



In Search of Greener Pastures: Exploring the migration pathways of Basotho domestic workers in South Africa.

By

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DECLARATION

I, the undersigned, declare that this report is my own work. It has never been submitted anywhere. It is submitted to the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg for the first time. All sources in the study have been acknowledged where other people's work was used.

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GLOSSARY

CCMA	Commission for Conciliation, Mediation and Arbitration
SA	South Africa
SA ID	South African Identity Document
ILO	International Labour Organisation
LSP	Lesotho Special Permits
Basotho	Plural for Lesotho citizens
Lesotho	Country
Mosotho	Singular for Lesotho citizen
Sesotho	Language spoken in Lesotho
UIF	Unemployment Insurance Fund

ABSTRACT

This qualitative study explores existing migration pathways women from Lesotho use to secure employment as domestic workers in South Africa. After shedding light on such pathways, it goes further and attempts to determine if these migration pathways have discernible influence on their conditions of work. Using snowball sampling technique, data was collected telephonically from 15 Basotho migrant domestic workers based in South Africa. Interview guide was used as a tool to assist the researcher on the main questions, and data was analysed using thematic analysis method. The study establishes four main themes. Firstly, it unveils the motives behind Basotho migrant domestic workers' decision to leave home. Secondly, it identifies five pathways participants in this study used to secure employment. Thirdly, it highlights the combination of strategies they use both for employment attainment and continuity. Lastly, it unpacks conditions of work as a framework and uses them to form an analysis of how migration pathways of Basotho domestic workers shape their conditions of work. It concludes that migrant domestic workers who used regular pathways generally share the same conditions with their irregular counterparts, challenging the assumption that by merely holding legal documents, workplace experiences improve. It further adds that, although these migration pathways do not necessarily have direct cause-effect relationship to their conditions at work, they provide a conducive ground for their unfavourable working experiences.

Key words: Migrant domestic worker, migration pathways, conditions at work.

CHAPTER 1

1.0 INTRODUCTION

Migration of women for employment purposes, specifically within the current global economic landscape, is now a common phenomenon within the Global South. This has seen the creation of new pathways through which such migration is both attained and sustained. Such pathways may be classified as regular and irregular, whereby, in the context of the current study may include use of recruitment agencies and social networks. Specifically, migration of women either from the perspective of Africa as a continent or from a regional Southern African perspective is among the most visible and consistent trend of this migration trajectory (Andall,2018), which is contrary to previous African migration studies as being understood more from a male lens (Mbiyozo,2018). In that regard, women are now financially taking care of their families, therefore form the new phase of this female migration process (Nolin,2006).

South Africa being the largest economy in Southern Africa, attracts many migrant workers from its neighbouring countries who work in various sectors of its economy. This study focuses on female migrants from Lesotho who work as domestic workers, in a sector that predominantly attracts low-skilled women. Lesotho is one of the largest sources of migrant domestic workers in South Africa (Ally, 2009). When it comes to this population under investigation, there have been studies conducted concerning them (see Griffin,2011; Makoro,2015; Moeletsi,2017), yet such focused on their subject construction of illegality in South Africa and how it translates into their vulnerabilities and their experiences as absent mothers, respectively. As such, little is known about how these domestic workers find themselves working in South Africa. This study fills this dearth in the literature by contributing to the understanding of formal and informal migration pathways that they use to secure jobs in South Africa.

In this study, the phrase migration pathways involve “the course of action migrant domestic workers undertake to secure continuous employment” (Parrenas, 2020, p. 2) beyond the borders of their countries of origin. In that regard, the study focuses on the processes and practices Basotho migrant domestic workers go through on their search for jobs in South Africa. It sheds light on the strategies they adopt to secure such employment within the South African domestic sector, a systematically unorganised and highly informal sector within the national labour market. By looking at their migration pathways, this study intends to not end there, but go further to use them (migration pathways) as analytical foundation through which their

conditions at work can potentially be understood and shaped. Basically, having explored these migration processes at the broader perspective, it seeks to understand if certain migration pathways can influence particular job experiences among Basotho migrant domestic workers and vice versa.

Compared to their Southeast Asian counterparts, for example, there are no formal channels through which their migration processes are made a reality. This is to say, there exist no bilateral agreements between Lesotho and South Africa for the supply of domestic workers; therefore, such endeavours are usually independent of state facilitation (Zack et.al,2019). The 2015 Lesotho Special Permit¹ (LSP) visa that was granted to all Basotho working in South Africa was short lived. Even though it targeted all Basotho working in South Africa without permits, including domestic workers, it only catered for those who were already employed within a specific timeframe. Since then, the only people who have been granted work permits have been those who already got them in 2015 and thus renewing after their expiration in 4 year cycles at a cost ranging from R950.00 at the first application phase to R 1 100.00 for renewals in 2020 (an administrative fee charged by Department of Home Affairs in South Africa). Due to COVID-19 restrictions and their impacts on labour and employment and other external circumstances, many have probably not been able to renew their permits in 2020 due to both financial and lockdown restrictions.

It is also worth mentioning that South African regulations on work permit issuance make provision to specific skills that fall within the national priority areas (Zack et al. ,2019). That means there are just certain categories of people who qualify for work permits and a guarantee of certain types of jobs. For those who do not satisfy such requirements, their ways through which they can secure employment within such systematically constricted environments depend on adopting alternative strategies through which their labour migration dreams can be a reality. These therefore become pathways through which such workers make their moves through the labour market. In line with what was found by Zack et al. (2019) about Zimbabwean migrant domestic workers in Johannesburg, this study reveals that their continuous stay in South Africa is maintained mostly through social ties they form with their fellow migrants, family members and such play a major role in facilitating continuous

¹ Lesotho Special Permit is the visa issued by South African Department of Home Affairs to Basotho working illegally in South Africa. It became effective from January 2016 to December 2019 and has since been extended to four more years. It also included study and business permits. (See <https://www.iol.co.za/news/south-africa/lesotho-nationals-get-permits-2020253>).

movement in and out of their jobs. Yet this study also asserts that, as crucial as they may be, such networks promote their financial immobility and their inability to shift to other sectors, leaving them with less opportunities and patterned circulation from one household to the other (Silvey & Parrenas,2020). These migration pathways and strategies are a central focus of this research and will be elaborated further in chapter four of this report.

1.2 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

To understand these migration pathways of Basotho female migrant domestic workers in South Africa, this study was guided by the following research questions.

- i. What migration pathways do Basotho migrant domestic workers use to secure jobs in South Africa?
- ii. What processes and practices do Basotho migrant domestic workers go through in search for work in South Africa?
- iii. How do these existing migration pathways affect their conditions at work?

1.3 STUDY RATIONALE

Globally, female labour migration remains one of the dominant subjects of the current century and potentially beyond (ILO,2015). In Southern Africa particularly, there is a gap in the literature on how such labour migration is obtained and its subsequent consequences on such migrants, particularly low-skilled ones. As Nyamnjoh (2005 as cited in Andall,2018) states, the way female migrants are recruited into employment has a bearing on their working conditions. While there are studies that touch on these pathways to employment as sub-themes under broader studies (See Griffin,2011), none has really focused directly on migrant domestic workers' pathways except for one by Parrenas (2020), which focuses on workers from the Philippines to Gulf states. Beyond this, there is no literature that provides a well detailed study regarding these pathways and migrant domestic workers' conditions at work.

This study seeks to fill such gap in the literature by investigating migration pathways of Basotho migrant domestic workers in South Africa. While there is acknowledgement of studies that focus on migrant domestic workers in South Africa, there is however an admission that few focus on Basotho migrant domestic workers as a stand-alone case study (see Griffin,2011; Makoro,2015; Moeletsi,2017). That is, this study is based on the observation that there is substantial research on migrant domestic workers in South Africa (See Crush et al., 2005; Dinat

& Peberdy, 2007; Ally, 2009). This has overshadowed some issues specific about particular groups such as migrant domestic workers from Lesotho. Compared to their Zimbabwean counterparts who have featured in multiple studies, Basotho migrant domestic workers remain an underexplored category of migrant workers.

Specifically, Basotho migrant domestic workers remain hidden under the general umbrella of migrant domestic workers framework. This homogenising tendency is not peculiar on studies that focus on women within the Global South. Yet by grouping them as just ‘migrant domestic workers’, such analysis runs a risk of overlooking some outstanding and defining issues about them. An example of what Ally (2009) finds as preference of South African migrant domestic workers’ employers of Basotho domestic workers can only be understood if proper investigation is done with the focus specifically on them to determine what separates them from others. Furthermore, this very general scope in migration discourse not only conceals Basotho domestic workers but also extends their invisibility in the public eye, thereby continuing to abandon them in migration studies (Griffin, 2011). It is important of course to acknowledge that at the end of the day, as Kabeer notes that, “women carry identities other than those of gender” (1999 as cited in Nilsson, 2013) as treating them under one general theme might imply.

Therefore, understanding Basotho migrant domestic workers as distinctive group apart from others helps to shed some light into their experiences as individual group and possibly extend literature regarding them. Admittedly, the only literature available on migrant Basotho domestic workers limits itself to the subject construction of such women and argues against that, while Moeletsi (2017) discusses their experiences as absent mothers, a concept defined by Parrenas (2001) as “mothering from distance” (p.361). Yet despite all that, there is still no study that has tried to understand the pathways through which all these experiences are born of, which is a direction this study takes. By focusing on the formal and informal migration pathways undertaken by Basotho domestic workers to secure jobs in South Africa, thus including the processes and practices they engage in and adopt, this study therefore intends to fill this dearth in the literature.

CHAPTER 2

2.0 LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 INTRODUCTION

This study seeks to investigate migration pathways of Basotho domestic workers in South Africa. The current chapter reviews some of the existing literature on labour migration and domestic work globally. It is sub-divided into two main sections. The first section explores the global overview of labour migration with a focus on migrant domestic workers, drawing literature from different regions at a broader context. The second section narrows down the discussion to migrant domestic workers in South Africa and this connects to the final part that reviews literature on migrant domestic workers from Lesotho which is also the community under study.

2.2 GLOBAL OVERVIEW OF MIGRANT DOMESTIC WORKERS

The 2015 International Labour Organisation (ILO) report on migrant workers estimates that there are 150.3 million migrant workers globally, of which 11.5 million are employed within the domestic sector as migrant domestic workers, and 8.5 million of those are women. There is however high possibility that the number can be higher than that owing to the fact that official reports only focus on regular migrants and leave out a significant chunk of irregular migrant domestic workers (Fernandez,2014). Even with the regular migrants, these figures are not updated frequently, still supporting the idea that they might not really reflect the current situation on the ground.

2.3 GLOBAL MIGRATION PATTERNS

Whereas there are significant number of studies on migrant domestic workers globally, in recent years, many of them have predominantly focused on migrant domestic workers to Gulf states and the Middle East (see Gunzelmann,2020; Pande,2012; Parrenas,2020). This partially owes to the acquired individual riches which can be attributed to the oil rich states of these regions (Fernandez,2014). Yet when it comes to European and North American countries, the increase in migrant domestic workers has been associated with aging population and the development of old age homes which have created a need for people to take care of such old people (ILO,2015). On the same token, Mather (2015) observes that following the collapse of Soviet Union, Europe witnessed an increase in number of migrant domestic workers in the 1980s most of whom originated from Africa, Asia, and other parts of Europe. This increase,

she argues, owes to the informal nature of the sector and the growing demand for such workers. In Africa, Segatti (2016 as cited in Tayah,2016), alludes to the integration of women within the labour market as one of the forces that has made female labour migration trendier in recent years. This has resulted in the expansion of the middle class and urbanisation that have subsequently expanded the necessity to have people who care for families.

However, in Asia, Parrenas (2020) looks at how Filipino migrant domestic workers maintain continuous employment in foreign countries, especially the Gulf states, which include United Arab Emirates, Kuwait etc. Her study not only looks at how migrant domestic workers move in and out of many host countries for employment but their continuing dependence on labour migration. Most importantly the study argues that, instead of limiting migrant domestic workers migration experiences within the host country, they should be viewed as those produced by the global labour market system (Parrenas,2020). Migrant domestic workers through this lens are part and parcel of the global labour market that acts to shape and limit their existence within certain constrained workers' category.

Focusing on the United States, Maher (2003) talks about the racialised nature of domestic work in Southern California. She chronicles the lives of Mexican migrant domestic workers in that region. Her study reveals that these migrant workers are preferred amongst employers because they are perceived to be both hard working and submissive. The comparison can be drawn here with what Ally (2009) reveals about motives to hire migrant domestic workers in South Africa. Her study points to the same submissiveness coupled with acceptance of low salaries. The same racial stratification is mentioned by Gunzelmann (2020) in her study about migrant domestic workers in Lebanon. Among other things, it reveals a perception that is used as a measure of how much migrant domestic workers should be paid and which family they qualify for along racial lines. According to this study, Filipino migrant domestic workers tend to earn more and work for wealthier families than their African counterparts because the latter is believed to be both educated and trustworthy. Yet in Malaysia, according to Chin (1997), "the ability to employ a foreign female domestic worker has come to symbolise the achievement of middle-class hood and status... female foreign domestic workers become, in essence, positional goods" (p.372).

Taking a rather positive turn is Pande's (2012) study about migrant workers' ability to challenge the structural impediments set against them in countries like Lebanon. The study

highlights that migrant domestic workers find loopholes in the very spaces they are restricted from occupying and therefore manage to manoeuvre and find their ways through such spaces to maintain contacts with fellow migrants. Through use of balconies as centres for communication and social gathering like churches and parks as meeting platforms, migrant domestic workers are able to maintain relationship with their fellow workers and resist the structural bondages imposed on them. Furthermore, Fernandez (2014) demonstrates how some migrant domestic workers are able to use their voices to confront their employers and go further to even use their own discretion to leave such employers. This indicates some form of resistance migrant domestic workers can demonstrate in spaces deemed impossible to escape victimhood at a “meso-level” (Pande,2012, p.4).

