bills and necessities, and help with these things. More so, the study demonstrated how attending church is important, according to Kumalo (2018), for access to information about housing and employment opportunities, spiritual guidance and protection from God, and making new friends.

According to the findings of the study, migrants have networks and connections to diasporic organisations even before they arrive in their destination country. A migrant's network, according to research, is critical for assisting them once they arrive at their destination. Relationships between migrants who have already settled in a community and the residents there help to foster a welcoming environment for migrants in transit or arriving in that community.

In addition, the study revealed that migrants and refugees interviewed in Joe Slovo stressed the importance of belonging to a church group because it allows them to participate in various community activities more easily. They discuss stokvels with South African citizens, for example, because they agree that they can only "trust" someone with their money if they know where to find them. Migrants and refugees from various churches interviewed in Joe Slovo participate in social groups aimed at empowering their community, such as burial societies that assist in transporting deceased people's bodies to their countries and money contributions that go towards food, airtime,

and the provision of tables and chairs at funerals. These church schemes strengthened the bond between immigrants/refugees and South African citizens.

According to the study's findings, the majority of the interviewed migrants and refugees said they were less afraid of xenophobia or other hostilities that are rumoured to be occurring in some areas of South Africa because they believe their enemies will always empathise with and protect them because of their faith in Jesus Christ. Within these groups, South Africans who shared their faith were protecting them. They expressed gratitude to God and a sense of belonging in the South African community.

Based on the findings of this study, women play an important role in migration process for Zimbabweans because of the kinds of jobs they could access through the religious networks. Most church job opportunities were deemed as "suited" to women rather than men, such as nanny or housekeeping. One male respondent expressed regret for not accompanying his wife, saying it would have been better for them because his wife is also a sociable person and could have quickly secured a job through connections. This would have helped his family meet immediate needs while he looked for work in his field.

Finally, the findings of this study show that governments are doing less to integrate migrants and refugees into the socioeconomic aspects of the host community or society. Since the government failed to improve migrant regularisation, some migrants are unable to find work and hence seek out informal and community spaces for survival and support. As a result, migrants and refugees have turned to the church for comfort and assistance. Furthermore, the research hinted that many Zimbabweans feel somewhat safer in Joe Slovo due to the church and community support of migrants and refugees.

5.3 RECOMMENDATIONS

In this study, the levels of hospitality and support shown to migrants and refugees from Zimbabwe in religious settings cannot be generalised. However, in combination with other literature showing the importance of social capital in gaining support in community and religious spaces for migrants, this section addresses policy issues as well as other issues related to global migration, integration of migrants and refugees, and solidarity and hospitality for migrants in Cape Town, South Africa.

The need for state governments to take more initiative in integrating migrants and refugees into host communities through the example of religious solidarity: The findings confirm that the South African government should do more to assist migrants and refugees in integrating into socioeconomic aspects of the host society, as migrants can contribute by imparting their skills to South African citizens in the urban spaces where they live. The church shows an example of hospitality and the kinds of relationships built there could be further explored.

Policies to enhance regularisation of migrants, thereby reducing issues and difficulties faced by migrants, refugees, and potential migrants: The study's findings highlight the potential to advance South Africa's social and economic development if migrants could achieve better job security and more efficient documentation. Although the study aims to find instances of hospitality, it should be noted that such spaces exists side by side with xenophobic and precarious experiences for migrants. Segatti (2011) argued that the South African government has had difficulty coming up with a cogent response to migration, and this holds true today. As Landau (2001) has explained, the Department of Home Affairs and the public services in charge of managing migration continue to be a stumbling block, as does the South African government's general incapacity to manage migration policy across departments and in connection with civil society, organised labour, and the business sector. Those who have applied for asylum face barriers that prevent them from receiving the services to which they are legally entitled, such as social services, housing, and education. The participants in the study had to rely on the church because they did not have or were due to lose their permits to work and live in South Africa. They lacked security in employment and worried about their safety.

5.4 RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

More research on migrant/refugee hospitality and solidarity in South Africa is needed (Bauder 2019). As Cape Town is not a solidarity or "sanctuary city", more research can record localised responses to migrant challenges and examples of emerging solidarities that can be further fostered. Thus, even though this research recorded gestures of hospitality and solidarity enacted to 10 interviewed Zimbabwean migrants and refugees in Joe Slovo, it does not imply that every Zimbabwean migrant/refugee in Joe Slovo who was not in the interview sample is experiencing the same, or that other migrants and refugees outside the Joe Slovo community are experiencing the same. As a result, more work on migrant solidarity and hospitality in Cape Town is critical.

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APPENDICES

Institute for Social Development

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Email: pkippie@uwc.ac.za (Administrator) or akarriem@uwc.ac.za (Acting Director, ISD)

Information sheet for Key Informant Interviews

Title of research project: Migration and hospitality in Cape Town: A case of Zimbabwean migrants and refugees

What is this study about?