2.4 GLOBAL RECRUITMENT PRACTICES

As the point of entry, millions of migrant domestic workers rely on recruitment agencies for placement in the foreign countries (Gordon,2015). During the past decade up to now, there have been reported increase in number of migrant workers being trafficked by unregistered recruitment agencies and networks through uncharted routes on Pacific Ocean to Europe. Among these trafficked are women who are sold to work as domestic workers mostly in the Middle East (ILO, 2017). Apart from the trafficking of women, some countries have commissioned labour exports as a way of addressing unemployment rates in their respective countries. For instance, over 16 workers spent a month at the Malawi Embassy offices in Kuwait demanding to be flown back (Nzingaya,2016). In this realm, scholars like Liang (2011) note that labour export and trafficking has created the commodification of third world women either by their communities or countries.

In Gulf states, the Kafala system of recruitment is used as an entrance point to the countries by migrant workers. According to Timothy and Sasikumar (2012),this is the system of placing migrant workers within the Gulf states and it is based on sponsorship terms whereby the sponsor is usually an employer of such migrant worker (a migrant domestic worker in this study).This system considers migrant workers illegal as soon as they try to escape their employers' places or generally leave without their permission (Pande,2012).This means, even though they can exercise some resistance to abuse and unfavourable working conditions as indicated by Fernandez (2014),such act exposes them to both arrest and immediately translate them into illegal immigrants. Furthermore, migrant domestic workers can not report any violation on them because by virtue of their employers paying for their employment certificate,

they are turned into their personal possessions and can decide anyhow about them (Panda,2012).This, coupled with exclusion from labour laws leave migrant domestic workers vulnerable and susceptible to all forms of abuse and violations of labour rights, including immature termination of employment contracts and confiscation of their travelling documents.

However, Southern Africa provides a different scenario in regard to migrant domestic workers' recruitment. Other than collaborated recruitment processes between states and private recruitment agencies, there exists no formal agreements among countries in the region for supply of low-skilled workers, specifically domestic workers.

“Compared to international labour migration, local recruitment is much less regulated, much more informal, and hardly documented. The operations of local recruitment and placement agencies are probably hardly monitored or inspected by governments even though licensing requirements may exist. Informal, unlicensed recruiters most likely outnumber registered agencies. Moreover, because there are few or no formal channels of information regarding available local jobs in domestic work and about jobseekers, and because employment relationships in domestic work tend to be highly personalised, prospective employer and workers often rely on networks of relatives and friends, and on word of mouth to facilitate their search” (ILO,2013, p.3).

Instead, the 2005 SADC Protocol on the Facilitation of Movement of Persons grants the citizens within the region freedom to enter the territories of other countries within the region for annual maximum of 90 days without having to produce any visas. Moreover, there exists no bilateral agreements among any countries in the region for supply of low-skilled workers (Zack et al.,2019). Instead, countries like South Africa recognises certain groups of migrant workers as worthy of work permits and residency. Yet despite all that, when it comes to South Africa, as the destination for many migrant workers in the region and the country the current study is located, such regulatory mechanisms do just little to place strict impediment on the interregional mobility among citizens from neighbouring countries. This can be attributed to easy accessibility into South Africa, specifically for Lesotho citizens due to the flexibility of border controls between the two neighbouring countries and the geographical location.

Apart from unregistered recruitment agencies, government and individual decisions to go into labour migration, Martin and Widgren (1996) note that communication and transport revolutions of the 21st century are enabling international labour migration. Supporting that claim is Tyner (1999) who argues that, because of this flexibility as a result of these

developments, some recruitment agencies are taking advantage of the internet and the cyber spaces to market domestic workers, in that way, therefore, treating them as commodities. He argues that this exposes these workers to exploitation as they can be transported to any place in the world with a single click. Transport industry plays a coordinating role as it transports migrants from place of origin to place of destination, making their migration process a reality.

The above literature proves that female labour migration continues to be among the most crucial subjects of the current century and possibly beyond. Furthermore, it shows that many factors continue to expose migrant workers, particularly domestic workers to unjust treatments and working conditions. Sadly, this happens at a time when the world has several players working to protect workers' labour rights. Among them are international conventions, regional protocols, national laws, and organisations such as workers' unions in respective countries. This is why this study is timely and important as it investigates how some of these injustices might have been constructed through pathways these group of workers use to secure employment. The focus is however on Basotho migrant domestic workers in South Africa. The section below narrows down the discussion to South Africa.

2.5 MIGRANT DOMESTIC WORKERS IN SOUTH AFRICA

This study investigates migration pathways that domestic workers from Lesotho use to secure employment as domestic workers in South Africa. In order to engage the literature on Basotho migrant domestic workers, there is a need to acknowledge that there have been studies conducted within South Africa that focused on internal migration of domestic workers from rural areas of the country to big cities like Johannesburg. I am however interested in international domestic workers, particularly those from Lesotho and the processes they use to secure employment in South Africa.

Dinat and Peberdy (2007) study of domestic workers in Johannesburg is focused on “the lives of domestic workers, particularly on their experiences as migrants, their working conditions, use of health-care services and knowledge of and possible vulnerability to HIV/AIDS” (p.1). The study reveals that there are many domestic workers who are not born in Johannesburg, and most importantly a significant number comes from the neighbouring countries within SADC region. Of interest to the current study was the quantitative representation of such migrant workers, of the 68% interviewed whose homes were not in South Africa, almost 50% of them were from Lesotho (Dinat & Peberdy, 2007) which speaks to the significant presence of Basotho domestic workers in South Africa. This current study focuses on such migrant

domestic workers, but the focus is on those from Lesotho instead of treating them all under the same umbrella of female migrant domestic workers. The emphasis is on their migration pathways.

Following the end of apartheid and the attainment of democracy in South Africa, mobility within the region loosened up and there was significantly more movement in and out of South Africa. Ally (2009) notes that most of migrant domestic workers from the region arrived after South Africa gained its democracy in 1994 and therefore represent a new phase in the labour migrancy narrative. As a result of labour migration history in the region, the study further demonstrates how such presence continues to place at the fore regional inequalities where South Africa continues to be the core in a more South-South context against the popular North-South narratives. Therefore, their presence within South Africa can be interpreted as recycling of workers, from mining sector to domestic sector. Furthermore, it can be understood as the representation of the making and remaking of dependence where countries in the region, particularly Lesotho, continue to be reserves for exploitable labour based on economic inequalities among countries in the region.

Looking at the composition of migration within the region, McDonald et al. (2000) highlight that in recent years, women are forerunners in countries like Lesotho, Mozambique, and Zimbabwe. Their study alludes to push and pull factors of this migration and highlights that among other things, these women travel for economic purposes either in the form of buying and trading. Ally (2009) further extends on that by observing that deteriorating employment rates in countries like Lesotho and Zimbabwe which become some form of catalysts that force mostly uneducated women to seek haven in migration and employment within domestic sector beyond the borders of their birth countries. In Lesotho, the retrenchments at the mines in South Africa where many young men from the country worked also affected many families' income flows, particularly those that solely relied on remittances sent by those mineworkers (Ally, 2009). This created a gap within such families' income structures and left many struggling to make ends meet, forcing people to seek alternative ways of survival.

Furthermore, McDonald et al. (2000) explore the role of networks migrant workers form to facilitate such migration processes. These networks help them to open a platform for communication with people back home, to fellow migrants and even to their families. They report that it is through these networks that migrant workers advise each other on the survival mechanisms, which places to avoid (specifically for undocumented ones) and mostly other

information dissemination that can assist in migration. Migrant workers also use such platforms to encourage those at home to use opportunities that are presented to them and even go further to assist them in getting to where those opportunities are, that is playing a middleman between the available opportunities and such fellow migrants (Pearson & Morrell, 2002). The same was indicated by Vanyoro (2019) and Zach et al. (2019) who also highlight the significant role played by such networks in facilitating travel of migrant domestic workers from Zimbabwe into South Africa and how such assist even those without proper travelling documents. Based on that, the role of communication as alluded by Tyner (1999) becomes an inevitable observation showing how significant it is in the whole labour migration process. This current study extends such literature on female labour migrants by adding pathways Basotho women use to seek employment in South Africa.

Taking a different methodological approach within the same spirit of female migration, Mbiyozo (2018) ethnographic study on women migrants in Cape Town attempts to understand how intersections of migration processes through different experiences of such women can be attributed to gender. In essence, the study looks at how migration processes of these women from different African countries, help to construct and shape their vulnerabilities from a gendered dimension. Interestingly the study reveals what Lim and Oishi (1996) indicated on migrant women, reflecting that they encounter double stages of vulnerabilities based on their gender and migrant status, compared to their male counterparts. In that regard, “women’s migration pathways and experiences are distinctive from those of men and involve greater exposure to multiple risks” (Mbiyozo, 2018, p.3).

Among other things, literature points to easy accessibility to South Africa as one of the facilitators of migration, making travelling possible, especially among those in the region. Vanyoro (2019) highlights this ease of accessibility on Zimbabwean migrant domestic workers by looking at the role played by transport agents in facilitating such movements, revealing a clear network of actors that play a role in making sure that migrants get to their place of destination. The role of transport in labour migration has also been discussed by Martin and Widgren (1996). But what this does not show is their lives beyond arrival in South Africa, where do they begin and what channels do they use to secure employment? This is the angle that the current study is exploring, but the emphasis is on Basotho domestic workers.

Once at the place of destination, Maharaj (2004) alludes to the conditions that migrants are subjected to, specifically in South Africa, highlighting that these migrants are usually victims

of poverty and unemployment in their places of origin. Ally (2009) attests the same xenophobic attitude toward Malawian and Zimbabwean domestic workers in South Africa. In her study conducted among Basotho who live in Bloemfontein, Free State, Moletsane (2016) indicates that migrant workers always suffer in the hands of the locals because they are considered competitors to their resources. In that regard, when it comes to female migrant workers, as Lim and Oishi (1996) state, “their status as women, as migrant or non-nationals, and as workers in gender segregated labour markets makes international female migrant workers particularly vulnerable to various forms of discrimination, exploitation and abuse” (p. 23).

2.6 BASOTHO MIGRANT DOMESTIC WORKERS

Lesotho, like other countries in the region, share a long history of labour migration with South Africa, a one that saw it being reduced from its glorious days of being an exporter of agricultural produce to being cheap labour reserve for South Africa (Murray, 1976). Basically, Basotho have been migrating to South Africa to work in mines, factories and farms for more than a century (Cobbe, 2012). Historically, migration studies in Lesotho have focused on men. This is partially because the migrant labour system that existed in South Africa from the discovery of Gold targeted male workers (Crush et al., 2005). During this time, such migration process was a joint adventure between governments and recruitment agencies for supply of such mineworkers in comparison with migrant domestic workers under current study. The Witwatersrand Native Labour Association (WNLA), more popularly known as Wenela, was particularly set up by the gold mines in South Africa as a middleman between ‘would be’ mineworkers and the mines, thus it performed a recruitment task on behalf of the mines for consistent supply of migrant workers. As Gay (1980) notes, during that time, women were not only of no concern to mines as they were only looking for men to perform labour intensive tasks, but also to the Department of Labour in Lesotho as there was, no record of any statistics nor studies of women who might be migrating as compared to men.

In addition to the above, Maloka (2004) notes that following the attainment of independence in 1966, labour migration received a wide academic coverage from different scholars, with both economists and sociologists being among the top on the list. Most of these studies conducted were around migrant workers and recruitment in Lesotho mainly focused on male mineworkers. The few that integrated women did not look at them solely as main focus of their studies but as a complementary component of the whole migration process premised around male migrants (See Coplan, 1994). Furthermore, such studies looked at women from a victim

perspective, considering them as those left behind by their husbands, thereby translating them into labour migration victims, even though they were still migrating themselves (Murray,1981). In the light of that, Griffin (2011) notes that domestic workers in Lesotho still remain the underexplored category overshadowed by dozens of studies that have over history covered mineworkers.

Griffin (2011) also adds the fact that until 2007 (when Capacity of Married Person Act was revised in Lesotho), Basotho women were legally restricted from engaging in many activities without the approval of their husbands. Under Capacity of Married Persons Act of law, married women in Lesotho were legally regarded as minors and prohibited from engaging in any decisions, including cross border travel without the consent of their husbands or the in-laws. This means it became a taboo for women to even attempt to go beyond their homes as that would be deviating against the cultural expectations that made her a qualified Mosotho woman, understood along submissiveness, obedience and home keeping. Of course, this does not disregard the fact that there were some women who managed to find their way outside the country, yet such were regarded as cultural delinquents and a disgrace to the idea of a proper woman. Even so, “despite the degrading conditions, social isolation, and risk of arrest ... women go because they have no alternative” (Murray, 1981, p. 154).

On top of that, the 1915 Basutoland Native Women’s Restriction Proclamation whose intention was to “prohibit native women from leaving ... against the will of the husbands, fathers, or natural guardians” (Crush et al.,2007, p.8) prevented women from migrating. Due to this structural discrimination, women migration processes have been under the bigger shadow of their male counterparts (Mbiyozo,2018), whose labour migration is well represented in the literature. However, Gay (1980) notes that even as restrictive laws were imposed on them, some Basotho women were still migrating and working in South Africa, yet they did not feature in any migration studies, which is a trend that is still continuing even today as they continue to enter migration studies at their margins despite changes in the phase of labour migration in Lesotho.

Following a consistent decline in the employment opportunities for male migrant mineworkers in South Africa owing to stagnant gold prices (Crush et al.,2007), there has been a shift in the gender division of migration. Olivier (2013) notes that, among other things, Basotho women are increasingly migrating for work and a number of them looks for jobs as domestic workers in South Africa. This “feminisation of migration from Lesotho involves firstly, an increase in

the absolute number of female migrants, secondly, an increase in the proportion of migrants who are female and thirdly, a qualitative change in the character of female migration” (Crush et al., 2007, p.9).

Crush et al. (2007) further provide a detailed summary of why Basotho women are migrating to South Africa:

“There are three main reasons for the increase in female migration to South Africa. First, the collapse of apartheid has made it easier for women to migrate and to find work in South Africa without being constantly harassed and deported by the state. On the other hand, most are confined to low-paying, exploitative jobs by their irregular status. Second, households that used to have a male miner as the primary breadwinner are now increasingly impoverished. In order to make ends meet, female spouses and young women in the households are migrating in their stead and remitting money home. This redefinition of traditional gender roles within the household has led to considerable gender conflict between spouses and between unemployed patriarchs and their migrant daughters. Third... wages in South Africa for women are better than in Lesotho (though still lower than for men)” (p.14).

According to this available literature, the ways through which these female migrants find themselves in South Africa vary. Botea et al. (2018) note that Basotho women who want to work as domestic workers in South Africa use their own independent discretion to travel to and seek employment in that sector. The report however does not show how they secure these jobs once at the place of destination. In addition to that, this study’s findings reveal that a number of these migrant domestic workers follow their relatives and friends based in South Africa, an observation also made by Mbiyozo (2019), but there is no specific literature that focuses on how they secure jobs. This study aims to fill that gap in the literature by focusing on their migrations pathways and employment seeking strategies.

Griffin (2011) and Makoro (2015) explore migrant Basotho domestic workers’ experiences in South Africa. Griffin’s (2011) study focuses on how their illegality is constructed through South African state apparatus including borders and immigration policies and how these works together to create them as illegal subjects. Both studies reveal that this labelling of Basotho women does not just present them as criminals but extends their victimisation in the hands of

their employers as they produce fear in them to report their ill-treatments in the hands of their employers. They are therefore, left vulnerable and as Griffin (2011) states, ‘bounded’ to the control of their employers.

Moeletsi (2017) takes a different approach from the previous two by investigating the experiences of Basotho migrant domestic workers within the perspective of ‘mothering from distance’ (Parrenas,2001). The study attempts to understand how these workers understand and negotiate their emotions within the double parenting scenario and how they attempt to escape self-blame that naturally comes with it. It reveals what Parrenas (2001) also discussed on transnational parenting, indicating that the social obligations imposed on women aggravate their emotions as they play parents to other children, making it hard for them to cope with the whole process. But because society expects a mother to be a provider for the children, they find themselves having to leave their families and children and engage in labour migration.

However, of this literature available, either on migrant domestic workers in South Africa or that which indicates Basotho migrant domestic workers in South Africa, none discusses migration pathways migrant domestic workers engage in, to secure employment in South Africa. This is why this study is timely and relevant, as it seeks to bring light in that regard, the emphasis is on Basotho domestic workers in South Africa.

2.7 MIGRANT DOMESTIC WORKERS AND DECENT WORK

Globally, migrant domestic workers rights are expanding through adoption of national laws and policies by both host and sending countries (Murphy,2013). Despite that, they continue to be among the most vulnerable category of workers whose employment is characterised mostly by precarity. Most importantly, they remain exploitable and prone to abuse despite such efforts by national states and international organisations (Murphy,2013).

Furthermore, all migrant workers, including domestic workers, are protected under the international labour standards that prescribe conditions and their rights at work pioneered by ILO (Tayah,2016). It is within this line of understanding that decent work becomes the key concept when discussing migrant workers’ conditions at work, another key aspect of this study. These conditions at work are contained under the same broader conceptual framework. Developed by ILO , decent work defines work “...which involves opportunities for work that is productive and delivers a fair income, security in the workplace and social protection for families...” (D’Orey,2017,para 1). It is characterised by:

1.Rights at work

2. Employment creation
3. Social protection
4. Social dialogue

Basotho migrant domestic workers' conditions at work are treated within decent work framework in alignment with all the pillars listed above. By conditions at work, the study therefore refers to their job experiences in as far as their safety at work, housing arrangements, social protection, and their general work environment, contained in the above pillars, are concerned. By addressing a question on these conditions at work, this study seeks to establish if their migration pathways influence them. In that regard, the interest is on whether the use of certain pathways can possibly affect the way domestic workers get to experience their experiences at work. Through asking questions on things like living conditions and working hours among different participants, this study is able to draw analysis based on their different experiences.

Whereas many studies have touched on issues of domestic workers' conditions at work, it has always been around the understanding that their living arrangements disempower them and make them susceptible to such unfavourable conditions (Griffin, 2011). In this current study, Basotho migrant domestic workers' conditions at work are explored through their migration pathways, trying to understand the extend different channels they explore to secure employment can influence their work experiences for decent work attainment. It seeks to understand if migration pathways can influence domestic workers' conditions at work, specifically looking at how that may differ among them with different pathways. This should however not be interpreted as a shift in the study's focus, but as an attempt to address one of the questions that guide this study which seeks to understand:

How do these existing migration pathways affect their conditions at work?

Migrant domestic workers in this particular study refer to Basotho women who are employed within the domestic sector in South Africa in 2020 during the period of the study. This includes both documented and undocumented and those who were temporarily released at their workplace due to COVID-19 (as it was the case with others) during interview phase yet technically still considered employed.

CHAPTER 3

3.0 METHODOLOGY

3.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter unpacks research methods utilised to answer the research questions. This study sought to investigate migration pathways domestic workers from Lesotho use to secure employment in South Africa, necessitating a qualitative research approach. As Creswell (2014) notes, this approach allows for deeper understanding of social issues through engaging participants. In that regard, this chapter will provide a detailed outline of research method, sampling techniques and data collection strategy utilised respectively in this study, making these themes key components of this chapter. It will further include a section on ethical concerns, which considers and acknowledges the mandatory codes of conduct that guide all social researchers.

For this study, a qualitative approach was appropriate. As Neuman (2011) states, this research method is applicable where the ultimate goal of the study is explaining, that is, it turns to focus on the language that can be interpreted using cases and contexts. Quantitative research on the other hand becomes more appropriate when the goal is to test a hypothesis through establishment of variables and their causal relationships (Neuman,2011). Because this study aimed at investigating migration processes of Basotho domestic workers, therefore making it explanatory, the appropriate approach that the researcher opted for, which based on the former sentence, best fits this study is qualitative approach.

Furthermore, advantages of qualitative method over quantitative is that it seeks to get deeper understanding of social issues through engaging participants that have a stake in the social issue explored (Creswell,2014). In a quest to achieve that, it uses nonnumerical procedures as opposed to quantitative research. This means it can be used to get deeper understanding or explanation of phenomena that are otherwise not easy to get through statistical means that are applicable in quantitative research (Strauss & Corbin,1990).

3.2INTRODUCING STUDY'S PARTICIPANTS

The study draws its empirical data from in-depth interviews with 15 Basotho migrant domestic workers aged between 23 and 49 located in different provinces of South Africa. However, at the time of interview, 80% of them were aged 35 and below. This confirms Maphosa (2007 as cited in Zack et al.,2019) argument that many people participate in migration processes while

in their youthful years². Their education levels varies but all of them completed primary school education and obtained Form C (Grade 10) certificate. Four of them hold Form E (Grade 12) certificate, and only went as far as tertiary education. Thus, these are women with decent reading and writing abilities despite being limited to high school. Seven of them were married with number of children ranging between two and three. Two of them are widows and one is divorcee. Four were single with no children. They also come from different parts of Lesotho. Five come from Maseru, the capital city which is closer to the main port of entry into South Africa while the rest come from the remaining nine districts of the country.



Fig. 1. The location of Lesotho within South Africa.(Source: Adams & Adams)

² Youth years are defined within the African context as per African Youth Charter 2006. A youth is therefore someone between the ages of 15-35 (see https://www.un.org/en/africa/osaa/pdf/au/african_youth_charter_2006.pdf).

3.3 SAMPLING

This study's sample was drawn from the population of female Basotho migrant workers in South Africa. Neuman (2011) states that sampling is in many cases associated with quantitative studies because of the general belief that it is done solely for representation which forms the basis of quantitative studies. However, in qualitative studies, sampling equally plays a crucial, yet different role compared to quantitative counterpart. Within that understanding, sampling in qualitative studies can be understood as some sort of breakthrough into understanding the previously complicated social phenomenon through use of people that fit within such framework (Neuman, 2011). Basically, the idea is to make use of the relevant people who have insights and expertise into a certain social issue with the intention of getting better knowledge and not necessarily using such data to draw general conclusions.

In that regard, investigating migration pathways of Basotho migrant domestic workers in South Africa using a sample of 15 women does not translate into what can be concluded of all Basotho migrant domestic workers, but helps to give a deeper understanding of their world in a manner that was not understood before. Therefore, sampling in qualitative studies can be understood as putting emphasis on deeper understanding of certain social issues and groups more than representation. To stretch that further, Flick (1998) states that this sampling is not for representation per se but on whether the chosen are relevant in terms of assisting to get to the goal of the social inquiry, and that basically determines who gets to be chosen as a participant.

Nevertheless, there are also various methods at the researchers' exposure when it comes to sampling, depending on whether the study is qualitative or quantitative. Understanding these differences among probability and non-probability methods means understanding the same between quantitative and qualitative studies. Probability sampling method involves selecting participants for statistical analysis while for non-probability sampling, subjects are selected based on their relevance to the subject matter under inquiry (Babbie, 2010). For the current study, snowball sampling technique was used. As a nonprobability sampling method, it relies on the interconnections among individuals and as their paths meet, there is always a new respondent identified. Neuman (2011) notes that what sets this method apart from others is its reliance on networks among people and the linkages such form, such that even though people may not necessarily know each other directly, they are somehow linked within the same web of network.

This technique helped the researcher to locate the next potential respondents through such networking. Neuman (2011) specifies that this relies on both direct and indirect ways through which interconnectedness among human beings is maintained. As Babbie (2010) notes, this sampling technique is applicable when dealing with certain groups that are difficult to locate like migrant workers (subjects of this study) or homeless. In other words, as Neuman (2011) states, this method usually begins with just one person and the group grows as more people are brought in through referrals. Through this, a respondent helps the researcher to locate the next participant who matches the characteristics the researcher is looking for i.e., migrant domestic workers from Lesotho. In any way, Babbie (2010) argues that this does not prioritise representation, but relevance of respondents to the study.

Subsequently, as Neuman (2011) states, this method starts with one person and grows as more people are brought in through same circle influence. Applied to this study, the researcher identified two domestic workers from Lesotho (which is the researcher's home country also) whom the researcher knows from growing up together as neighbours back home. They were able to refer the researcher to other Basotho domestic workers within their circle at the first phase of it, from there those were also able to give names of domestic workers within their own circle. It is worth mentioning that being in the same network does not necessarily mean it is a pool of close friends or that there is direct one on one conversation among them which others might take as weaknesses in snowball sampling.

This sampling method however is criticised for likelihood of biasness based on the assumption that respondents might know each other, therefore might have a certain influence on others in as far as answering questions is concerned (Babbie,2010). To avoid that, as the researcher interacted with the first respondents, they referred her to many Basotho migrant domestic workers within their cycle. The researcher through her own judgement could tell which of the referred were likely to be very close friends and decided to drop some during interview phase. These included the first two respondents whom the concern was they were likely to not be transparent on other issues with the researcher because they are from the same village and are neighbours in Lesotho. Instead, they were used to test and make sense of the questions.

3.4 DATA COLLECTION

Qualitative research has many data collection techniques. Creswell (2014) notes that in a qualitative study, the researcher can decide to use face to face interviews, focus groups or telephone interviews. Based on that, this study used telephone interviews as data collection

technique. The following quote provides a detailed summary on what characterises interviews in social research, particularly qualitative research.

“The use of interview as a research method is nothing mysterious: An interview is a conversation that has a structure and purpose. It goes beyond the spontaneous exchange of views as in everyday conversation and becomes a careful questioning and listening approach with the purpose of obtaining thoroughly tested knowledge. The research interview is not a conversation between equal partners because the researcher defines and controls the situation. The topic of the interview is introduced by the researcher, who also critically follows up on the subjects’ answers to his or her questions” (Kvale,1996, p.6).

Furthermore, Kvale (1996) metaphors of interviewers as both miners and travellers provide a great understanding on the usefulness of interviews in social research. In the first metaphor, he contrasts interviewers with miners, thus interviewers can be understood in the same way mineworkers carry out their mineral digging process. There is acknowledgement on the presence of raw and uncontaminated data available to be discovered underneath and it is upon the interviewer to dig in search for it, yet key to that is maintaining either unbiased or/and avoiding leading questions. In the traveller’s metaphor, Kvale (1996) pictures an interviewer as someone who embarks in a journey with the aim of returning home and narrating to others the discoveries, he/she made along the way. These discoveries rely on the traveller making use of the locals within the landscapes he travels to and gathering information from their insider perspective through questioning. This information gets to be used and interpreted in the way that it is given new meaning. Interviews therefore become avenues through which interviewers can mirror themselves and acquire new knowledge and insights into social issues and certain groups of people that might have been undermined or even overlooked.