This research project is being conducted by Perfect Mazani, a master's student at the University of the Western Cape. You are invited to take part in this online survey because you are a Zimbabwean migrant or refugee residing in Joe Slovo, Cape Town. The project's goal is to look into and record the different sizes, networks, and groups that are used to perform and perceive solidarity, hospitality, and inclusion toward migrants and refugees in Cape Town, South Africa. The research also aims to identify and examine the many kinds of urban solidarity and hospitality shown to Zimbabwean migrants and refugees in Cape Town, South Africa. Finally, the study aims to identify and assess the efficacy of current forms of solidarity and hospitality offered to Zimbabwean migrants and refugees in Cape Town by faith-based organizations, civil society, and local neighbourhood groups. This research has the potential to alter not only the area of study, but also other social instances, because it provides a chance to address the concerns of migrants and refugees at the grassroots level.

What are the Key Informant Interviews about?

The study aims to interview 7-10 migrants about their experiences of hospitality, as well as 5 members of community-based groups and faith-based organisations that have provided shelter or assistance to migrants. With their permission these will be audio recorded. This enables the researcher to get first-hand information about Zimbabwean migrants' and refugees' perceptions of how they are accommodated and included in the communities in which they live. Because the questions will be semi-structured, the interviewer will be flexible explore related topics depending on the replies of the interview participants. Ethnography or participant observation will also be utilized to bridge the gap between interviews, questions, and some significant features of migrants and refugees under investigation. The interviews will be face to face, whilst others will be conducted through telephone and or WhatsApp and these interviews will be open ended.

Would my participation in this study be kept confidential?

The researcher agrees to respect all participants' privacy, anonymity, integrity, confidentiality, and voluntary participation. The study will adhere to the University of the Western Cape's ethical and professional norms while also respecting and safeguarding the rights of participants and institutions at all times. The participants will be properly informed about the study's aim and objectives, and they will be guaranteed that the information they submit will be used sensitively and confidentially. The respondents will be informed about the study's goals and objectives, as well as how it will be carried out. This study's participants will be asked to observe such ethical norms. Zimbabwean migrants and refugees in Du Noon, Joe Slovo, and Summergreens, as well as community-based organisations and faith-based organisations that are including migrants and refugees into their projects will be included based no their interest and will sign consent forms that reflect their understanding of the nature of the study.

When researching migrants, one of the most prevalent concerns is that individuals may feel insecure owing to a lack of documents or legal visas. As a result, it is my job as a researcher to listen to their problems while avoiding misleading or inadvertently giving the impression that I am a social worker or can aid with migration papers. My objective is to gather information to whatever extent they feel comfortable disclosing anonymously. In order to preserve their identity, I will avoid mentioning specific place names while reporting and disseminating the findings.

The migrants in this study may be in stressful or vulnerable situations. They may be concerned about xenophobia, so I will give them the contact information for Scalabrini, a Cape Town-

based NGO that helps migrants and refugees. I will also let them know ahead of time if I am going to ask them a challenging question, such as about their issues or xenophobic experiences, and I will offer them the option to take their time or not to answer.

What are the risks of this research?

Participation in this research project has no risks. The goals and objectives will be clear from the outset.

What are the benefits of this research?

There are no material benefits for the participants.

Do I have to complete the interview, or may I withdraw from the process at any time?

Your participation in this research is completely voluntary. Should you feel the need to withdraw from the study you can do so at any time.

How long will it take to complete the interview?

It is up to you how much time you feel like putting into the interview

Do I need to bring anything for the interview?

No, you do not need anything.

What if I have questions?

If you have questions at any time about the study or the procedures, you may contact my research supervisor, Dr Leah Koskimaki via phone 27 21 959 4049 or via email lkoskimaki@uwc.ac.za

If you feel you have not been treated according to the descriptions in this form, or that your rights as a participant in research have not been honoured during the course of this project, or you have any questions, concerns, or complaints that you wish to address to someone other than the investigator, you may contact the Dr Razack Karriem Acting Director, ISDakarriem@uwc.ac.za

3

This research has been (undergoing approval) approved by the University of the Western Cape's Senate Research Committee and Ethics Committee.

HSSREC, Research Development,

UWC, Tel: 021 959 2988,

E-mail: research-ethics@uwc.ac.za

Sample of Survey Questions

Project title

Migration and hospitality in Cape Town: A case of Zimbabwean migrants and refugees

Sample questions:
Age

Gender

Level of education

Year of migration / seeking for refugee in South Africa

What type of work were you doing in Zimbabwe?

What made you to come to South Africa?

Why did you choose to stay and work in Cape Town, specifically Joe Slovo?

Why did you choose to attend your specific religious organisation?

When you came to Cape Town what type of work where you doing?

How many are you in your household?

Did you get any form of social relief from the church and the government?

How did you manage to feed your families during social distancing and lockdowns and how did the church help in the process?

In what ways do food parcels matter in alleviating food challenges during social distancing and lockdowns?

How is hospitality and solidarity extended to you by churches?

In what ways you developed social capital, trust and networks in your religious organisations and local groups?

Based on your experiences, how do you see and experience hospitality and solidarity in Cape Town, and what measures do you want put in place in the near future to protect and expand hospitality to you as migrants and refugees?

How has Cape Town remained a destination of interest for you considering the issues of xenophobia and other forms of violence against migrants?