3.4.1 Data collection technique

For the current study, the researcher used telephone interviews. This is a data collection technique whereby a researcher relies on cell phones and telephones to collect data. Telephone interviews are credited for their time saving advantage. Telephone interviews during this COVID-19 era, considering the constricted movement and limited access to resources on the side of study respondents, seemed to be the only practical strategy through which the researcher could be able to contact and connect with the respondents across South Africa. Opdenakker (2006) states that this technique makes it easy for researchers to reach those places

that would have otherwise been impossible to. Some people may find it hard to open up during face to face interviews, especially on issues they deem personal or just uncomfortable to respond to. Telephone interviews help to increase response rate in such situations, as Opdenakker (2006) further notes, the interviewer can elicit sensitive information based on anonymity from respondents and sensitive places through telephone interviews. The current outbreak of COVID 19 and its impact on researchers has helped in the justification of why telephone interviews have been helpful when dealing with certain categories of people and consequently how it will continue to play a great role in social research. As noted by Weis (1994), telephone interviews are considered “the next best thing to being there” (p. 59).

Telephone interviews are however accused of the assumed inability to build a rapport between the researcher and the respondent due to lack of physical interaction between the two. Yet as Trrier-Bieniek (2012) rightfully states, face to face interviews do not on their own guarantee an automatic rapport building. There are situations that might affect such which would otherwise produce better response if done by telephone interviews, an example can be the attitude of the researcher. Furthermore, for this current study, participants were freely expressing themselves and were able to provide insightful information which the researcher believes she would have still got with face to face interviews.

3.4.2 Data collection process

The first step that the researcher undertook was to make sure she introduces the research study to the respondents and to remind them why she was engaging in it, and most importantly why they were also part of it. Creswell (1994) notes that it is important for the researcher to build a rapport with study respondents and to demonstrate a certain level of understanding of the research topic. For this study, the researcher presented herself to the study respondents as a Mosotho woman, studying in South Africa which the researcher felt like calmed the respondents down and made them more comfortable to engage with her openly. Thus, the researcher used her nationality and shared language within a foreign country as her point of entrance shared between her and the researchers. That being said, respondents tended to be comfortable talking and participating in the study that allowed them to freely speak their language in a country that is not theirs.

This study’s data was collected telephonically from 15 individual migrant domestic workers from Lesotho working in South Africa during the year of the study (2020). Interviews were conducted in Sesotho to accommodate all the respondents and were audio recorded for later

translation into English. The researcher's cellular phone performed simultaneous double task of being both calling and recording device. The researcher had to download 'Record Call' application that allows calls to be recorded from the beginning as long as 'Enable Call Record' function is activated. At the end of the call, the application automatically saves the recorded data in the form of audio in the phone's memory with the names of the interviewees exactly as they appear on the call log. Basically, for this study, the researcher ran pilot interviews with two Basotho migrant domestic workers to ensure both audibility of the calls and most importantly to make sure that the recording application will not stop functioning along the interviews and cut the other parts of the interviews.

Initially, the researcher had planned to send participant information sheets and consent forms through WhatsApp to the respondents prior to the original interviews for purposes of making them aware of (1) what participating in the study meant and (2) the ethical implications of their involvement and the precautionary measures the researcher would take to protect their names. The researcher did that with the first two interviewees, but it became clear that there was going to be inconsistency as some respondents did not have WhatsApp application that the researcher had planned to use to send the document. Subsequently, even those with WhatsApp could not download the form because their phones did not have applications that supported either word document or PDF, which were the two formats the form was in.

The researcher therefore decided on a strategy that would not be as financially straining on the side of the researcher as buying data bundles to the respondents and going back again to buy calling bundles for the interview. The researcher bought the 'All Networks' calling bundles that are available under MTN cellular network and that way all the respondents could be reached without any hinderance. The first five minutes of each interview were dedicated to going through the participant information sheet whereby the researcher slowly read it out to individual respondents, checking with them every step of the way and making sure they understood crucial concepts like 'voluntary' and 'use of pseudo names'. The form was written in Sesotho, which is the researcher's home language also, so understanding each other was not a problem in that regard.

After going through the participant information sheet, respondents were further asked if they understood everything and were given the opportunity to raise any queries that needed clarity from the researcher. Once that was dealt with, the researcher further asked if their acknowledgment of the participant information sheet's contents could be understood as the

permission they were giving to be interviewed, and their responses were recorded. Therefore, for this study, consent was obtained verbally.

3.4.3 Interview tools

Interview guide was used to direct the researcher with a list of questions, it is relevant to note that in qualitative studies, there is no following of structured questions (Babbie,2010). Creating interview guide as a research instrument was meant to remind the researcher of key questions that the study sought to get answers to and to use such as avenues through which more information can be extracted from the respondents as shown in Appendix 1. Interview guide in qualitative studies is a list of important themes and key questions that the researcher will expand on to extract more information from the respondents (Boyce & Neale,2006). This is because, unlike in quantitative interviews, questions are unstructured, and this tool helps to guide the researcher in terms of the flow of questions without necessarily shaping their order. That is to say, based on what the researcher experienced, it is possible for respondents to answer a question that appears down on the list thereby making the researcher skip it and mark it as answered to avoid appearing as if he/she was not listening. The researcher made sure to record some new ideas that were of interest along the interview and upon completion on the writing pad even though the recording device was activated.

3.5 ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

Ethics in social research are codes of conduct that guide researchers in what is morally accepted and vice versa (Babbie,2010). Ethics help to set the parameters that make researchers conscious of what is expected of them when dealing with human participants and acknowledge the set standards that they have to align themselves with. In summary, ethics “define what is, or is not legitimate to do or what moral research procedure involves” (Neuman,2011, p.143). The researcher was cleared to conduct the study by the Sociology and Development Studies Ethics Committee under protocol number **GLU2020/05/02.**

Consent

Wassenaar (2006) notes that qualitative interviews should be done with the highest consideration of both consent and confidentiality of the respondents. For this study, consent was obtained verbally from the respondents since both physical meeting and sending a copy, which were the options the researcher had did not allow for a written one. Nevertheless, at the beginning of each interview, the researcher read the participant information sheet to the respondents to explain what the study entails and why them, particularly, were engaged. After

going through the form, the researcher asked the respondents if they understood everything, then went ahead to ask if that could be a permission, they grant her to go on with the interview, and that is how they gave their consent to participate in the interviews. The researcher also sought permission to record all interviews and have all the consents on record.

Anonymity

The researcher emphasised to the respondents that the interviews were conducted for academic purposes only. Babbie (2010) describes anonymity as the assurance the researcher grants to the respondents that anyone reading the report will not be able to link certain responses to a particular respondent. Therefore, through the participant information sheet, they were assured that their names were not going to be used, instead the researcher will develop pseudo names.

3.6 LIMITATIONS

The study was conducted when South Africa was under strict lockdown regulations due to COVID-19 pandemic, as a result, some domestic workers were sent off by their employers. Even though the researcher made it clear to the respondents through both participant information sheet and reemphasising verbally, the use of the word ‘interview’ tended to be interpreted in relation to work by some domestic workers. This influenced the way they responded as they tended to give more positive and sort of programmed answers. For example, one of the questions asked what they liked most about being domestic workers. One of the respondents mentioned that she loves everything about it, she loves cleaning, taking care of the kids and basically making her employers happy. This was in contrast with what many had said, my interpretation as I engaged her was of someone who wanted to impress and who thought I could help. This is because at the time of the interview, she was one of the domestic workers whose employers released, promising to call her when things were normal on their side, so technically she was still employed but unemployed.

CHAPTER 4

4.0 DISCUSSION AND ANALYSIS

4.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter presents interpretation and analysis of results from interviews conducted with Basotho domestic workers in South Africa between July and September 2020. The discussion explores the migration pathways Basotho migrant domestic workers use to secure jobs in South Africa and the processes and practices they go through in search of such jobs. The chapter also demonstrates how these existing migration pathways potentially affect their conditions of work. The study established four main themes. Firstly, it unveils the motives behind Basotho migrant domestic workers' decision to leave home. Secondly, it identifies five pathways commonly used to secure employment. Thirdly, it highlights the combination of strategies they use both for employment attainment and continuity. Lastly, it unpacks conditions of work as a framework and uses them to form an analysis of how migration pathways of Basotho domestic workers potentially influence them. Pseudonyms are used throughout the chapter to uphold confidentiality and anonymity of the participants.

4.3 DECIDING TO LEAVE HOME

To understand and appreciate the pathways Basotho migrant domestic workers use to secure employment in South Africa requires exploring the motives behind leaving their home country. Although most of them presented diversity of reasons, at the heart of this migration is the broader framework of global labour migration perpetuated by unequal distribution of resources within and among countries across the globe. Parrenas (2020) locates such mobilities within the global labour market system where these workers are constrained within the unskilled workers' categories. This leaves them vulnerable to either immediate deportation or continued exposure to same jobs with no possibility of both professional and economic growth.

This study has established that many Basotho women migrate to South Africa for employment purposes and make use of different migration pathways which also affect their work experiences. Scholars such as Silvey and Parrenas (2020) argue that in most cases, these migration practices do not translate into empowerment of these women's conditions of work, instead they become gateways towards their precarity. For instance, it is almost impossible for most of them to move out of domestic work. The only consistent and observable mobility is changing households for work. The study also finds that some Basotho women in South Africa had no idea that they would end up working as domestic workers, and that they would be stuck

in the sector for many years. One such example is 49-year-old Mpho who joined the sector at the age of 25 and says she no longer dreams of working somewhere, which confirms the stagnancy that domestic work creates in the long run.

I came to South Africa in 1996 to look for any available job. When I got here, the first job I got was of domestic worker and since I did not have many options, I took it. I have been doing it since then and I do not think I will ever try something different after all these years (Mpho, personal interview, July 18,2020).

Historically, Basotho women were culturally restricted from migrating and the only time they would migrate was to visit their spouses working in mines in South Africa (Gay,1980). This study's findings show that for women under study, contrary to such literature, migration was voluntary and free from any external influence unlike forced migration that popularly characterises countries in the Middle East (Tejel & Oztan,2020). They demonstrated such agency to migrate either to complement their husbands' livelihood which is mostly farming or to change economic situations at home as breadwinners within female headed households. By taking such steps, they do not only exercise the agency to break the historic literature on Basotho women, but also positively take charge of their lives and that of their families through benefits that will be granted by such acts of labour migration.

Furthermore, the study shows that these Basotho domestic workers seem to follow "momentum-based pathways" (Mbiyozo,2018, p.15), a phrase that explains the migration practices popular among migrants. It says migrants follow migration patterns utilised either by their family members or those within their communities. This is true of 26 years old Itumeleng, whose mother is also a domestic worker in South Africa. At the age of 20, she was married with a child. Her husband is a subsistence farmer who looks after their cattle. As a woman, she explained her ambition to be able to buy some of her needs which needed money. It is for such reasons that she decided to follow her mother to work as a domestic worker in South Africa.

My husband is a farmer, he does not have any job. You know livestock owners. They do not like living them. But I am a woman, I have dreams to achieve in life. I needed the money to achieve them (Itumeleng, personal interview, September 1, 2020).

Yet for others, it was the growing frustrations that were born of failed attempts to establish businesses. As Parrenas (2020) explains, in many cases, such businesses are likely to fail

because they are usually within the already congested informal economy and exist within limited geographical coverage due to their small size. This is the same story that happened to 26 years old Ritha.

I started searching for jobs in Lesotho. In fact, initially, I was self-employed. However, I kept on incurring losses despite working hard to grow my business. With time, I realized I was not making any progress on my business. So, I decided to shut it down and come to South Africa to look for something better (Ritha, personal interview July 25,2020).

For some, it was not lack of employment per se that pushed them to migrate to South Africa, but unequal countries' salary distributions born of inequalities among countries in the region for same jobs. This is backed up by the fact that many of them were employed in Lesotho in different sectors prior to their first domestic work encounter in South Africa. The realisation of such differences in salaries prompted others to leave Lesotho for greener pastures in South Africa. Lillo confirms this by saying: *"I was working at a local supermarket in Lesotho and a friend working in South Africa told me the salaries were higher than what I was getting. I chose to quit and come here"* (Lillo, personal interview, July 23,2020).

As breadwinners within their households, inconsistencies in monthly salary payments can also be attributed to factors forcing others to seek alternative employment elsewhere. Apati, a 41-year-old domestic worker from Berea district is an example.

I was working as an educator for a reception class at one local primary school. When one gets signed in, the salaries come three months later which creates a three-month income gap. I have three children that need to be fed and I was failing to do that. So, I decided to leave and find another job. Finding another job in Lesotho proved difficult, and when I failed to secure it in Lesotho, I thought about South Africa (Apati, personal interview, July 17,2020).

For Mina, it was the idea that South Africa provides better job opportunities than Lesotho that motivated her to migrate. Unlike others, she took a bet on herself and planned to travel to South Africa hoping that she would easily land some job once there. In an interview with her, she shared with the researcher *"... It was difficult at home, I was no more at school, I could not afford to go back either. So, I thought I should just come to South Africa and do some job hunting"* (Mina, personal interview, July 21,2020).

Forty-eight-year-old Malefa has a different story. Her trip to South Africa was nothing close to job searching, unlike the rest of the respondents. Her case is unique in that she comes in as a victim of regional labour migration. As a widow of another migrant worker in South Africa, her trip to South Africa was to follow up on the benefits of her late husband, who was working in the mines. When she could not get any penny from the employers, she thought about her three children and decided to stay in South Africa and look for jobs to support her family. She is different in that, instead of finding reasons to leave home like others, she found the reason to stay in South Africa.

My husband was a mineworker here in South Africa. When he passed on, I came to trace the money that I thought was still accrued to him. I was told that when he was on TB treatment, he just went on leave and left so there was nothing that proved he had to be paid. At that point, I took the decision to follow other women and seek employment. I did not want to work in Lesotho because of low salaries, although I had not worked as a domestic worker there (Malefa, personal interview, July 26, 2020).

Interestingly, the study also shows that some young Basotho migrant domestic workers decide to come to South Africa because they consider it a safer place to hide from being judged by their peers based on their job. This is true of Nkotseng, whose journey to domestic work has been clouded by failure to see herself graduate from an institution of higher learning in Lesotho, where she was enrolled. After incurring some problems that forced her to drop out in her first year of study, she found herself with two children and unmarried. Instead of seeking employment in Lesotho, she thought of how her friends and the people she knew would say as she dropped out of school. Having stayed in South Africa before, she thought she could return and probably seek employment within the domestic sector based on its permeability.

Growing up, we all have dreams.... People might know you are a domestic worker, and you know it is not easy, especially when you are a college dropout. And in Lesotho, we all know each other because the country is small with a small population. People can easily find out where you are working and start mocking you (Nkotseng, personal interview, July 18, 2020).

The above discussion has shown that multiple factors influence Basotho migrant domestic workers to leave home for South Africa. These can be characterized as push and pull factors.

The push factors include the responsibilities that come with heading families as sole income earners. For others, it is the eagerness to find a way of supplementing their spouses' livelihoods. The pull factors, on the other hand include the sold narrative by the ones who are already in South Africa that salaries are higher than in Lesotho within the domestic sector. For others, it is the personal intuition that South Africa provides more job opportunities than their home, therefore being in South Africa alone will grant them jobs. In all cases, all the reasons indicate that generally, they decided to leave home for economic purposes, confirming what (Crush et al.2007) also discovered about why the Basotho women they interviewed engaged in such act of migration.

The following section explores migration pathways for Basotho migrant domestic workers. It unpacks the channels they utilise to secure employment in South Africa once they have made decision to leave home.

4.4 MIGRATION PATHWAYS

Basotho domestic workers utilise diverse pathways to support their quest for employment in South Africa. As already highlighted, migration pathways denote the channels these domestic workers use to navigate the labour market to secure employment within the domestic sector. As Parrenas (2020) states, these pathways signal such processes they explore and demonstrate their susceptibility to unfair treatment as they make their ways in and out of their employment status and legal coverage. Participants in this study show that some also adopt a combination of these pathways in their migration cycle as they navigate their way from one domestic job to the other. These pathways range from regular to irregular ones and include use of recruitment agencies, dependence on social networks, use of social media, door to door job hunting and a combination of recruitment agencies and social networks for employment sustainability. It is these pathways that will form the basis of this section.

4.4.1 Use of Regular Pathways

It is worth highlighting that there is no agreement between Lesotho and South Africa governments regarding the supply of domestic workers. By regular pathways, this study does not necessarily mean any form of arranged mobility into the domestic sector. Instead, it looks at individuals who managed to secure employment in South Africa using documents and status which allow them to do so. One such case is that of Mamolupe, born and raised in Lesotho but holds dual citizenship status. By virtue of that, she claims citizenship of both Lesotho and South Africa, which makes her regular in South Africa even though her whole family is in Lesotho.

Her pathway is deemed regular, unlike others in that she came in with this privilege of holding a national identity document which makes her a South African. Although she secured her first domestic work through social networks, her dual citizenship grants her the privilege of staying in South Africa and search for jobs like anyone else.

Mamolupe's father was a mineworker at Welkom in the Free State province. He remarried and later attained South African citizenship. As a young girl, she found herself caught between two worlds. However, being very close to her father, she moved to Free State to start a new life with her father and stepmother. It became evident that she would not be able to write final matric examinations because she was still using Lesotho's passport. Being a South African, her father organised all the needed documents to get her an identity document of which he succeeded.

Today, Mamolupe works as a domestic worker and believes her identity document is not helping her. Although, unlike others she knows her knocking in/off times (07:00 am- 17:00 pm), she believes her Lesotho citizenship still impacts the way she gets treated. She recalls the time her employer bought a new washing machine, and she demonstrated to her how it works, which she appreciated. However, during the process, her employer mentioned that she could not use a washing machine because such devices are not popular in Lesotho. The emphasis was on her not being civilised enough to operate a washing machine, not because she was a domestic worker, but because she was an uncivilised domestic worker from Lesotho.

Although Griffin (2011) notes from interviews with Basotho domestic workers the belief that holding a South African identity document is the ticket to better treatment and respect from employers, the aforementioned case proves otherwise. It shows that sometimes, beyond the legal pathway she used, a domestic worker's Lesotho citizenship supersedes her South African one; hence it subjects her to being treated precisely based on the pre-existing perception of how a domestic worker from Lesotho is. Furthermore, it contradicts what Ally (2009) implicated that only irregular migrant workers are prone to unfair treatment based on their citizenship, as it is obvious that sometimes it takes more than South African identity document for a domestic worker to earn respect from employers. As she states, "with no legal protection available to them as workers in South Africa, they experience a precarious political status that creates a dual labour regime based on citizenship status" (Ally, 2009, p.26). Such prior judgement also impacts the way they get to be treated and understood. The perception referred to in prior sentences kept on resurfacing from many interviewees, although in different words. For

example, when the researcher asked 49-year-old Malefa about her knowledge of social security and if her employers were contributing to the Unemployment Insurance Fund (UIF), her expression gave the impression that it was the least of the things she was expecting from them as a Mosotho domestic worker.

That one (UIF) they do not do at all (laughs). If you can talk about it, that will be the end of you. They will hear that you know a lot, and they do not want people like that....it means they are cheating us (Malefa, personal interview, July 26,2020).

From her testimony, the emphasis remains that as Basotho domestic workers, they do not know, and their employers do not expect them to do. Nevertheless, as Griffin (2011) states, this also shows that, although their employers may misjudge them, some are aware of such rights. They deliberately decide not to raise issues to protect their jobs which are their priorities. In other words, they constrain themselves within specific parameters to maintain good relationships with their employers because they have the power to send them off anytime they wish should they show any resistance to a particular treatment. They must also play unknowledgeable and live up to the perception that they are just Basotho women, not troublemakers. This submissive character Ally (2009) alludes to as one of the reasons South African employers prefer Basotho domestic workers. However, this pretence extends the toxicity of their working environment and workplace experiences where these submissive characters leave them frustrated health- wise and eventually affects their emotional wellbeing.

...I ended up being unhappy about everything because I felt like I was working so hard and earning little money. I found myself crying all the time and just not happy. It was hard because even my employer did not like me. Ever since I got there, she just did not talk to me (Jeanet, personal interview, August 9,2020).

Furthermore, the introduction of special permits added another element to these regular pathways. Although initially coming in was through social network, Itumeleng and Lillo benefited from the issuance of LSPs in 2015 and in as far as the study is concerned, their pathway is classified as regular by virtue of holding such permits. This categorisation is based on their current migration status. Yet it is fascinating that both have different experiences regarding their work conditions. For Lillo, who was supposed to have renewed her permit in 2020, there is no benefit as far as conditions at work are concerned with having a work permit. She believes her citizenship still overrides her legal status. This testimony supports the claim

made earlier that, despite using a regular pathway, their work conditions in other parts of their jobs are generally not different. This has a lot to do with the domestic work sector that is highly unregulated and informed by different and personalised logics.

Lillo is currently working full time and staying with her employer. She came to South Africa before the special permits were granted to Basotho workers in South Africa. Like others, she explains that she used a mixture of bribing border officials and police officers as she could not go home every month. She is one the 2015 LSP beneficiaries and therefore became legally employed in South Africa. The permit was supposed to take 4 years and be renewed afterward, with fees ranging from R950.00 at the beginning to R1 100.00 in 2020. She thought it was too much money and she deliberately did not renew her work permit, which automatically made her 'illegal' in the context of employment law. She explained that the police have never arrested her, nor has she seen any change in her employment due to work permit, so she saw no use of holding on to the permit besides it allowing her to stay as long as she wants in South Africa, which to her has never been a problem.

For domestic workers like Lillo, their pathway to domestic work involves strategies such as moving in and out of the legal coverage, while attempting to minimize their cost of migration. Based on their experience with the migration system to South Africa, they are aware of grey areas within the South African migratory system. They can penetrate such by using their experience to maintain their employment. This discovery was also interesting as it disrupts the belief held among undocumented migrant domestic workers that having proper documentation on its own provides an automatic excess to decent working conditions as Griffin (2011), reveals.

4.4.2 Role of recruitment agencies

The study further reveals that once at the place of destination, some of these domestic workers engage the services of recruitment agencies as avenues to employment. This pathway has only been used by undocumented workers, in contrast with how such agencies work in other countries, particularly for supply of domestic workers in Gulf states. Because they are business-oriented in their daily operations, these agencies impress the employers more than these domestic workers. As a result, they give more power to the employers at the expense of these domestic workers and therefore set them for unfair treatment in the face of their employers. As Nthatisi revealed, "*The agency tells employers to return us when they are not happy with us and get another woman*" (Nthatisi, personal interview, August 2, 2020).

The uttering of such words means that the middle party partially disempowers these domestic workers, a revelation also made by Silvey and Parrenas (2020) regarding the role of such recruitment agencies in shaping the employment conditions of migrant domestic workers. Although this study cannot draw a generalisation on this, it becomes clear that agencies sell these women and predetermine conditions for their employment. They have first-hand discussions with every employer, determine who fits within the category of women needed and even dictate their salary scales. In that regard, a domestic worker becomes a bidding object whose ultimate place and terms of employment get to be decided by the recruitment agency.

When the potential employer is coming, we all sit in one room and wait for the recruitment agent to come and pick us...Not all of us go through, it also depends on what the potential employer wants. For example, he/she can be looking for someone aged 32; the agent will choose some of us who are of that age (Ritha, personal interview, July 25, 2020).

Such testimony gives a picture of desperate and powerless people who are eagerly waiting to be told of their future by the agency owners, an act that is beyond their control. This powerlessness is also exacerbated by the fact that the recruitment agencies harbour those who come to South Africa with no social networks and keep them until they are employed. This grants them full control over them in terms of determining their stay in South Africa and as Silvey and Parrenas (2020) rightfully state, potentially choosing their employers because they offer them to any family that needs a worker. This pathway also means migrant domestic workers must pay certain fees to guarantee both their stay and services such agencies provide in terms of securing jobs for them.

Because I used the agency, I paid R650.00 registration fee and surrendered my passport. When I got employed, I was not given the passport, I was told to come back after getting my first salary. I had to pay another R 650 .00 that month end to get my passport. The fee is not really R650.00, they just make us believe so because there is also the money that we pay after the first R650.00 which is charged depending on how much your employer says he/she is going to pay you. In my case, the agency was told I was going to be paid R2 500.00 (Ritha, personal interview, July 25, 2020).

Another woman who once used recruitment agencies concurs and says:

...The employers also pay R800.00 to the agency when they get a domestic worker. You call and they register you and you stay. There are many Basotho women there. The potential employer comes and just mentions the preferred age range, the agency picks five people, and we are interviewed (Nthatisi, personal interview, August 2, 2020).

When these agencies exercise this power over these workers and instruct employers to return them, they objectify them and create some platform for job insecurities. For these workers, any act that qualifies as either laziness or not satisfying enough to the employer can potentially result in them being returned to the agency and losing the job. Because of that, they persevere any form of unfair treatment in exchange for their jobs, which is likely to reproduce a chain of decent working conditions deficits within the domestic sector. These insecurities came to life when one domestic worker's employer expelled her for allegedly wasting food. She recalls:

We argued with my employer for taking meat and feed the dogs. She accused me of wasting food. She waited for me to sleep, at exactly midnight, she told came to my room and told me to leave her house. I had to pack my bags and leave with darkness (Jeanet, personal interview, August 8, 2020).

I would argue that because of her irregular pathway to employment, she could not contest nor take a legal stand against such an act, although it amounted to unfair dismissal in the face of the law. In that case, her employer bridged dismissal procedures. As stipulated in Section 30 of the Basic Conditions of Employment Act for termination of employment, an employee cannot just be released without valid reasons that support such dismissal otherwise, the act grants such an employee the right to approach the Commission for Conciliation, Mediation and Arbitration (CCMA).³ However, because there was no written employment contract between the two, coupled with the fragile status of this worker, born of the pathway to such employment, she complied and left. Such insecurities, particularly for first time migrant domestic workers, are an example that recruitment agencies do not promote networking among these women because they come straight to the agencies and the only time they leave, is straight to the employer who will be given to them randomly (Silvey & Parrenas, 2020). This makes it

³ Basic Conditions of employment act is mandated to establishing necessary provisions for realisation of proper working conditions. (See <https://www.labourguide.co.za/conditions-of-employment/842-the-basic-conditions-of-employment-act26>).

CCMA is a body that provides intermediary role between workers and employers where disputes cannot be resolved. (See <https://www.ccma.org.za/About-Us>)

relatively difficult for them to form comparative analysis about their working conditions with their fellow worker. Nevertheless, this pathway does not seem to feature significantly among these Basotho women.

4.4.3 The role of social networks

The study further finds that a chunk of Basotho migrant domestic workers depend on social networks to facilitate their way to South Africa and subsequently to employment. Such findings, in line with what has been revealed by many research findings elsewhere in the region, (see McDonald et al.,2000; Zack et al.2019) show that migrant workers in the region tend to rely more on social ties. They form such networks either with their fellow migrants or family members as gateway to employment. All respondents but one, used this pathway to secure their first domestic job. This is in contrast with the more structured pathways that domestic workers use to access domestic work job in many areas, particularly in the Middle East where such migration is facilitated mainly by recruitment agencies (Parrenas,2020). This pathway also supports what (Mbiyozo,2018) notes, that migrant workers are likely to follow the footprints of their family members or people in their communities on their migration process.

During their first domestic work encounter, there appeared two ways in which such networks operate; some were recruited into the sector while still at home while others were already in South Africa. As Adelina shared, *“There was one person who went home for Easter holiday and said there was someone who wanted a domestic worker. So, I left with her”* (Adelina, personal interview, July 26,2020).

For others, these social networks helped to organize jobs for them while they were already in South Africa:

I left Lesotho with my cousin and came to South Africa to seek employment. When we got here, since she was already working, she knew some people who were also domestic workers. She talked with them and asked them to help me find the job, and they did. That is how I got my first job (Mpho, personal interview July 18,2020).

In cases like the above, such networks are mostly familial. They involve a family member who does not only accommodate such woman but also uses the already existing networks as a veteran migrant worker to support her guest for employment. In addition, such a pathway supports the claim made by (Kiwanuka et al. 2015 as cited in Zack et al.,2019) that migrant domestic workers recruitment into domestic work is predominantly through such informal

networks consisting of closer friends and family members. However, as noted in 2007 by the European Foundation for the Improvement of Living and Working Conditions, although these networks are crucial in such employment-seeking strategies and landing of such jobs, they create a cycle of stagnancy within the same sector for these domestic workers.

In addition to the above, for the majority of the respondents, networks involved the ones with fellow Basotho domestic workers. By virtue of that, this study asserts that their mobility becomes restricted and tied to the same domestic work parameters and seems to limit their upward economic growth in as far as the current study is concerned. This means even with their employment conditions; they tend to inherit the same culture because there is no diversity in opportunities, creating a vicious cycle of patterned work experiences. The study shows that they come with fewer expectations regarding their rights as workers because their employment becomes tied to the ones who have brought them in. They are oriented by them and learn everything from them; therefore, their entrance into the domestic sector becomes more programmed because of following the blueprints set by the ones that came before them. For instance, one domestic worker revealed that she had been sleeping with an infant at night, but she had never complained despite not being happy with the arrangement.

...I chose never to complain about it to my employer because when I share the issue with other domestic workers from home, they do not seem surprised or shocked. It seems to be normal for everyone. So, I end up thinking it is part of domestic work here in South Africa (Lee, personal interview, July 23,2020).

4.4.4 The role of social media

Over the last decade, social media has demonstrated to be a friendly platform not only for conversations but also for sharing opportunities such as jobs. This study found that social media platforms are among the pathways to domestic work in South Africa, although this did not feature significantly. One of the respondents who used this pathway is Lee.

After losing my job at home, I got tired of searching because I was not getting anything. One day, I logged on to Facebook and saw that someone was looking for a domestic worker, and she had posted it on some page where people usually advertise their products. The person had already posted the amount she was willing to pay and asked interested people to send private messages to her. So, I did.... She was a Mosotho woman staying in South Africa. We exchanged

contact numbers and took our conversation to WhatsApp. That is how I ended up in South Africa (Lee, personal interview, July 23,2020).

Martin and Widgren (1996) credit the current internet era not just for making advertising easier but also its ability to place migrant workers anywhere in the world based on the job they manage to secure through such platforms created on the internet. Yet such initiatives by women like Lee continue to support the assertion made earlier about the desperation they display, which at the end of the day potentially affects their ability to negotiate employment expectations they might have. It also speaks of the casualisation of their employment which becomes merely social media dialogue between two individuals. Given the already informal nature of the domestic sector, this pathway compromises the likelihood that a job born of such communication would be sensitive to these workers' overall employment treatment mainly because everything is initiated and finished through casual social media exchange. Lee says that although the employer listed the things she wanted her to do when in South Africa, she found a different story on the ground as she had too many responsibilities than explained earlier.

Based on the above testimonies, it is evident that even as they talked, the emphasis was on her listening to what she wanted from her as a worker instead of how they can work together to master their respective roles in meeting favourable working relations for both. This power disparity leaves workers vulnerable and working to impress their employers (Tayah,2016).

4.4.5 Door-to- door job hunting

The study further establishes that some Basotho domestic workers still rely on the traditional door-to-door job hunting as their immediate and only available alternative to employment. Mina's story that follows takes us back to acknowledging that for some of them, restrictions that come with low education attainment can equally shape their pathways and therefore channel them within specific employment categories. Their ability to leave home with no idea of what is lying on the front connotes the vulnerabilities under which they place themselves. Far before the actual employment and all that it encompasses in as far as searching for a job is concerned, they offer themselves to the world and wait to be caught by whoever can be attracted to them, and this can put their lives in danger. Therefore, from this, their migration pathways become the potential route towards their unfavourable workplace treatment.

Mina and two of her friends left Lesotho to the neighbouring Matatiele in the Eastern Cape province of South Africa at 19. At the age when many people still report directly to their

parents, they did not inform them. In their immature minds, they just wanted to be in South Africa because that would be the only way out of poverty, hopeless rural life and rich faster. They did not know exactly where they were going nor how they were going to get the job. They planned to do physical house- to- house job hunting. However, when they got to Matatiele, they found themselves stranded as the evening came; they met a stranger who offered them a place to sleep that night. Because there are many of their village girls working that side, they met one of them the following day, and they explained their situation to her. She took them to her employers, who luckily allowed them to stay at his house while assisting them through the networks to seek employment.

In the case of employers whom many are opportunists, this door-to-door job hunting pathway becomes a gateway to unfair treatment and conditions lacking as far as their labour rights are concerned. As Silvey and Parrenas (2020) also established, in many cases, these pathways do not work on these workers' favour, instead they create a platform for their exploitation. Therefore, for women like these, their pathways partially become a determiner of the conditions they might potentially face, which most of the time might not be favourable as far as what this study aimed to do. They begin at an unequal level because of the desperation they display at every door they knock, sell themselves and set their expectations which they believe potential employers want to hear. This assertion also supports the claim that, because of their desperate desire to secure employment, their employment terms and conditions do not become their priority more than how they can financially support their families (Tayah,2016).

The above analysis also speaks to their incapacitation in their employers' face because of such desperation they show at first encounter with them. As Mina further stated: *"I was looking for any job available because things were bad at home"* (personal interview, July 21,2020).

Based on the above, they register their susceptibility to unfavourable treatment as their employment channels are dependent on them convincing the potential employers that they can take anything as long as it puts food on the table and takes them away from daily job hunting. Through this presentation, domestic workers find themselves fighting a war that gets lost at a starting point. The above outline the pathways these Basotho domestic workers use to find themselves working within domestic sector in South Africa. Although many tend to rely on social networks, they all contribute to understanding how they landed their jobs.

4.5 EMPLOYMENT PROCESSES AND PRACTICES

This section looks at processes and practices these Basotho women engage in, to secure employment and their continuous stay in South Africa. In this study, these are brought in to answer one of the research questions that attempts to understand the processes and strategies they adopt to maintain their stay in South Africa and within the domestic sector. Sometimes these involve manipulating the migration systems made of among other parties the border control officers.

...I was banned in South Africa because I had overstayed. I used the channels that we all use, that is paying truck drivers to cross the border with us... They always know who is on duty at the border who can allow them to pass with us and we pay them R 300.00 (Nkotseng, personal interview, July 18, 2020).

Her testimony reveals nothing new, instead, it supports what Makoro (2015), and Griffin (2011) also found on their earlier studies about these Basotho domestic workers. Beginning with the year Griffin conducted her study, up to the current one, it is evident that manipulating border control systems remains the primary strategy to enter and leave South Africa for undocumented migrant workers from Lesotho. These strategies have an implication on migration control systems and their permeability in South Africa. Beside the aforementioned, in the absence of passports or proper documentation to cross the border, the undocumented women desperately seek assistance from illegal migration agents named 'lirurubele' (butterflies) to support their continuous return to South Africa. In that regard, Vanyoro (2019) describes such actions as the precarity they might subject themselves to, to avoid any form of confrontation with the border authorities. A picture below is a typical example of such an incidence whereby a Mosotho woman finds herself entering South Africa through unauthorised route. Such actions not just demonstrate the persistence they display but the readiness to risk their lives without thinking about the dangers that might befall them, denoting their desperate dependence on such migration (Parrenas,2020) for employment attainability, sustainability, and continuity.



Figure 2 A Mosotho woman being assisted by 'serurubele to cross the river to South Africa

(Source: Public Eye Online Newspaper)

For scholars like Fernandez (2014), such strategies also show the resistance they demonstrate against restrictive migration laws that limit their mobility -based on passport holding for the women under study. This form of resistance is what (Pande, 2012) observes in countries like Lebanon where mobility and interactions of migrant domestic workers is subject to extremely strict control of the employers mandated by law under the Kafala system. Yet, they still find loopholes within such circumstances to interact with their fellow workers. For that reason, this resistance arguably also demonstrates some form of freedom these workers display to determine their continued presence within the domestic sector and the household they want to work for (Fernandez,2014). Mamolupe's case supports such analysis. Like other domestic workers, staying in one household for the last 15 years she has been a domestic worker has not been possible even though she used the regular pathway to get into South Africa and is legally also a citizen of the country.

I started working at an Indian supermarket cleaning shelves at their store in North West. Someone wanted a domestic worker, so I moved to Mpumalanga. While there, my employers got divorced, and I had to go back to my aunt in North West but could not go back home. While I was there, I got another job through one of the girls I knew. I started working this time in North West until

the lockdown started, and my employer released me promising to call when the situation subsided. I went back to my aunt's. I secured another job, this time a part-time one, and I work three days a week. Who wants to go back to Lesotho and face poverty again? (Mamolupe, personal interview, July 22, 2020).

In an interview with another domestic worker, Apati, said:

... My first job was in North West Province then I went to Limpopo Province where I worked for different families for a number of years before moving to Gauteng Province. I have been here for the past 15 years (Apati, personal interview, July 17, 2020).

The above two cases are of documented and undocumented domestic workers. They both demonstrate the same pattern of in and out mobility regardless of the pathway used. In that regard, their migration processes do not only point to their employment fluidity, but also support assertions that domestic workers are likely to work in different places during their migration cycle (ILO, 2015 as cited in Parrenas, 2020). Apart from the above, when it comes to these processes on seeking employment, particularly for undocumented domestic workers, there is no hindrance because there are no formal job applications or presentation of specific documentation needed to secure domestic work jobs or any within the informal sector. However, these findings undermine the fact that despite that, there are no diversity of choices available for them that they can explore to secure employment therefore, whatever they may be able to get, will always be limited within the same precarious environments as domestic sector. They move in and out of different households, provinces and sometimes take other precarious jobs through flexibility granted by their migration status.

When I lost my job earlier this year, I did not consider going back home because I knew Lesotho would not offer anything. Going to Lesotho was not an option, I was already not doing anything before I came here. I have not worked for few months now as a domestic worker, but I am now a MUKURU agent to help me with some money while I am still desperately hunting for domestic work (Jeanet, personal interview, September 8, 2020).

Such mobility into other sectors becomes one of the many processes through which their stay in South Africa is partially prolonged. Yet as Parrenas (2020) states, such prolonged stay does not result in settlement permanency; instead, it must be maintained by subsequent in and out border crossings. Such demonstrates their precarious status born of their migration statuses and

the subsequent powers it grants to the employers to subject them to poor working conditions or unfair dismissals.

Furthermore, as Zack et al. (2019) support, their ‘illegality’ does not provide any barrier to the entrance into the domestic sector. Nevertheless, this can be understood as a gateway towards poorly regulated workplaces or sectors that are characterised among other things by deficits in workplace labour protection. As the results show, of all the 15 respondents, only 4 had proper documentation, leaving the rest as undocumented in as far as employment laws for migrant workers are concerned in South Africa.

What also becomes evident in these processes Basotho women engage in is the risk they take with their lives due to Lesotho’s proximity to South Africa. In Mina’s case presented above, what catches attention is how some of these domestic workers make use of easy access to South Africa, which for others is just a walkthrough to do house- to -house job hunting. This means, even though they might leave home with the basic intention of finding employment, they do not have a solid channel through which they will walkthrough to secure such. This is in contrast with the channels used by their documented and those with social network counterparts. This is simply a further desperate demonstration of how such women’s lives depend on labour migration as the only hope to take them out of their economic situations perpetuated by among other things limited resources for rural dwellers in their countries of origin.

The above demonstrates different employment strategies migrant domestic workers from Lesotho utilise to maintain their continuous employment and stay in South Africa. For all of them, they explain that returning home is not an ideal plan. Yet they find themselves periodically in and out of employment, specifically due to insecurities in most part born of pathways they used to employment. This employment fluidity forces them to adopt survival strategies that can guarantee their prolonged stay in South Africa, even if it means moving in and out of domestic work, temporarily to other jobs, then back and forth between full-time and part-time jobs, respectively. This supports what Parrenas (2020) notes that their pathways reflect their precarious employment, and that impacts their continuous employment because it grants too much power to their employers who use their discretion to decide on their employment status. Based on the findings, those who used regular pathways also have in and out movement, but the difference observed is that they turn to stay longer with their employers, with average minimum of five years per household. Based on that, conclusion can be drawn that even though they still show that fluidity in employment status, their pathway makes them

less susceptible for immediate expulsion unlike their undocumented counterparts. The following section looks at the conditions of work regarding key components that make them and how these workers experience them on their daily basis.

4.6 WORKING CONDITIONS

In the above sections, conditions of work were incorporated in a more abstract way along the pathways. For the purposes of this section, they are being re-introduced alongside the pathways mentioned above. This study seeks to understand how migration pathways of these workers influence their conditions at work. By singling out key components that make up these conditions at work, the study seeks to understand further their daily experiences and how they can be applied within the same migration pathways framework. Conditions of work is the umbrella term that defines "...the interaction of employee with their organizational climate and includes psychological as well as physical working conditions" (Gerber et al ,1998, p.44). It is mainly characterised by among other things working hours, salaries, social security, occupational health and safety at work and others. For purposes of analysis, this study will limit itself to salaries, living arrangements and social security benefits while trying to determine if they show any connection to the pathways mentioned above for each domestic worker.

When it comes to female migrant workers' conditions at work, there exists rich literature that mostly highlight their vulnerabilities in the eyes of their employers because of their status as migrants (Moletsane,2016), as women and migrants (Mbiyozo,2019) and as undocumented (Griffin,2011). These previous vulnerabilities tied to these studies have done a great job of bringing to fore these intersections of migration and gender discrimination. Yet for this study, I rather approach them using their migration pathways to demonstrate the unlikelihood that such workers can negotiate their conditions at work due to their migration statuses which are subject to diversity of channels they explore to secure such jobs. This is because they seem to follow irregular pathways as per this study's revelations.

...I do not know if it is legal that when you are a stay in domestic worker, you should also sleep with babies. I sleep with a one-year-old baby, and I feel like I work double shifts. I take care of him during the day and night, I still have to wake up early in the morning, and he cries a lot at night. I do not rest at all (Lee, personal interview, July 23, 2020).

In the case of abused workers like her, this study argues that there is no room available for negotiating such treatments because of the way they got employed. In the latter mentioned

above, she came in through Facebook. As such, her first encounter with her employer was informal and the likelihood of formalizing the terms of her employment is very slim based on that. Because of that, for many of them, their immediate and available alternative becomes leaving such employers and moving on to the next one where they can hold on temporarily before they suffer the same or more maltreatments and finally decide to leave again. As such, this extends “the ambit of precarity’s effects for workers while preserving effective supports for employers” (Akalin,2018, p.423).

4.6.1 Salaries

Nevertheless, when it comes to salaries, the study has found that there are inconsistencies in relation to pathways. Although having a work permit ensures ‘legality’, it does not guarantee automatic minimum wage compliance on employers’ side. In comparison with their counterparts, Basotho migrant domestic workers with work permits turn to have higher salaries than their fellow Basotho that entered through irregular channels but still below minimum wage. Yet it will be wrong to draw an umbrella analysis on that because of Mamolupe, a South Africa’s identity document holder and a Lesotho passport holder. By virtue of that, she is a South African citizen. Her salary is below the national minimum wage and that of Itumeleng who has a work permit. Together, their pathways to employment have been through legal channels, yet Itumeleng, whose employers are medical doctors, seem to have better employment experiences. Based on that, this study asserts that when it comes to salaries, the personalised element of domestic sector plays a more crucial role than legal channels to employment. It supports findings in the literature that salaries within sectors like domestic remain highly dependent on employers’ discretions (Griffin,2011) and this, for the current study, is despite the pathways used.

The above, however, does not rule out that at least those with work permits can discuss their salaries with their employers, which others explained does not happen. Mamolupe explained that her employer, having learnt of the new national minimum wage she was supposed to pay her, told her she could not afford it. Instead, she twisted it by offering to give her bonuses at the end of the year. This continues to support the above analysis that domestic workers’ employers, irrespective of the pathways, can determine their employment conditions and change them in their favour, not according to what the law says. On the other hand, the study asserts that for her employer to even address the minimum wage subject, she was acknowledging the fact that Mamolupe could take a legal stand against her for lack of

compliance, so she wanted to reach some sort of settlement regarding the subject. This is not the privilege any of the undocumented respondents have.

Salaries

RESPONDENTS	LOCATION IN SOUTH AFRICA (Province)	PATHWAYS TO EMPLOYMENT	MIGRATION STATUS	SALARIES/MONTH (Rands)
Adelina	North West	Social network	Irregular	R 2000.00
Apati	Gauteng	Social network	Irregular	R 2000.00 – R 3000.00
Itumeleng	Gauteng	Social network	Work permit	R 4000.00
Jeanet	Gauteng	Social network	Irregular	R 1000.00
Lee	Gauteng	Facebook	Irregular	R 2000.00
Lillo	Gauteng	Social network	Work permit	R 2000.00 – R 3000.00
Malefa	Gauteng	Social network	Irregular	R 2 500.00
Mamolupe	North West	Social networks	SA ID	R 3 500.00
Mina	Eastern Cape	Social network	Irregular	R 2 500.00
Mpho	Gauteng	Social network	Work permit	R 3 500.00
Nkotseng	Free State	Social network	Irregular	R 2000.00
Nthatisi	Gauteng	Recruitment Agency	Irregular	R 2000.00
Rethabile	Gauteng	Social network	Irregular	R 2000.00 - R 3000.00
Ritha	Gauteng	Recruitment Agency	Irregular	R 2 500.00
Titina	Gauteng	Social network	Irregular	R 2 100.00

Table 1. Basotho migrant domestic workers' salaries per month. (Source: Fieldwork)

An observed pattern from the above table is that Basotho domestic workers who have regular documentation get paid higher salaries than those with irregular documentation. But as Griffin (2011) argues, this does not represent any uniformity within the domestic sector, but instead shows the devaluation of such workers based on employers' own discretion, otherwise such higher salaries were supposed to be within the minimum wage requirements. As Parrenas

(2020) further notes, these variations in conditions of employment and in salaries on this case can be attributed to lack of proper management within the domestic sector. As these workers move in and out of employment continuously, they consistently go through a rollercoaster of varied salaries and treatment, which disregards their job experiences and capabilities to do work.

4.6.2 Living arrangements

All the respondents revealed that they stay with their employers and have rooms of their own although it differs from sharing it with the children, sleeping at a place where employers have control over and having own room. This study attempts to understand if pathways can be attributed to particular pattern of conditions at work. It would be misleading to assume that such arrangements have anything to do with how they came in more than they are migrant workers. Both regular and irregular workers share the same living conditions irrespective of their migration status. However, analysis can be made that such arrangements are popular among migrant domestic workers in South Africa and reveal what many studies have indicated as among the challenges of stay-in domestic workers (See Griffin,2011). All the respondents but one stayed in and reported the same satisfaction with the rooms they were given. As Adelina attested, “...*I live in the same house with them. Because they do not have any back room, I stay in the house with them. It is the same room as theirs fitted with everything*” (Adelina, personal interview, July 26,2020).

For Nkotseng, although she does not sleep in the same house with her employers, they have control over the place she stays at. In fact, she sleeps at her employers’ extended home. She explained:

My employers have rented a single room for me not far from my workplace. I must contribute money to buy electricity because we share it with other tenants. My employers pick me up every morning and drop me back in the evening. It is a commune, so we share electricity bill. We contribute equally with other tenants, but I do not pay rentals, my employers do (Nkotseng, personal interview, July 18,2020).

Because of what many studies reveal of challenges of being on duty as long as they are awake for stay in domestic workers (Griffin,2011), some Basotho migrant domestic workers adopt strategies that grant them the opportunity to be away from their workplaces on their rare off days. Instead of spending time with their employers, they decide to get their own places to

ensure some rest. This is one of the few incidences whereby they exercise some limited agency to offer themselves a portion of conditions due to them yet not granted at their workplaces.

I am staying in with my employers, but I have also rented out a shack outside. On my off days, I go to my place just to reflect on my life and have a peaceful rest. It helps me a lot because it is not easy to get a rest when you are staying in. As long as you are around you work (Ritha, personal interview, July 25,2020).

4.6.3 Dealing with social security

Interestingly, findings also reveal that none of Basotho domestic workers was covered under any social security scheme available for domestic workers. When the researcher asked them about their employers' contribution to the UIF, all of them did not even think about it. This mentality was also covered by Griffin (2011) regarding Basotho migrant domestic workers' access to health services. It is always the fact that they do not think such schemes exist for them, they maintain their own lane and do not want to touch the areas that to them are made for the locals. For many of them, irrespective of their migration status, asking for such is not even in their mind more than keeping their jobs and salary increases. As one of them replied:

Hmm! Do you really know UIF? Do you expect to see it here? You will never see it; I am telling you.... She faced me in the eyes that time the government talked about new minimum wage and said she cannot afford it, this government of ours should hire us. Instead, she said she will give me a bonus every December so end of the year she gave me double my salary (Mamolupe, personal interview, July 22,2020).

This testimony was surprising given that it came from a domestic worker who was not just documented but also a citizen of South Africa by virtue of holding a local national identity document. More than anything, it supports the assertion that their employers use their own discretion to set conditions that are determined by their own terms. In this regard, it does not matter the pathway these workers use in as far as social security is concerned, they are simply not included. Yet when it comes to Lee, it verifies analysis made earlier that, even though social networks are important for employment, they do not provide a different alternative, they become repetition of the same experiences. The ones that are recruited in the circles continue to experience the same treatments. When the researcher asked her about how much she knew about UIF, she responded:

I do not know how it works; I am even new here. I have heard about it, but I do not know how it works and where to start. When we started with my employer, she talked about work permit and said I should sort it so that she registers me for UIF. But I could not register for the work permit because they had closed entries for new applications, only accepting renewals. So that is where it ended (Lee, personal interview, July 23,2020).

This evidence resonates with what Griffin (2011) indicates of the tendency of the employers to commit to improve conditions of the domestic workers at their first encounter yet as they settle in it becomes a problem to initiate such discussions. This further also supports the assertion made earlier that in as far as migration pathways are concerned, such promises never materialise because in many cases, these domestic workers are just grateful to have got employment and end up compromising their labour rights legally due to them because of trying hard to impress their employers by proving that they are unfamiliar with certain things. There are usually no follow ups from these workers on what was initially promised because of the susceptibilities born of their migration pathways. They end up working to impress.

It is difficult to be a domestic worker because you do things to impress the employer, there is nothing that impresses you.... I do not love anything about my job (laughing), I am only doing it for money (Malefa, personal interview July 26,2020).

4.6.4 Dealing with health and security at work.

Likewise, Basotho migrant domestic workers do not believe they have ever experienced any life-threatening incidences challenging their health and safety at work. Because many of them came in through irregular channels, they have mastered the art of normalising the abnormal at their workplace. This supports the claim made earlier that based on the presentation they make as a desperate move to impress the employers; they describe themselves as superwomen who can do it all. Furthermore, they come in with less expectations in as far as their working conditions are concerned and make impressing their employers more important than their own rights as employees (Tayah,2016). Indeed, this also resurfaced in the interviews with respondents. *“I am someone who loves cleaning a lot. I also love children. I take pride in seeing my employer happy when she comes home”* (Adelina, personal interview, July 26,2020). Yet this response could have been prompted by her then situation as she went on to ask how the study was going to be of any help in terms of employment. Her situation was that due to

COVID 19 protocols, her employer released her although technically she was still employed until further notice. It is this same energy that they portray in the presence of their employers that might lead them to do certain jobs that they are not even considered appropriate as per health and safety protocols. This is also because as workers, they are not expected to be sick for any significant amount of time otherwise they can be replaced because of fluidities born of pathways they used to get such jobs. It means they can walk around not feeling well but still present themselves well even when they are not. The following evidence supports that:

....There are no risks I can think about but there was a time I got so sick and thought I was gonna die alone. I had just arrived here, and my employers do not stay here, they just dropped me and told me this is the house I am hired to look after. So, I was alone in this big house, with no one to see me. I could not tell them because I had just arrived, it took me the whole week but eventually I recovered (Jeanet, personal interview, August 8,2020).

This speaks to the same disempowerment alluded to earlier. They do not believe their employers will be receptive to them being sick, although it is something beyond their control. This desperate measure shows how their needs as human beings get to be compromised because of the way they came in. Under normal circumstances, she was not supposed to hide her health struggles with her employers because she is by law entitled to sick leave. But because of the job insecurities within the domestic sector, and her irregular pathway, she hid it from them to save her job.

In the absence of clear work contracts and with limited space for dialogues between employers and employees, there are likely to be stepping on each other's toes and doing things outside legal coverage. For Nkotseng, even though she takes it as part of her job, she explained to the researcher:

...I wash all the walls in the house every two days. Honestly speaking, I do not always feel like washing walls. There are small kids, and you know they sometimes push the ladder while I am up and run away. So, I sometimes worry about my safety (Nkotseng, personal interview, July 18, 2020).

Yet, these pathways further put these women at the risk of being sexually abused by their male employers. They cannot report them to the authorities because they themselves, are hiding from the same authorities. Rethabile provided evidence to this:

...My second job was in Brits. My male employer made some sexual moves on me. I did not want to tell his wife because I did not want to be the reason they fought. Instead, I decided to never go back there, after I got my salaries (Rethabile, personal interview July 25, 2020).

4.7 CONCLUSION

This chapter has presented results and analysis of data on Basotho migrant domestic workers' migration pathways. It was essential to first establish the reasons behind leaving home for these workers before getting into their pathways, as such have influence on their pathways; hence the first theme. Migration pathways in this study did not just present cause of action but were analysed in relation to employment experiences. Yet, when it comes to salaries, this study incorporated them as another component of conditions of work, and the findings show that it is not always enough to have a work permit, they also must have employers who are willing to pay them decent salaries. Furthermore, the study shows that Basotho migrant domestic workers adopt a combination of strategies to maintain their continuous employment. These include taking jobs outside domestic sector and moving in between full-time and part-time jobs. The chapter further looked at the fundamental processes these migrant domestic workers engage in, to secure employment. These involve in and out mobility that this study attaches to the precarity of their employment born of the informal nature of the domestic sector, and most importantly their pathways. It is this study's stand that these pathways, although not single-handedly, undermine these workers' ability to negotiate their condition of employment because they provide a conducive platform for creation of a cycle of repeated experiences among Basotho domestic workers.

CHAPTER 5

5.0 CONCLUSION

The domestic sector continues to employ and accommodate many low-skilled women globally even though they continue to be among the most undervalued category of workers (Gordon,2015). This is also despite multiple efforts many countries have adopted in the form of bilateral agreements, national laws, and policies to improve their conditions as workers. The current study aimed at exploring the migration pathways that Basotho domestic workers utilise to secure employment in South Africa, and how these pathways potentially help to shape their conditions at work. The study established that, for many of them, their first time in South Africa was for employment purposes, although not necessarily as domestic workers. However, there was just one case of a woman who came for other things yet ended up settling for employment within the domestic sector. They exercised such agency to migrate to either supplement their families' livelihoods which are usually farming, or to take charge as heads of female headed households. Such decisions, as findings show, are mostly influenced by those who are already in South Africa who become both recruiters and hosts and, in many cases, these are family members. For those who come to South Africa through such family members, they either stay with them while job hunting or come straight to their new jobs having been recruited from home.

In addition, the study shows that for these migrant domestic workers, there are both regular and irregular avenues they explore to access employment in South Africa. The regular pathways, as shown in the study, involve legal ways and are explored through (1) the use of South African national Identity Document and (2) the use of work permit. The irregular pathways, on the other hand, which are used by undocumented women, as the study established, involve (1) use of social networks, (2) use of social media, (3) use of recruitment agencies, (4) use of social media and (5) use of door-to-door job hunting in no order. All these together help to form an understanding of how Basotho women interviewed secure employment in a sector that is highly congested and informal within the South African labour market. Such pathways also show that for majority of these women, irregular pathways are more popular as they tend to feature more than regular ones. Notably, they tend to rely more on social networks, a revelation that many studies of other migrant workers in the region show

(See Zack et al.,2019). As the findings indicate, of the 15 domestic workers interviewed, the majority (73%) were undocumented and used irregular pathways.

In line with what this study aimed to do, findings reveal that when it comes to conditions at work, these pathways do not have a cause-effect relationship with them; instead, they provide a conducive platform through which such conditions are constructed. More than their pathways, the study shows that their Lesotho citizenship supersedes their migration statuses. However, for those who used regular pathways, the study shows that the difference between them and those who used irregular pathways is the longevity within their workplaces. They still demonstrate some in and out movement between different households but turn to stay longer within one household. Although this argument can only hold for those interviewed, such a pattern can mean that their regular status grants them some taste of respect from their employers in a way that they cannot just decide to release them anytime it suits them, which tends to be popular among the undocumented ones.

Furthermore, the study reveals that these workers adopt a combination of strategies to prolong and guarantee their continuous stay in South Africa. This involves a syndicate of unconsciously organised parties that together work to facilitate their mobility in and out of the country, between different households and in and out of legal coverage. Such facilitators include the use of truck drivers and illegal migration agents for border crossings. Some domestic workers deliberately make transitions from being legal in the form of holding work permit to foregoing them with the confidence that they can still continue working based on their experience with the migration control systems in South Africa. It is worth mentioning that only undocumented women use these syndicated strategies as per this study's revelations.

This study was however limited in that it draws analysis from only 15 domestic workers in South Africa. Thus, there is a possibility that there are more existing pathways that do not feature in this study because of this limited sample size. Yet, it is also important to be reminded that in qualitative studies, as Flick (1998) states, results are not meant to form a generalisation but instead, shed light on a certain social phenomenon. Therefore, what is unknown cannot affect the findings, yet it also leaves hanging questions and creates curiosity of whether findings would have revealed more if the study utilised more people. Therefore, other studies can use this current one as a foundation and expand on it by incorporating a larger sample size.

This study is important because it sheds light on how some of the migrant domestic workers' vulnerabilities at their workplace are constructed.

“The significance of their migration cycle is greater than what is generally acknowledged in the literature in that it sheds light not only on the social and spacial organisation of these women’s labour in particular, but also more generally on the ways that the global precariat is imported for work” (Standing,2011 as cited in Silvey & Parrenas,2020, p.3458).

This means, going forward, there is a necessity to further attempt to do away with all structural impediments that promote exclusion of these workers and attempt to develop more robust and comprehensive frameworks that will leave no one at the margins of legal coverage. All workers, particularly domestic workers, deserve decent working conditions, irrespective of their pathways to their employment.

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APPENDIX 1

ETHICS CLEARANCE CERTIFICATE



SOCIOLOGY AND DEVELOPMENT STUDIES ETHICS COMMITTEE (School of Social Sciences)
CONSTITUTED UNDER THE UNIVERSITY HUMAN RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE (NON-MEDICAL)

CLEARANCE CERTIFICATE

PROTOCOL NUMBER: GLU2020/05/02

PROJECT TITLE:

In Search of Greener Pastures: Investigating migration pathways of Basotho domestic workers in SA

INVESTIGATOR

Ms. Matsiame Mafa

SCHOOL/DEPARTMENT OF INVESTIGATOR

School of Social Sciences / Global Labour University

DATE CONSIDERED

24 July 2020

DECISION OF THE COMMITTEE

Approved

RISK LEVEL

LOW RISK

EXPIRY DATE

24 July 2023

ISSUE DATE OF CERTIFICATE

30 July 2020

CHAIRPERSON

(Professor Michelle Williams)

cc: Supervisor: Dr Tatenda Mukwedeya

DECLARATION OF INVESTIGATOR

To be completed in duplicate and **ONE COPY** returned to the Chairperson of the Department ethics committee.

I fully understand the conditions under which I am authorized to carry out the abovementioned research and I guarantee to ensure compliance with these conditions. Should any departure to be contemplated from the research procedure as approved I/we undertake to resubmit the protocol to the Committee.

M. Mafa
Signature

Date

01 / 08 / 2020

PLEASE QUOTE THE PROTOCOL NUMBER ON ALL ENQUIRIES

APPENDIX 2

PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET (English)

Introduction

My name is Matsiame Mafa. I am a master's student in Labour Policy and Globalisation at the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. As per university's requirement, I am supposed to undertake a research study as partial fulfilment towards master's degree completion. The title of my study is "In Search of Greener Pastures: Exploring the migration pathways of Basotho domestic workers in SA".

Purpose of the study

The study I am undertaking investigates migration pathways domestic workers from Lesotho engage in, to secure employment in South Africa. Migration pathways in this study refer to all processes and practices that migrant domestic workers from Lesotho go through to secure employment in South Africa. As one of domestic workers from Lesotho, I would like to interview you. The study will interview fifteen domestic workers from Lesotho currently working in South Africa. The interview will take 45 minutes and I would humbly ask for your consent to record it.

This study is conducted for my master's research only and the findings will be stored with no real names included. In that regard, your participation in this study will be voluntary. There will be no payment for your participation. You may decide to not answer some of the questions if you feel uncomfortable or can leave the interview if you do not feel like continuing anymore. Nothing you will say will be used against you and all the information will be treated with highest level of confidentiality. I will not use your real names therefore your identity will remain anonymous. Your responses will be safely kept in the password protected laptop that only I have access to.

Should you require any clarification, please do not hesitate to ask. This study will be presented as a report that will be accessible through Wits University library website. I will be happy to share the report in electronic form with you once it is available should you request me to. My supervisor is Dr Tatenda Mukwede, and he can be contacted via telephone at 011 717 4417 or via email: Tatenda.Mukwede@wits.ac.za.

Thank you.

Researcher's names

Matsiame Mafa

Call: 081 006 4572

Email 1944851@students.wits.ac.za

APPENDIX 3

PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET (Sesotho)

Boitsebiso

Lebitso laka ke Matsiame Mafa. Ke moithuti sekolong sa thuto e phahameng sa Witwatersrand, Johannesburg moo ke ithutelang lengolo la Masters oa Labour Policy and Globalisation. E le engoe ea litlhoko tsa ho phethela lengolo leo, sekolo se re hloka ho nka karolo boithutong ba bofuputsi. Sehloho sa boithuto baka ke “In Search of Greener Pastures: Exploring the migration pathways of Basotho domestic workers in SA”.

Sepheo sa boithuto

Boithutong baka ke shebana le litsela le mekhoea eo basebeletsi ba malapeng ba tsoang Lesotho ba li sebelisang ho iphumana ba sebetsa mona Afrika Boroa. Boithutong bona ke tlo botsa basebeletsi ba malapeng ba tsoang Lesotho ba leshome le metso e mehlano lipotso. U le e mong oa basebeletsi ba malapeng a tsoang Lesotho, ke kopa ho u botsa lipotso. Lipotso tsena li tla nka feela metsotso e mashome a mane a metso e mehlano mme ka boikokobetso ke kopa ho hatisa puisano ea rona.

Boithuto bona bo etsoa ka lebaka la sekolo feela, ka hona mabitso a nnete haa tlo sebelisoa qetellong ea bona. Ho nka karolo ha hau ke ka boithaopo. Ha u na ho pataloa ha u nkile karolo. U ka khetha ho se arabe tse ling tsa lipotso kapo ho tlohela ho nka karolo ha u se u sa thabele nako eohle. Sohle seo u se buang se tla bolokoa e le lekunutu, ka hona ha se na ho sebelisoa khahlanong le uena. Mabitso a hau a nnete ha a tlo sebelisoa. Likarabo tsohle tsa hau li tlo bolokoa kahara laptop e buloang ka nomoro ea lekunutu eo nna ke le mong ke nang le matla holim'a eona.

Ha u hloka tlhakisetsa u seke ua ts'aba ho botsa. Boithuto bona ha bo qetuo, bo tlo hlophuo e le tokomane e le 'ngoe e ka fumanehang leboteng la marang-rang la polokelo ea libuka la sekolo sa thuto e phahameng sa Wits. Nka thabela ho u arolela tokomane e joalo ka marang-rang haeba u e hloka ha e se e fumaneha. Lebitso la motataisi oaka boithutong bona ke Dr Tatenda Mukwedeya, u ka mo letsetsa ho 011 717 4417 kapo email: Tatenda.Mukwedeya@wits.ac.za.

Ke a leboha.

Mabitso a mofuputsi

Matsiame Mafa

Letsetsa: 0810064572

Email 1944851@students.wits.ac.za

APPENDIX 4

SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR DOMESTIC WORKERS (English version)

PERSONAL INFORMATION

Names	
Age	
Marital status	
Place of birth	
Education level attained	
Number of children	

MIGRATION STRATEGIES

Why did you decide to become a domestic worker in South Africa?

What information did you have about domestic work in South Africa?

Can you take me through your journey to South Africa?

Was it your first time coming to South Africa?

How long have you been a domestic worker in South Africa?

How many employers do you have?

Can you explain the processes you went through to secure employment? (was it through formal or informal networks, did you have to pay a fee, if so, how much, etc)

Did you need to provide specific documents during the process?

What information did they provide you regarding the terms of work and labour protections? (If applicable)

CONDITIONS AT WORK

How would you characterise your work as a domestic worker?

What do you like about your work?

What do you dislike about your work?

Can you describe your normal working day? (starting time, knock off time, activities)

How would you characterise the occupational health and safety conditions in the workplace?

What happens when you get sick? Do you get time off? Do they pay for medical expenses?

How much do you get paid (salary range)?

Do you have access to social security benefits?

How would you characterise your relationship with your employer?

What challenges do you face in communicating with your employer?

If you have any problem at work, how do you seek to resolve it? What are the challenges of communicating with your employer?

What do you think can be done to improve working conditions?

CONDITIONS AT HOME

Where do you live (live in or live out, distance from the employers' house)?

Can you describe your place of residence (electricity, water, roommates,)?

Who pays your rent? (If applicable)

Is there anything you would want to add that you think has been left out?

APPENDIX 5

SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR DOMESTIC WORKERS (Sesotho version)

PERSONAL INFORMATION

Mabitso	
Lilemo	
Boemo ba lenyalo	
Sebaka sa tsoalo	
Boemo ba thuto	
Palo ea bana	

MIGRATION STRATEGIES

Hobaneng ha u ile ua khetha hoba mosebeletsi oa malapeng moo South Africa?

U ne u tseba hakae ka mosebetsi oa malapeng oa South Africa?

U ka nhlalosetsa ka leeto la hau la ho tla South Africa?

E ne e le lekhetlo la hau la pele South Africa?

Una le nako e kae u le mosebeletsi oa malapeng moo South Africa?

U sebeletsa malapa a makae?

U ka nhlalosetsa litsela tseo u fumaneng mosebetsi ka tsona (e ne ele tse molaong kapo tse seng molaong,u ne u tlameha ho patala,u patetse bokae etc)?

Ho na le tokomane tse khethehileng tseo u neng u tlameha ho fana ka tsona?

Ke eng eo ba ileng ba u bolella eona malebana le ho tsireletseha mosebetsing? (haeba e u ama)?

CONDITIONS AT WORK

U ka hlalosa mosebetsi oa malapeng joang?

Urata eng ka mosebetsi oa malapeng?

Ha u rate eng ka mosebetsi oa malapeng?

U ka nhlalosetsa letsatsi la hau la mosebetsi (le qala neng,le fela neng,u etsa eng)?

U ka nhlalosetsa ka litaba tsa tsieletseho mosebetsing oa hau?

Ho etsahala eng hau kula?,u fumana phomolo?ke mang a u patallang?

U khola bokae ka khoeli?(u ka nhakanyetsa)

Beng ba hau ba u patalla taba tsa li insurance?

U ka hlalosa likamano tsa hau le monga hau joang?

Ke eng eo u bone eka e baka tsitiso puisanong ea hau le monga hau?

Ha u na le bothata mosebetsing u bo rarolla joang?U bone ele eng e sitisang puisano ea hau le monga hau?

U bona eka ke eng e ka etsoang ho ntlafatsa maemo a mosebetsi ?

CONDITIONS AT HOME

U lula hokae (le beng ba hau kapo kante,hole le bona etc)?

U ka nhlalotse Boemo ba moo u lulang (ho na le motlakase,metsi,u lula le mang)?

Ke mang a patallang bolulo ba hau (haeba e u ama)?

Ho nale ntho eo u batlang ho bua ka eona eo u nahanang ke e siile ?